THE UNIVERSITY
of LIVERPOOL

Homicide:

A Behavioural Analysis of Crime Scene Actions and Associated Offender Characteristics

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Carina Gabrielle Salfati

May 1998

"Human life is limited, but knowledge is limitless. To drive the limited in pursuit of the limitless is fatal; and to presume that one really knows is fatal indeed!"

- Chuang Tzu (369-286 BCE, The Preservation of Life)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examined homicide as an interpersonal transaction as carried out by the offender on the victim. The hypothesis behind the thesis posited that there would be consistent differences between an offender's thematic behaviours at the crime scene which would be reflected in the themes of the offenders' previous experiences and characteristics. These themes it was hypothesised, would reflect facets of Expressive and Instrumental aggression. These respectively would differentiate between homicides which were a reaction to an emotional situation and a specific person, and homicides where the aggression was but a means to acquire the ulterior aims of property and sex. These two themes it was hypothesised would be reflected in the actions of the offender on the victim at the crime scene.

The analysis was based on 247 cases of British single offender-single victim solved homicides case files. These were content analysed to produce both variables representing behaviours occurring at the homicide crime scenes as well as variables representing the background experiences and characteristics of the offenders. The variables were analysed using various Multidimensional Scaling techniques.

The results support the hypothesis that homicide crime scenes can be differentiated in terms of the Expressive and Instrumental role the victim has to the offender and that these differing homicide crime scene themes are further thematically significantly associated to the background characteristics of the offender. The analysis further indicate that the Expressive/Instrumental division could be further sub-divided into levels of behavioural involvement with the victim in terms of how impulsive (direct) or controlled (indirect) the offender behaved at the crime scene.

The analysis of the co-occurrences of the actual behaviours used by offenders at homicide crime scenes has brought to attention the behavioural components which make up different themes of Expressive and Instrumental homicides. These have served to further refine the behavioural structure and meaning of Expressive and Instrumental aggression as applied within homicides.

In addition to this general model, the thesis also examined the influence of specific subgroups of homicide on the further refining of the definition of Expressive and Instrumental homicides. The gender of the offender and the offender's previous relationship with the victim were found to be central to the understanding of the Expressive and Instrumental structure in homicide.

Males were found to more generally progress to homicide from a general past of crime, and committed homicides which suggested that they were not attacking so much the person, as they were extending their previous criminal behavioural patterns into the realm of interpersonal violence. These offenders were those who killed other people because it served a specific self-serving purpose beyond that of an emotional catharsis or reaction. Females on the other hand had a dominant Expressive theme to their behaviours, stressing that in most of these cases, the act of violence arose from intimate or familial interpersonal conflict. Both males and females were more likely to kill a partner, but the domain of the stranger victim was dominated by Instrumental male offenders, whereas the killing of a blood relative was significantly related to Expressive female offenders.

Two specific features of offenders' background characteristics were also examined in relation to their differing influence on both themes of Expressiveness and Instrumentality, and on issues of gender and offender-victim relationship. These features namely dealt with the age of the offender and the distance they travelled to commit their offences. Results show that although the majority of all homicide were committed within a five mile radius of the crime scene, offenders who killed strangers tended to travel further. Further still were those stranger cases that involved any sexual activity at the crime scene. These specialised subgroups were found to relate to a younger offender, whereas offenders who committed more Expressive homicides related to an intimate victim, were significantly older.

The implications of these findings are discussed in terms of a re-evaluation of the Expressive-Instrumental classification of aggression in terms of its behavioural components, and its ensuing definition in relation to homicide and its expression within specific subgroups. Practical implications centre firstly on the identification of risk groups for the purposes of risk management, and secondly on the possibility of applying the results of this thesis to the criminal investigations of homicide in terms of suspect prioritisation and psychological profiling. Finally, important future avenues for the study of homicide are outlined and discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF CASE STUDIES

CHAPTER 1

GROWING UP TO KILL

1.1 CLASSIFYING MURDER

Murder grows out of a transaction between individuals. This transaction is a product of the individuals and their relationship. More may therefore be understood about the nature of murder, its varieties and causes, by considering how the relationships between the participants may differ. However, in this consideration, the dominant party may be assumed to be the murderer. The focus of the present study will thus be what the murderer brings to the relationship, how they in effect regard the victim, or the role the victim has to them.

It is proposed that different forms of interpersonal transactions, and thus variations in murders, will be reflected in the murder crime scene itself, through the victim the offender chooses and the behaviours they do onto the victim. It is therefore important to analyse the behavioural constituents of homicide crime scenes and from there, use the results to build models of the different types of homicides. These varieties of homicide can then be related to the different aspects of the characteristics of an offender responsible. Not only are traces of behaviours a more reliable unit of analysis as they are directly more observable at the crime scene, but using homicide crime scene behaviours may also be more helpful to the police by being more relevant and applicable than e.g. psychiatric evaluations in their investigations of homicide.

1.2 THE NATURE OF HOMICIDAL AGGRESSION

In trying to understand how individuals act differently at homicide crime scenes, it is important to first understand why certain individuals engage in aggressive interpersonal interactions that ultimately lead to homicide. It is important to look at how and why these individuals come to adopt these aggressive behavioural strategies. A brief overview of previous research into the reasons for which an individual develops and adopts aggressive behaviour is necessary. Particular reference has been drawn to classification systems which have been built upon the exploration of systems which particularly focus on the variations between different interpersonal aggressive strategies.

1.2.1 Defining Aggression

It is important to clarify what is meant by aggression. As Lefkowitz et al. (1977) quite rightly point out, "it becomes clear in any discussion of the topic that the term also contains a positive and negative valence, so that aggression can connote 'good' as well as 'bad' in the characterisation of behaviour" (Lefkowitz et al. 1997, p. 2). Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1966) defined it as "an offensive action or procedure: a culpable unprovoked overt hostile attack". Other definitions however, are "healthy self-assertiveness or a drive to accomplishment or to mastery esp. of skills" and "marked by driving forceful energy, ambition, or initiative: enterprising". Whereas assertiveness describes a behavioural pattern of active coping with the environment and persistence in the pursuit of one's own needs when confronted with counter pressure, aggression, although it may share some of these properties, is defined by its distinguishing characteristic of painful and destructive consequences, and in certain ways as the maladaptive version of the same behaviour.

Hartman et al. (1949) suggest that aggressiveness and assertiveness emerge from the same developmental structure. They start off as the same characteristic in young children (Otis and McCandless 1955, Patterson et al. 1967), but become distinct once

they reach adolescence (Kagan and Moss 1962). However, although aggression can be seen to encompass both positive and negative dimensions, this study will specifically look at aggression as a maladaptive strategy to conflictful interpersonal relationships, such as homicide.

1.2.2 Aggression as a Psychological Trait

The driving hypotheses of this thesis is based on the presumption that homicidal aggression will be evident at the crime scene and that its make-up will be a reflection of an offender's certain past of dealing with conflictful interpersonal relationships. However this assumption in itself brings with it a set of psychological biases which must be discussed before any in-depth analysis of homicide may be attempted. In looking for evidence of aggression we may too readily attribute any behaviour to this category.

> "When a novice golfer walks into the clubhouse with an eagle,
> it is a fluke. When the same man smashes a bottle over another
> man's head, it is because he has an aggressive personality"
> (Campbell and Gibbs 1986, p. 3)

Although the psychological literature favours the idea of psychological traits, or of consistency in behaviour and personality, there are those who feel that the idea of consistency is too readily adopted, and that caution needs to be employed when dealing with such an issue. Like the quote by Campbell and Gibbs suggests, it could be said that aggression is too readily attributed as a trait as soon as an individual exhibits any evidence of such a behaviour. However, it may just be that this individual reacts to the situation as it presents itself, rather than exhibiting an 'aggressive trait' as such.

Mischel (1968) in particular, attacked traditional personality theory as exaggerating the consistency of individual behaviour across time and situations and as neglecting the importance of situational variables. His position was that behaviour is specific to situations and much more influenced by the variety of social learning conditions than by enduring psychological predispositions.

Comments like Mischel's, however, are not as such against the idea of consistency as it relates to this study as it is not *stable psychological traits* which are investigated in this thesis, but rather *stable behavioural strategies* to similar types of situations. These strategies are learnt behavioural responses to certain types of situations, and as such, are more observable and thus more interpretable.

1.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGGRESSIVE STRATEGIES

> "A man who has been alone since birth will have no verbal behaviour, will not be aware of himself as a person, will possess no techniques of self management, and with respect to the world around him, will have only those meagre skills which can be acquired through one short lifetime from non social contingencies. Thus to be oneself is to be almost nothing" (Skinner 1972),

Social Learning Theory states that an individual is constructed through his environment. Indeed, its main advocate, Skinner, suggested that all our behaviours and attitudes, all that identifies us as a person, is acquired through learning from the world around us. In particular, Social Learning Theory has stressed the importance of the social dimension for the development of interpersonal behaviour. Interpersonal behaviour is how we behave towards and treat other people, and the general hypothesis of this thesis is that there is an interpersonal dimension to homicide, which will be evidenced not only in the way the offender interacts with the victim at

the crime scene, but also in how the offender has previously related to other people in their lives.

> "Disagreements and conflicts are an inevitable feature of social life. What varies widely are the procedures employed to negotiate such discord." (Polk 1994, p.113).

Given the view that aggression is best regarded as a strategy rather than a trait, the next step towards understanding the nature of aggression is to understand how individuals learn to adopt aggressive behaviours, and what function the adoption of this type of behaviour holds.

Based on extensive interviews with prisoners and police officers who had engaged in violence, Toch (1969) formulated a typology that focused on the functional use of violence in interpersonal relations. He distinguished two broad categories, each with several subtypes.

1. The first (self preserving) comprised the use of violence to preserve an individual's reputation or self-concept.

2. The second broad category (needs-promoting) was comprised of egocentric people who see themselves (and their own needs) as being the only fact of social relevance. Other people are viewed as objects rather than as persons, and violence is used to manipulate their behaviour or, by some, as simply an enjoyable activity in and of itself.

Toch further suggests that most violent episodes can be traced to well-learned, systematic strategies of violence that some people have found effective in dealing with conflictful, interpersonal relationships. Violence therefore not only becomes an impulse but also a learnt habitual response. Indeed he postulated that if the histories of violent persons are examined, surprising consistency in their approaches to interpersonal relationships would be discovered. They learned, probably in childhood, that violence works for them. They used violent responses effectively to

obtain positive and avoid negative reinforcement. They got what they wanted or avoided unpleasant situations by being violent. Toch posits that humiliating threats to reputation and status are major contributing factors to violence. A blow to the self-esteem of the person who has few skills for resolving disputes and conflicts (such as verbal skills) may precipitate violence. This is especially true if the person's subculture (see Wolfgang 1958), i.e. the person's immediate social entourage, advocates that disputes be settled through physical aggression.

1.3.1 The Cognitive Development of Aggressive Strategies

Huesmann and Eron (1989) suggest that a substantial portion of individual differences in characteristic levels of aggressiveness among humans can be attributed to learning. They hypothesise that social behaviour is controlled to a great extent by learnt responses for behaviour that have been learned during a person's early development. Learnt responses for social behaviour in general and for aggressive behaviour in particular, are largely controlled by what they term cognitive scripts, learned and memorised during the young child's daily experiences and persisting into adulthood. These scripts are stored in a person's memory and are used as guides for behaviour and social problem solving, suggesting how the person should behave in response to events, and what the likely outcome of these behaviours would be.

They propose an information processing model incorporating the developing child's learning processes (both active and observational) together with the developing child's response generating processes which in turn are influenced by the child's cognitive capacities and information processing procedures. Within this framework, a habitually aggressive child is one who regularly retrieves and employs aggressive behaviour. This regular retrieval in turn accumulates into a large number of aggressive scripts stored in memory, making more available to be used as a response to a particular situation. Additionally, the action of continuously drawing on these, gives them a 'higher threshold', i.e. makes them easier to retrieve when a problem is

faced, as they are more readily available. In this case, if aggression is the repeated response to a particular problem such as difficult interpersonal situations, then when this type of situation is faced, aggression will be used. A parallel to this idea of 'more available behavioural responses', i.e. that people under high states of arousal resort to strongly established habits to guide and dominate their behaviour can be seen in the cognitive literature regarding attention, word retrieval and reaction times (e.g. Just and Carpenter 1980).

Huesmann (1988) suggests that as aggressive behaviour becomes habitual, it quite probably will affect specifically a child's characteristics of social and academic success. The more aggressive child becomes a less popular child and a poorer academic achiever in school. For many children, he proposes, these negative consequences, coupled with appropriate intervention (from e.g. parents), lead to the inhibition of aggressive responding. Aggressive scripts are replaced by pro-social scripts. However, Huesmann goes on by saying that for some children, the negative consequences may have the opposite effect through stimulating further aggression. These children's academic and social failures become frustrators, instigating more aggressive responses. In addition, these children, who are less successful/popular, may withdraw from their unpleasant social interactions rather than learn different scripts to make the interactions more pleasant. Indeed, some may get the satisfaction they would normally get from success and popularity by watching others behave aggressively. Observing others' aggression will in turn then increase the child's aggression.

The construction and maintenance of these scripts obeys well-understood principles of human information processing. Once established, these networks of scripts may be extremely resistant to change. Through elaborate rehearsal of specific scripts, more general abstract scripts for social behaviour are formed which are equally resistant to change. The result is a set of cognitive structures that promote consistent forms of social behaviour over time and across situations (Huesmann and Eron 1989). Within this framework an habitually aggressive child is one who regularly retrieves and

employs scripts for social behaviour that emphasise aggressive responding. This regular retrieval of cognitive scripts in turn accumulates into a large number of aggressive scripts stored in memory, making them more available to be used as a response to a particular situation.

So what causes one child to learn more aggressive scripts than another? One possibility is that enactive learning plays the primary role. The aggressive child has tried various social strategies and only the aggressive ones have resulted in positive reinforcement. These strategies, therefore, have been rehearsed most and are the most readily accessible. Certainly if a specific aggressive response is reinforced, the script that suggested that response is more likely to be retrieved and to be employed in the future. Furthermore, the effect of the reinforcement may generalise to scripts that are abstractions of the specific script, promoting a generalised disinhibition of aggression. "The boy who solves a social problem successfully by hitting will be more likely in the future not just to hit, but to kick, punch, or push" (Huesmann and Eron 1989, p.103), thus generalised patterns of aggressive behaviours are formed.

Not only does aggression as a characteristic way of solving problems appear to emerge within a social context early in life, but there is also accumulating evidence that each individual develops a characteristic kind of aggressiveness and that this aggressiveness remains relatively stable across time and situations into adulthood . In a study spanning 22 years, Huesmann et al. 1984 collected data on the aggressiveness of over 600 subjects, their parents and their children. They found that subjects who were the more aggressive 8-year olds at the beginning of the study, were the more aggressive 30-year olds at the end of the study. They further found that early aggressiveness was predictive of later serious antisocial behaviour including criminal behaviour, spouse abuse, self-reported physical aggression, and traffic violations.

1.3.2 The Cultural Context of Aggression

Leyton (1995) states that there are no precise figures on the social origins of killers, however he goes on to say that it is clear that 9 out of 10 homicides, perhaps more, are now committed by members of the underclass - persons with little education and no professional qualifications, chronically unemployed and on welfare, living in council housing, with chronic drug and alcohol problems, often mentally ill. Customarily, the killer and victim have a previous relationship as friends, acquaintances or partners. There may have been a long-simmering feud. The future killer may be a difficult and troubled man, often with an extensive criminal record, and a history of alcohol abuse. Leyton suggests that the offender is most probably chronically unemployed, living on state benefits in council housing, separated from his wife and child. At a moment of extreme tension for him, there may be an insult or a misunderstanding, and he 'loses' control. Leyton points out that although we may never know all the details of any human event, there is still enough information available for us to begin to understand the manner of persons who kill.

Leyton puts theories such as Huesmann's into a cultural context by suggesting that in any person's instant of personal crisis, culturally encoded inhibitions will stop him from exploding into violence. Therefore it follows that the less attention a civilisation pays to encoding such inhibitions, the more it offers illustrations of 'noble' violence, the greater the likelihood that the least 'educated' will act out their tension in bloody explosion.

Most homicides are between people who know each other. The types of murders which cause the greatest public alarm - those committed in the course of other crimes, such as robbery or rape; and those involving shooting - have not increased: they continue to occupy the same modest proportion of homicides (each about 8 percent) as they have throughout the century. These unchanging characteristics inevitably lead Morris and Blom-Cooper to conclude that murder is not a planned and calculated event, but one in which 'emotion' (often passionate), panic, or mental disorder play a role disproportionate to that which they play in any other crime. This

follows the same ideas as the rest of the literature on the impulsiveness of actions leading to homicide.

Leyton shows that the immediate cause of homicide is neither the desire nor the technology (both of which are everywhere readily available, in the human psyche and in the landscape), but the presence in the culture of specific messages teaching people about the appropriateness of violence.

> "It was not the presence of the rifle that provoked the homicide: murderous technology is available everywhere, in every kitchen and every garage; an axe or a knife, a bottle or a car would have accomplished the same end. It is the will to use that technology that is culturally coded, the decision that is half-consciously culturally applauded; this is what shapes the numbers of homicidal assaults in a nation". (Leyton 1995, p.160-161).

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) conclude that under-socialised members of any civilisation 'will tend to be impulsive, insensitive, physical, risk-taking, short-sighted, and non-verbal', and therefore more likely to risk criminal acts. In such undercontrolled people, outbursts of violence can be sparked by mere 'momentary irritation', because people with low self-control tend to have minimal tolerance for frustration and little ability to respond to conflict through verbal rather than physical means'. Thus the noisome 'irritation caused by a crying child is often stimulus for physical abuse', and the disrespect from 'a taunting stranger in a bar is often the stimulus for aggravated assault'. Most commonly, those who lack self-control appear to be found at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

1.4 THE CONSISTENCY OF BEHAVIOUR AND AGGRESSION

There is considerable evidence favouring the proposition that individual differences in antisocial and criminal behaviour emerge in childhood and remain stable across the life course (e.g. Huesmann et al. 1984, Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). Although specific antisocial behaviours in childhood might not predict phenotypically similar behaviours (i.e. the way the behaviours are manifested) in later adulthood, they may still be associated with behaviours that are conceptually consistent with those earlier behaviours (Caspi and Moffitt 1992).

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) invoke a similar idea when they refer to adult behaviours 'analogous' to crime, such as accidents, smoking and sexual promiscuity that are hypothesised to result from a common factor - lack of control. This phenomenon Caspi and Bem (1990) define as 'heterotypic continuity'. The essence of heterotypic continuity is that the individual's characteristics in childhood (e.g. ill-tempered behaviour) will not only appear across time but will be manifested in a number of diverse situations. Hagan and Palloni (1988) suggest that we need to examine how delinquent and criminal events mediate broader life trajectories, both criminal and non-criminal. Further, the generality of these behaviours need to be investigated, so that an understanding of how specific behaviours in an offender's background can be linked to general behavioural themes of an offender's criminal behaviour, and vice versa. In this way, links between an offender's crime scene behaviours and their characteristics can be established and used as an investigative tool by the police to focus their investigations and suspect selection.

Sampson and Laub (1993) re-coded and analysed Sheldon and Glueck's (1950) data with the aim of testing whether an individual's childhood antisocial behaviour, adolescent delinquency and adult crime stays stable across the lifecourse. Although they showed that criminal behaviour does peak in the teenage years, their research indicated an early onset of delinquency as well as a continuity of criminal behaviour over the life course. Their basic thesis suggested that the structural context mediated

by informal family and school social controls explains delinquency in childhood and adolescence. They further suggested that there is continuity in antisocial behaviour from childhood through adulthood in a variety of life domains and that it is the informal social bonds in adulthood, to family and employment, which explain changes in criminality over the life span despite early childhood propensities. These changes will be due to an individual's change of life pattern through such things as marriage to a non-criminal partner and responsibilities such as parenthood.

There have been numerous longitudinal studies which have focused on investigating whether criminal behaviour stays consistent (or not) across an individual's life span. These have also looked at the form this consistency takes, that is whether an individual engages in the same types of crimes, whether they specialise, whether they escalate in the severity and amount of crime and whether certain childhood factors are related to later development of different types of criminal behaviours.

West and Farrington (1977) in the Cambridge study set up a prospective longitudinal survey of 411 London males followed from age 8 in 1961-1962, to age 32. The main focus of the study was on the continuity and discontinuity of behavioural development (Farrington 1995). Interviews and testing of subjects was carried out at ages 8, 10 and 14, and they were interviewed again at ages 16, 21, 25 and 32. Tests included measures of individual characteristics such as intelligence, attainment, personality, and psychomotor impulsivity. Interviews collected information on such things as living circumstances, employment histories, relationships with females, leisure activities such as drinking, drug use and fighting, and offending behaviour.

Interviews with parents were carried out yearly from when the boys were aged 8 to 15. Families provided details on such matters as the boy's daring or nervousness, family income, family size, their employment histories, their history of any psychiatric treatment, their child rearing practices, their closeness and supervision of the boy and his temporary or permanent separation from them. Teachers completed questionnaires when the boys were aged about 8, 10, 12 and 14. These furnished data about their troublesome and aggressive school behaviour, their restlessness and poor

concentration, their school attainments and their truancy. Ratings were also obtained from the boys' peers when they were in primary school about such topics as their daring, dishonesty, troublesomeness and popularity. Further, searches were also carried out in official records of their previous criminal convictions, and self-reports of offending were obtained from the boys themselves at every age from 14 onwards (Farrington 1995).

The study showed that delinquent criminality is only one element of a much larger syndrome of antisocial behaviour in general which tends to persist over time, as Robins (1986) has persuasively argued. In order to investigate, what they called, the syndrome of antisocial behaviour, composite measures of 'antisocial personality' were devised at ages 10, 14, 18 and 32 based on indicators of deviant behaviour at each age (Farrington 1991). The antisocial scales at the four ages were all significantly intercorrelated, showing the continuity in antisocial behaviour over time. This was despite the environmental changes in people's lives between these ages, hence they suggest that the high correlation probably reflects individual rather than environmental stability. To compound this result they further found that the more aggressive youngsters were also the more aggressive delinquents and the most aggressive adults, thus showing that the individuals who were identified as the most aggressive of the sample, and the continuous recidivists, stayed so throughout their lifespan, as compared to the other individuals in the sample.

Huesmann et al's (1984) results of their 22-year longitudinal study were in line with the results from the Cambridge study by concluding that, whatever its causes, aggression can be viewed as a persistent trait that may be influenced by situational variables but possesses substantial cross-situational constancy. Further, again in agreement with the Cambridge study, they found that the more aggressive youngsters were the more aggressive adults, thus showing that, in terms of aggression and inter-personal interaction, people tend to stay consistent across time and situations.

Results from these longitudinal studies suggest that there is consistency of thematic heterotypic behaviour (such as aggression) across an individual's lifespan. The next step in understanding the interpersonal action of homicide will be to assess how these theories hold in terms of analysing actual crime scene behaviours for patterns and relating these patterns heterotypically to characteristics of offenders, in terms of their previous experiences. This will be examined in this thesis so that this understanding may be translated into investigative applications for the police.

1.5 THEORIES AND CLASSIFICATIONS OF AGGRESSION

"Instead of attempting to predict 'violence' as if it was a unitary, homogenous mode of behaviour, efforts should be directed at differentiating meaningful subtypes or syndromes of violent individuals and then determine the diagnostic signs in the clinical data that will enable us to identify individuals of each type." (Megargee 1970, p.146)

The possible cognitive processes which individuals go through to adopt and use aggressive strategies, and the likelihood that these inter-personal strategies stay heterotypically consistent across the life-span has thus been established. The question is then raised as to how these different strategies manifest themselves in the actions by the offender at the crime scene, as well as in their background characteristics and experiences. The different ways offenders act can then be used as the basis for classifying them into different aggressive types. The next step is then to investigate the association between how an offender acts at the crime scene and their specific background characteristics.

14

Previous research into crime and criminals has mainly focused its attention on two main areas; the development and execution of aggression, and an individual's engagement in specific offences such as homicide, rape, arson, and the like. Within these two broad categories, finer distinctions based on such factors as victim target, ages of the victim and offender (e.g. peer, child and elderly homicide), apparent aetiology of the offence and the motivations of the offender have been used to define sub-groups to be compared. These various approaches have formed the basis for a wide variety of typologies and classifications of violent offenders.

1.5.1 The Expressive/Instrumental Distinctions of Aggression

Fesbach (1964) suggested that aggression is the basic ingredient in violent crime, and proposes 2 types of aggression: Hostile (Expressive) and Instrumental aggression, which are distinguished by their goals or the rewards they offer the perpetrator.

1. The Expressive type of aggression occurs in response to anger-inducing conditions such as insults, physical attack or personal failures. The goal is to make the victim (the person) suffer. Most homicides, rapes and other violent crimes he suggests are directed at harming the victim and are precipitated by hostile aggression and anger.

2. The Instrumental type of aggression comes through the desire for objects or the status possessed by another person, such as jewellery, money or territory. Here the offender tries to obtain the desired object regardless of the cost. Usually there is no intent to harm anyone, although if someone interferes with the thief's objective, he may feel forced to harm that person or risk losing the desired goal.

These two types of aggression are very similar to Toch's (1969) 'Self-Preserving' and 'Needs-Promoting' dichotomy respectively. This dichotomous Expressive/Instrumental distinction goes through much of the aggression literature and is seen to encapsulate most of the spectrum of aggressive behaviour.

15

"The interpersonal interactions that lead to instrumental violence may be different in important respects from the interactions that give rise to more emotional attacks. The instrumentally oriented aggressor is more interested in achieving an external objective than in injuring or killing the victim for gratifications that might be obtained from the harm or destruction itself."

(Berkowitz 1993, p.300)

Hartup (1974) distinguished instrumentally aggressive children who pushed or shoved to obtain some object such as a toy from hostile aggressors whose object was to harm their peer, again distinguishing between different goals of aggression. Similarly, Cornell et al (1987) found that juveniles who committed homicides in the course of other crimes (e.g., robbery) could be reliably distinguished from those who committed conflict-related violence (e.g. murder in the course of an interpersonal argument or dispute), both in terms of offence characteristics and prior adjustment variables (Cornell 1990, Cornell et al. 1987).

Block (1977) also talk of this Expressive/Instrumental distinction of aggressive behaviour. Instrumental action assumes that both the victim and the offender are acting to maximise their benefits and minimise their costs in a dangerous situation. Robbery is analysed as instrumental action. Impulsive action assumes non-instrumental behaviour; there is no weighing of costs and benefits, only the desire to injure or kill. He also goes on to stress that this typology is not so rigid that it suggests that instrumental killings are always coldly calculated and entirely deliberate, as e.g. robbery deaths can be seen to most likely occur when victims resist armed assailants.

It is important to look not only at whether Instrumental and Expressive interactive strategies can be evidenced in an offender's background, but also how *much* each offender can be deemed to belong to one or both of the categories and how these differential degrees in their backgrounds can be seen to affect their general behavioural interpersonal interactive styles.

Berkowitz (1993) reviewed the evidence in support of distinguishing between Reactive (emotional) aggression elicited in response to frustration, and Instrumental aggression, which is more purposeful and goal directed. His review, however, concluded that violent offenders do not always fall neatly into one of the two categories in the Expressive/Instrumental dichotomy. He suggested that by and large, some persons are highly aggressive because they are emotionally reactive: often hot-tempered, easily enraged, and quick to 'shift into overdrive'. These hot-tempered people, however, sometimes attack others because they believe their aggression will pay off. Conversely, other aggressors can be viewed as more instrumentally oriented, since their aggression is more frequently carried out in the service of other desires – to satisfy their urges to achieve power, status, monetary gain and so on. However, these people, Berkowitz goes on to state, can also lose their tempers occasionally and strike out at someone in rage.

Although many studies have found that there are differences in an individual's actions during a crime in terms of Instrumentality and Expressiveness (reactive aggression), there appears however to be a difficulty in associating these different types of crime scene behaviours directly to similarly themed previous behaviours in an offender's background. One of the critical problems in distinguishing instrumental and reactive violence in a group of adult violent offenders is that many violent offenders have a history of both Instrumental and reactive violent offences (Cornell et al. 1996). In addition, an offender who is actually committing an otherwise Instrumental crime, may become angry with the victim and engage in reactive (Expressive) aggression.

Cornell et al (1996) in an attempt to clarify this problem, set up a study proposing a modified group distinction, based on 106 male inmates incarcerated for various offences[1]. The subjects were allocated to one of three groups; non-violent offenders (where there was no indication of known violent criminal or social history), reactive violent offenders, and instrumental violent offenders (where there was at least one

---

[1] homicide (N=28), assault (N=19), robbery (N=12), theft or burglary (N=26), fraud (N=9), drug offenses (N=15), parole violation (N=5) or some other offense (N=10).

instrumental crime in the offenders record, regardless of how many reactive crimes they had convictions for). The results of their study emphasised that criminal offenders need not be exclusively instrumental or reactive in their violent offences. Reactive violence appears to be the more pervasive form of violent crime, with instrumental violence characterising a smaller subgroup. Perhaps reactive violence should be considered the most basic form of aggression among criminal offenders, and instrumental violence should be considered a marker of a more pathological development in the ability to use aggression for goal-directed purposes.

1.5.2 The Issue of Control

Another body of the literature stresses the importance of the issue of impulsivity and control in the aggressive act. Many authors (e.g. Wolfgang 1958) stress the fact that most violent acts are committed between people who know each other, after an escalation in a series of disagreements and arguments. Such acts are born out of emotion which consequently lead to impulsive acts of violence.

Looking at the control the offender has over his actions, Berkowitz (1970) hypothesised that sometimes people react violently, not because they anticipate pleasure or displeasure from their actions, but because "situational stimuli have evoked the response (they) are predisposed or set to make in that setting." In other words, powerful environmental stimuli produce impulsive behaviour because that behaviour is instinctive to the situation and not thought about.

Zillman (1979) goes on to elaborate on this by explaining that cognitive or thinking processes are greatly impaired at extreme levels of emotional arousal. At very high levels of emotional upset, hostile or aggressive behaviours are likely to become 'impulsive' as the behaviours have been so well learned that they appear quickly and without thought. They seem to be 'mindless'. Impulsive behaviour then is not unusual out-of-character behaviour, but reflects habitual responses that might be rejected by the individual under low arousal or normal conditions. This very much

fits in with Huesmann and Eron's (1989) ideas of learnt and adopted social scripts of behaviour.

Berkowitz (1993) hypothesised that differences in the impulsivity of aggressive acts are born out of different learning situations and exposure to frustrators, which consequently lead to different types of aggressive styles. He divided these into two main groups;

1. The Socialised and

2. The Individual offender.

The socialised offender is a product of learning, conditioning and modelling, whereas the individual offender is a product of a long, possibly intense series of frustrations resulting from un-met needs. According to Berkowitz, both modelling and frustration are involved in the development of criminal behaviour, but suggests that it is a particular set of life experiences which favours a particular criminal style. The suggestion here, again, is that an individual's past experiences are what will determine the form of their later criminal behavioural patterns, and that there is a consistency between their past experiences and their present behaviours.

Banay (1952) also talks of subdividing aggressive individuals according to the degree to which they have assimilated cultural norms. Banay's 'subcultural' type was composed of individuals with insufficient controls who were unable to conform to society's rules; his 'cultural' group included normal individuals who killed someone in the course of another crime; his 'supercultural' group consisted of people too inhibited to express aggression normally who nevertheless responded violently when under stress.

Megargee (1966), proposed a dichotomy, similar to Banay's subcultural and supercultural distinction of;

1. the Undercontrolled and

2. the Overcontrolled offender.

The undercontrolled individual has few inhibitions against aggressive behaviours and frequently engages in violence when frustrated or provoked, whereas the chronically overcontrolled personality has well established inhibitions against aggressive behaviour and rigidly adheres to them, even in the face of provocation. This person has learned (or been conditioned to) the consequences (real, imagined or implied) of engaging in violence. According to Megargee however, there may come a time when frustration and provocation overwhelms the overcontrolled person. If this happens, they may strike out violently, perhaps even exceeding the violence exhibited by the undercontrolled person. The undercontrolled/overcontrolled typology therefore suggests that the more brutal and unexpected slayings are often performed by usually inhibited, restricted individuals.

Blackburn (1968) empirically tested and supported Megargee's hypothesis by dividing a group of violent offenders into extreme assaultives (murder, manslaughter, attempted murder) and moderate assaultives (GBH etc.). On the basis of personality measures, extreme assaultives were significantly more introverted, conforming and overcontrolled and less hostile than the moderate assaultives. Moreover, their aggressive behaviours had occurred only after prolonged or repeated provocation (real or imagined). However, the testing of the classification system again centred on looking at differences between individuals who committed different types of crimes (whether in kind, or in extent) rather than looking at differences between individuals who committed the same crime (i.e. same situation such as homicide), in different ways. This makes it inherently difficult to ascertain individual differences between offenders who commit the same type of crime in behaviourally different ways.

Henderson (1983) further indicated that the over-controlled/undercontrolled dichotomy also exists in non-violent populations. This finding, Bartol (1995) suggests, implies that the Megargee schema may not offer as much in explaining the various types of violence as originally expected.

However, the fact that this dichotomy may exist in both criminal and non-criminal populations can be seen as a good indication that it may be a general behavioural trait. This will enable the linking between the overcontrolled or undercontrolled actions at a crime scene with previous overcontrolled or undercontrolled actions in both an offender's past normal and criminal life, as witnessed by their criminal record, inter-personal relationships and so on. Bartol (1991), as an example, hypothesised that the undercontrolled offender would be a habitual offender with a criminal record whereas the overcontrolled would not tend to have a criminal record, being more likely to engage in one quick, highly violent act.

However, the distinction between the undercontrolled and the overcontrolled offender seems blurred when it comes to interpreting actual homicide crime scene behaviours. In order to make this theory applicable to applied psychology, and even to a theory of homicide in general, the idea of the under/overcontrolled offender must be evaluated against a backdrop of empirical studies. Further, the overcontrolled/undercontrolled dimension does not fully account for the role of situational parameters. Persons who are passive and unassertive are more likely to experience intense frustrations and to find themselves in many situations where they feel threatened, insecure and powerless. Thus for this typology to work it needs to take into consideration other personality factors and how these fuse to interact with situational stressors.

1.5.3 The Importance Of Offender-Victim Relationships in Homicide

Much of the literature has focused on the influence of the interpersonal relationship between the offender and the victim on the act of homicide in relation to the issue of expressiveness and impulsivity.

Silverman and Mukherjee (1987) suggest that most homicides can be best characterised as a social event in which there are at least two actors and a social relationship that plays a dynamic role in the way that the homicide unfolds. The social relationship between offender and victim, they suggest, should play a key role in the analysis of homicide. In particular, they hypothesise, the intensity levels associated with intimate relationships will be associated with the type of homicide which occurs.

Wolfgang (1958) also stressed the importance of the interpersonal relationship between the victim and the offender. He ascertains that because a relationship is a prerequisite to homicide, stranger homicides exist less than do homicides between people who know each other. Out of 550 relationships, he found that 65% of the homicides involved primary contacts (close friend, family member, paramour and homosexual partner. Pokorny's (1965) study of homicides in Houston, Texas, from 1958-1961, found the percentage of victims killed by a family member or close friend to be virtually the same as that reported by Wolfgang. Voss and Hepburn (1968) found that 47% of victims were killed by a family member or a close friend. Curtis (1974), in a national survey in 1967, found that one third of homicides occurred between family members.

Another key factor in the violence which may characterise the family is the intensity of the emotional involvement and bond between the group's members. Reed et al. (1978) using Canadian data, indicated that between 1961-1974, 87% of all murders involved some prior relationship with the victim. Gillis (1986) found that the closer the tie between offender and victim, the more often homicides seems to be a spontaneous, emotion-laden act. He also found that there was a high level of

participation in these acts by both males and females over the age of 30. On the other hand, he found that uninvolved offenders were more likely male, under 30 with little or no evidence of emotional content in their acts. Mawson (1981) theorised that a great deal of violent behaviour within the family can be explained as a tendency or desire to seek the company of a family member at the time when stress is being experienced. This may be true even when the person toward whom the violence is directed is the source of the stress. He used the term 'social bonding' to refer to this need, and believed that intense bonding situations could result in such acts as parents' murders of children, children's murders of their parents, and spouse homicides.

Justice and Justice (1976) in their study of abusing families, regarded rapid life changes as the key factor in the emergence of family violence. They found that parents who had experienced a large number of life crises within a short period of time were more likely to be involved in abusive behaviour. However, they also noted that the parents who experienced the most life crises were those who had personality characteristics which brought about many of the crises. For example, the abusive parents tended to be distrusting, impatient individuals with a poor self-image. Their approach to life and their interactions with others precipitated many of the life crises they experienced, such as problems with their spouses, being fired from jobs, default on a mortgage or loan, or trouble with in-laws. Such persons were unable to function effectively within the family system and relieved the frustration they experienced through violence toward family members.

Kratcoski (1987) analysed 2600 cases of non-justifiable homicides in Ohio 1970-1983. Their study showed that characteristics of the victim and the assailant, and the circumstances surrounding the incident when the death occurred, differed significantly when the family-related homicides were compared with those involving acquaintances or strangers. The sex of the victim was much more likely to be female (37%) in family member homicides than in either acquaintance (15%) or stranger (15%) killings. This finding is consistent with other research on family violence,

which indicates that the victims of family violence are most likely to be those members of the family who are the most vulnerable (women and children). The study also reported that 71% of the family member cases involved death during or after a quarrel. This was also quite prevalent in the acquaintance cases (66%), but was true in less than one third of the cases involving killing by strangers.

In summary, a hypothesis can be developed, suggesting that the patterns and relationships between the assailant and victim are different enough from those found in stranger to stranger cases and those found in intra-familial cases to continue separate investigative lines of research. When developing a profile of the family-related homicide and selecting variables to highlight the contrast of this offence with stranger to stranger homicide, Kratcoski (1987, p.65-66) suggested that six findings should be considered. Firstly, while the assailant in all types of homicide cases is typically a young male, in family-related cases there is an emergence of females and older family members in the assailant group. Secondly, although the majority of victims in all types of homicides are male, in family related cases there are a sizeable proportion of female victims, and more than 14% of the family-related victims are children. Thirdly, in family related homicide cases the majority of victims were married, a factor not true for stranger to stranger or acquaintance homicides. In fact, the majority of the victims in family homicides were killed by a spouse. Fourth, the vast majority of those involved in family-related homicides were killed at home, a fact not true for the other categories. Fifth, while firearms were the predominant mode of death on all types of homicides, family member victims were more likely to be killed by the more directly personal methods of stabbing, beating, or strangulation. And lastly, the more spontaneous nature of family homicides is underlined in the higher proportion of family related homicides which occurred after, or during, a quarrel.

Kratcoski however, like most other studies, did not test the link between the actions at the crime scene and the relationship between the offender and the victim. He stated that "since information on the background characteristics of the assailants,

.

such as previous criminal record, socio-economic class, history of receiving abuse as a child, and mental health problems, was not readily available, one can only speculate on the degree to which a violent response to a frustrating situation was typical behaviour for the assailant and related to social learning or stress factors" (Kratcoski 1988 p.69). This actions-to-characteristics link thus becomes an important feature to investigate in the study of homicide.

1.5.4 The Influence Of Gender In The Inter-personal Act Of Homicide

A key part in the issue of interpersonal relationships is the issue of gender. A growing body of the literature is stressing the importance of gender in understanding and classifying aggression and violent acts such as homicide.

The large bulk of past criminological literature has mostly dealt with male crime, and it has only been in the last two decades that feminist writers have pointed out the lack of consideration of female offenders in this field. The reason for this lack of recognition of female crime, they suggest, may be due to the fact that females constitute such a small proportion of recorded crime figures that they have tended to be looked at as the exceptions. They have thus been tagged along the end of major works on male crime, rather than being looked at as a phenomena in their own right. Because not much has been written about women, comparing them to men can provide important insights for assessing the validity and limitations of existing theory in this area. Furthermore, this may help us to understand the more subtle differences that gender contributes to our understanding of homicide crime scene actions.

Much of the criminological and the psychological literature in the past has tried to explain female criminal behaviour through female pathology (e.g. Lombroso and Ferrero 1958). However, recent feminist writers have suggested that these images of women, which have been created by men, need to be re-evaluated. Images of criminal women being 'not woman', but masculine and unfeminine still persist

today. If a woman commits a crime, particularly a violent crime such as homicide, she must be like a man, for violent crime is today, still the domain of men.

In recent years there has been something of a moral panic created by allegations that women's share of crime had risen faster than that of men's and was rising particularly fast in unfeminine and untypical offences such as robbery and violence. This phenomena was linked to the movement for women's liberation which, it was suggested, was leading to emancipated women taking a bigger share of crime. Adler and Simon (1979) in particular have tried to explain this phenomena of female crime in terms of the woman being liberated from her traditional passive role to one which resembles more that of a man's. However, as Leonard (1982) pointed out, "[Adler's] assumption of rapidly increasing equality between men and women is highly debatable". Research in general has found no empirical support for Adler's theory. Indeed, some research suggests quite the opposite, namely that the women who commit crime are those least persuaded by feminist arguments. Wisdom (1981), for example, found that criminal women scored highly on traditional scales of femininity. James and Thornton (1980) and McCord and Otten (1983) have further observed that women who hold feminist attitudes are actually less likely to commit crimes.

While more women have been active in crime in recent years, this seems to match overall developments in criminality, and the detection of crime, rather than a distinctive pattern of new 'liberated criminality'. Most of their offences (about 80% at present according to Home Office figures), relate to fraud and forgery (Heidensohn 1985), or shop lifting – crimes to do with welfare and the family. They are convicted of physical harm or damage infrequently and they are in general petty and trivial offenders.

Box and Hale (1983) analysed trends over the past 30 years and showed that there had been an overall fairly stable ratio of female to male convictions since 1951 in England and Wales, although property crimes had shown a convergence, while for crimes of violence, the female contribution remained static. In reviewing the

26

extensive popular and academic concern, they pointed out that most studies used absolute increases in female crime, rather than relative share and that this had lead to an exaggeration of the female contribution.

Why women kill has been put down to biological factors such as pre-menstrual tension and post-natal depression. If women killed, the general opinion was that there must be something fundamentally wrong with their hormones, not with their social conditions - because a woman who kills, deviates from the expected female role.

Theories on deviance has in the past been to a certain extent dependent on these biological assumptions about gender. However, these went largely unexamined or unexplained until the advent of feminist criminology. Here, researchers began to explore the environmental factors that have lead women to commit crimes such as homicide. Indeed, in investigating a crime, in an attempt to find the culprit, it may be more advantageous to look at the factors surrounding the crime rather than at the pathology within an individual. Jones (1991) suggests that each age has its typical murder which has punctuated a typical life, and that homicide is often an extraordinary response to ordinary conditions, an uncommon reaction against circumstances common to women. In this respect, Jurik and Winn (1990), using court records over a six year period (1979-1984), compared men and women on five dimensions identified in the literature; offender background, location of homicide, victim's relationship to the offender, situational dynamics and the method, and style, of homicide. Their conclusions upon examining this material was the image of women's violence as a defensive reaction against others, for example, threatening and abusive partners.

The literature in general states that homicide by women typically takes place in the residence of the offender which is usually shared by the victim. It indicates that women most often kill husbands, ex-husbands and lovers, followed by children and other relatives. They are more likely to catch their victim off-guard and incapacitated (e.g. drunk or asleep) and more likely to use household implements, such as a knife, rather than bodily force.

Jurik and Winn conclude by stating that there is little support for the Liberation Hypothesis that women have begun to kill in situations and styles more similar to those of men. Several characteristics were found to be significant in distinguishing female from male defendants, these being consistent with a self-protection model where women kill in self-defence or in reaction to long-term abuse or threat, particularly from a lover or spouse. Concerning who women kill their children, Jurik and Winn suggest that the most likely cause here is, not only post-natal depression, but the averse social conditions and circumstances which many women are faced with after the birth of their child.

The literature on women who kill supplies us with a number of theories of why women kill, and to a lesser extent, who and how they kill. However, in developing a greater understanding of the underlying dynamics of homicide, there is a need to develop a thorough knowledge base on who and how exactly women kill, and specifically how this differs to homicides committed by men.

Goetting (1988) analysed 136 cases of women being arrested for homicides committed 1982 to 1983 and constructed a statistical profile of these women which included the parameters that she 'comes from a predominantly black city' (Detroit), that she 'is in her early 30's', 'married (legally or by common law)', 'living with her family', is 'undereducated', 'unemployed', 'under welfare receipts', with 'an arrest record', and whose final act in a series of 'arguments or fights' with ' slightly older current or past partner' culminated in a 'defensive gunshot' in a 'private residence'. Goetting states that the analysis of the files of these women revealed that female offenders are people "disadvantaged along multiple dimensions" (Goetting 1988, p. 16), and in many ways isolated from mainstream culture. She goes on to describe some of them as being apparently bitter, mean, and/or exploitative, but stating that most of them are not. They are minority mothers who, for the most part, are living in loosely structured relationships with men, and are poorly equipped to overcome their daily mundane struggles to just get by. She states that they are drastically limited in educational and occupational resources and in the social skills required to maintain a

decent existence, and that although their knowledge of the street scene is keen, they are shrouded in ignorance in other areas critical to their sense of well-being. In conclusion, although some of these women do have criminal records and are familiar with a criminal way of life, most of them appear to be reacting from the restricted social circumstances and high levels of abuse they are subjected to on a day-to-day basis, and which they react to from an uneducated and undersocialised basis.

Campbell et al. (1992) propose that academic theories of aggression can be dichotomised as Expressive (in which aggression results from a failure of self-control) or Instrumental (in which aggression represents the exercise of control over others). In terms of gender differences, their research suggest that women subscribe to the Expressive model, and men to the Instrumental model and they show that the social representations of aggression held by males and females underlie gender differences in overt behaviour. Through interviews and questionnaires, they showed that women mainly saw aggression as a negative experience which was shameful and a result of pent-up frustration, whereas men saw aggression as a positive and useful response to an image threatening situation.

A later study by Campbell and Muncer (1994) expands on the differences in aggression by gender by showing that occupational role is strongly implicated in the way people display aggression. As an example, individuals in the armed services pertain to a much more aggressive understanding of the world, whereas individuals in the nursing profession hold a much more caring view of the world. However, although these results are independent of gender, it is important to note that the different occupations are still very gender dominated in that only 11% of nurses in the study were male, and only 5% of the armed forces were female. In this way, different genders choose different occupations, partly due to their previous social representations of the world, and of the role of aggression in this world.

1.5.5 Summary

The literature points consistently towards two main issue in the classification of aggressive acts. Firstly it suggests that most aggressive acts can be defined in terms of either Expressive or Instrumental aims. Most individuals will exhibit mainly one of these motivations, although differing situations may make a predominantly Instrumental offender act Expressively (e.g. a burglar who is challenged by the victim and so strikes out against them), and vice versa. Secondly, the literature stresses the importance of impulsivity and control in the exhibition of aggression. Most of the literature agrees that a situation can lead to a certain aggressive episode, but it is also stressed that it is the nature of the previous interpersonal relationship between offender and victim which will determine how this impulsivity is exhibited and how it affects the extreme violence of the crime.

Related to the issue of the psychological processes which can be used in the classification of aggressive acts, is the importance of the backdrop of the previous interpersonal relationship between the offender and the victim, including the influence of gender.

This leaves the questions hanging, of just how aggressive strategies are exhibited, and how individuals differ in their use of these strategies within crimes such as homicide. The hypothesis in this thesis is that the way an offender acts at a homicide crime scene will be reflective of these strategies, and consequently will relate to their broader more general inter-personal strategies, as are evidenced in information about their previous experiences.

1.6 PSYCHIATRIC CLASSIFICATIONS OF HOMICIDE OFFENDERS

In addition to the general aggression literature which has attempted to differentiate between the aetiology and processes of different styles of aggression, there is a body of research which has focused more specifically on differentiating homicide offenders into different classes, or types.

Owing to the seriousness of the charges, murderers are more likely to be referred for psychiatric examination and treatment than are most other offenders, and so it is not surprising that a number of the taxonomies and typologies that have been offered have often reflected psychiatric and psychoanalytical frames of reference. Similarly, because the individuals studied in these samples are undergoing assessment with the aim of plea-bargaining within the court-system, motive becomes another organising principle upon which offenders are classified.

Wille (1974) classified murderers into 10 types:

1. The 'depressive killer' seldom has a criminal record and does not display antisocial behaviour. He may commit suicide, murder or murder-suicide. He feels that life is hopeless and he wants to end the suffering of others.

2. The 'paranoid' type has a psychotic disease e.g. Schizophrenia. In this case the murderer may be hearing voices that threaten to kill him or that tell him to kill in order to protect himself. He may kill to rid the world of sin.

3. The third type has organic brain damage from head trauma.

4. The fourth type has a 'psychopathic personality' and history of social maladjustment. Despite his defective conscience, his behaviour is confessional and he often leaves tell-tale evidence and clues to his homicidal act. From the standpoint of egostructure he has a defective integrative function and does not seem to profit from experience, repeating the same basic mistakes in judgement and control.

5. The 'passive aggressive personality' has a life history that reveals countless instances in which he expressed great violence when a victim threatened to cut off or reject his dependency needs. A common example of this is seen when a murderer's wife cannot tolerate her marriage to a demanding and violent person and either files for a divorce or threatens to do so. Instead of trying to get help to change his way of handling the relationship, he kills the person whom he drove away.

6. The 'alcoholic character' has an inner aggression which is unleashed when the expression-enhancing effect of alcohol is combined with its intoxicating effects. Furthermore, brain damage from chronic alcoholism may occur and produce a rage which is seen with certain organic brain diseases.

7. The 'hysterical personality' is more likely to be a woman and is more likely to threaten than kill (although why this type is included into his typology of homicide is not made clear).

8. The 'child killer'.

9. The 'mentally retarded person'. This type is rare but if it occurs then often it is to cover up some abnormal sexual contact they have had with a child.

10. Lastly, the tenth type is the 'sex killer'. This type of killing may include mutilation, intercourse, cannibalism, but is not usually a rapist.

Wille's classification systems appears to be based on psychiatric assessments, yet his model does not suggest a common theoretical classification order, nor does he relate these psychiatric types to different types of homicide. Some groups appear to be based on motivation and others on psychiatric illness. Wille's classification system illustrates that although it aims to include all different types of homicide, it fails to use one common underlying theoretical system which will explain the differences between types of murder. His system also fails to go beyond a mere classification of

different types of homicide to actually classify individuals in terms of the psychological processes and aggressive strategies they may use to achieve their aim.

Conversely, Abrahamsen (1960) and Bromberg (1961) simply differentiated between murderers who did and who did not manifest diagnosable psychiatric disorders, and thus created much too broad a distinction.

Glaser et al (1968) made a similar distinction between offenders who exhibited psychiatric symptoms, and those who did not. He further subdivided these two groupings into several sub-types reflecting different psychiatric diagnoses, and different external societal pressures which he suggested were the reasons the person ended up killing their victims, respectively.

1. Psychiatric Murderers; the inadequate, the brain-damaged, the psychopathic and the psychotic.

2. Non-psychiatric Murderers; included people who were raised in a sub-culture in which violence was the norm (ordinary), those who were compelled by social pressures to kill someone perceived to be the enemy of society (cultural) and an instrumentally motivated group of killers (professional).

In terms of motivation, all of these subgroups can be seen as being either externally and internally motivated, i.e. based on biological or mental causes, or environmental pressures.

Like Glaser et al., Revitch and Schlesinger (1978) also distinguished 'normal' from pathological murderers. They drew a continuum according to the degree to which the motivations were external or internal. The 'environmental' and 'situational' subtypes represented the external extreme, the 'impulsive' a mixture of external and internal motivation and the 'catathymic' and 'compulsive' groups appeared to be almost entirely externally motivated.

Guttmacher (1973) investigated 175 murderers and classified them in terms of psychiatric diagnosis. His classification was not based on 'sane' verses 'insane', rather he attempted to classify murderers by psychiatric diagnosis so that he could apply psychological theory to explain their murderous behaviour. He used psychiatric theory to develop a classification system based on psychodynamic concepts rather than the traditional descriptive diagnosis, and outlined three main groupings of offenders.

1. The 'average murderer' (free of any psychopathology but comes from a socially disadvantaged family, emotional deprivation and inadequate nurturing).

2. The 'sociopathic' murderer (having a past of parental disharmony and a physically abusive father and a hysterical mother. Childhood cruelty from the father is avenged by behaving cruelly to both humans and animals in the future. Their adolescent history usually reveals delinquency, truancy and running away from home. As they grows into adulthood they will have a history of criminal offences).

3. The 'alcoholic murderer' (an individual who usually strikes out when their partner turns away from them. Prior to the act of murder, they have lost their sexual potency, employment, or chances of advancement because of their drinking and thus they imagine they are losing their life/love interest to another, worthier, man. Convinced of their partner's infidelity their jealousy is fed, and eventually leading to the outburst which results in murder).

Blackburn (1971), not merely working from a descriptive angle, used the MMPI to empirically distinguish between different groups of offenders. Using a cluster analysis, he found four distinct personalities amongst fifty-six mentally disordered murderers, and these were subsequently shown to be the same main patterns among violent mentally disordered offenders more generally.

The four types consisted of;

1. Primary psychopaths.

2. Secondary psychopaths.

3. Controlled/conforming individuals.

4. Inhibited individuals.

The first two are similar in showing related strong impulsive and aggressive tendencies and resemble Toch's (1969) needs-promoting and self-preserving groups respectively. The latter two groups represent the two forms of overcontrolled people described by Megargee (1966). Consistent with the overcontrolled hypothesis, 52% of primary psychopaths and only 8% of the inhibited group were found to have a history of repeated violence (Blackburn 1984). These same types have been identified among 'normal' murderers (McGurk 1978) and violent male criminals (Henderson 1982), thus suggesting that it may be a more general model of criminal prognosis.

Based on their criminal careers, socialisation and mental conditions, Morrison (1973) in turn divided murderers into four broad types, each with several sub-types, which include virtually all of the types delineated by other typologists.

1. "Square Johns" were normal ordinarily performing members of society who committed murder accidentally or in response to strong situational provocation.

2. "Sub-cultural assaulters" were people who accepted and approved of violence as a way of settling disputes.

3. "Deliberately antisocial" murderers had chosen to maintain a violent antisocial lifestyle.

4. "Mentally Ill" offenders were people who even though they might not be judged legally insane, were nonetheless driven to violence by compulsion stemming from personality imbalances.

1.6.1 Summary

Research on the personality of criminals has employed more than 100 psychological tests, (e.g. Waldo and Dinitz 1967 and Arbuthnot et al. 1987, in Blackburn 1993) but while most studies comparing criminal samples with controls on standardised measures have identified significant differences, these have not always been replicated (Blackburn 1993). Some reviewers therefore remain sceptical about whether differences found shed any light on the personal antecedents of crime. Furthermore conceptual and methodological shortcomings fill much of this area of research. The MMPI has been widely used to differentiate offenders, but while it has some empirical utility in distinguishing offenders (Gearing 1979) it emphasises psychopathology rather than personality traits and has not been standardised for use with criminals. Classifications from clinical samples of homicide offenders have decreased generalisation, for they have been subject to all the selective biases involved in apprehension, arrest, plea bargaining, conviction, and referral for psychiatric examination. Megargee (1982) points out a lack of rigour in past research, e.g. through sampling biases, failure to include control or contrast groups, lack of quantitative measurements, reliance on subjective impressions, does not necessarily render past research invalid and unscientific. Many of the observations were by people who have spent much of their time with such offenders, and even though they may not be quantitative, they should not be rejected. Instead they properly belong at the first stage of scientific inquiry, that of preliminary observation, classification and hypothesis generation.

Wille's (1974) summary of different types of murderers showed that too specific a classification system, which was not underpinned by a central theoretical system, failed to coherently distinguish between offenders. Conversely, Abrahamsen's (1960) and Bromberg's (1961) systems of classifying offenders into psychiatric groups or not is too narrow to make the distinction valuable. Glazer et al. (1968) developed the psychiatric versus non-psychiatric dichotomy by developing subgroups within these two groups to include various biological and cultural influences that may explain an individual's resultant homicidal behaviour. Revitch and Schlesinger (1978) went one step further by suggesting that this dichotomy should not be seen merely as an inclusive or exclusive dichotomy but as a continuum from internally (biological) to externally motivated behaviour. Guttmacher (1973) and Blackburn (1971) added to this idea by investigating different subgroups qualitatively by looking at the actual psychiatric diagnosis in order to enable murderous behaviour to be explained in psychological terms.

Although these classification systems have gone a long way in attempting to classify murderers, they fall short however on establishing a central theoretical underpinning which would explain the structure of the various subgroups. Furthermore, although they make some headway in explaining the behaviour, these classifications do not establish the actual crime scene actions involved in the different subgroups, nor do they attempt to link different homicidal behaviours with the offenders' previous characteristics.

1.7 MOVING TOWARDS ANALYSING BEHAVIOURAL INDICES AT MURDER CRIME SCENES AND LINKING THESE TO OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

As shown above, until recently, our understanding of murder and the murderer was based on a series of psychiatric classifications of pathological conditions leading to the offence. However, little coherence or agreement is present in the literature, and so these classifications can only vaguely purport to aid the police in their investigations of murder through providing ways of finding the offender responsible for the crime.

As stated in the introductory paragraph of this chapter, it is the view in this thesis that murder grows out of a transaction between individuals. It is thus the hypothesis that more may therefore be understood about the nature of murder, its varieties and causes, by considering how the relationships between the participants may differ. Psychiatric classifications have not dealt with this, although Instrumental/Expressive and impulsive/control aggression theories have dealt with the interpersonal issues in aggression. These theories will therefore be those used in this thesis for the interpretation of the actions of homicide and the characteristics of homicide offenders.

1.7.1 Homicidal Behaviours

It is proposed that different forms of interpersonal transactions, and thus variations in murders, will be reflected in the murder crime scene itself, through the victim the offender chooses and the behaviours they do onto the victim. Given the understanding that there is a consistency between the way an offender acts and their past, behaviours as they are left at a homicide crime scene can then be analysed to help us understand both the action of homicide and the kind of person responsible. The starting point in cataloguing such information will be to look at what these behaviours consist of, how they may co-occur and what these recurring co-

occurrences may tell us firstly about the different themes inherent in the act of homicide, and secondly, the responsible offenders. Unravelling these themes may show us not only different types of homicides, but also the actual underlying structure, or meaning, of the actions that make up homicide crime scenes.

Behaviours will be the focus of this thesis since these are what is first and foremost observable at the crime scene. As an observable unit of analysis they are therefore more objective at the first stage of interpretation. Secondly, using observable data at the crime scene will produce a more readily applicable model for police investigators who will be able to more directly use the results of the research in investigations of murder.

1.7.2 Linking Offenders to Their Crimes

Although the criminological literature deals with both different types of homicide and the demographics of different offenders, few studies have endeavoured to link actual behaviours at a crime to the characteristics or previous experiences of an offender. Only a few recent studies have related patterns of crime scene behaviours to offender background characteristics.

The FBI's study (e.g. Ressler et al. 1988) on classifying crime scene behaviours into the Organised/Disorganised dichotomy was the to look at the patterns and themes in offender murder crime scene behaviour. Their work points to the thematic links between an offender's behaviour at the crime scene and the most likely background characteristics of the offender, by pointing out that offenders exhibiting a particular behavioural theme at the crime scene (Organised or Disorganised) are likely to exhibit the same theme in their background. In other words, an Organised crime scene will indicate a greater possibility that the offender will have Organised characteristics (see Ressler et al. 1988).

Although Ressler et al. have alerted us to the fact that crime scenes are rich sources of information for analysing the psychology of murder, there are however several inherent difficulties with their work. Their classification system only looks at the theme of the behaviours and does not take into account the inherent ability of the frequencies to discriminate between individuals. Any behaviour which occurs in the majority of all cases is unlikely to aid differentiating offenders into two different groups. Ressler et al.'s data originates from interviews with 36 incarcerated murderers who volunteered information about themselves and their crimes as well as from the accumulated expertise of some of their agents. Although the data obtained is detailed, this is a very small sample. Secondly, because the offenders are volunteers, they are likely to have, as an example, a more extrovert type of personality, and this is likely to bias the results and limit any generalisations that could be made from the data. Furthermore many of the variables which are used to discriminate between the Organised and the Disorganised typology are ones which come from the offender's own testimony, and secondly are variables which can not actually be used by the police as it is not a behaviour visible at the crime scene (e.g. 'controlled behaviour' and 'minimal' conversation, see Ressler et al. 1988). Lastly, as the FBI themselves state; "at present there have been no systematic efforts to validate these profile-derived classifications" (Ressler, Douglas, Burgess and Burgess 1992, p.22). What is needed, is to subject their classification system to empirical test.

What the FBI's work does draw attention to, is the possibility of using crime scene behaviours as a unit for analysis in the classification of homicide. They stress that behavioural clues which are the result of certain actions of the offender can be used to interpret the style of the offender. Indeed much of the FBI's work is reminiscent of Toch's (1969) and Fesbach's (1964) dichotomies of Expressive and Instrumental aggression. Both these authors dealt with the way an individual interacts with the victim in terms of their motivation and the way they would express this during the violent episode. The FBI takes an operational approach to similar issues to those brought up by Toch, Fesbach and other aggression theorists.

Pinta et al. (1990) examined fifteen psycho-social offender characteristics among fifty-three incarcerated murderers, fifty-one violent felons and thirty-two non-violent felons through structured interviews. However, the background characteristics looked at dealt mostly with previous psychological and psychiatric problems, which are not useful in terms of assessing offender characteristics which the police may use in an investigation in order to focus their inquiry. The study however did look at the presence of a previous criminal record in relation to these three groups, which in terms of a police inquiry is useful. They found that the murder group had a smaller presence (26%) of this characteristic than the other two groups (both at 63%). However, this difference does not say much about the difference amongst murderers themselves, and the differences in their background characteristics in terms of crime scene behavioural indices.

In the same vein, Felthous and Kellert (1986) in a study of 152 incarcerated felons, found a difference, in the previous treatment and abuse of animals, between felons incarcerated for violence and those who were not. Violent felons had a past of greater abuse towards animals, a greater variety and extent of abuse towards animals, and less restraint during the act and less remorse after the act. These results they suggest could be taken as part evidence of the fact that violence, as a trait in individuals, can be seen as being generalised, so that individuals who are violent towards one kind of living creature, will also be so to another.

Davies et al.'s (1997) study on rape reports that if an offender exhibited extreme violence at the crime scene, they were almost three and a half times more likely than not to have previous convictions for violence. They also show that if an offender steals from the victim or employs forced entry at the crime scene, there is a higher probability than not that they have previous convictions for theft and burglary. Although this study found many associations between offence behaviours and offender characteristics, they merely present a one item to one item modelling of behaviour at the crime scene to previous convictions characteristics.

Davies et al.'s model does not attempt to establish themes of co-occurring offence behaviours, and so does not establish the basis for a pattern of relationships between the different variables. Similarly, the study does not correlate background characteristics to themes of co-occurring crime scene behaviours. Instead it correlates single items to other single items. The danger with only relating one single variable to another single variable, without taking account of the co-occurrences with the other variables present is that it does not allow for the fact that a rapist might not use the exact same behaviour each time, but instead might use another single behaviour, which is similarly themed. An example would be an offender who binds one victim, but gags another. These represent two separate single behaviours, yet thematically, they are similar (see Canter and Heritage 1990).

Canter and Heritage (1990) analyzed sixty-six stranger rapes committed by twenty-seven offenders in order to establish whether the behaviours as they occurred at crime scenes had any coherent patterns of co-occurrences to them. Their results showed that the behaviours as they occurred at rape crime scenes could be differentiated in terms of 5 different ways in which the offender could interact with the victim. Based on this analysis, Canter (1994) modified these five different themes to his 3-way model of Victim as Object, Vehicle and Person. This model illustrating that there is not only a certain consistency to an individual's behaviour at crime scenes, but also that patterns of crime scene behaviours could be coherently differentiated and reliably associated with an offender's characteristics.

The general attitude towards the victim in the Victim as Object cases is one of lack of feeling. The victim is little more than an object to be explored and played with. Because the real lives of their women victims are so irrelevant to these men, the women tend to be vulnerable victims of opportunity. This group would include other vulnerable victims such as elderly people as well. These men do not stalk or target specific victims. If the situation allows it, any woman may become a victim.

In Victim as Vehicle cases, the victim is a Vehicle for the offender's desires. The narratives these offenders portray are ones of the tragic hero, living out in their act of violence the sense of freedom and power that they feel is absent in the other stories they are forced to live. Their ability to make contact with others will often mean that their initial approach will be apparently open and non-threatening, and because their victims mean something to them, a certain kind of victim will be targeted, as will the place in which the crime occurs.

A typical Victim as Person case would be the rapist who has shattered a woman's life by telling her that she should be more careful because next time, somebody might not be as kind to her! Here it is important that the victim is a particular person, not just a body or a representative of a person. The victim is known to the offender, and the offender tends to have a chequered criminal history behind him.

Canter and Kirby (1995) looked at the general characteristics of child molesters in terms of whether their behaviours during the crime reflected the type of offender involved. Their analysis of 416 offences from Lancashire against children aged 5-12 years showed that the majority of offenders were male, with a mean age of 25 years (range 8 to 77 years) which contradicted the stereotype held by many police forces (Canter and Kirby 1995) of the typical child molester being a middle aged offender. Simple frequencies established that the majority were under 35 and that one quarter were juveniles. Analysis showed that only 35% were strangers to the victim before the attack. In general, the offenders tended to be single (64%) and employed (59%), having left school at the earliest opportunity (68%). A third of them (27%) lived on their own and had frequent changes of address as well as a number of short-term jobs, or were unemployed. Analysis of their previous offences indicated that 56% had no previous offences. Of the remaining 44% who did have previous convictions (an average of 6), had previous convictions for theft and deception (21%)[2], burglary (8%), indecency (6%), violence and disorder (5%), taking a motor vehicle (3%) and

---

[2] The percentages in brackets indicate the frequency of offenders with such convictions within the whole sample of 416.

damage (2%). The figures suggested that if a child molester did have a criminal record, it would be more likely to include indecency than it would previous offences against children, thus showing that an offender's choice to molest a child is part of a greater pattern or theme of criminal behaviour.

Although this study appears to suggest that the belief that child molesters are specialised in their molesting crime is wrong according to the results of the study, what this study does not investigate is whether the type, or theme of child molestation the offender is involved in relates to different types of criminal records. This is an important consideration to be taken account of in the linking of offenders to different types of themes of child molestation.

Salfati and Canter (in press), in a study on the patterns of behaviour at homicide crime scenes, conducted a study in which they investigated the themes of co-occurrence of crime scene behaviours in 82 cases of single victim - single offender stranger homicides (that is, cases which had no obvious suspect at the time the crime was discovered). This study revealed three themes of homicide crime scene behaviours; the Expressive (Impulsive), Instrumental (Opportunistic) and Instrumental (Cognitive) which all in turn related to similarly themed offender background characteristics.

The Expressive (Impulsive) theme was characterised by behaviours which co-occurred, exhibiting a collection of frenzied and eclectic violent behaviours. It may be that this offender is the type who kills in a rage, following an argument, perhaps with a person they know, thus explaining the emotions that may be one of the precipitating factors in these cases. Offender characteristics that were associated with this theme followed the same theme of violence with the offender often having had a past of violent offences behind them, which may indeed be reflective of their attitude to interpersonal relationships in general. their narrative is one of conflict against people, who they may find it difficult to deal with in a normal and socially acceptable manner. This theme was reminiscent of the FBI Unorganised typology, and Canter's (1994) Victim as Person theme.

Offenders with an Instrumental (Opportunistic) theme appeared to regard other people as vehicles through which to attain his ultimate goal. Through choice or by accident, this offender progresses through his criminal career of theft and burglary to one of homicide when he starts regarding the victim as just another means to an end (property or sex). This individual will choose vulnerable victims because they make easy targets and may indeed see his fellow peers as nothing but potential victims. The offender characteristics linked to these types of homicides often follow the same theme as the crime scene behaviours, with offenders being unemployed, having previous convictions for theft and burglary and knowing the victim they later brutalise and living close to the crime scene. This theme had many similarities with Canter's (1994) Victim as Vehicle theme.

Behaviours in the Instrumental (Cognitive) crime scene had a highly forensic emphasis to them. These crime scene behaviours indicated that the offender was attempting to hide his crime by either committing it outside or disposing of the body outside where it is not only harder to find but also where it is harder to relate back to a crime scene and thus the evidence that may lead directly back to the offender, transporting the body and hiding it from view making it harder to find and stealing non-identifiable property which again cannot be traced back to the victim and thus to the offender. Further, the offender appears to be aware of forensic evidence in that he attempted to remove evidence such as body fluids, fingerprints, the weapon used etc. The offender linked to this theme chooses aggression and violence as a life style and will reinforce his narrative both through his life style (e.g. by being in the armed services or as evidenced by having served time in prison) and through his social associations. Other people to them mean nothing, and are but obstacles that get in their way and must be removed. This individual does not even attempt to establish any semblance of real relationships with other people, as the offender sees them but as objects to be used for whatever purpose the offender chooses. This type of offender resembles the FBI Organised type and Canter's (1994) Victim as Object theme.

As this study into the behavioural classification of stranger homicide shows, it is possible to classify murder crime scenes into thematic subgroups through investigating the patterns of co-occurrences of the behaviours themselves as they occur at the crime scene. The study also shows that there is some evidence for the concept of consistency in that the offender characteristics associated with the different themes of homicide crime scenes, follow the same thematic trends of stranger homicide.

1.8 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CHALLENGE AT THE HEART OF THE PROFILING OF HOMICIDE

The preceding psychological research has added a background of understanding to the processes involved in the acquisition, assimilation and consistent usage of aggressive behaviours. Highlighted classification systems have added a backdrop of ways of looking at homicide, in particular with respect to motivational theories and various pathological diagnoses.

In summary, the different roles aggressive actions have to the offender in a violent assault as predicted from Fesbach (1964), Toch (1969), Zillman (1979) and Megargee (1966) can be distilled into the idea of a victim being either a person onto whom the aggression is Impulsively and Expressively vented, or being a target secondary to the offender's Instrumental motivations of ulterior criminal actions. Ressler et al. (1988) have highlighted the benefits of analysing the actual traces of behaviours at a crime scene in order to unravel the unfolding behavioural patterns of offenders. Canter (1994) has further pointed out that it is the analysis of how the offender treats the victim at the crime scene which can lead to the identification and classification of aggressive and violent acts into behavioural themes, such as the victim being assigned the role as a Person, a Vehicle or an Object.

It has been argued that this differentiation would be indicated through the co-occurrences of particular sub-sets of actions that could be identified at the crime scene. Furthermore it has been proposed that the processes which give rise to these differences would also be evident in the characteristics of the offender, although Block (1977), Berkowitz (1993) and Cornell et al. (1996) caution against the assumption that this actions-to-characteristics link is a simple theme-to-theme association.

These cautions raise questions about the possibility of a psychological contribution to police investigations, referred to by Douglas et al. (1992) as "Investigative Profiling" which they view as "a strategy enabling law enforcement to narrow the field of options and generate educated guesses about the perpetrator." (Douglas et al. 1992, p. 21).

In investigative terms, using behaviours at the crime scene as the origin of the analysis may be a more fruitful path in classifying different types of homicides. If patterns or themes in these crime scene behaviours can be established, and in turn be used to identify the characteristics of the offender, then the science of psychological profiling can be said to be a valid and reliable technique for the identification of offenders from their crime scene themes.

It has recently been suggested (e.g. Ressler et al. 1988) that psychological profiling is not only possible, but that it is a psychologically straightforward process. However, as Copson (1995) concluded after having reviewed the usefulness of the information provided by 29 profilers;

> "The most compelling recommendation arising from this study concerns the need for further action to be taken to educate police on the potential value and limitations of offender profiling so there is a clearer understanding of what can be expected from it, what kind of expertise is most appropriate for different situations, and in what circumstances

operational profiling advice should not be commissioned." (Copson 1995, p.vi)

The question which is pertinent to the study of the psychological profiling of offenders' actions at crime scenes, is whether the process which leads to the classification of these behaviours is clear and stable enough for the application in investigations. This first question is inextricably linked to the question of whether the information contained in police files is clear and concise enough to reveal more on homicide as a psychological process. Indeed, the exact nature of what information *can* be used from the crime scene and exactly *how* this links to characteristics of offenders are important steps to establish.

As Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990) pertinently concluded from their research, psychological profiling is much more complex than just a "multilevel series of attributions, correlations and predictions" (p. 230). Pinizotto and Finkel go on to point out that much of the psychological profiling used in investigations to date has been guesswork based on hunches and anecdotal information accumulated through years of experience, which is consequently full of error and misinterpretation. Indeed, to date, much of the psychological profiling that has been done related to homicide investigations, has been linked to individuals rather than specific tested and established scientific methods.

However, as has been shown through the previous highlighted literature in this chapter, the establishing of a classification system of homicide crime scenes and its related offenders can go beyond mere experience to establishing a scientific approach and a study into the principles which underpin this system, and by so doing – demystifying the hitherto shrouded process which has been called psychological profiling.

CHAPTER 2

OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

The overall aims of this thesis were to ascertain the value of using actual crime scene behaviours, as established from police records of solved homicide cases, in the analysis and consequent classification of patterns of actions by the offender at the crime scene and their offender characteristics.

The hypothesis is that consistencies will be found in the way offenders act at the crime scene. These consistencies, it is suggested, are not just specific to the homicide situation, but are general interpersonal strategies which are mirrored in an offender's general past in terms of their previous relationship with the victim, their previous criminal record, their age and experience and their emotional and psychological frame of mind.

The thesis will consist of five consecutive studies which will serve to explore these hypotheses and build up a picture of the psychology of homicidal acts and the offenders involved. These five studies are described below.

2.1 FREQUENCIES OF HOMICIDE (CHAPTER 4)

The first aim of the thesis is to determine the frequencies of the sample in order to establish its representativeness of British homicide in general. The frequencies of actions committed by the offender at the crime scene will be established, as will demographics of both the victim and the offender.

2.2 THE STRUCTURE OF HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE ACTIONS (CHAPTER 5)

Consistencies in the thematic structures of crime scene actions will be tested in terms of the interpersonal strategies the offender exhibits at the scene, as evidenced by their actions towards the victim. This will be done following previously highlighted major issues of aggression, such as impulsivity and control, expressiveness and instrumentality and the role of the victim to the offender (see chapter 1). The hypothesis of this thesis is that these thematic distinctions of homicidal aggression can be interpreted from the analysis of the co-occurrences of actions by the offender at the crime scene.

Against a background of a common set of actions, differentiations will reflect different themes of transactions between the offender and the victim in the offence. Therefore a first step in exploring the structure of behaviour will be to consider the structure of the frequency of occurrences of each of the variables. Because homicide is mostly an impulsive act directed at a specific victim, it is hypothesised that the high frequency variables will reflect the more common actions that occur across all homicides, and that the descending frequencies of the variables will reflect decreasing degrees of direct physical and emotional contact with the victim.

It is hypothesised that it is the less high frequency crime scene actions which will help differentiate between offenders. Therefore, the next aim of the study is to look at what different interactional themes will aid in differentiating these actions into distinct groups. It is the hypothesis that the Expressive/Instrumental dichotomy, as evidenced by the large body of literature on these two principles, will be instrumental in accounting for these differentiations.

2.3 THE STRUCTURE OF OFFENDERS' BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS (CHAPTER 6)

The thematic structure of offenders' previous characteristics will be tested and interpreted according to the same themes as those used to test the distinctions between themes in the actions committed by the offender at the crime scene (see chapter 5). The hypothesis is that distinct consistent patterns of previous characteristics will be evident in the co-occurrences of characteristics.

The hypothesis states that against a backdrop of a common set of offender background characteristics, the differentiation would reflect themes of the pertinent characteristics of the offender. Therefore, a first step in exploring the structure of characteristics was to consider the frequency of occurrence of each of the variables. It was hypothesised that the descending structure of frequencies would be related to the offender's relationship with the victim, their psychological state of mind, and their previous criminal experience.

It is the hypothesis that thematic differences in the lower frequency characteristics will reflect the same themes of Expressiveness and Instrumentality, as are evident in the actions of the offender at the crime scene.

2.4 THE CONSISTENCY BETWEEN AN OFFENDER'S CRIME SCENE ACTIONS AND ASSOCIATED OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS (CHAPTER 7)

The fourth aim of this thesis is to examine the associations between the actions of an offender at the crime scene and their previous background characteristics. The hypothesis is that there will be evidence for consistencies between an offender's crime scene theme and themes in their previous background characteristics in terms of the offenders' interpersonal strategies.

Most of the longitudinal literature shows that there are thematic consistencies and patterns between earlier and later life characteristics. There have also been some early indications that these characteristics can be thematically linked to the different ways offenders commit their crimes (e.g. Canter and Heritage 1990, Davies et al. 1997, Salfati and Canter in press). The next aim of the thesis will be to investigate whether this consistency holds across situations and time. This will be done by testing whether the way an offender thematically acts at the crime scene is related to similar themes in their background characteristics.

2.5 THE INFLUENCE OF OFFENDER SUBGROUPS ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF HOMICIDE (CHAPTER 8-10)

The main hypothesis of this thesis is that it is the interpersonal transactions, as can be evidenced through the actions the offender engages in at the crime scene, will be instrumental in differentiating between offenders. An element of will be the role of victim to the offender.

This final study will highlight the importance of the interpersonal relationship between the offender and the victim in terms of classifying homicide crime scene actions. Specific interpersonal subgroups will be investigated in further detail to test this hypothesis. These subgroups will consist of the actual relationship between the offender and the victim (strangers, previous or present lovers, and blood relations, and the gender of the offender.

CHAPTER 3

THE ORIGIN AND CONTENT OF THE SAMPLE

3.1 ORIGIN OF DATA SAMPLE

It is important to establish, at the outset of the study, the nature of the sample upon which the analysis was based, in terms of how representative it is of the official homicide statistics and in terms of the characteristics that make up homicide, its victims and its offenders. For this purpose, the nature of the sample, and how the case material was collected and coded will be addressed.

A sample of 247 British single offender-single victim solved homicide cases from the early 1970's to the present day was collected from various British police forces around the country as well as the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). Cases previous to 1970 were not included in the study due to the influence of different cultural norms and police recording methods, as well as differences in forensic evidence available.

A thorough randomisation of cases was not possible due to the nature of the data and issues of availability and access. However, the data did include cases from many areas of England and Wales, throughout the time period investigated.

3.1.1 Selection of Case Files

In order to examine aspects of aggressive behaviour, cases selected for the study included all homicide cases, regardless of the sentence outcome, i.e. whether the offender was sentenced to Manslaughter or Murder, as it was felt that these legal classifications do not reflect psychological patterns of behaviour, but rather depend on the adhoc legal court procedures used to establish the moral guilt of the offender by the defence in order to diminish the sentence length. For this reason, the collected sample contains cases both classified as 'domestic' (i.e. where the offender killed a family member or spouse/partner) and cases classified as 'stranger' (i.e. where the police at the time of the discovery of the crime did not have an idea as to the identity of the offender). Although, because of the nature of these cases, some (such as cases where the offender killed someone they did not know and so had no previous links with) pose more of a problem to police investigators, it was felt that the study needed to go beyond just 'stranger killings' in order to understand the inter-personal dynamics inherent in many different types of offender-victim relationships.

The present sample specifically looked at cases which involved only one offender, and only one victim. No cases of multiple homicides (where there were more than one offender and/or more than one victim) were included in the sample under study as the study concentrates specifically on aggression as exhibited by the individual offender, irrespective of any interaction with a fellow offender. This avoids any interference with regard to issues of group influences.

All cases involved a dead victim to ensure that the offender's intention of using extreme force was taken into account, and so that outside forces such as the emergency services did not influence the difference between legal definitions and attempted homicides and homicides.

All offenders were adults, as defined by the court, thus where the offender was 17 years or over at the time the crime was committed. Some cases where the offender was 16 were included where their 17th birthday was so close to the time of the crime

that they were handled as adults by the courts. The main reason for excluding young offenders from the sample was twofold. Firstly it was felt that not enough recorded life experiences (offender characteristics) would be present in these files, and so analysis with regard to the consistency between their past experiences and their present homicide crime scene behaviours would be tenuous at best. Second, files on young offenders are difficult to access due to the issue of the protection of young offenders by the court system. Most files of young offenders will be kept separately and cannot be accessed for reasons of confidentiality.

Although certain cases were excluded from this study, it must be stated here that it was not because of the lack of value in their analysis, but because the present analysis specifically focused on the criteria outlined above. Due to the hypotheses being tested in this study, a number of cases were excluded from this study. These are outlined below.

The excluded cases included cases of death by reckless driving, as this type of homicide does not explicitly deal with the inter-personal relationships between the offender and the victim. Nor were cases included which very clearly involved professional hitmen, as it was felt that the professional aspect of these crimes would interfere with the issues at hand. Cases which were clearly defined as Euthanasia cases, where the offender(s) were deemed legally sane when the life of the victim was taken and where the victim was killed as an act of mercy rather than as an explicit act of aggression were also excluded. Cases where offenders killed family members for the reason that they did not want them to suffer from any type of pain, whether caused by disease or not, were included in the sample only if the offenders were diagnosed as mentally ill, or not legally sane, at the time of the offence.

3.2 CONTENTS OF CASE FILES

Each file contained, to varying degrees of completeness and detail, the completed crime report with details of the run-up to the crime, the crime itself and victim and offender details, including criminal records. Each file also included a pathology report, a crime scene report, crime scene photographs, witness statements and where appropriate, psychiatric reports. However, it must be mentioned at this point that this research dealt with archival data, which due to differences in collection and storage, significantly varied in both amount of content and detail.

3.3 THE CODING

Seventy-seven variables were coded across the 247 cases of homicide to reflect the actions by the offenders on the victim, traces of behaviours left at the crime scene, as well as variables reflective of the characteristics of the offender the victim.

The next section outlines the framework for the variables used for the coding of the data used in this thesis (for a detailed definition of all variables used see appendix 1). Where the variable was present in the case file, as defined in the coding framework described below, it was coded as a 1. If the variable was not present in the case, it was coded as a 0. If there was any doubt as to whether the variable occurred or not, i.e. if the necessary information was missing, it was also coded as a 9.

So that the variables coded all followed a common order of action, variables coded as being present were the more criminal aspect of the behaviour than the behaviour not being present. As an example, it was considered more criminal for the offender to vaginally penetrate the victim (variable 1) than not and for the offender to bind the victim (variable 10) rather than not, and so were coded as a 1 if present. Below is a detailed description of all the different variables coded.

3.2.1 The Coding Framework

In order to analyse the actions that occur at the crime scene and how the characteristics of the offender are related to these, variables relating to three aspects were coded, namely variables to do with the definition of the crime scene itself, including characteristics of the victim and behaviours executed by the offender both during and after the crime. Secondly, variables to do with the offender were coded, and lastly; variables concerned with the interaction between the offender and the victim, as far as could be gleaned from the behaviours that occurred at the crime scene.

3.2.2 Variables dealing with the crime scene

A number of variables were collected which summarised the actions of the offender at the crime scene, with particular emphasis on their interaction with the victim. The victim's gender and age (variables 45-46 in appendix 1) were recorded to establish the type of victim which had been targeted, and the type of wounding the victim sustained (variables 23-30 in appendix 1), as well as the weapon/method of killing (variables 15-22 in appendix 1) which were recorded to establish the type and intensity of the attack involved.

Setting variables such as the location of where and how the victim was found (see variables 1-6 in appendix 1) were coded in order to provide an indication of how the offender had left the crime scene as they departed. Related to this, variables dealing with the way in which the offender disposed of the body (variables 11-14 in appendix 1) were also coded, as were behaviours indicative of the level of planning involved in the crime (see variables 7-10 in appendix 1) as well as other behaviours suggestive of control (variables 41-42).

Crime scene behaviours which were sexual in nature, as well as behaviours involving removing all or part of the victim's clothing were also coded (variables 31-37 in

appendix 1) so as to investigate the frequency of sexual homicides and how these cases compared to other types of homicide. Property oriented behaviour (variables 38-40 in appendix 1) was further collected in an attempt to assess how many homicides were committed as part of other crimes such as theft and burglary.

Finally, post-event behaviours (variables 43-44 in appendix 1), that is behaviours which the offender engaged in after the homicide, were coded to assess the way the offender dealt with the fact that they had just committed a crime of violence. These two variables, committing, or attempting to commit suicide, and/or turning themselves in after the crime it was believed were reflective of the way the offender felt about the act they had just committed, in terms of remorse and inconsistency with their self-image.

3.2.3 Variables dealing with the characteristics of the offender

Personal demographic details about the offender (see variables 47-53 in appendix 1) defined the offender sample which this study deals with for purposes of establishing the representability of the sample.

Details as regards offenders' criminal history, as evidenced by their criminal record (see variables 54-66 in appendix 1), were coded to assess the way the offender had previously dealt with the world, in terms of what types of crimes they had engaged in. The particular emphasis on these variables was in terms of whether these previous crimes reflected a predominance for person (expressive) crimes such as violence or object (instrumental) crimes such as theft, burglary etc.. The offenders' previous violent history (see variables 67-69 appendix 1) was additionally coded to enable a thorough examination of similar situations where the offender engaged in violent or aggressive behaviour which was not related to their criminal activities directly, for example, previous violence to a partner.

In terms of any influences on the offender's behaviour caused by a mental instability, any previous psychiatric history was coded, as was any history of general psychological problems or involvements with the social services (see variables 71-73 in appendix 1).

To analyse the influence of geography, the distance between the offender's home address and where the body of the victim was found was calculated (see variable 70 in appendix 1).

3.2.4 Variables dealing with the relationships between the offender and the victim

Much of the literature deals with the issue of the previous relationship between the offender and the victim. The variables coded under this heading (see variables 74-77 in appendix 1) reflect this and attempts to untangle the association between the different types of offender-victim relationships and different types of crime scenes.

3.3 INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

In order to ensure that the variables in the content category dictionary were consistently coded across all the cases in the database, two separate methods were used.

Firstly, the meaning of each variable was discussed with two other researchers working on the coding of the cases, in relationship to a number of cases, and where there was disagreement, an agreement reached as to the meaning of each variable. It was decided that this way of constructing the content category was more reliable than just merely doing inter-rater reliability scores, as it ensured that problems in relationship to the descriptions were identified early on in the research and subsequently rectified.

Secondly, three of the case files were selected randomly from the database and coded, according to the coding framework, independently by eight (four male and four female) Investigative Psychology M.Sc. students who were both familiar with qualitative research and more particularly with content analysis. The inter-rater reliability was examined using Yule's Q correlation co-efficient. Overall, the inter-rater reliability was good, and showed that there were no differences between the male and female coders (see appendix 3 for correlation coefficients).

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION OF 247 HOMICIDES

4.1 DOMINANT TRENDS ACROSS HOMICIDE CRIME SCENES

For the purposes of generalisability of the results from the analysis of the data sample, comparisons were made between trends of the current dataset and national figures relating to homicide (as provided by Home Office Criminal Statistics 1977-1995).

Early trends in the data, in terms of variations between offenders in the types of homicide behaviours they engage in as well as in the frequencies of the different types of background characteristics present will be outlined, as well as basic inter-relationships between these variables.

The summary of the frequencies of variables relating to the crime scene across the sample of the 247 homicides are presented below (see appendix 1 for list of variables).

4.1.1 Setting

Figure 4.1.1 shows that in most cases, the victim was found in the same place as they were killed (79%)[1], facing upwards (61%). In over half the cases, the crime occurred in the home of the victim (56%) and/or during the hours of darkness (55%).

---

[1]Percent rounded up or down to the nearest whole number.

The occurrence of these behaviours suggest a majority of homicides which may have been spontaneous rather than planned, where the offender fled the crime scene straight after the crime without making the effort to hide the body. Indeed, in only 31% of the cases, the victim was found outside and in only 10% of these cases was the body of the victim hidden, or placed where they could not be seen from view.[2]

Figure 4.1.1: Percentages of Occurrence of Setting Variables

Variable	Percentage
Hidden	10%
Outside	31%
Darkness	55%
Victim's home	56%
Face up	61%
Same scene	79%
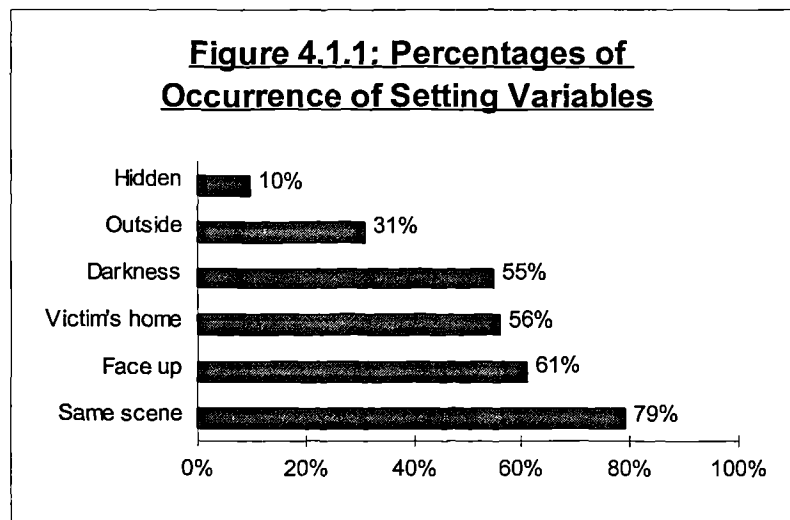
4.1.2 Wounding

Almost half the victims (47%) sustained manual wounds, suggesting acts of homicide which were a matter of conflicts solved by spontaneous brutal force. A further 6% were suffocated and 2% were drugged and/or poisoned (see figure 4.1.2).

Fifty-three percent of this sample in total were wounded by either hitting, kicking, strangulation or suffocation, which is a higher proportion than the mean of 33%[3] of homicides between 1977-1995 (Home Office Criminal Statistics 1977 and 1995). However, similarly to the HO statistics (2%) of homicide between 1977-1995, 2% in this sample were drugged and/or poisoned.

---

[2]Please note that many of these behaviours in this chapter were not mutually exclusive, and so a case may contain several of the behaviours described (see appendix 1 for more details).

[3]Home Office figures rounded up or down to the nearest whole number

Where a weapon was used by the offender (see figure 4.1.2), stabbing occurred in 38% cases, wounding by a blunt instrument in 22% and shooting in 7%, which compares with the Home Office 1977-1995 averages of 35%, 12% and 9% respectively, although there were more woundings by blunt instrument in the present sample.

Figure 4.1.2: Percentages of Occurrence of Methods of Killing

Method	Percentage
Drug/poison	2%
Suffocated	6%
Shot	7%
Blunt instrument	22%
Stabbed	38%
Manual	47%
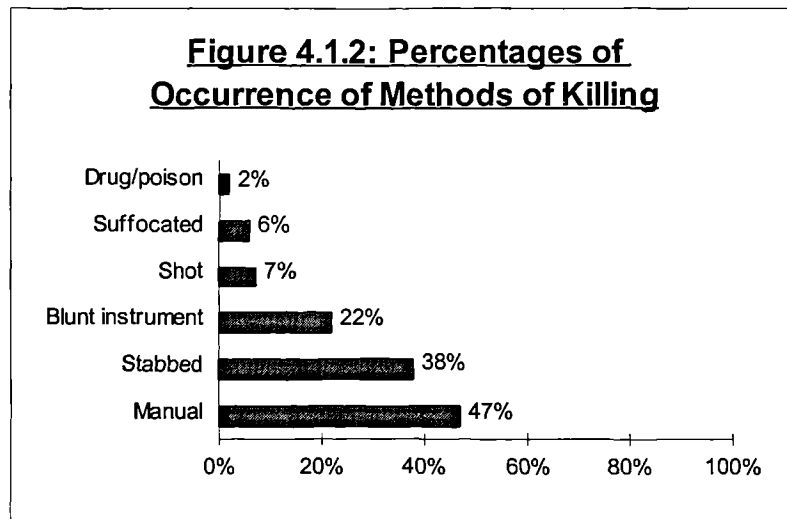
Of the 7% offenders who used a firearm to injure the victim in this sample, the mean age was 35 years old. Looking at the breakdown of ages shows that one 17 year old, fourteen 22-45 year olds, and two 50-59 year olds shot their victims. These results suggests that shooting may not be, as previously suggested by Danto (1982), a weapon for the physically weak, but rather a reflection of other social factors such as availability and criminality, and more a reflection of the type of society that the crime was committed in, namely one where criminal sophistication in terms of availability of weapons, is increasing (see Leyton 1995).

45% of the offenders used a weapon from the scene, and 23% offenders brought a weapon to the scene (see figure 4.1.3). Fifteen of these both brought a weapon to the scene *and* used another weapon from the scene. Again, this suggests a majority of cases which were unplanned, and where a weapon was used as a reactionary mechanism in a conflictful situation.

Figure 4.2.3: Percentages of Occurrence of Weapon Planning Variables

| Weapon to scene | 23% |
| Weapon from scene | 45% |
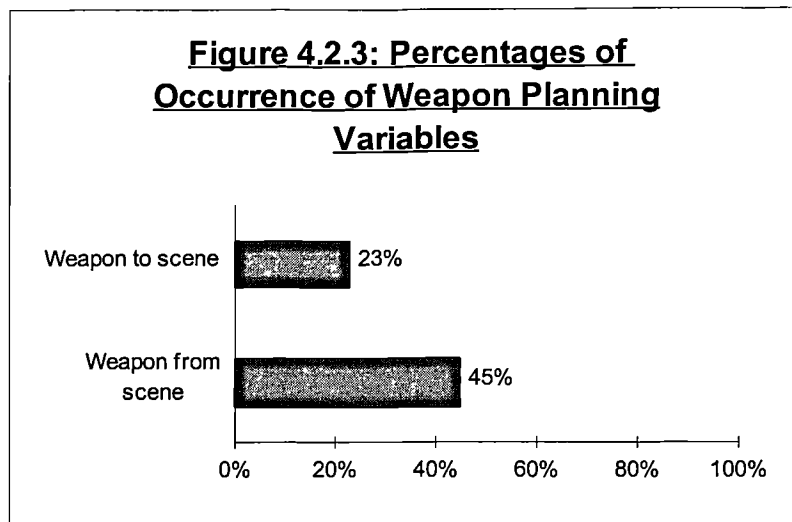
Most of the wounds sustained (see figure 4.1.4) occurred in the torso (49%), followed by wounds to the neck (46%), face (36%), head (36%) and limbs (24%). These figures would be consistent with the idea that murder is the result of a breakdown in the interpersonal interaction between two individuals in that the wounding occurring in the most available area (torso) is of the moment and indeed opportunistic, and wounds such as wounding to the neck and face suggesting a more emotional response, and certainly a more 'hands on' reaction to the conflict. More on the meaning and the structure of different methods and wounded body areas will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Figure 4.1.4: Percentages of Occurrence of Place of Wounding

Place	Percentage
Limbs	24%
Head	36%
Face	36%
Neck	46%
Torso	49%
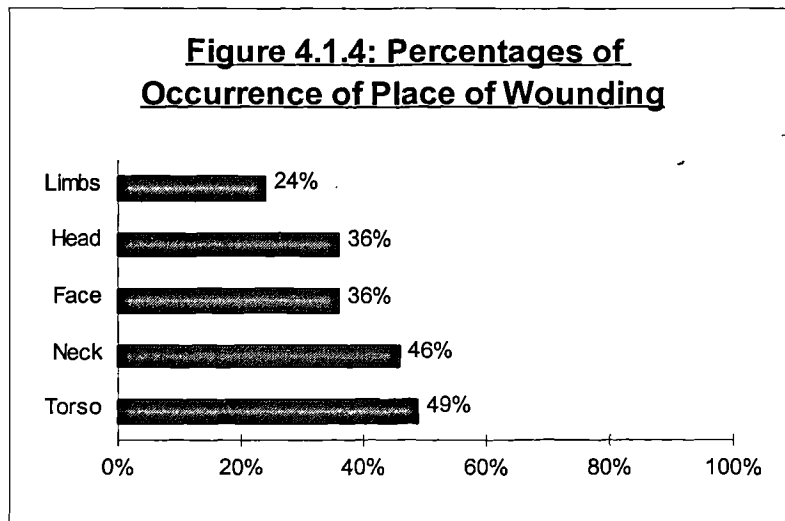
When the co-occurrences of the place of wounding is looked at in terms of method of wounding, it can be seen that 66% of the cases with torso wounds were incurred by a knife (Chi-square test, p<.000), 57% of the cases with head wounds were incurred by a blunt instrument (Chi-square test, p<.000), and 79% of neck wounds were incurred manually (Chi-square test, p<.000). Finally, wounds to the limbs, occurring in 24% of the sample of 247 cases, could be indicative of the victim's attempt to protect themselves and could thus in many instances be seen as self-defence wounds. These results suggest that there is indeed, already at the stage of simple frequencies, certain patterns of co-occurrences between certain variables.

As for the strength of the attack (see table 4.1.5), 43% of the victims sustained a single wound to a single body area, 52% sustained multiple wounds to one body area, and 34% sustained multiple wounds distributed over several body areas. Several cases displayed more than one of these variables as they were not mutually exclusive. What the results do suggest however, is that the majority of the victims sustained more than one wound, which again suggests an element of emotional outburst by the offender.

Figure 4.1.5: Percentages of Occurrence of Intensity of Wounding

Category	Percentage
Multiple wounds one area	34%
Single wound	43%
Multiple wounds distributed	52%
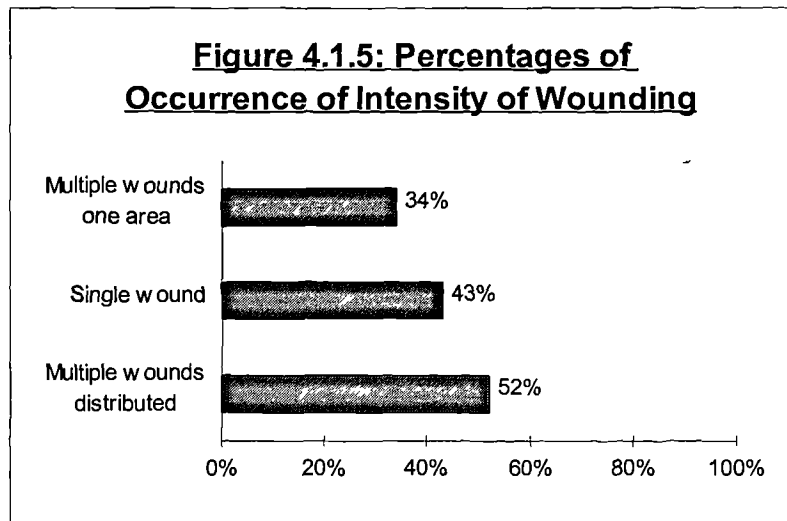
4.1.3 Sexual Behaviour

Nine percent of victims had sustained vaginal intercourse, 3% anal intercourse, and 2% had been penetrated anally and/or vaginally with a foreign object. In total (see figure 4.1.6), there were 15% of cases which had an obvious behavioural sexual component to them, that is either by penetration or by the offender having left semen at the scene. This is a very conservative estimation however, as it may be possible that more cases had a sexual meaning to the offender, however, these were not coded as sexual as there were no behavioural indications to that effect.

Some of these cases however can be revealed through the way the offender had manipulated the victim's clothing (see figure 4.1.7), although care must be taken in imposing an interpreted meaning onto these behaviours at such an early stage of the analysis, as a partially clothed victim may just be an indication of e.g. a burglar who broke in at night and was faced with an already partially clothed victim.

67

Figure 4.1.6: Percentage of Cases Exhibiting Sexual Behaviours

Not sexual ▨ 85%

Sexual ▨ 15%

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
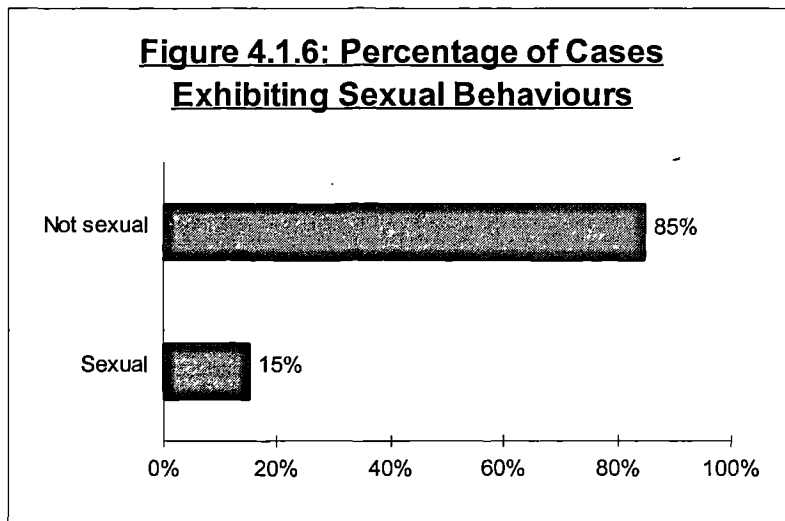
4.1.4 Clothing

The victim was found naked in 8% of cases, partially undressed in 20% of cases, clothing had been replaced in 4% cases, the clothing had been deliberately damaged in 3% cases (see figure 4.1.7).

Figure 4.1.7: Percentages of Occurrence of Clothing Related Variables

Clothing deliberately ▨ 3%

Clothing replaced ▨ 4%

Naked ▨ 8%

Partially undressed ▨ 20%

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
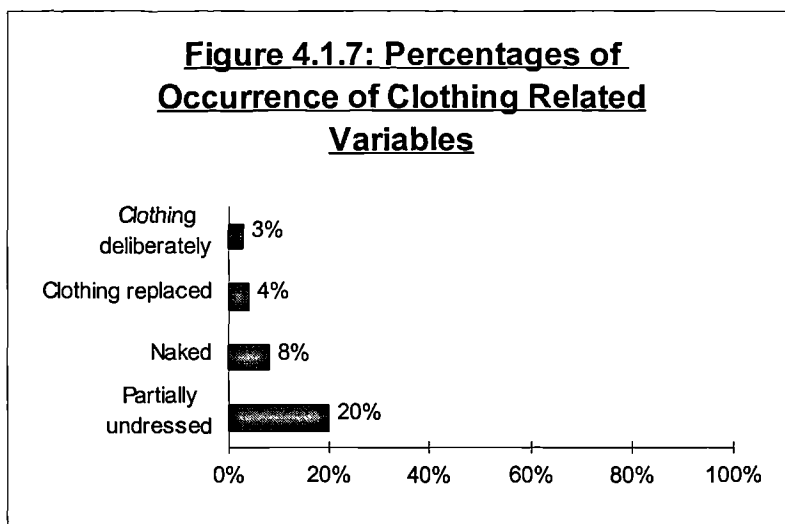
4.1.5 Property Oriented Behaviours

Figure 4.1.8 shows that property was stolen in 26% of cases. Identifiable property was stolen in 7% of the cases, property not identifiable in 11% of cases, and property of value in 21% of cases. These figures suggest that in over one quarter of all the cases, an additional criminal act was committed, namely theft and/or burglary. This may be an early reflection of the fact that there may be subgroups of homicide offences that deal with motivations other than direct interpersonal aggression. This will be further investigated in chapter 5.

Figure 4.1.8: Percentage of Occurrence of Cases Where Property Was Stolen
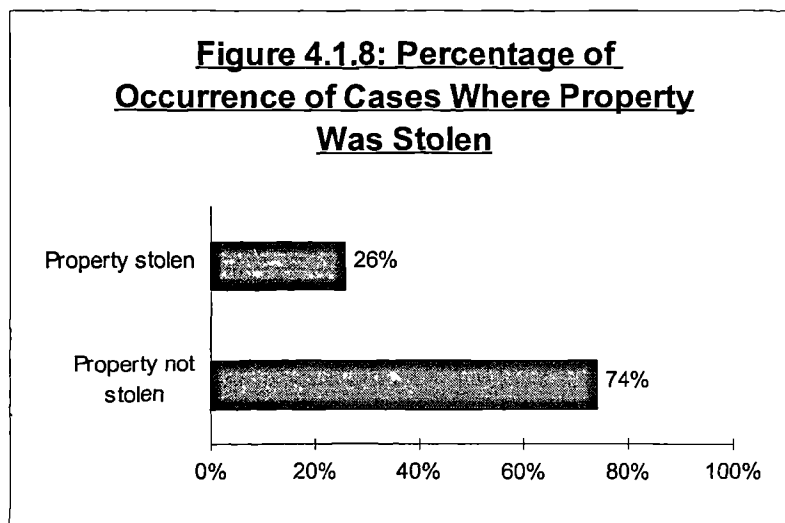
4.1.6 Indications of Planning

Forensically aware behaviour (see figure 4.1.9) was found in 20% of cases. Staging a crime scene in 3% of cases, arson in 6% of cases, and the victim's body being left in water in 3% of cases. These figures suggest that planned behaviour in the sample was not the norm, which is consistent with the rest of the results in this chapter, which suggest that most homicides result from some type of interpersonal conflict.

Figure 4.1.9: Percentages of Occurrence of Variables Indicating Planning

Body left in water	3%
Staging	3%
Arson to body/scene	6%
Forensically aware	20%

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
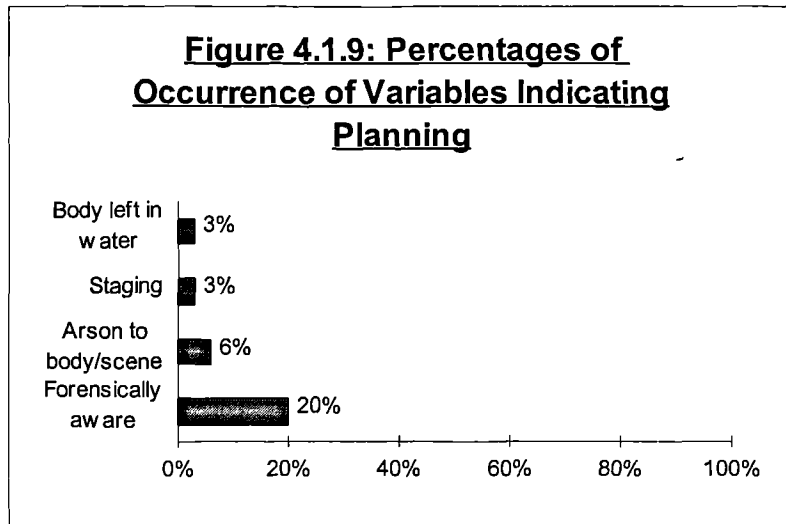
As regards the manner in which the victims were disposed of (see figure 4.1.10), 9% were hidden outside, whilst 8% were found covered, inside, at the scene of crime. 8% of victims were transported away from the scene of crime to the body dump site and 11% were 'placed' in a significant manner. Again, some of these variables are not mutually exclusive, as several variables were applicable to several cases.

Figure 4.1.10: Percentages of Occurrence of Variables Indicating Manner of Disposal of the Victim

Transported	8%
Covered inside	8%
Hidden outside	9%
Placed	11%

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
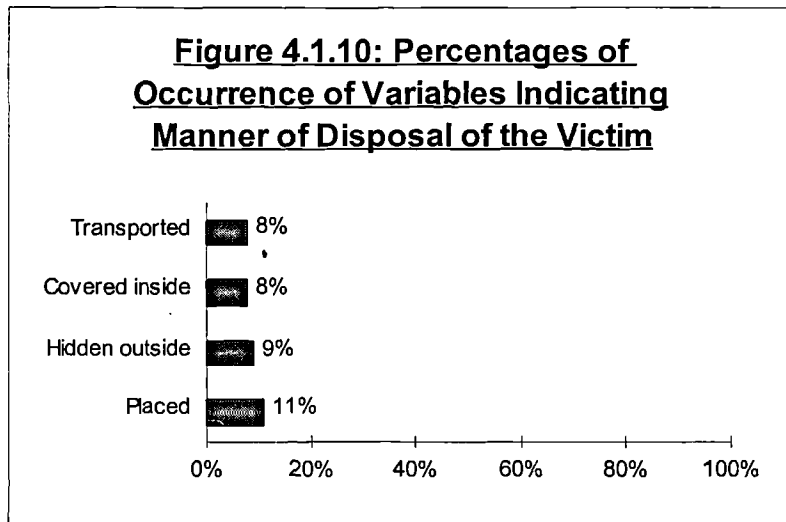
Further, as regards controlling behaviours, binding occurred in 4% of cases and blindfolding in less than 1% of cases (see figure 4.1.11).

Figure 4.1.11: Percentages of Occurrence of Variables Indicating Controlling Behaviour
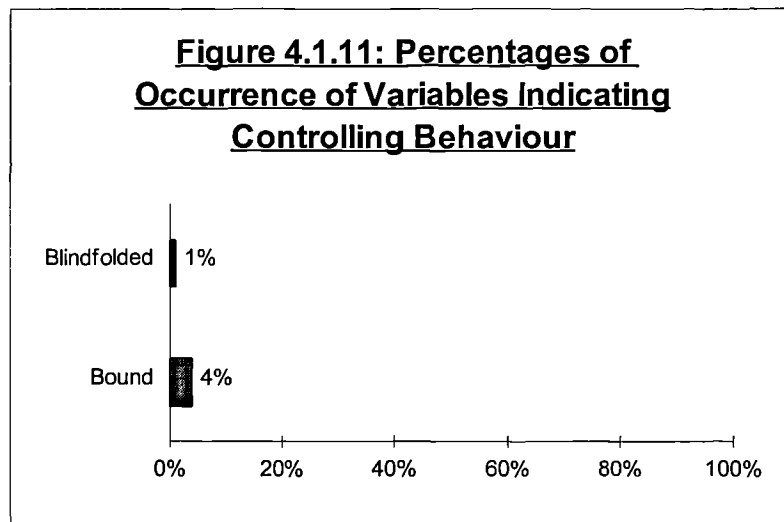
4.1.7 Post-event Behaviour

These results add to the cumulative narrative of the sample, which is one of unplanned, impulsive attacks. The impulsive and unplanned nature of these crimes was also stressed by the fact many offenders did not seem to hide their offence. Twenty-four percent actually reported the crimes or turned themselves in. A number also clearly felt great remorse or were extremely depressed as indicated by the 10% suicide/attempted suicide rate (see figure 4.1.13). Eight of these both turned themselves in by alerting the police and committed (or attempted to commit) suicide after the crime.

71

Figure 4.1.12: Percentages of Occurrence of Offender Post-event Variables

Suicide ▨ 10%

Turn in ▨ 24%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
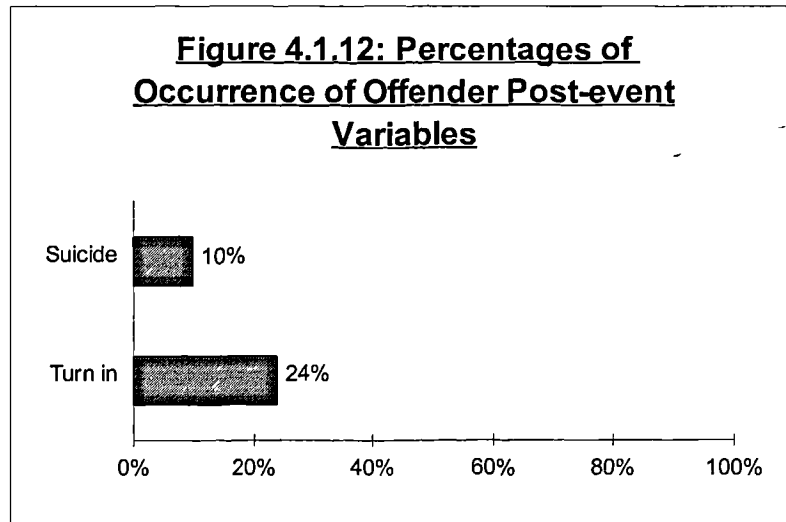
Comparing the suicide figures (10%) to the Home Office statistics of the year 1995 (5%), it can again be seen that this particular sample has more suicide cases than the norm.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHICS OF VICTIMS

4.2.1 Distribution of Gender Across Victims

In terms of establishing not only the offender's relationship with the victim, but also the vulnerability of the victim in terms of physical strength, it was important to look at the gender of the victims.

Of the sample of 247 victims, the gender of the victim was known for 246 cases (one victim was found many years after the time of death, and the body was in such a state of decomposition that the determination of gender was impossible). 44% were male and 56% were female, indicating a fair distribution between the gender of the victims (see figure 4.2.1).

Figure 4.2.1: Percentage of Victim Gender

Gender	Percentage
Female Victims	56%
Male victims	44%
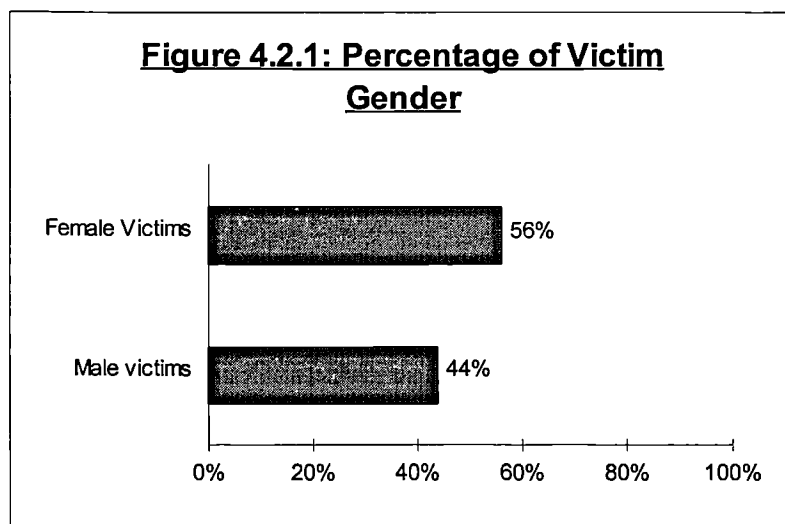
Comparing these figures with the Home Office Criminal Statistics for 1986-1995 of an average of 352 male victims (60%) and 238 female victims (40%), it can be seen that this sample of 247 homicides had more female victims and less male victims, which is contrary to the mean Home Office figures.

4.2.2 Distribution of Age Across victims

Following on in the investigation of the vulnerability of the victim, age was examined. For the 232 cases (94%) where information about the victim's age was available, the mean age for the total sample was 39 years[4]. Separating the sample into males and females (see table 4.2.1) reveals a slightly younger mean age of 36 years for male victims (N=99) and a slightly older mean age for female victims of 40 years (N=133).

Table 4.2.1: Age of Victims by Gender

	Range	Mean	Median
Male	0-82	36	36
Female	0-93	40	35

---

[4]All ages were rounded up or down to the nearest whole number.

Looking at the distribution of the age of the victim (see figure 4.2.2), it can be seen that the percentage of victims in the different age groups follow that of the Home Office figures, suggesting that the present sample follows the same distribution of the general Home Office statistics.

Figure 4.2.2: Distribution of Male and Female Offender Age
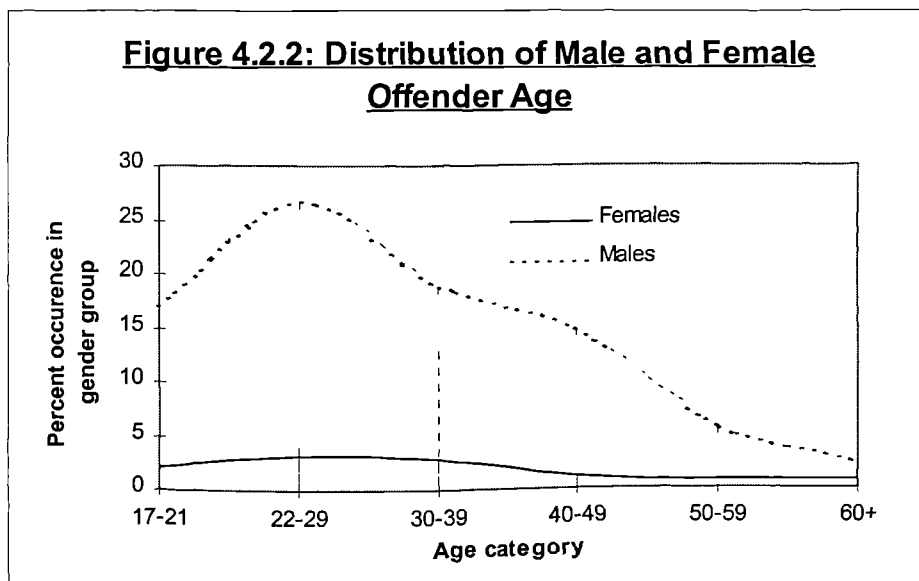
4.3 DEMOGRAPHICS OF OFFENDERS

4.3.1 Distribution of Gender Across Offenders

Of the 247 offenders, the gender was known for 246 cases. Eighty-nine percent were male, and 11% female (see figure 4.3.1). This distribution of gender across the offender group is comparable to that indicated by HO statistics between 1983-1992 which suggests that the total number of female offenders was 13% of the sample across the 10 year span, and 87% for male offenders.

Figure 4.3.1: Percentage of Offender Gender

Female offenders	11%
Male offenders	89%
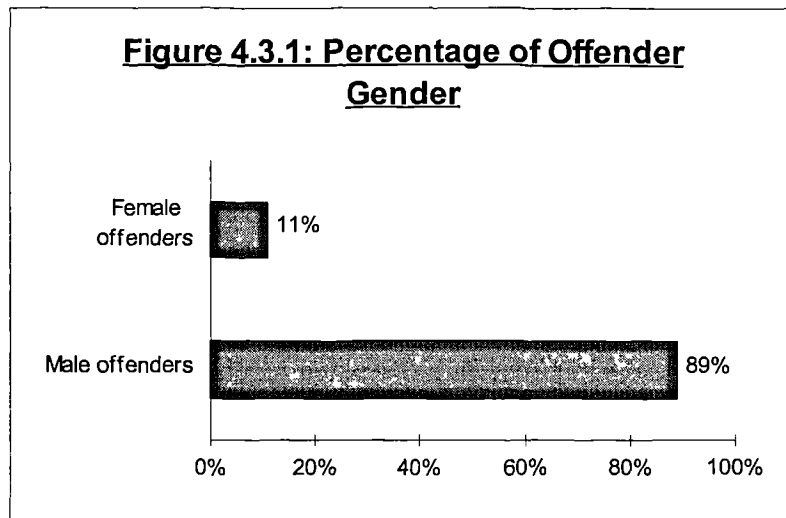
4.3.2 Distribution of Age Across Offenders

For the 239 cases where information was available as regards the age of the offender, the mean age was 33 years. Splitting the sample into male and female offenders (see table 4.3.1), the mean age was 32 years for male offenders (N=212) and 33 years for female offenders (N=27).

Table 4.3.1: Age of Offenders by Gender

	Range	Mean	Median
Male	16-79	32	29
Female	17-70	33	30

4.3.3 Criminal Record

78% (N=193) of the offenders in the sample had previous criminal records, 22% had no previous criminal record, or at least there were no details of their criminal record.

When the crimes were divided into person and property crimes (see table 4.3.2), it could be seen that in total, there were 380 counts of presence of previous property crimes[5] across the 193 cases, as compared to 227 person crimes, that is 153 more property crimes than person crimes in the previous criminal records of the offenders.

These figures suggest a number of things. Firstly, that most homicide offenders already have a previous criminal record, mostly for property offences, thus suggesting that most homicide offenders are not just individuals who react to one isolated incident, but individuals who already have a criminal lifestyle. Indeed, almost 30% of the offenders were known to have served one or more terms in prison. Whether mainly a property oriented or a person oriented previous criminal record has

---

[5] That is, the presence (dichotomously) of a crime, rather than the total number of times convicted for a particular type of crime.

an influence on how the offender behaves at the homicide crime scene, will be looked at in later analysis in chapter 6 and 7.

Table 4.3.2: Type of Previous Criminal Record Convictions

Offence Type	Offence	Number of Cases
	Theft	116
	Burglary	77
Property	Fraud	74
	Traffic crimes	50
	Vehicle crimes	46
	Drugs	17
Total		*380*
	Violence	68
	Disorder	54
	Damage	51
Person	Sexual crimes	22
	Firearms	15
	Street robbery	10
	Arson	7
Total		*227*

4.3.4 Other Violent History

A number of other behaviours in the offenders' past were looked at in order to determine other possible situations which were indicative of trends of conflictful inter-personal dealings.

When looking at an individual's past inter-personal history, their previous relationships was a natural starting point, and here, almost 20% of the offenders had previously physically or sexually abused their past or present partners (see figure 4.3.2).

The information on this variable was missing in the files of 59% of the cases. It is therefore likely that the figure of this past behaviour may be much higher.

**Figure 4.3.2: Percentage Occurrence
of Offenders' Previous
Physical/Sexual Abuse to Partners**

Previously
abused partner 20%

Not previously
abused partner 80%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
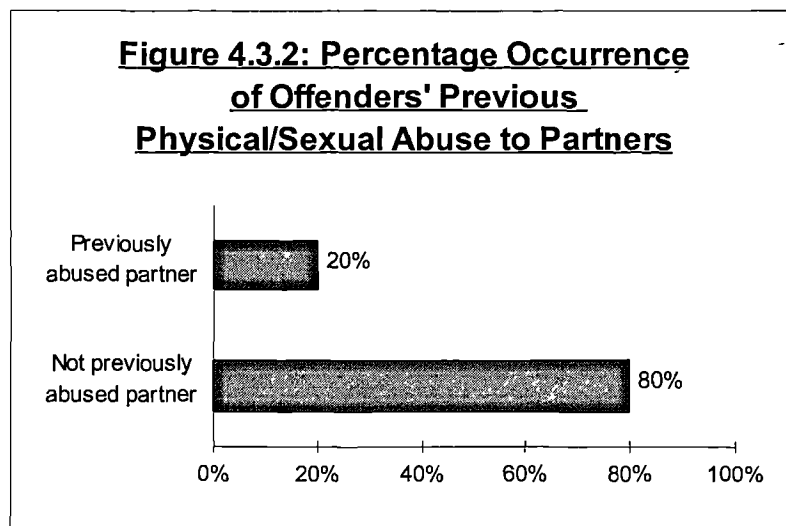
What is interesting however, is that 20% of the cases did have this behaviour present, which is still a very high proportion of the offenders. What would be interesting to know, is whether these offenders, who in the past have acted violently during conflictful situations, towards people they have intimate relationships with, have repeated this pattern in the way they committed their homicide. This issue will further be explored in chapter 6 and 7.

In other areas of their lives, 12% of offenders had previously served in the armed services, and 4% offenders were found at their arrest to have been involved in numerous crimes similar to the homicide offence (see variable 69 in appendix 1), thus suggesting individuals whose life-styles were permeated by an aggressive behavioural theme. Further, 5% of the offenders were found to have some type of violence in their background of which they were either the target or a witness.

Looking at all of these behaviours (previous abuse to a partner, serial offences, involvement with the army, and violence in family background), 35% (N=87) of offenders had either one or more of these variables present. Eleven individuals had more than one of these variables present in their background. As can be seen in Table 4.3.3, the majority of the 35% had previously abused their partner either physically

or sexually, which suggests that in their interpersonal relationships, they may deal with conflict or stresses in a particularly aggressive or controlling manner. However, as suggested above, it is likely that these figures are very conservative due to the nature of the records from which the data was derived. Indeed, Danto (1982) estimated that 25-67% of murderers have a childhood history of violence as a witness or a victim, thus suggesting a much higher proportion than the one presented here.

Table 4.3.3: Frequency of behaviours with violent theme present in offender's past

Behaviour	Frequency (out of 87)
Abuse to partner	46
Served in the Armed Services	30
Violence in family background	13
Serial offences	11

4.3.5 Family History

Only six percent of offenders were an only child, 55% were married or co-habiting at the time of the offence, and 25% had previously been married, thus suggesting individuals who have quite an extensive experience of dealing with other people in intimate interpersonal relationships. Unfortunately, for many of the cases, no information was available as to the nature of these relationships, and so no analysis could be carried out on their habitual inter-personal relationships.

4.3.6 Education and Employment Status

At the time of the offence, only 8% of offenders had gone through further education, that is education of A-level standard (or equivalent) or further. Indeed, 50% of the offenders were unemployed at the time when they committed their crime. Both these frequencies suggest a sample of offenders who are drawn from the lower sections of

the socio-economic/educational scale, which is consistent with previous literature on this (Leyton 1995).

4.3.7 Offender-victim Relationship

Eighty-three percent of the victims were known to the offender to a small or large extent (see figure 4.3.3). This is 13% higher than the Home Office statistics mean between 1977-1995 of 70%, suggesting that the current sample may contain more 'domestic' cases than an average yearly sample of homicides.

Figure 4.3.3: Percentages of Occurrence of relationship Between Offender and Victim

Relationship	Percentage
Related	1%
Blood-related	8%
Stranger	17%
Relationship	36%
Otherwise known	38%
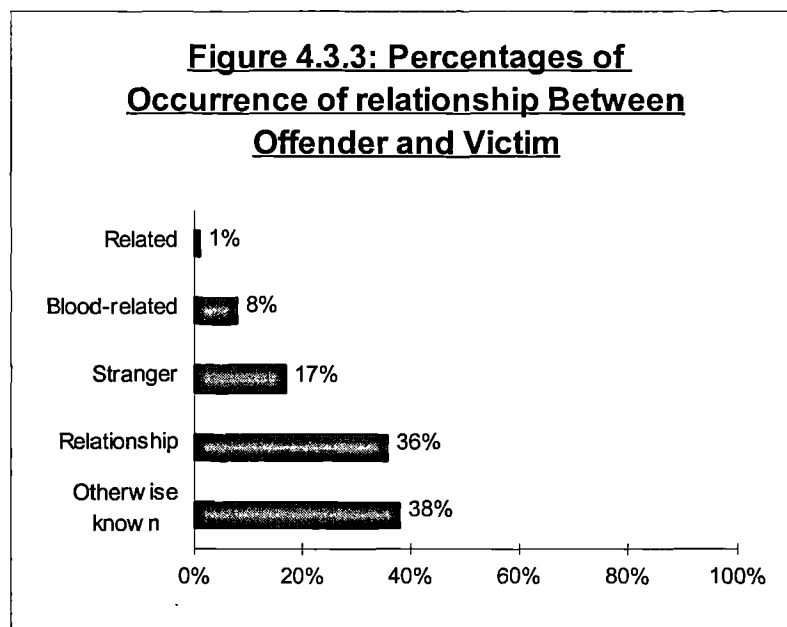
Thirty-six percent of the offenders had previously had, or had a relationship with the victim at the time of death. Less than 1% of the offenders were related to the victim, and 8% were blood related.

Danto (1982), summarising the work of Wille (1974), Luncle (1976) and Wolfgang (1958), stated that less than 30% of victims are strangers. Only 17% cases in this

sample however could be classified as strictly 'stranger' homicides. This is twice as low as the Home Office statistics mean between 1986-1995 of 34%. However, this may be due to the fact that many studies talk about 'stranger' cases as being cases where the offender wasn't known to the police at the time the crime was discovered, whereas the definition in this sample was one where the offender did not know the victim before the crime.

These trends are in accord with research suggesting that most homicides are between people who know each other, in particular partners, but that blood-related individuals are the least likely to kill each other (Daly and Wilson 1988). Daly and Wilson suggest that the emotional involvement and the physical proximity of partners increase the chances of any conflict potentially leading to homicide. However, they further argue that, from a sociobiological point of view, killing a blood relative is not genetically viable, and thus why we see very few of these types of murders.

4.3.8 Mental Health History

Twenty-five percent had a previous history of psychological or social problems, 19% a past psychiatric history. However, the presence of either of these two characteristics were more indicative of whether they saw a psychiatrist or whether they dealt with problem through a doctor, or on their own, therefore, when looked at as a group, i.e. as individuals who had had some kind of emotional instability, it could be seen that 32% of offenders had either had previous psychological and/or social and/or psychiatric problems in total. Further, 8% of offenders had had some kind of previous contact with the social services. Previous research points out the link between homicide and emotional instability such as depression and psychosis, which the frequencies in the data corroborates.

4.3.9 Distances travelled

87% were familiar with the area where homicide was committed. This again suggests that the majority of offenders knew the area in which they committed the crime. Looking further at the distances between offenders' home and the place where the body of the victim was found it could be seen (see figure 4.3.4) that 75.6% (of 197 cases where the information on the distance between the offender's home and the place where the victim was found, was available) lived within 2 miles of where the body of the victim was found. Forty-three percent of the 197 cases actually lived in the same place where the body was found, i.e. they killed the victim in their own home, which most often meant the home of the victim as well. A further 11.7% of offenders lived between 2 and 5 miles away from where the body was found, 3% between 5 and 10 miles, and 6% lived between 10 and 100 miles from the crime scene. A further 3.6% lived over 100 miles away from where the body was found.

These figures suggest that the majority of the homicide offenders in this sample lived very close to where the body of the victim was found (median = 0.58 miles). This same trend is reflected in the literature comparing the geographical patterns of homicides versus other crimes such as property offences (e.g. Brantingham and Brantingham 1981) which states that homicide offenders travel relatively less far than other types of offenders such as property offenders. How this geographical pattern relates to the type or theme of homicide committed, and the type of offender involved, shall be further explored in chapter 7.

Figure 4.3.4: Distances between Offender's Home and Place Where Victim Found

Distance (miles)	Percent of Offenders (out of 197)
>100 miles	4%
10-100 miles	6%
5-10 miles	3%
2-5 miles	12%
0-2 miles	33%
same address	43%
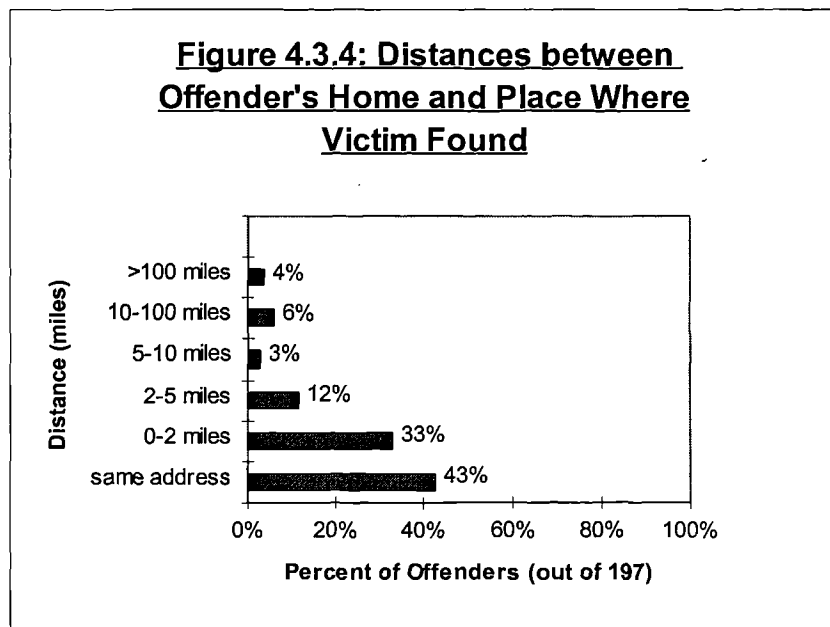
4.4 SUMMARY

The analysis of the frequencies in this chapter has established the frequencies of different behaviours which occur at homicide crime scenes, as well as the demographics of offenders and victims in the sample. This examination has established that this sample of homicides follow many of the characteristics of general Home Office statistics on British homicide, although certain differences should be noted.

Many of the variables were variables which, although they were not recorded by Home Office Statistics, they could, for the most part, be corroborated by the literature. Looking at those variables that could be compared to Home office Criminal Statistics, it could be seen that the present sample had a 13% larger percent of 'known' victims to the offender. Similarly, the present sample had a 21% smaller sample of 'stranger' cases. Partly this may be due to the issue of definition in that these variables may have been defined slightly differently for the present purpose. Regardless of problems of definition, it can be said however, that the present sample

was a more 'related' sample, that is with a higher proportion of offenders who knew their victims. However, as this thesis aimed to establish the influence of the offender-victim relationship on homicide, this was not regarded as a major inhibitory issue.

In terms of the behaviours the offender engaged in at the crime scene, the present sample contained a 20% larger amount of 'manual' wounding (hitting, kicking and strangling) and 'suffocation'. Again, this may partly reflect an issue of definition as the Home Office figures did not contain 'strangulation' within the manual classification. The offender in the present sample equally utilised a 'blunt instrument' in 10% more cases and were 16% more likely to kill a female and 16% less likely to kill a male. The offenders in this sample were also 5% more likely to commit, or attempt to commit suicide after the crime. These small differences need to be kept in mind when generalisations are made from future analysis of this sample.

Already at this first level of analysis however, important differences can be seen in the way offenders behave at the crime scene and after the event, as well as differences between offenders and between victims. However, these indications are all based on the frequencies of individual variables and require in-depth further study, in particular with regard to the way the different behaviours co-occur and form patterns of co-occurrences of themes. Further, these themes of crime scene behaviours need to be linked to different offender characteristics in order to establish a greater understanding of the type of offender who commits different types of homicides, in terms of such consistent interpersonal strategies as was discussed in chapter 1 and 2. These patterns of co-occurrences and linking of crime scene behaviours to offender characteristics will be further developed in the rest of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

THE STRUCTURE OF HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE ACTIONS

5.1 DIFFERENTIATING CRIME SCENE ACTIONS

The last chapter (chapter 4) revealed the pattern of frequencies of the data set, thus establishing the types of homicides, offenders and victims which define the sample. This next chapter investigates the thematic patterns of co-occurrences of the crime scene behaviours, in particular with reference to the role of the victim to the offender.

The hypothesis is that the co-occurrences of behaviours at homicide crime scenes will be consistent in their thematic meaning. These different themes will help differentiate between types of homicides and ultimately will aid the psychological classification of violent acts such as homicide. The literature strongly points to a dichotomy of Expressive (emotionally reactive) and Instrumental (cognitive) style of aggressive behaviour as well as the influence of impulsiveness in violent acts. This chapter will aim to investigate the presence of these themes within behaviours as they are found within homicide crime scenes, and how they are manifested in the actions the offender commits.

5.1.1 Design of study

36 crime scene behaviours were selected for the analysis of co-occurrences (see appendix 4) of the 247 cases of homicide. This selection was based on several criteria, namely;

1. Behaviours which were clearly observable at the crime scene, and which were not easily misinterpreted.

2. Behaviours which reflected the crime of homicide, such as the type of wounding the victim had sustained and where they were found.

3. Behaviours which indicated any psychological involvement with the victim, such as the way the offender treated the victim, in particular with reference to the intensity of this involvement, such as an 'overkill' attack (e.g. multiple wounds distributed all over the victim's body) to more removed or controlling interaction such as binding or blindfolding the victim.

5.1.2 The Analysis

The data was analysed using SSA-I (Lingoes 1973). Smallest Space Analysis allows a test of hypotheses concerning the co-occurrence of every variable with every other variable. In essence the null hypothesis is that the variables have no comprehensible relationship to each other. SSA is a non-metric multidimensional scaling procedure based upon the assumption that the underlying structure, or system of behaviour will most readily be appreciated if the relationship between every variable and every other variable is examined.

The SSA program computes association coefficients between all variables. It is these coefficients that are used to form a spatial representation of items with points

representing variables. The more often variables occur during homicide, the closer will be the points representing those variables in the SSA space. The pattern of points (regions) can hence be examined and thematic structures delineated.

The coefficient of alienation[1] (Borg and Lingoes 1987) is an indication of how well the spatial representation fits the co-occurrences as represented in the matrix. The smaller the coefficient of alienation is, the better the fit, i.e. the fit of the plot to the original matrix. However, as Borg and Lingoes (1987) emphasise there is no simple answer to the question of how 'good' or 'bad' the representations. This will depend upon a complex combination of the number of variables, the amount of error in the data and the logical strength of the interpretation framework.

In the present study the data is mainly derived from police crime records, which are not created for research purposes and thus do not adhere to strict collection protocol and procedures. It would therefore be expected that the data is not error free and would contain considerable 'noise' that would reduce the possibility of interpreting the results. Areas of the SSA plot which contain few or no points are also of interest as they may indicate weak areas in the data, or missing elements which would give a clearer picture of behaviours as they co-occur at homicide crime scenes.

5.1.3 SSA Analysis of Homicide Crime Scene Behaviours

Figure 5.1.1 shows the distribution of the 36 crime scene behaviours for the 247 cases of homicide on the 1 by 2 projection of the 3-dimensional SSA analysis. The Coefficient of alienation of this analysis was 0.17224, showing a good fit of the spatial representation of the co-occurrences of the behaviours.

---

[1] All SSA's were analysed using Jaccard's correlation coefficient.

Figure 5.1.1: SSA of Distribution of Crime Scene Actions

c foreign object

o covered

o naked   o anal

o prop.not.id   o arson

o prop.v   weapon fr. neck
o bound   o   o   °o manual
                  faceup
                       o samesc   clothdam
              faceunh oo MWOA   o   o sexual
              forensicstab   o
                     o   o
                  torso   face   o partundr   o vaginal
          o blunt o
o prop.id   head   o MWD
                              o
                             limbs

o weapon to   o hidden

o transported

, shot

o suffocated

o blindfolded

o water

~ drugged/poisoned
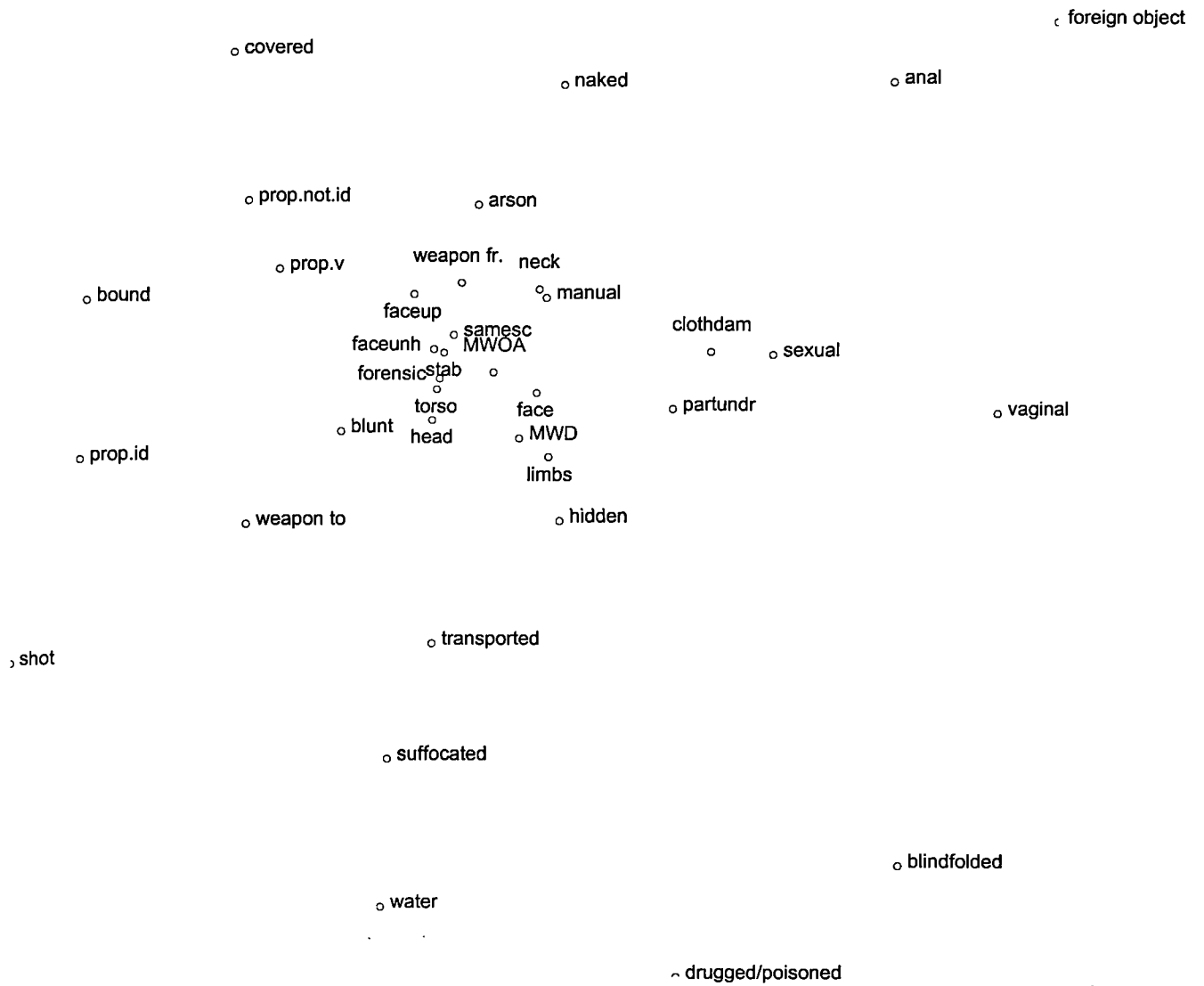
Figure 5.2.1: SSA of Distribution of Frequencies of Crime Scene Actions

ᴄ foreign object

o covered

o naked

o anal

o prop.not.id

o arson

prop.v o

weapon fr. neck

bound o

>50% faceup o manual

samesc
faceunh

clothdam

MWOA 30-50%

o o sexual

forensicstab o

blunt head torso face

o partundr

vaginal o

MWD o

prop.id o

o limbs 10-30%

o weapon to

o hidden

o transported

5-10%

shot

o suffocated

<5% o blindfolded

o water

⌐ drugged/poisoned
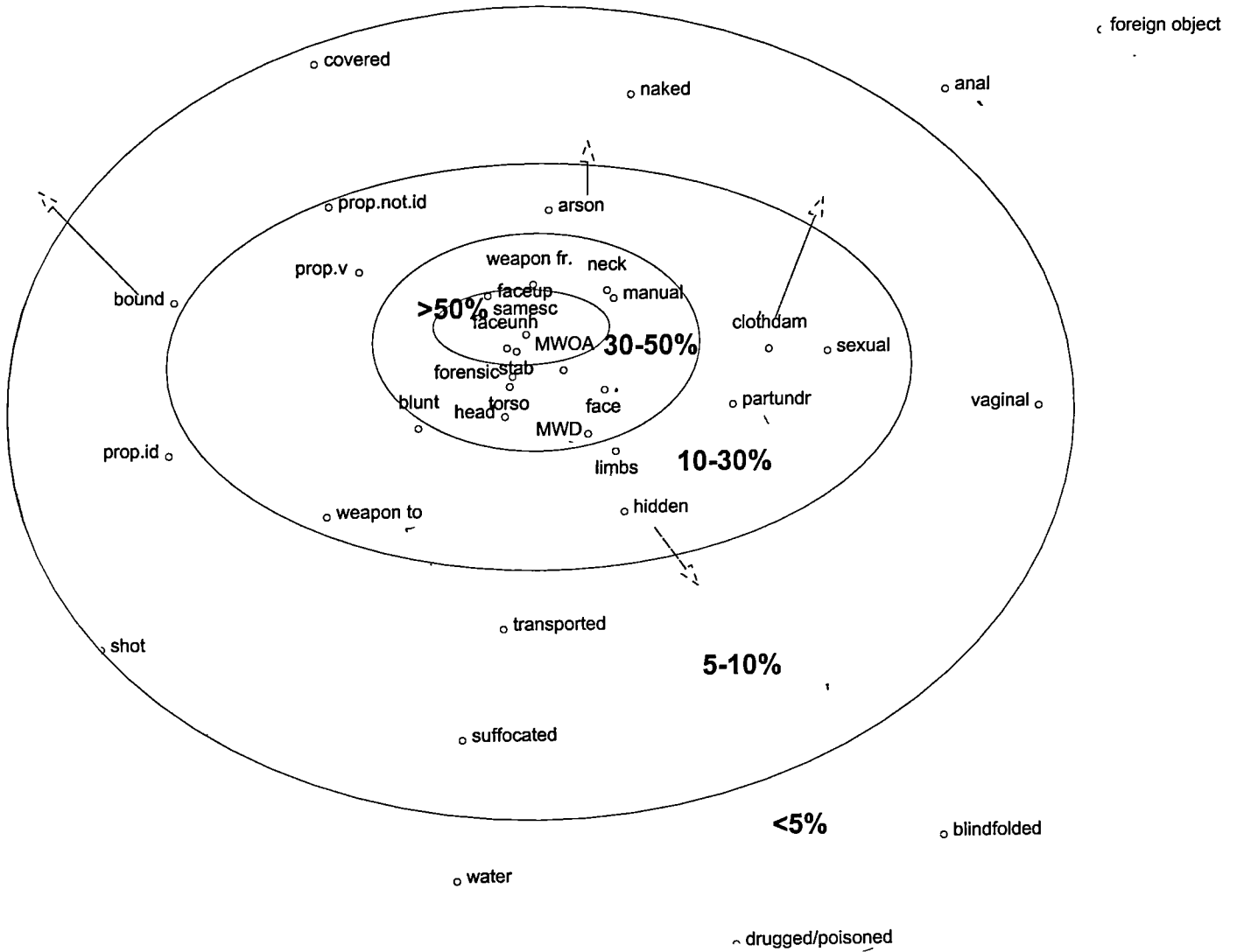
Please not that dotted arrows on figure denote variables that belong in a different frequency group but were included in the present one on the figure due to the strict drawing of the frequency bands.

5.2 DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENCIES OF HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOURS

The first hypothesis was that against a background of a common set of actions the differentiations would reflect different themes of transactions between the offender and the victim in the offence. Therefore a first step in exploring the structure of behaviour depicted in figure 5.1.1 was to consider the frequency of occurrence of each of the variables. It was hypothesised that the high frequency variables would be at the core of the plot and that the frequencies of the variables would reflect decreasing degrees of direct physical and emotional contact with the victim.

The SSA configuration is derived from the associations between the variables and thus has no inevitable link to their frequencies. The frequency structure therefore is not artificial but is an empirical finding with substantive meaning. Figure 5.2.1 presents the frequencies of occurrence of every offence action in the current data. Clear contours encompassing the variables that occur in over 50% of cases, 30%-50% of cases, 10%-30% cases and less than 10% of cases, have been superimposed onto the SSA plot.

The polarising structure of the contours in figure 5.2.1 indicated that the high frequency actions held in common across offences were located towards the centre while those low frequency variables which served to differentiate between offences occurred toward the edges of the plot. The modulating facet depicted by these frequency contours can be seen to represent the various stages that occur when the offender removes themselves physically and psychologically from the victim, so that they can be seen to be proximitively closer to the victim in the high frequency variables, whereas, as the frequencies of the behaviours reduce, the offender starts distancing themselves from the victim.

5.2.1 High Frequency Crime Scene Actions (over 50%)

The first 3 behaviours in the above 50% category all reflected behaviours which deal with the position of the body of the victim. The victim was found with the face being left unhidden, at the scene where they were killed, facing up. The victim was also found with multiple wounds to one body area (see table 5.2.1). These 4 co-occurring high frequency behaviours were very impulsive in nature with no great degree of planning, concentrating mainly on actually killing the victim. They all represented behaviours suggestive of a more frenzied and emotional attack. This is consistent with the idea that homicide is for the most part, an act of impulsive aggression, most probably spurred on by an argument of some description.

Table 5.2.1: Behaviours occurring in more than 50% of cases

Behaviours	Frequency
Face not hidden	88.3%
Victim found at the same scene where they were killed	78.9%
Face up (victim found as they fell)	61.1%
Multiple wounds to one body area (MWOA)	52.2%

Figure 5.2.1: Number of High Frequency Variables
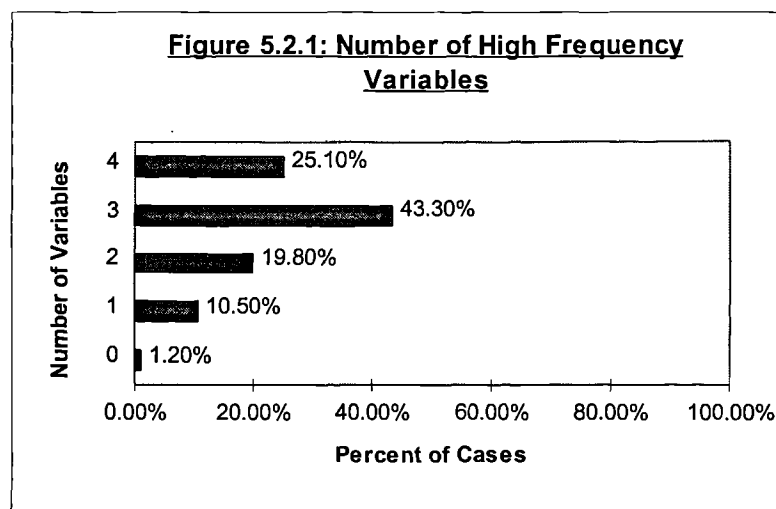
As can be seen in figure 5.2.1, 68.4% of crime scenes had 3 or 4 of the high frequency variables present. The percentages also suggest that there were few cases which had none, or only one behaviour present. This shows that most of the cases included the majority of these behaviours, and thus these behaviours can be said to exemplify the norm of behaviour within the sample. Case study I below, is an example of a typical such case.

Case Study I

Impulsive Homicide (case 192)

The offender (36 years old) and the deceased (27 years old) shared a very stormy and violent relationship. The offender was a heavy drinker and drug user and had a long list of previous convictions behind him for assault, theft, burglary, disorder, possession of drugs and the possession of a weapon. Consequently, this lead the deceased to seek an injunction out on the offender, which was granted.

However, despite the injunction, there was a violent argument between the two, during which the offender kicked and punched the deceased and ultimately killed her through wounds caused by a blunt instrument. The deceased sustained extensive bruising to her head, face, and neck, her upper and lower limbs, and to the back of her hands. There was also bruising consistent with the application of manual pressure on the neck.

This case was typical of many impulsive homicides where the offender reacts in an impulsive way towards the emotions engendered through the conflictful interpersonal relationship with the victim. This crime scene exemplifies the direct, impulsive and messy crime scene of the impulsive type of murder which defines the majority of the cases in the present sample.

Figure 5.2.2 shows the distribution of the presence of the actions committed by the offender during the homicide. As can be seen, the offender engaged in all of the high frequency actions at the crime scene (variables over 50%), such as leaving the victim with the face up and with the face unhidden, at the same scene as where the crime took place. The offender also engaged in most of the other high frequency actions in the next frequency band (30-50%) such as killing the victim manually, that is through hitting, kicking and strangling the victim, as well as using a blunt instrument and stabbing the victim. The offender in this case left wounds all over the body of the victim (MWD) and wounding certain areas of the victim's body intensely (MWD). In this case the victim was wounded on the neck, the face, the torso, the head and on limbs. The offender was also careful not to leave forensic evidence at the scene.

Figure 5.2.2: SSA of Distribution of Frequencies of Crime Scene Actions of Case Study I
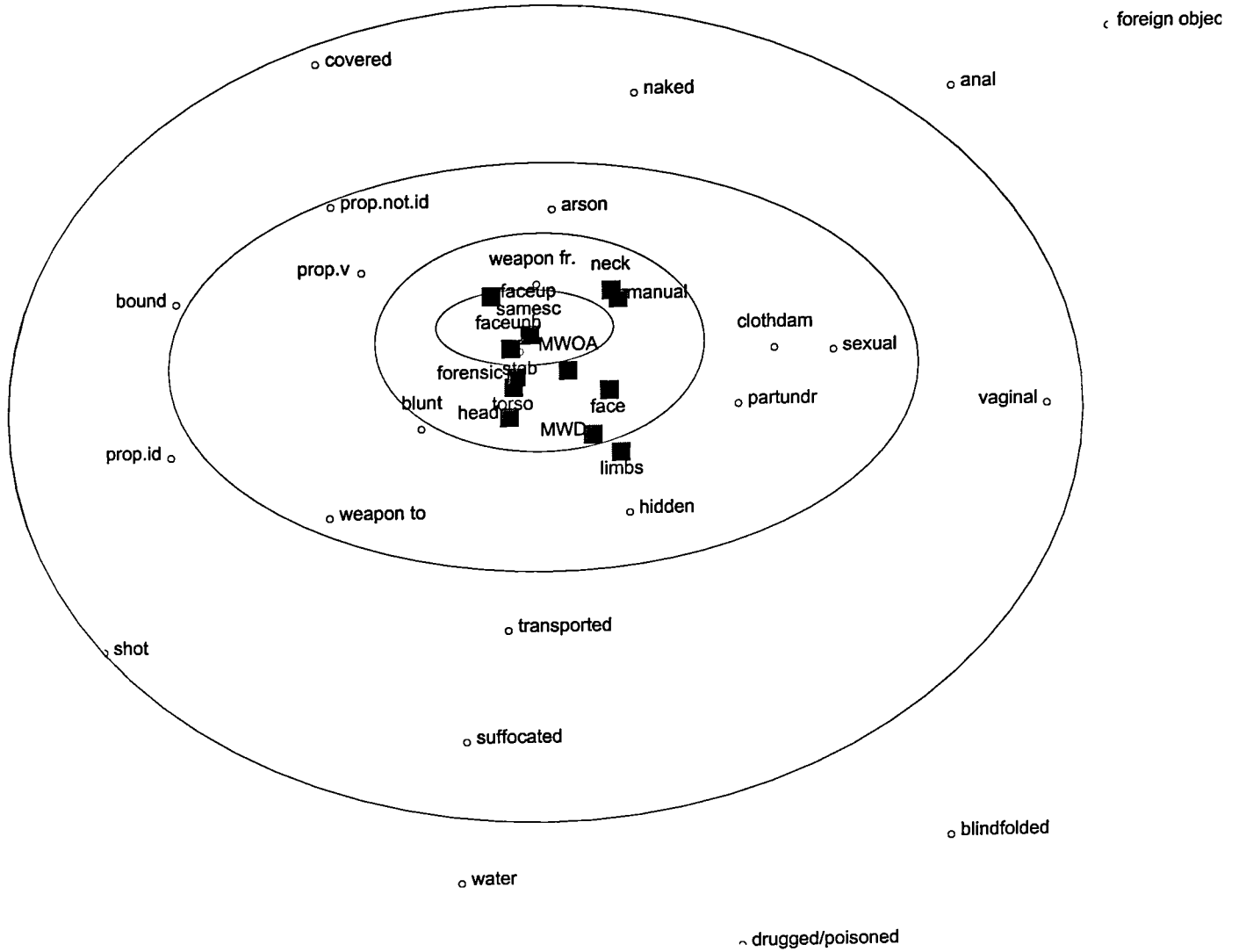
5.2.2 Crime Scene Actions Occurring in 30-50% of Cases

Behaviours in the 30-50% frequency group (see table 5.2.2), additionally, all centred on killing the victim, but in a more specific manner, i.e. specific body parts had been aimed at or particular methods used.

Table 5.2.2: Behaviours occurring in 30-50% of cases

Behaviours	Frequency
Wounds to torso	49.4%
Manual method (hitting, kicking and strangled)	46.6%
Wounds to neck	46.2%
Weapon from scene used	45.3%
Stab	38.1%
Wounds to face	36.4%
Wounds to head	35.6%
Multiple wounds distributed across different body parts	34.4%

All the behaviours in this frequency band represented a more specific intention of killing the victim in a particular way or striking the victim in a particular place. The behaviour 'wound to limbs' in the next frequency category fits in with this categorisation, but because of its frequency, is left in the next frequency category table.

5.2.3 Crime Scene Actions Occurring in 10-30% of Cases

Behaviours in the 10-30% group (see table 5.2.3) had a much more instrumental theme to them and more of a purpose to the offender. Many of the behaviours in this frequency band dealt with actions of using an instrument to kill. Behaviours showed further planning by the bringing of a weapon to the scene, the theft of property of value or of unidentifiable nature. The offender showing these types of behaviours

were also more organised in that they were more forensically aware, avoiding leaving forensic evidence or removing forensic evidence from the scene.

Table 5.2.3: Behaviours occurring in 10-30% of cases

Behaviours	Frequency
Wounds to limbs	23.9%
weapon brought to scene	23.5%
Blunt instrument	22.3%
Property of value taken	21.5%
Victim partially undressed	20.2%
Offender forensically aware	19.8%
Sexual crime	15.4%
Property not identified taken	11.3%

5.2.4 Low Frequency Crime Scene Actions (less than 10%)

Behaviours in the less than 10% frequency band (see table 5.2.4) were much more thought out, and certainly more instrumental in nature, and less to do with the actual killing of the victim, and more to do with the offender's special agenda. Here the offender rapes the victim, but made sure that their tracks were covered (transporting the victim away from the crime scene and hiding them, or setting fire to the crime scene). Indeed, if a closer look is taken of the 'very specialised' behaviours which occurred in less than 5% of the cases (see table 5.2.4), it can seen that these behaviours are even more removed and distant and much more thought out by the offender. The offender penetrates anally (i.e. the offender does not see victim's face); blindfolds the victim (the offender avoids the gaze of the victim) and uses a foreign object (thus not entering into direct intimate contact with the victim). These are all behaviours that can be described as the offender 'removing' themselves from the victim physically and hence psychologically.

Table 5.2.4: Behaviours occurring in less than 10% of cases

Behaviours	Frequency
Vaginal penetration	9.3%
Body hidden (outside)	8.9%
Body transported	8.5%
Victim naked	8.1%
Victim covered (i.e. inside rather than outside)	7.7%
Shot	6.9%
Property identifiable	6.9%
Arson to crime scene/body	5.7%
Suffocation	5.7%
Clothing damage	4.5%
Bound	4%
Anal penetration	3.2%
Victim found in water	3.2%
Foreign object used	1.6%
Victim drugged and/or poisoned	1.6%
Blindfolded	1.2%

5.2.5 Summary of the behavioural structure shown by the frequency bands

The layout of the frequencies of the crime scene behaviours indicate a movement from high frequency impulsive behaviours involving actions of killing the victim, to low frequency behaviours less involved with killing the victim, and more involved with controlling and psychologically distancing behaviours. Here the transaction with the victim becomes more one of where the offender removes themselves from the victim, both physically (e.g. shooting the victim, transporting the victim away from the crime scene, using a foreign object on the victim etc.) and emotionally (e.g. blindfolding the victim). The change of the frequency of behaviour can thus be seen as one where the offender reacts in an impulsive way towards the emotions engendered through the conflictful inter-personal relationship with the victim, to where the offender interacts with the victim at a more removed level, both physically and emotionally.

The distribution of the frequencies of behaviours at homicide crime scenes, pertinently reflect the fact that homicide contains a number of impulsive acts which are acted out at times of stress and the consequences of which may therefore not be at the front of the mind of the offender. The majority of the behaviours in homicide reflect an impulsive or reactive dimension to the offenders' actions, whereas the less frequent behaviours reflect more organised or purposeful aspects of the crime.

As figure 5.2.2 illustrates, most homicides contain the high frequency variables. These define the core of the types of actions that occur at homicide crime scenes. Conversely, the less frequent actions are those more specific to the actual homicide. The differences which then define different themes of homicide can then be seen to lie in these different low frequency variables.

The important next step is to define what low frequency variables define different styles, or themes, of crime scene actions.

5.3 THEMES OF HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOURS

The regional hypothesis states that items which have a common theme will be found in the same region of the SSA space. In order to test the hypothesised framework of homicide crime scene behaviours, it was therefore necessary to examine the SSA configuration to establish whether different themes of offender-victim crime scene interaction could be identified.

Visual examination of the SSA plot revealed a clearly discernible Expressive and Instrumental split (see figure 5.3.1). The 4 core behaviours were not included in either of the themes as they occurred in over 50% of all cases, and so did not differentiate between themes of behaviours (see table 5.2.1).

5.3.1 The Expressive and Instrumental Themes of Homicide Crime Scene Behaviours

The Expressive/Instrumental 2-way split of the SSA plot (see figure 5.3.1) suggested a thematic split of two different ways the offender relates to the inter-personal situation of homicide. The Expressive region, or theme, contained 18 behaviours, and the Instrumental theme, 14 behaviours.

The behaviours in the Expressive theme comprised of behaviours which centred on the victim as a specific person, whereas behaviours in the Instrumental region were thematically distinct from the behaviours which fell into the Expressive region as they were being carried out more in terms of the consequences they had for the offender. Here the offender treated the victim as an object, or a hindrance to their ulterior motive, which looked to be either for sexual gain or material gain.

Figure 5.3.1: SSA of Crime Scene Action Themes

INSTRUMENTAL

foreign object ‹

o covered

o naked   o anal

o prop.not.id   o arson

o prop.v   weapon fr.   neck

o bound   •   o   °o manual

clothdam

o   o sexual

•o

forensic stab   •

torso   o   o partundr   vaginal o

o blunt   head   face

o prop.id   o MWD

limbs

o weapon to   o hidden

o transported

› shot

EXPRESSIVE

o suffocated

o blindfolded

o water

⌢ drugged/poisoned
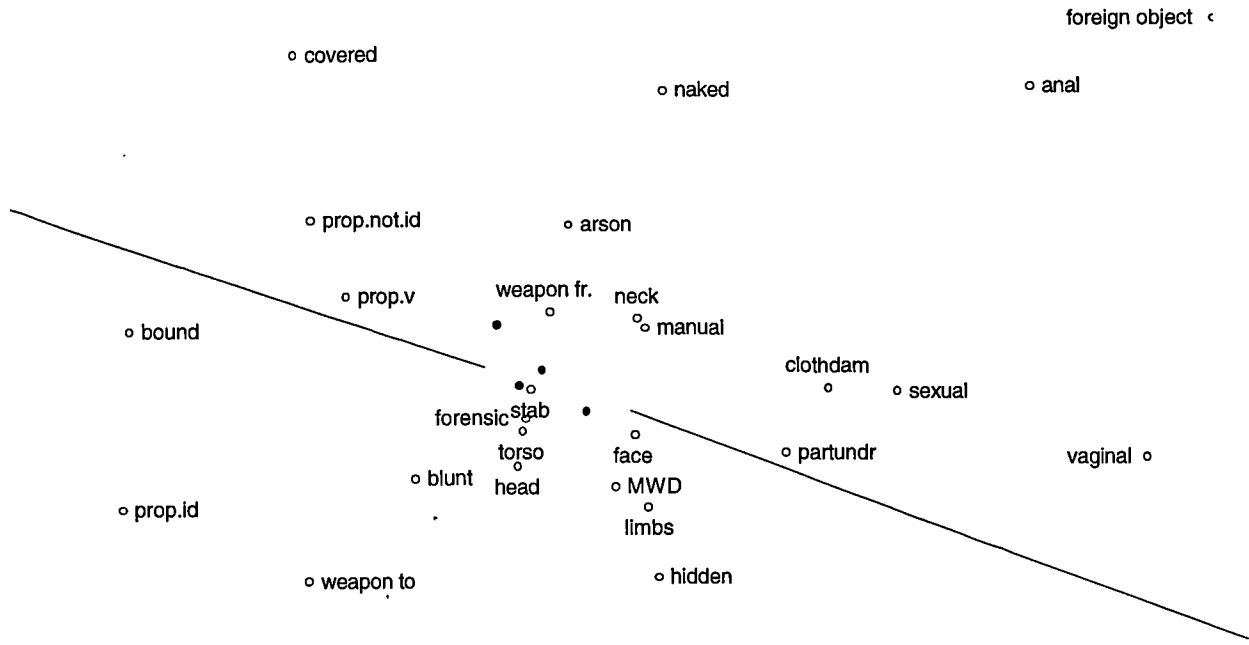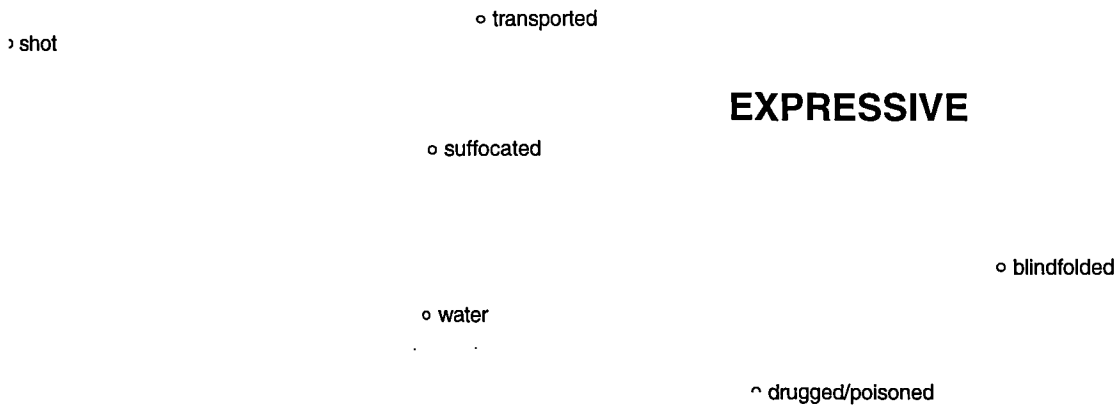
Expressive Acts

The victim sustained injuries (through stabbing, shooting) to the torso, head, and/or limbs, very often to a combination of these body parts, suggesting an extreme physical attack. Further, offenders who injured victims to the limbs (usually described as defence wounds) could be said to have been so directed in their frenzied attack that they would continue attacking the victim despite the fact that the victim was using their hands and arms to defend or protect themselves. Indeed, bringing a weapon to the scene suggests that the offender may have been anticipating a confrontation with the victim, and/or had some experience relating to violence.

Table 5.3.1: Expressive Crime Scene Behaviours

Percentage range	Expressive Crime Scene Behaviours
30-50%	Face
	Head
	Torso
	Stab
	Multiple wounds distributed (MWD)
	Forensically aware
10-30%	Limbs
	Weapon to the scene
	Blunt instrument
Less than 10%	Shot
	Bound
	Blindfolded
	Suffocated
	Drugged/poisoned
	Hidden
	Transported
	Found in water
	Property stolen - identifiable

After the murder, the offender in many cases hid the body, transported the body away from the scene of the crime, and left the victim's body in water. All of these behaviours, when looked at together are suggestive of actions centred on the needing to separate themselves from the victim, and the place of crime, as these elements might have aided the identification of the killer. All of these behaviours suggest a prior relationship between the two parties, or at least suggest that the offender knew the victim to some extent. The offender leaving no forensic evidence, or removing forensic evidence further points to offenders who need to remove evidence which can link them to the victim, which in turn suggests that they are not strangers to each other. It may further suggest that a previous criminal record and a certain criminal sophistication where the offender avoids certain elements to the crime which could potentially identify them.

The more infrequent behaviours such as suffocating, drugging or poisoning the victim, and/or blindfolding them are all indirect ways of dealing with a known victim. Blindfolding, as suggested earlier, will allow the offender to depersonalise the victim to a certain extent so that they may complete their crime. It may also be an attempt to psychologically depersonalise the victim. Suffocating them, or drugging/poisoning the victim may be seen as indirect ways of killing someone who emotionally the offender may be too attached to in order to actually physically harm them. Indeed these ways of killing the victim may indicate very weak victims such as children and the elderly.

Case study II below describes a dominantly Expressive Crime Scene. As can be seen from figure 5.3.2, the actions of the offender at the crime scene were all part of the Expressive theme. All the actions centred on killing the victim because he represented a specific person, notably what the offender saw as the specific barrier between him and his wife.

The offender used many of the high frequency actions relating to direct violent impulsive attacks as described earlier in case study I. He further used the specific Expressive actions of blindfolding the victim, transporting them away from the original crime scene by car to a remote area, and dumping the victim in water.

Case Study II

Expressive Crime Scene (case 61)

The offender's wife had left her husband (aged 49 years), to live with the deceased (aged 51 years). The offender had since repeatedly asked his wife to return, but she in turn instigated divorce proceedings. The offender could not accept the fact that their marriage was over, and formulated a detailed, well considered plan to kill the man his wife was living with.

The offender killed the victim by multiple blows from a blunt instrument, and bound the victim hand and foot. The offender then carried the body of the victim from the house to the back gate and into the boot of the deceased's car, which he drove to the edge of the river, where he deposited the body of the victim in the water, discarded the car keys and the murder weapon. Before leaving the deceased's car, the offender punctured the front nearside tyre with a small screwdriver in an attempt to stage an accident by creating the impression that in the darkness the deceased had fallen in the river, striking his head on the concrete banking, while investigating the flat tyre.

These actions were seen as exemplifying the theme of Expressive crime scene actions in that they centred on the offender acting towards the victim as a specific person that has some meaning to the offender. In this case the victim was the offender's sexual rival who he wanted to eliminate in order to remove what he saw as the barrier between his wife and his reunion. Because the victim was a specific person to the offender, they would inevitably be linked to the offender during the investigation. Therefore, like other offenders with dominant Expressive crime scene themes, the offender removed the victim from the crime scene to an area that would not only be dissociated with the victim and the offender, but also an area which would entail a more difficult discovery of the body by the police. The offender leaving the body of the victim in water further supports the theme in that this manner of disposing the body would entail a more hidden dumping ground of the body, as well as a higher probability of a quick deterioration of the body.

Figure 5.3.2: SSA of Distribution of Frequencies of Crime Scene Actions for Case Study II

INSTRUMENTAL

c foreign object

o covered

o naked   o anal

o prop.not.id   o arson

weapon fr. neck

prop.v o   o   o manual

bound o

clothdam

o   o sexual

forensic stab   •

blunt   torso   face   o partundr   vaginal o

head

MWD

prop.id o

limbs

weapon to   o hidden

transported

, shot

EXPRESSIVE

o suffocated

blindfolded

water

^ drugged/poisoned

Instrumental Acts

Actions in this theme suggested that behaviours at the crime scene were not singularly directed at the victim as a person. Rather, the actions were part of a larger theme of the offender using the victim to further attain an ulterior aim such as sex or money. The offender in many cases did not come prepared for a personal confrontation, so when the offender killed the victim they used a weapon taken from the scene, and/or manually (strangling, hitting and kicking) attacking the victim (see table 5.3.2).

Table 5.3.2: Instrumental Crime Scene Behaviours

Percentage range	Instrumental Crime Scene Behaviours
30-50%	Neck Manual wounding Weapon from the scene used
10-30%	Property stolen - not identifiable Property stolen - value Partially undressed Sexual
Less than 10%	Anal penetration Vaginal penetration Foreign object used to penetrate Clothing damage Naked Covered Arson

Low frequency behaviours defining part of the Instrumental crime scene region included a sexual subset. These behaviours, which consist of the offender anally and/or vaginally penetrating the victim, penetrating with a foreign object, leaving other sexual evidence (e.g. semen), damaging the victim's clothing and leaving the victim partially undressed or naked, when taken together, suggested a behavioural

theme where the offender regarded the victim not as a person with whom they are having a personal interaction, but as an object ultimately to be used for their own gain.

Where property was stolen, it was of financial value. This could indicate that the offender may have had an ulterior motive for the homicide, such as burglary, or that the offender decided to steal from the victim after the homicide took place and so turning the crime into something much more financially profitable. Indeed, it may be that a sub-section of these crimes are what the police term 'burglaries gone wrong'.

In some cases, the victim was found, covered, by a blanket or similar, inside their own homes. This behaviour is thematically distinct from the Expressive behaviour of 'hiding' the body, in that it is more suggestive of a gesture of either shame, implying that the action of murdering or raping the victim did not fit their personal narrative of a 'thieving' criminal. For this same reason, it may be that the offender in some cases, set fire to either (or both) the body and the scene.

Case study III below presents a dominantly Instrumental Crime Scene. As can be seen by figure 5.3.3, the offender exhibited more actions that were classified as Instrumental, than he did actions which were considered Expressive. Indeed, if the nature of the Expressive actions were looked at in greater details, it could be seen that the majority of these represented the woundings which the offender received, and were part of the more high frequency variables which were common to most homicides.

In terms of the Instrumental actions which the offender exhibited at the crime scene, this case included the offender stealing property ('prop.v') from the victim, and sex ('sexual', 'vaginal', 'anal', 'partially undressed'). Both these sets of actions were what defined the Instrumental crime scene theme.

The narrative of the offender illustrated that even the victim refusing to give the offender any money was not enough to stop the offender. As soon as it became obvious to the offender that the victim would be of no more use in identifying the

location of her savings, he killed her. She had become but a useless object to be disposed of. This was an offender who had a past of using people for his own ends, with a criminal record for theft and burglary dating back to when he was 13 years old. Indeed, he went to the victim's home with the aim of robbing her, and brutalised her (explaining why Expressive actions such as many different types of wounding occurred at the crime scene) in order to achieve this aim.

Case Study III

An Instrumental Crime Scene (case 178)

The offender (aged 17 years) had numerous previous convictions for burglary, theft and damage, dating back to when he was 13 years old.

He aimed to rob the victim, who was a stranger to him, when, wearing a motor cycle helmet and gloves, he knocked on the door of the victim (aged 67 years old). As she opened the door, he bundled her inside. He continued to push and punch the deceased along her hallway into the kitchen. There he demanded money from her. When she refused, he picked up an air rifle which was leaning against the wall, and struck her over the back of her head with its butt. The deceased then fell to the floor where she was later found dead. The offender then commenced a search of her house, stealing her watch. Later forensic evidence indicated that the deceased had been buggered and probably also raped by the offender.

In this case, actions were not singularly directed at the victim as a person. Rather the actions were part of a larger theme of the offender using the victim to further attain his ultimate aim of gaining access to money and in this instance, sex. This Instrumental crime scene therefore can be seen as one very different to the Expressive crime scene illustrated in case study II. Here the offenders' intentions, as evidenced through his actions, are not aimed directly at the victim, rather they are part of a more criminal theme of Instrumentality where the offender uses the victim for an ulterior purpose not involving a previous personal relationship between him and the victim.

Figure 5.3.3: SSA of Distribution of Crime Scene Actions of Case Study III

INSTRUMENTAL

foreign object c

o covered

o naked

■anal

o prop.not.id   o arson

■prop.v   weapon fr. neck

o bound   • ■   ■manual

clothdam

o   ■sexual

forensic stab   ■

torso   face   ■partundr   vaginal■

■blunt head   ■MWD

o prop.id   o
limbs

o weapon to   o hidden

o transported

, shot

EXPRESSIVE

o suffocated

o blindfolded

o water

ᐱ drugged/poisoned
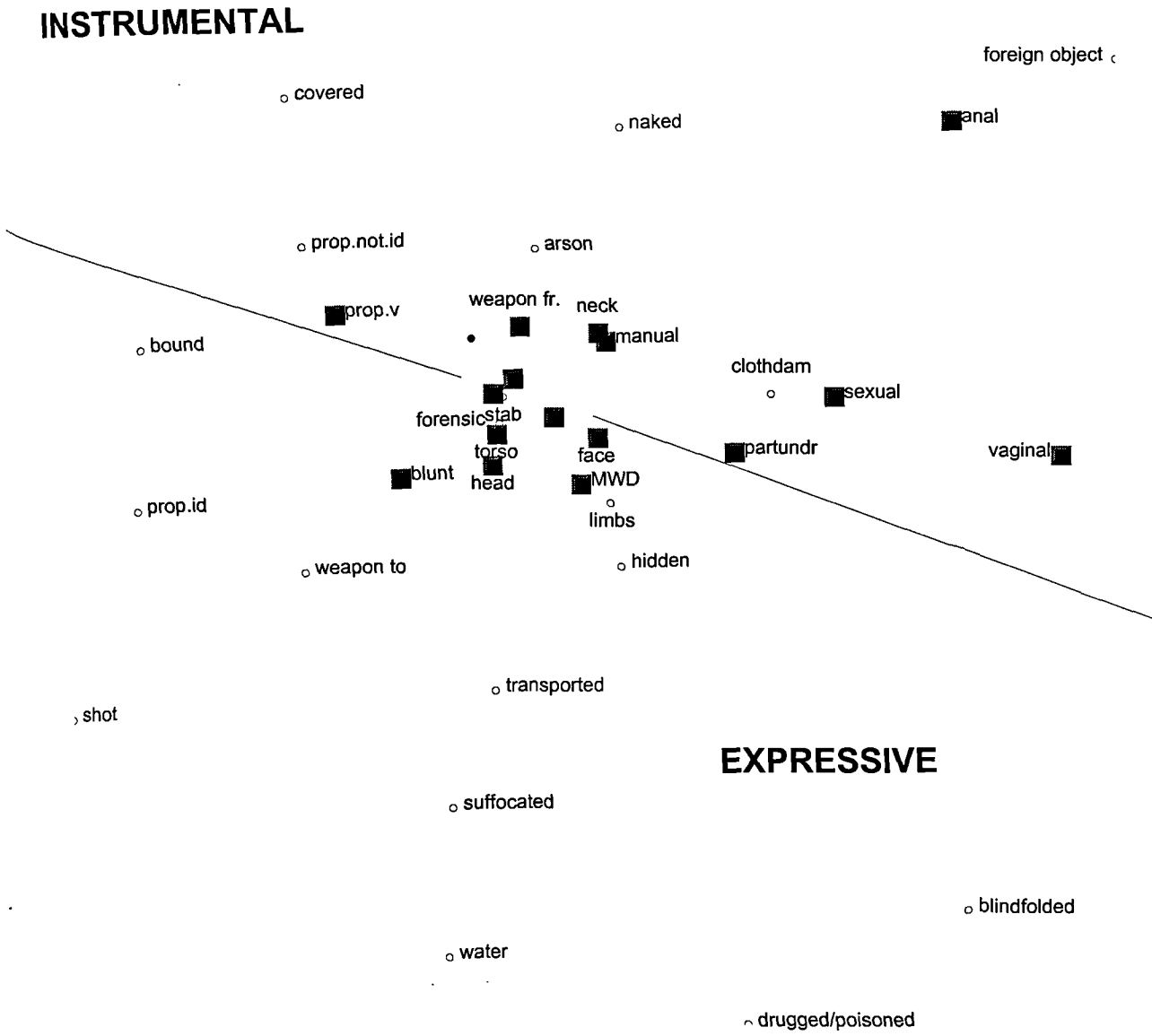
5.3.2 Summary of Expressive/Instrumental Crime Scene Thematic Split

The results from the analysis of homicide crime scene behaviours show that the information which is contained in police files is detailed and extensive enough to allow for a comprehensive modelling of actions during homicide. The information in these files shows that there was a marked difference between cases that had a dominantly Expressive theme, and cases that had a dominantly Instrumental theme.

Fesbach (1964) and Toch (1969) both distinguished between Expressive and Instrumental aggression, specifying that the goal of the first kind was to make the victim, or the actual person suffer, whereas the second kind was centred on attaining an ulterior goal such as material goods. The analysis of homicide crime scene behaviours has shown that not only can Expressiveness and Instrumentality be evidenced in the *actual actions* by the offender at the crime scene, but can also distinguish *between* these actions *within* the crime of homicide.

On distinguishing between aggressive acts, most other authors (e.g. Fesbach 1964, Toch 1969, Cornell et al. 1996) have described the event and defined it as fitting a certain crime such as theft, robbery, or homicide. However, only Hartup (1974) actually investigates the specific behavioural components and makeup of these events, by looking at children who 'shove' other children. However even he does not go into these behaviours and the psychological pattern of their co-occurrences in much detail, and does not attempt to propose a behavioural explanation of Expressive and Instrumental aggression.

The present study, through the analysis of the co-occurrences of the actual behaviours used by offenders at homicide crime scenes has brought to attention the behavioural components which make up different themes of homicide such as Expressive and Instrumental crime scenes. These behavioural components suggest that there are certain behaviours, which taken singularly, and out of context of the other behaviours could be interpreted differently. However, by interpreting the actual meaning of these behaviours in relation to other behaviours with which they co-

occur, the thematic meaning of not only the behaviour, but also each of the two subgroups (Expressive and Instrumental), procures a more subtle definition than hitherto suggested.

Co-occurring with other behaviours within the Expressive theme of homicide crime scene actions were the behaviours of 'transporting the victim away from the crime scene' and 'hiding the victim' outside. These two behaviours in particular on their own have previously been alluded at as suggesting offenders who are 'organised' (Ressler et al. 1988), and 'cold-blooded', and as such 'Instrumental' in nature. However, when the occurrence of these behaviours are interpreted within the context of *other* behaviours that co-occur in the same cases, it can be seen that they tend to co-occur with behaviours which are Expressive and person oriented in nature. Transporting the victim and hiding them, thus can be understood as actions which *are* organised and more specific, but which are so, *because* of the victim involved. Because the offender knows the victim, or because the offender can be associated with the victim or the actual crime scene (e.g. the home of the victim or the offender), there is a need to remove the victim from the crime scene and hide them to avoid detection. Again, it is the importance of the victim, and the relationship between the offender and the victim which are important in these Expressive homicides, and which define the actions which are carried out within them.

In the same way as certain Expressive behaviour, taken out of context can have an Instrumental interpretation, there were certain Instrumental behaviours which taken out of context of the other behaviours with which they co-occurred, could be interpreted as having a dominantly Expressive meaning. These particular behaviours dealt with the sexual component of the homicides. Here the offender violated the person by sexually assaulting them and invading them physically. However, when understood in the context of other co-occurring Instrumental actions, the theme of these sexual actions were in line with the offender 'stealing' from the victim such things as sex and property. Although the actual victim was violated in these cases, in

many of them, it wasn't the actual person who was targeted with the ulterior motivation of sexual gratification.

The behavioural components of Expressive and Instrumental homicides can thus be understood through a more subtle analysis and interpretation than hitherto put forward. Consequently, 'Expressiveness' and 'Instrumentality' are reinterpreted to be not only more behaviourally subtle but also more thematically specific.

5.4 TESTING THE THEMATIC STRUCTURE OF HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE ACTIONS

In order to further investigate the thematic structure of the actions an offender commits at the crime scene, a Partial Order Scalogram Analysis (POSA) was performed on the crime scene data (Shye 1978).

5.4.1 Partial Order Scalogram Analysis (POSA)

The principle of POSA is to demonstrate the qualitative as well as the quantitative differences of a number of profiles on a two-dimensional spatial plot. It deals with the common order underlying the variables, such as amount of violence, amount of control and so forth. It is thus important in a POSA that the variables are related, i.e. have the same common order. In this case, two themes of Expressiveness and Instrumentality were found, through the SSA, to thematically divide crime scene actions. The POSA will further demonstrate the underlying structure of Expressiveness and Instrumentality in crime scene actions.

A POSA makes assumptions of a common order that will form a meaningful conceptual scale. In this case the common order was the level of either Expressiveness or Instrumentality within a homicide.

POSA takes the profiles generated for each case for the selected variables and scales them in relation to their overall cumulative scores across all of the variables. For example, if every crime scene variable tested (e.g. 5) in the theme would be present for a case, their profile would be 22222. If all the crime scene variables would be absent, the profile would be 11111. POSA also takes into account of qualitative differences, e.g. profiles which differ on the make-up of their profile. In this case, a case which has the profiles 22211, although quantitatively the same as 11222 (i.e. both have three variables present), it differs qualitatively in that different sets of variables are present in the two cases. In this way, POSA will plot both the 'how much' a case is e.g. Expressive or Instrumental, but also, 'what kind' of Expressive or Instrumental they are.

In POSA where profiles are both quantitatively and qualitatively different, a two-dimensional scale is produced. The profiles are ordered on this plot to best represent the spatial associations to one another on both qualitative and quantitative scales. The total number of profiles plotted will depend on number of variables investigated. That is, if profiles for 5 variables are investigated, there are 2x2x2x2x2, i.e. 32 possible profiles. The POSA tests for the presence of all these different profiles, and collapses the dataset of e.g. 247 cases into a maximum of 32 individual profiles. In this way, the POSA will also indicate which profile was the most common one in the dataset.

L-axis
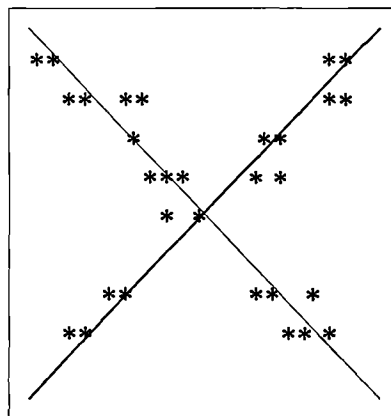
J-axis

The main POSA analysis will differentiate between profiles along two main scales, the L-axis, and the J-axis, which respectively show the qualitative and quantitative measures of each profile.

In this hypothetical plot, there is a clear difference between the profiles that differ qualitatively and those that differ quantitatively. POSA further gives an item plot for each variable which makes up the profiles on the main plot. These item plots will show, in more detail, the structure of the scale, in terms of how the different variables form the meaning of the theme. This underlying structure can be constructed through the interpretation of the division of the item plots. Each plot will show which profile had the particular variable present, and which one did not. Different types of partitions (see below) will aid in the unravelling of this structure.

The X and Y axis partition indicate that an essential factor underlies the phenomena. The Q-axis accentuates these essential factors, and the P-axis attenuates these essential factors.
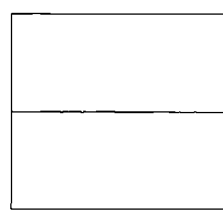
X-axis
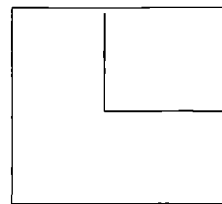
P-axis
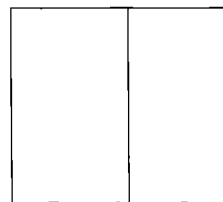
Y-axis
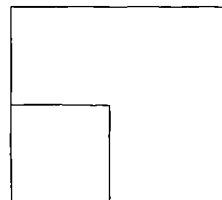
Q-axis

If there is any doubt as to where a partition may be drawn due to mixed presences (2) and absences (1), the POSA printout will indicate where the best partition may lie (see diagram below).

2 2	1
	1 1
2 2	1 1
2 2	2

2 2	1
	1 1
2 2	1 1
2 2	2

5.4.2 The POSA Analysis

Two separate POSA's were performed on the dataset of 247 cases. One on 4 variables from the Expressive region, and one on 5 variables from the Instrumental region (see appendix 6). Due to the analysis' restriction on the number of variables allowable in the analysis, representative variables were chosen from each theme. Table 5.4.1 shows the variables chosen for the POSA analysis for both the Expressive and the Instrumental regions.

Table 5.4.1: Variables Used for POSA Analysis of Crime Scene Actions

Expressive Variables	Instrumental Variables
Multiple wound distributed	Manual wounding
Hidden and/or transported[*]	Property of value stolen
Forensic awareness	Sexual crime scene
Suffocated and/or Drugged/poisoned[*]	Arson committed
	Body covered

5.4.3 Results of POSA Analysis on the Expressive Region

Of the possible 16 profiles resulting from the combination of four variables, 14 were present in the data of the 247 cases. Of these profiles, there was 1 which had the extreme profile of all four variables (multiple wound distributed, hidden and/or transported, forensic awareness, and suffocated and/or drugged/poisoned) present (2222), and 107 cases which had the extreme profile of having none of these variables present (1111). Figure 5.4.1 shows the main POSA plot of all 14 profiles. Figures 5.4.2 to 5.4.5 show the individual item plots for each of the variables. Figure 5.4.6 shows the combined structure of the Expressive crime scene actions.

---

[*] Denotes variables composed out of two separate variables. As the POSA analysis only allowed for a small number of variables, the collapsing of these variables allowed for an inclusion of more information into the POSA. Spearman's correlations were done on these variables to ascertain that they were highly correlated, and are presented below in table 5.4.2.

Table 5.4.2: Spearman's Correlations for Collapsed POSA Variables

Collapsed variables		Spearman's Value and significance
Hidden	Transported	.3633 (p<.0001)
Suffocated	Drugged/poisoned	.2460 (p<.0001)

Figure 5.4.2, of 'Multiple wounds distributed', shows a division along the Y-axis, indicating that there is a main difference between those who commit Expressive homicides and inflict multiple wounds to the victim, and those who do not. Figure 5.4.3, of 'The victim being transported away and/or hidden' shows a division along the Q-axis.

This partition is a high moderator, indicating that profiles with a high level of Expressiveness were all positive for this variable. Figure 5.4.4, of 'The offender being forensically aware at the crime scene' divides along the P-axis. This variable is a softer indicator of Expressiveness, as it has to have high X and Y axis variables, such as 'Multiple Wounds distributed' (see figure 5.4.2) and 'Suffocated and/or drugged/poisoned' (see figure 5.4.5) for it to be present. Figure 5.4.5, of 'The victim being suffocated and/or drugged/poisoned' divides along the X-axis, showing a main split between those offenders who suffocate and/or poison or drug their victims, and those who do not.

Figure 5.4.6 shows the combined structures of the Expressive crime scene actions, made up of the partitions from the item plots. This combined plot shows that the most Expressive crime scene actions are those which include the offender wounding the victim by several methods such as suffocating them, drugging and/or poisoning them, and inflicting several wounds upon the victim. Again this stresses the disorganised and intense attack patterns of the very Expressive crime scene. Further, the combined item plot shows that the more Expressive crime scenes involve those who also transport the body away from the original crime scene, and/or hide the body outside, as well as removing forensic evidence or avoiding the leaving of any forensic evidence. This stresses the fact that these types of extreme Expressive homicide crime scenes involves the removing of any evidence, such as the victim, as the identification of the victim, at the original crime scene, may lead to the identification of the offender, particularly if the offender is connected to the victim or the murder scene in any way.

Figure 5.4.1: POSA of Expressive Crime Scene Actions

2222

1222

1212

2122

1112

1221

2221

2112

2121

1211

2211

1121

2111

1111
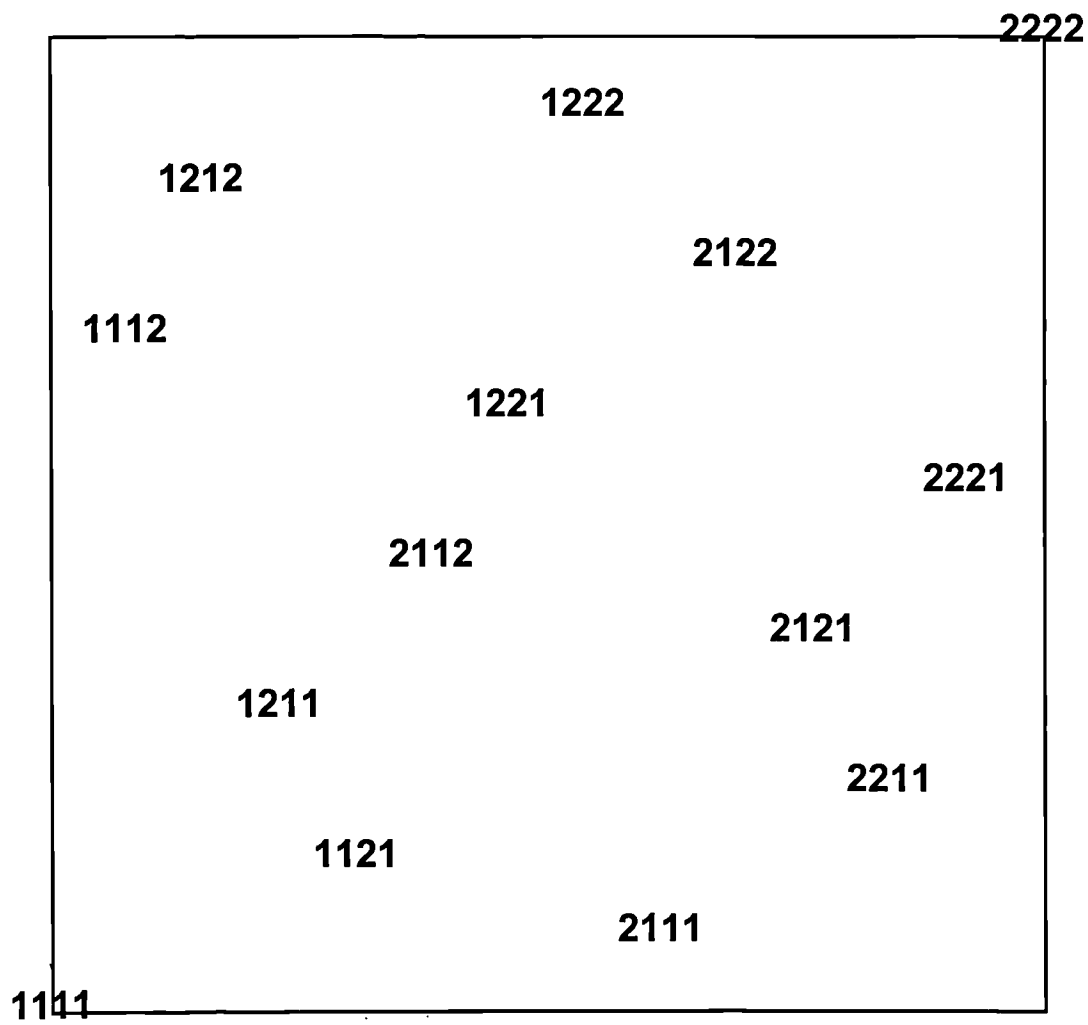
Figure 5.4.2: POSA Item Plot of "Multiple Wounds Distributed"
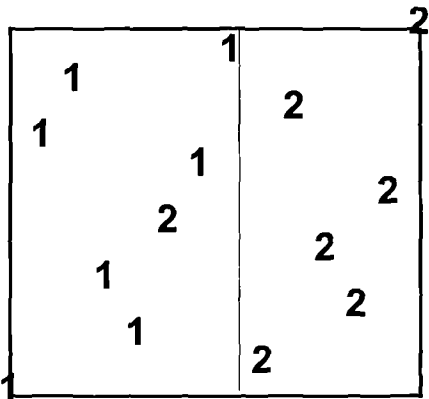
Figure 5.4.3: POSA Item Plot of "Victim Transported Away or Hidden"
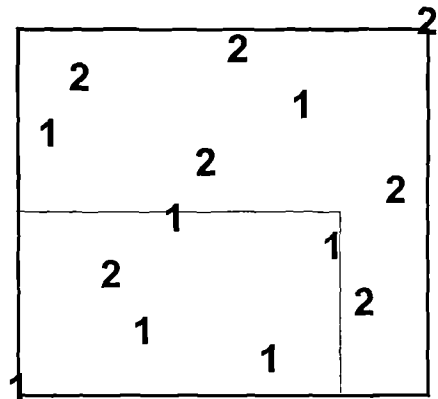
Figure 5.4.4: POSA Item Plot of 'Forensic Awareness"
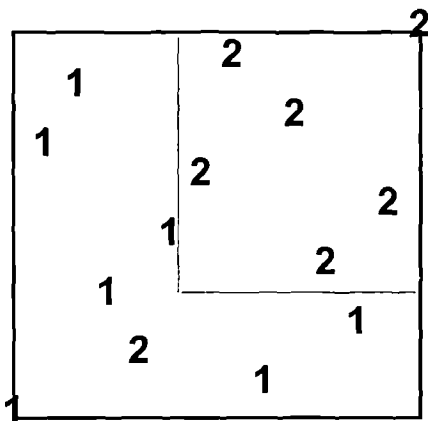
Figure 5.4.5: POSA Item Plot of "Suffocated and/or Drugged/poisoned"
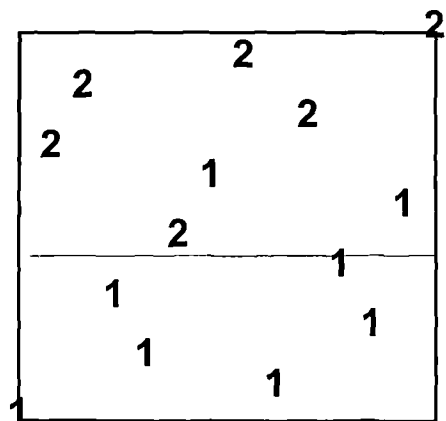
Figure 5.4.6: POSA Structure of Expressive Crime Scene Actions

Suffocated and/or Drugged/poisoned
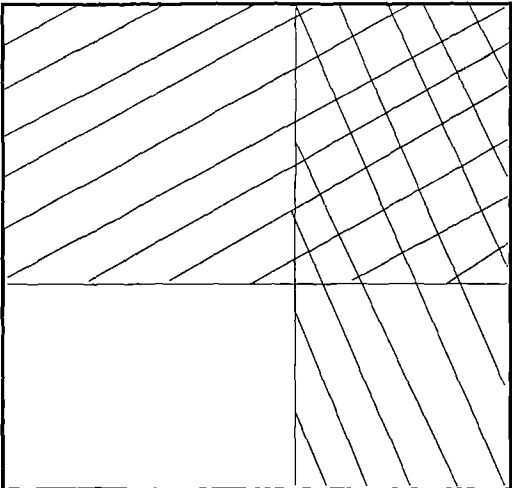
Multiple wounds distributed
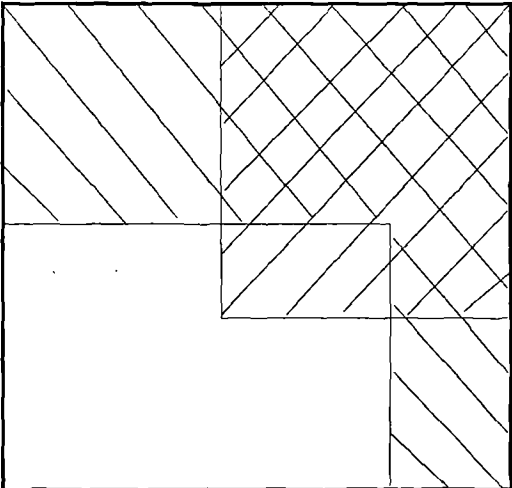
Forensically aware

Transported and/or Hidden

5.4.3 Results of POSA Analysis on Instrumental Region

Of the possible 32 profiles resulting from the combination of five variables, 22 were present in the data of the 247 cases. Of these profiles, there was 1 which had the extreme profile of all five variables (manual wounding, property of value stolen, sexual crime scene, arson committed, body covered) present (22222), and 91 which had the extreme profile of having none of the variables present (11111). Figure 5.4.7 shows the main POSA plot of all 22 profiles. Figures 5.4.8 to 5.4.12 show the individual item plots for each of the variables. Figure

Figure 5.4.8, of 'Manual wounding', shows a partition along the P-axis. This variable can thus be seen as a softer indicator of Instrumentality, as it has to have high X and Y axis variables, such as 'Arson' (see figure 5.4.11) and 'Body covered' (see figure 5.4.12) for it to be present. Figure 5.4.9, of 'Property of value stolen', shows a partition along the Q-axis. This partition is a high moderator, indicating that profiles with a high level of Instrumentality were all positive for this variable. This again is in accordance with the definition of the Instrumental crime scene theme as evidenced from the SSA. Figure 5.4.10, of 'Sexual crime scene', divides along the P-axis, again indicating that this variable is an indicator of the extreme Instrumental crime scene. Indeed, looking at the plot, it can be seen that many of the cases which had this variable present fell outside of the partition. This suggests that this variable is more complicated and more difficult to classify. This may be due to the fact that it is a composite of any of the sexual behaviours which occurred at crime scenes, such as vaginal penetration, anal penetration, the use of a foreign object and any other traces of sexual activity. It may well be that looking at these sexual behaviours separately, will allow for a more detailed understanding of the sexual type of Instrumental crime scene. This will further be explored in chapter 7. Figure 5.4.11 divides along the Y-axis, showing that there is strong division between those Instrumental crime scenes which contain the variable 'Arson', and those that do not have this variable present.

Figure 5.4.12, of 'Body covered', also divides along the Y-axis, similarly showing that those scenes which have this variable present, differ from those cases which do not.

Figure 5.4.13 shows the combined structures of the Instrumental crime scene actions, made up of the partitions from the item plots. This combined plot shows that the most Instrumental crime scene actions are those which include the offender manually wounding the victim, through hitting and kicking. It also shows that the most Instrumental actions are those where both sexual activities occur and property of value is stolen. The three variables combined, suggests a highly Instrumental crime scene where the offender is acting both violently and is using the victim as an object through which to attain other aims such as money or sex. The combined plot also highlights the fact that in the more Instrumental crime scene, the offender will commit arson after the crime, notably in cases where some sexual activity occurred. In some sexual cases, the offender will cover the body, and steal property of value. This may be an indication of the offender whose narrative is one of thieving but not one of sexual activity or of manual wounding, and so the covering of the victim in these cases may suggest an element of shame.

Figure 5.4.7: POSA of
Instrumental Crime Scene Actions

22221

22211

21221

12112

22111

21212

22222

22121

11121

22212

22112

21211

21112

21121

12121

12111

21111

11212

12211

11211

11112
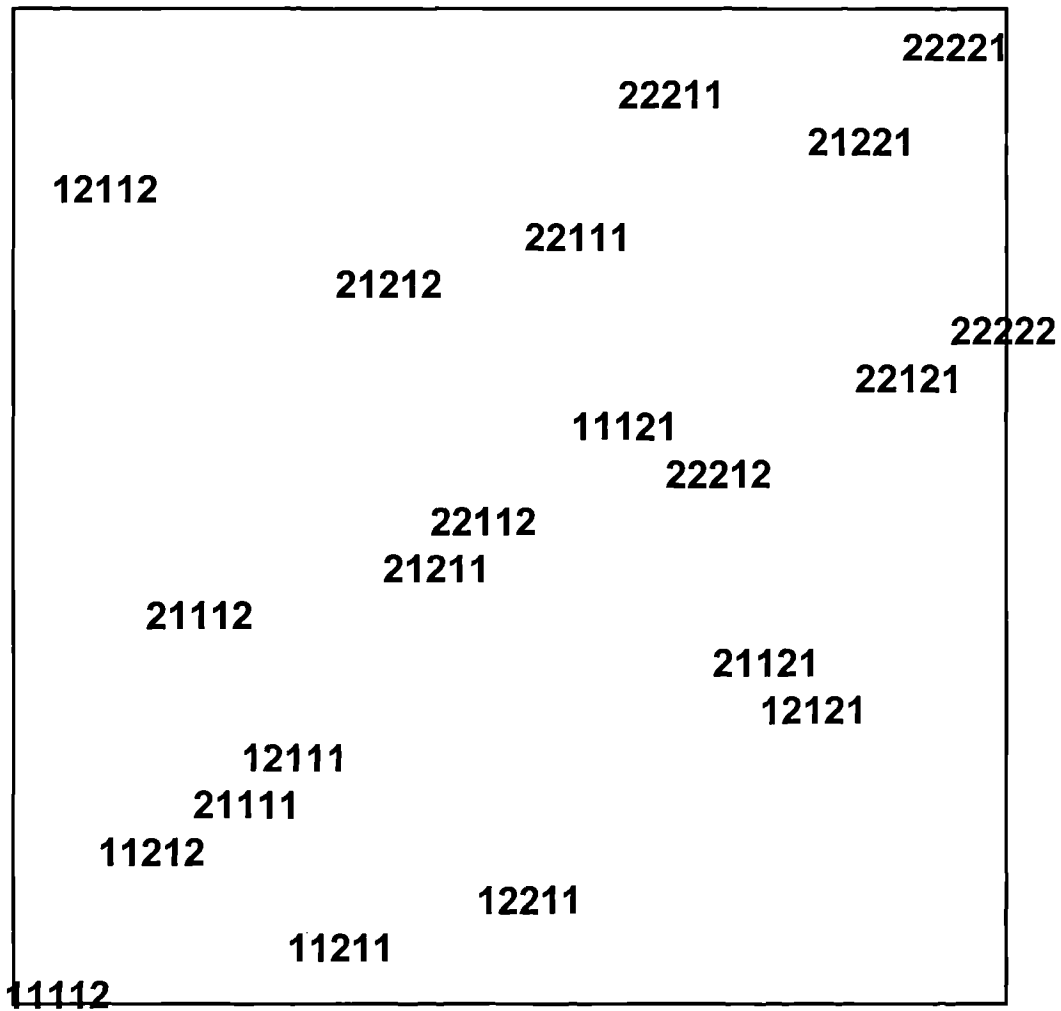
Figure 5.4.8: POSA Item Plot of "Manual Wounding"
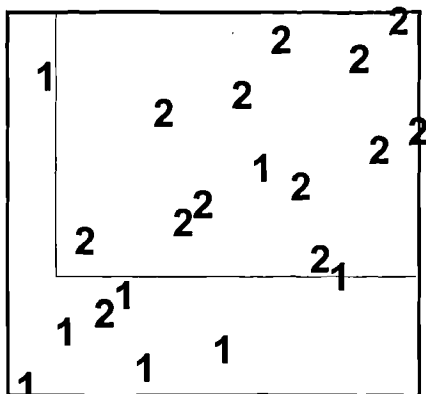
Figure 5.4.9: POSA Item Plot of "Property of Value Stolen"
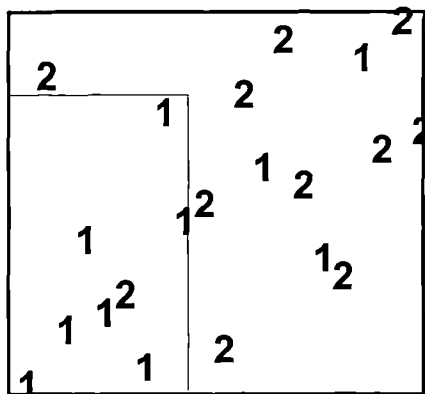
Figure 5.4.10: POSA Item Plot of "Sexual Crime Scene"
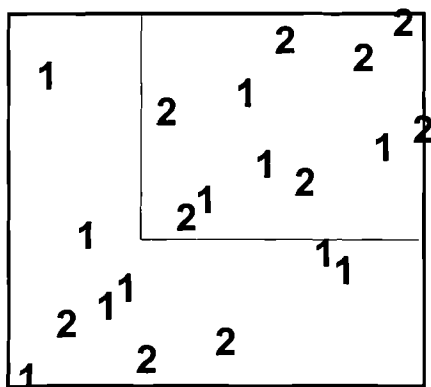
Figure 5.4.11: POSA Item Plot of "Arson"
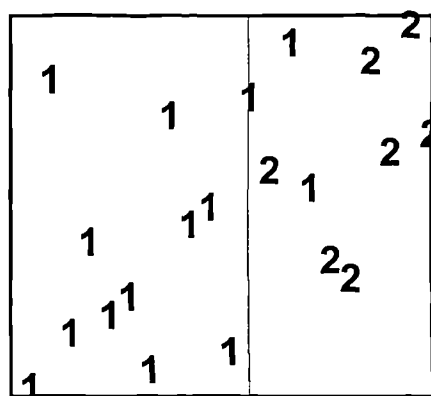
Figure 5.4.12: POSA Item Plot of "Body Covered"
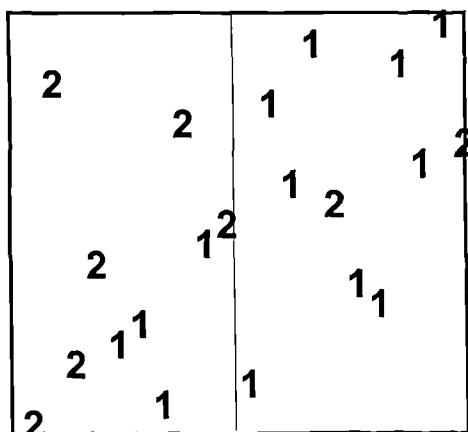
Figure 5.4.13: POSA Structure of Instrumental Crime Scene Actions
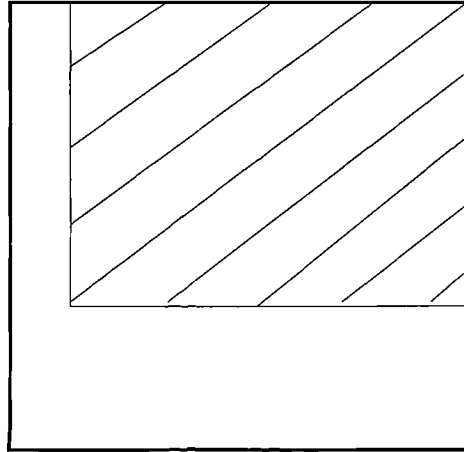
Manual wounding
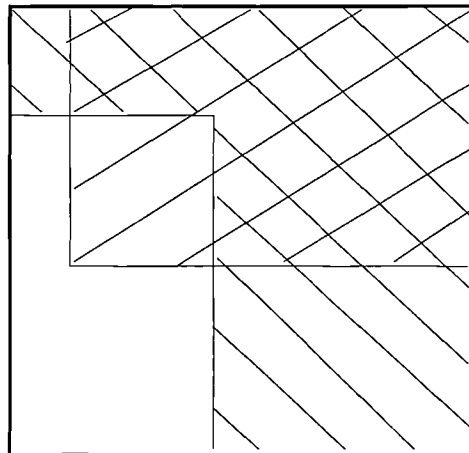
Sexual Crime Scene

Property of value stolen

Body covered
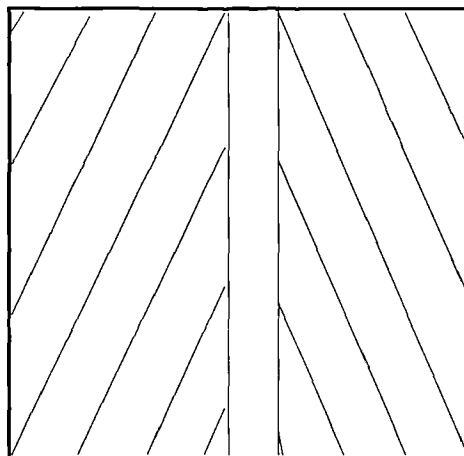
Arson

5.5 DISTRIBUTION OF CASES ACROSS CRIME SCENE THEMES

In order to test this 2-way Expressive/Instrumental facet framework of homicide crime scene behaviours, each of the 247 offences in the dataset was individually examined to ascertain whether it could be assigned to a particular crime scene theme on the basis of the variables which occurred during the incident. Every offence was given a percentage score for each of the two crime scene themes, reflecting the proportion of Expressive or Instrumental variables that occurred during the crime.

Percentages of intra-theme occurrences were used rather than actual numbers of occurrences because the total number of behaviours in each theme differed (Expressive = 18, Instrumental = 14). the four core behaviours were not included in the distribution analysis as they occurred in most cases, irrespective of their crime scene theme.

Two different criterions for this division was used;

1. *Division I*

> Here the criterion for assigning a crime to a particular theme was the most stringent. The dominant theme had to contain at least twice the percent occurrence as the alternative theme.

> For example in offence number 3 (see Appendix III) 16.67% variables occurred in the Expressive theme, and 7.14% in the Instrumental theme, thus making it a predominantly Expressive theme.

> A case was classed as a hybrid case in terms of the total *number* of actions present, rather than the percentage. This was done because the percentage of the two regions were different due to the fact that different numbers made up the two regions, therefore making a percentage comparison difficult. Instead, it was decided that if a case had the same number of variables in both themes, or if a case had one more variable than in the other region, it was classed as a hybrid case.

1. *Division II*

The percent of cases having a higher percent occurrence in one theme.

For example in offence number 1 (see Appendix III) 11.11% of variables occurred in the Expressive theme, and 7.14% in the Instrumental theme, thus making it an Expressive theme.

Table 5.5.1: Distribution of Cases Across Crime Scene Themes

	Expressive	Instrumental	Hybrid	Non-classifiable
Division I	38.5%	23.8%	30%	7.7%
Division II	60.7%	38.9%	--	0.4%

Table 5.5.1 shows that using the division I, 38.5% could be classified as Expressive, and 23.9% could be classified as Instrumental, making a total of 62.4% of the sample classifiable as exhibiting a majority of their actions in one theme. Chi-square analysis showed this to be a significant difference (p = .0001) from the 37.6% of the/of the sample. A further 30% could be classified as hybrids, making the total that could be classified as 92.4% of the sample. Chi-square analysis showed that this was a significant difference (p = .0000) from the 7.7% that could not be classified into either of the three classifications of Expressive, Instrumental or Expressive-Instrumental hybrid. These results suggest that offenders do tend to use consistent behavioural strategies at homicide crime scenes.

Using the less stringent classification criteria in division II, 246 out of the 247 cases, could be classified into either of the two themes. In this case, 60.7% were classified as Expressive, and 38.9% as Instrumental. This suggests that there is a significant majority (chi-square p =.0006) of cases that could be classified as Expressive. These results are in line with the literature which suggests that the majority of homicides are Expressive in nature.

5.6 SUMMARY OF THEMES OF HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOURS

The results of the SSA has revealed that there are varying degrees in the physical and psychological closeness the offender creates between themselves and the victim in terms of the frequencies of the actions engaged in at the homicide crime scene. In the SSA configuration, the variables with the highest frequencies were located at the centre of the plot and empirically had more in common with each other. Those variables at the periphery of the plot were considered to better differentiate between different styles of offending. These styles indicate that homicide can be conceptualised as different themes of interpersonal interaction.

These themes were found to reflect Expressive and Instrumental forms of interpersonal interaction. Relating these empirical findings to the theoretical data, lends support to the Expressive/Instrumental styles of aggression and violence identified from the published literature and refined section 5.3.2, effectively suggesting a multivariate model of offence behaviour in homicide (see figure 5.6.1). Both a confirmatory POSA and the establishing of the percentage distribution of cases across themes back this model of crime scene interactional styles.

Figure 5.6.1: A Model of Interactional Crime Styles of Homicide

INSTRUMENTAL

Psychologically
removed (indirect)

Impulsive (direct)

Psychologically
removed (indirect)

EXPRESSIVE
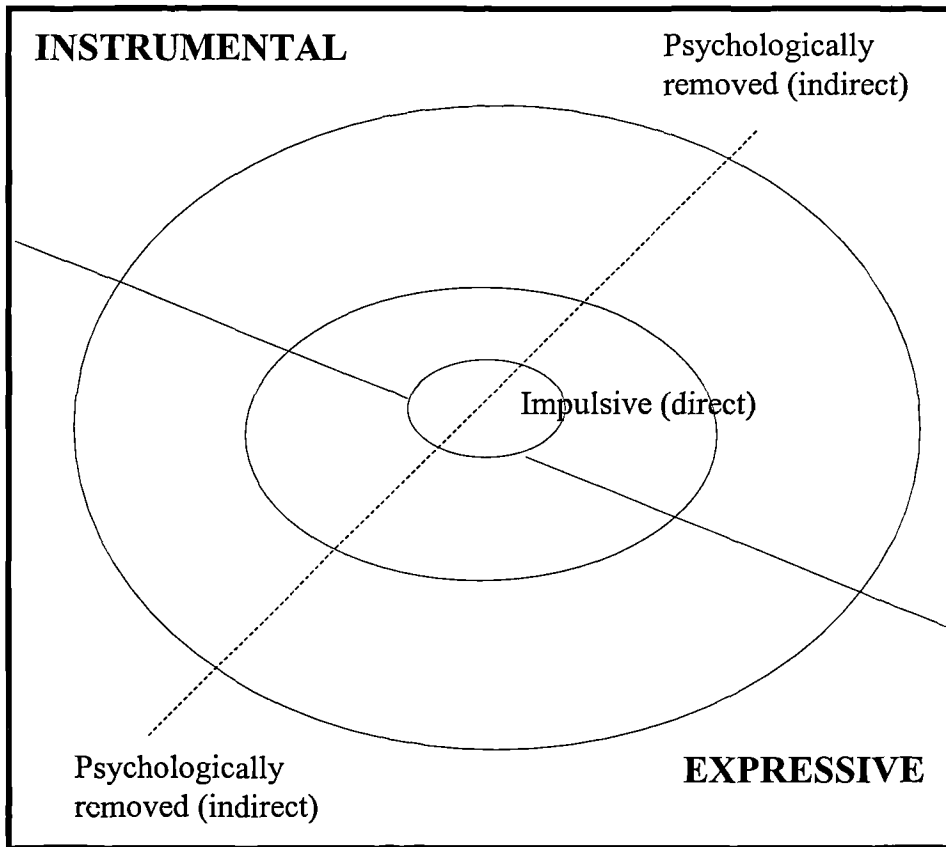
CHAPTER 6

THE STRUCTURE OF HOMICIDE OFFENDERS' BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

6.1 DIFFERENTIATING OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

Having established that there was a consistent structure to the actions that an offender committed at the crime scene, the next aim of the research concentrated on establishing the presence of behavioural consistencies in the co-occurrences of the characteristics in offenders' backgrounds. It was hypothesised that the same Expressive/Instrumental themes of characteristics would be apparent as in the crime scene themes, reflecting how the offender had interacted with other people and situations in their lives.

6.1.1 Design of study

17 offender characteristics (see appendix 5) were selected for the SSA analysis of co-occurrences of the 247 cases of homicide. The selection of the 17 characteristics were based on several criteria grounded in the literature, namely:

1. Characteristics regarding the manner in which the offender had previously interacted with his social world, in terms of criminal activity.

2. Characteristics regarding the manner in which the offender had previously interacted with his social world, in terms of previous relationships with intimates.

3. Characteristics regarding the manner in which the offender had previously interacted with his social world, in terms of their previous relationship with the victim.

6.1.2 results of SSA Analysis of Homicide Offenders' Background Characteristics

Figure 6.1.1 shows the distribution of the 17 offender characteristics for the 247 cases of homicide on the 1 by 2 projection of the 3-dimensional SSA analysis. The Coefficient of alienation of this analysis was 0.11176, showing a very good fit of the spatial representation of the co-occurrences of the offender characteristics.

6.2 DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENCIES OF OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

The hypothesis states that against a backdrop of a common set of offender background characteristics, the differentiation would reflect themes of the pertinent characteristics of the offender. Therefore, a first step in exploring the structure of characteristics depicted in figure 6.1.1 was to consider the frequency of occurrence of each of the variables. It was hypothesised that the high descending frequency characteristics would be at the core of the plot and that the frequencies of the characteristics would reflect an increasing degree of specialisation, both in terms of previous criminal activity, mental state (i.e. less psychologically and emotionally disturbed) and the offender's relationship with the victim.

Figure 6.2.1 presents the frequencies of occurrence of the 17 offender characteristics in the current data analysis set. Clear contours encompassing the characteristics that occur in over 80% of cases, 30-50% of cases, 13-30% of cases, and less than 10% of cases, have been superimposed on the SSA plot. The modulating facet depicted by these frequency contours can be seen to represent the various types of offenders. The most typical offender here, is male, knew the victim, and was familiar with the area in which the crime was committed. As the frequencies of occurrences decrease, the type of offender move from having more general characteristics associated with homicide offenders to more specific subgroups of offenders in terms of their previous criminal record, and their relationship with the victim.

6.2.1 High Frequency Offender Characteristics (over 80%)

Three of the 17 variables occurred in over 80% of the cases (see table 6.2.1), namely the offender being male, being familiar with the area and knowing the victim. This confirms general figures of homicide which all suggest that homicide is committed by people who know the victim, and by men in particular (Home Office Criminal Statistics 1995).

Table 6.2.1: Characteristics Occurring in More Than 80% of Cases

Characteristics	Frequency
Male	89%
Familiar with the area	87%
Knew victim	83%

Figure 6.1.1: SSA of Distribution of Offender Background Characteristics

partner abuse ○

relationship ○

fraud (CR) ○

knew victim ○   sexual (CR) ○
familiar area ○   ○ male   ○ prison
               ○   ○   ○ burglary (CR)
          unempl.   theft (CR)

psych. ○
                                        disorder (CR)
                                           ○   ○   ○ damage (CR)
                                           ○
                                        violence (CR)
○ blood related

                          ○ armed services
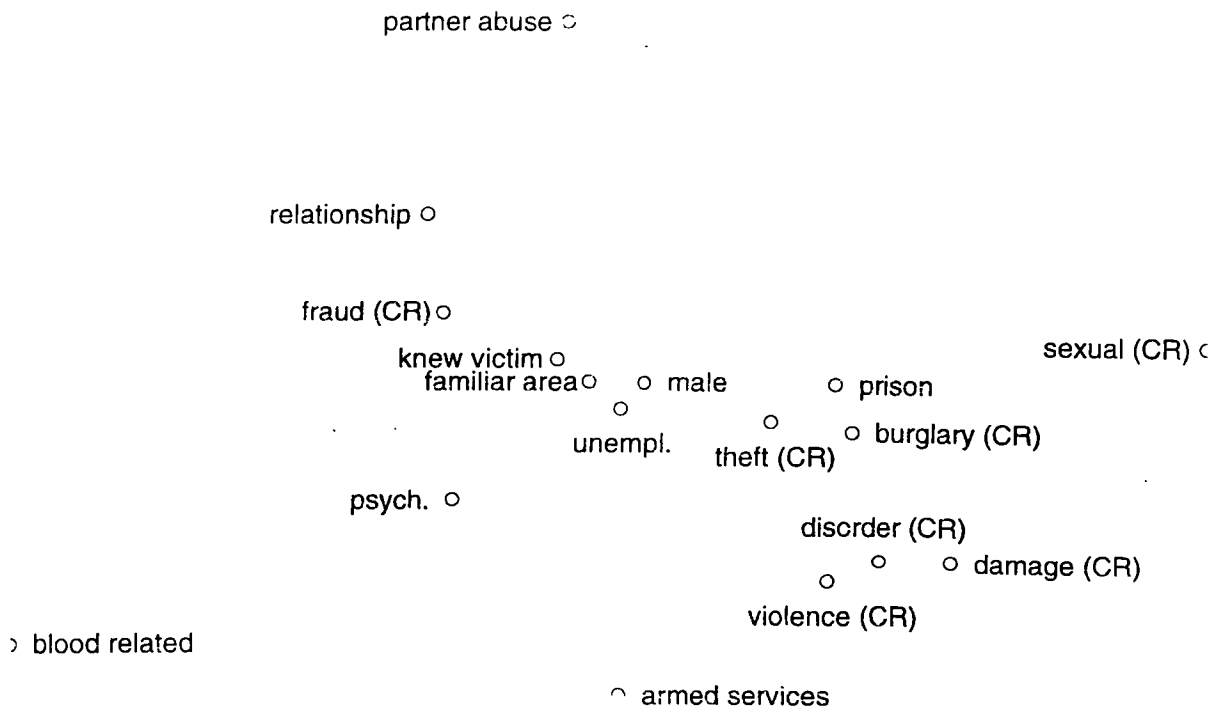
6.2.2 Offender Characteristics Occurring in 30-50% of Cases

The next frequency band relates to frequencies with an occurrence of between 30-50% of the cases. This leaves a 30% gap between the high frequency variables and the next frequency band, suggesting a lack of recorded information in the offenders' files relating to their previous characteristics.

Table 6.2.2: Characteristics occurring in 30-50% of cases

Characteristics	Frequency
Unemployed	50%
Theft (CR)	47%
Intimate relationship	36%
Psychological-psychiatric	32%
Burglary (CR)	31%
Fraud (CR)	30%
Prison	30%

Characteristics which fell into the 30-50% group (see table 6.2.2) again official statistics (Home Office Criminal Statistics 1995) by showing a high incidence of unemployment and a criminal record dealing with such things as theft and burglary, as well as showing that over one third (36%) of the offenders had a previous intimate relationship with the victim and/or showed evidence of having been emotionally disturbed prior to the crime in terms of having either a psychiatric record or social/psychological problems in their day to day life.

6.2.3 Offender Characteristics Occurring in 10-30% of Cases

Characteristics which co-occurred in the 10-30% group (see table 6.2.3) all exhibited a higher degree of aggression and violence, both in terms of previous violent convictions (violence, disorder and damage) and previous violent interpersonal dealings such as physical and/or sexual abuse to previous partners and having served in the armed forces.

Table 6.2.3: Characteristics occurring in 10-30% of cases

Characteristics	Frequency
Violence (CR)	28%
Disorder (CR)	22%
Damage (CR)	21%
Past abuse to partner	19%
Armed Services	12%

This suggests that although homicide is a violent crime scene as such, the percentage of offenders who have previously engaged in recorded violent acts is a more specialised subgroup than offenders who have previously engaged in more common criminal activities such as theft and burglary. This suggests, at this stage, that most homicide offenders are part of a more general criminal population and that those who are more specialised in violence may be a subgroup who commit a rather more specific type of homicide. This will be dealt with more fully later in chapter 7.

6.2.4 Low Frequency Offender Characteristics (less than 10%)

Finally, in the low frequency group of co-occurrences of less than 10% (see table 6.2.4), characteristics such as killing a blood relative corroborated the evidence from the literature, such as Daly and Wilson (1988) who suggest from their data that although it is people who live in close proximity to each other who are at a higher risk of homicide, blood relatives are least likely to be killed due to the socio-biological investment in ones own kin.

Table 6.2.4: Characteristics occurring in less than 10% of cases

Characteristics	Frequency
Sex (CR)	9%
Blood related	8%

Offenders with a previous history of sexual offences also fell into this low frequency band, thus suggesting that it is a small subgroup only of offenders who have previously been involved with sexual offences who go on to kill. This subgroup will be investigated in more detail in chapter 7 in order to look at any differences in the way they behave at the homicide crime scene, with particular reference to sexual behaviours.

Figure 6.2.1: SSA of Distribution of Frequencies of Offender Background Characteristics

<10%

partner abuse ○

10-30%

relationship ○

30-50%

fraud (CR) ○

knew victim ○ **>80%**

familiar area○　○ male　　　　○ prison

○

unempl.　theft (CR)　○ burglary (CR)

sexual (CR) ○

psych. ○

disorder (CR)

○　　○ damage (CR)

○

violence (CR)

○ blood related

○ armed services
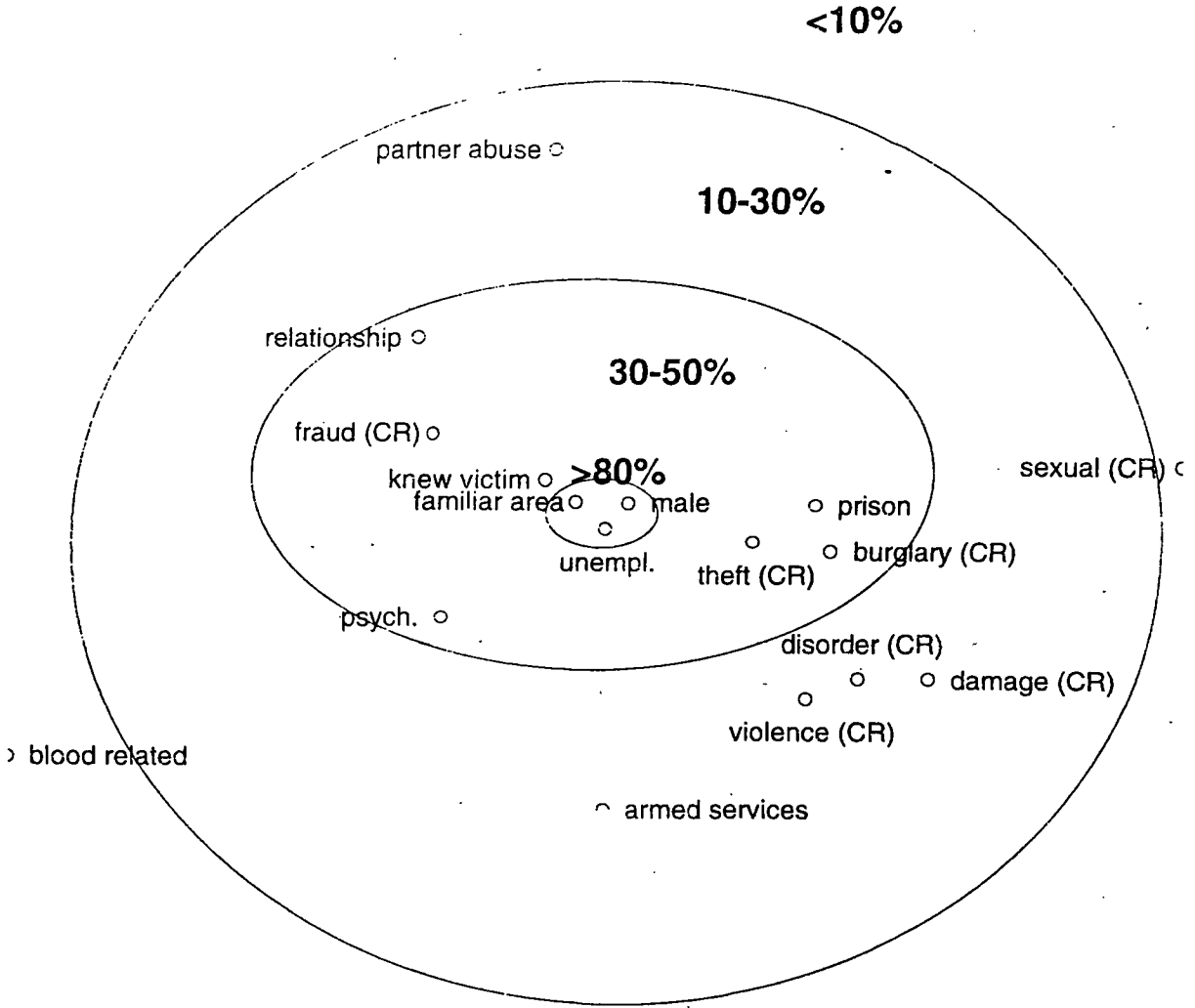
6.2.6 Summary of the themes shown by the frequency bands

The pattern of frequency bands, moving concentrically out from the middle of the plot, follows the same pattern as the pattern of frequencies in the analysis of the crime scene behaviours (see chapter 5) where the co-occurrences of high frequencies denotes the most frequently observed behaviours in homicide, namely variables which define this sample of homicide and homicide generally. The co-occurring high frequency offender characteristics reflect the themes which the literature on offenders suggest, namely that the majority are male (Home Office Criminal Statistics 1995), that they knew the victim (Wolfgang 1958) and that they operate within an area with which they are familiar with (Brantingham and Brantingham 1981). The order of the following descending frequency bands of offender background characteristics follow a discernible pattern which mirrors the established knowledge of offenders, namely that the majority are unemployed and work from a general criminal backdrop of theft crimes such as theft, burglary and fraud (Home Office Criminal Statistics 1995). Non-criminal behaviours within this higher frequency band also shows the likelihood of offenders having a past of psychological and/or psychiatric problems, and having killed their partner during the actual homicide. As these offenders become more specialised, and thus more differentiated, themes of violence are evident in their background, such as previous convictions for violence, damage and disorder, and generalised violent behaviour such as physically and/or sexually abusing partners and having trained experience within the armed services. Very rare characteristics include offenders who have the very specialised previous offence of sexual crimes, and on the other hand, offenders who kill their consanguinal relatives, which is an equally rare occurrence within homicide Daly and Wilson 1988).

This descending pattern of offender characteristics reveal a change from the more common characteristics which are generally found in the backgrounds of homicide offenders, to a change towards the more rare characteristics found in the backgrounds of only certain subgroups of homicide offenders. Just in terms of the type of victim, the pattern of frequencies show that offenders most often kill people they know, in

particular partners. This is a well-documented phenomenon in the literature (Wolfgang 1958, Daly and Wilson 1988) which states that it is the proximity, and thus the long history of, and intensity of interpersonal disputes, which lead to fatal disputes. Most rarely offenders target consanguinal relatives which again is an established figure from official statistics (Daly and Wilson 1988, Home Office Criminal Statistics 1995). Other authors explain the occurrence of murder amongst consanguinal relatives as an aberration caused by a psychiatric or psychotic episode. Ward et al. (1968) as an example, reported significant psychological disorders among 18% of murderers, 78% assaultives and 45% robbers. Comparable figures for property offenders and narcotic offenders were 62% and 47% respectively.

In terms of other characteristics which the offenders 'brought with them' to the crime of homicide, it can be seen that the majority had previous convictions for theft crimes followed by violence crimes and other violent characteristics, suggesting that the majority had previous experience in criminal activity and that a proportion of these offenders in particular, already had previous maladaptive inter-personal interpersonal strategies of violence.

6.3 THEMES OF OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

The important next step in the analysis of these background characteristics was the investigation into how they differ across offenders' backgrounds.

The regional hypothesis states that items which have a common theme will be found in the same region of the SSA space. In order to test the hypothesised framework of background characteristics of offenders, it was therefore necessary to examine the SSA configuration to establish whether different types of offender backgrounds could be identified.

Visual examination of the SSA plot revealed a clearly discernible structure of themes of previous experiences; Expressive (Person) and Instrumental (see figure 6.3.1). A secondary Object/Vehicle two-way split of the Instrumental region of how the offender had previously interacted with other people and situations in their lives was also evident from the SSA (see figure 6.3.2).

The three core characteristics were not included in either of the themes as they occurred in over 80% of all cases, and so did not differentiate between themes of offender characteristics.

6.3.1 The Expressive and Instrumental Themes of Offender Background Characteristics

The 2-way regional split of the SSA plot (see figure 6.3.1) suggested a thematic split of two different themes the way the offender had previously dealt with situations and people. The Instrumental region, or theme, incorporated 9 behaviours, and the Expressive theme, 5 behaviours. The core of the plot contained 3 behaviours.

The behaviours in the Instrumental region comprised of characteristics reflecting how the offender had previously dealt with situations and things, in particular with reference to their previous criminal activity. Characteristics in the Expressive region on the other hand were thematically very distinct from the characteristics which fell into the Instrumental region, reflecting specifically how the offender had previously dealt with intimate relationships, how the relationship with the victim was significant.

Figure 6.3.1: SSA of Themes of
Offender Background Characteristics

partner abuse

INSTRUMENTAL

relationship o

fraud (CR) o

sexual (CR) c

●   ● ●   o prison

EXPRESSIVE   o   o   o burglary (CR)
                  / unempl.   theft (CR)

psych. o

disorder (CR)

o   o   o damage (CR)
          o

violence (CR)

> blood related

∩ armed services
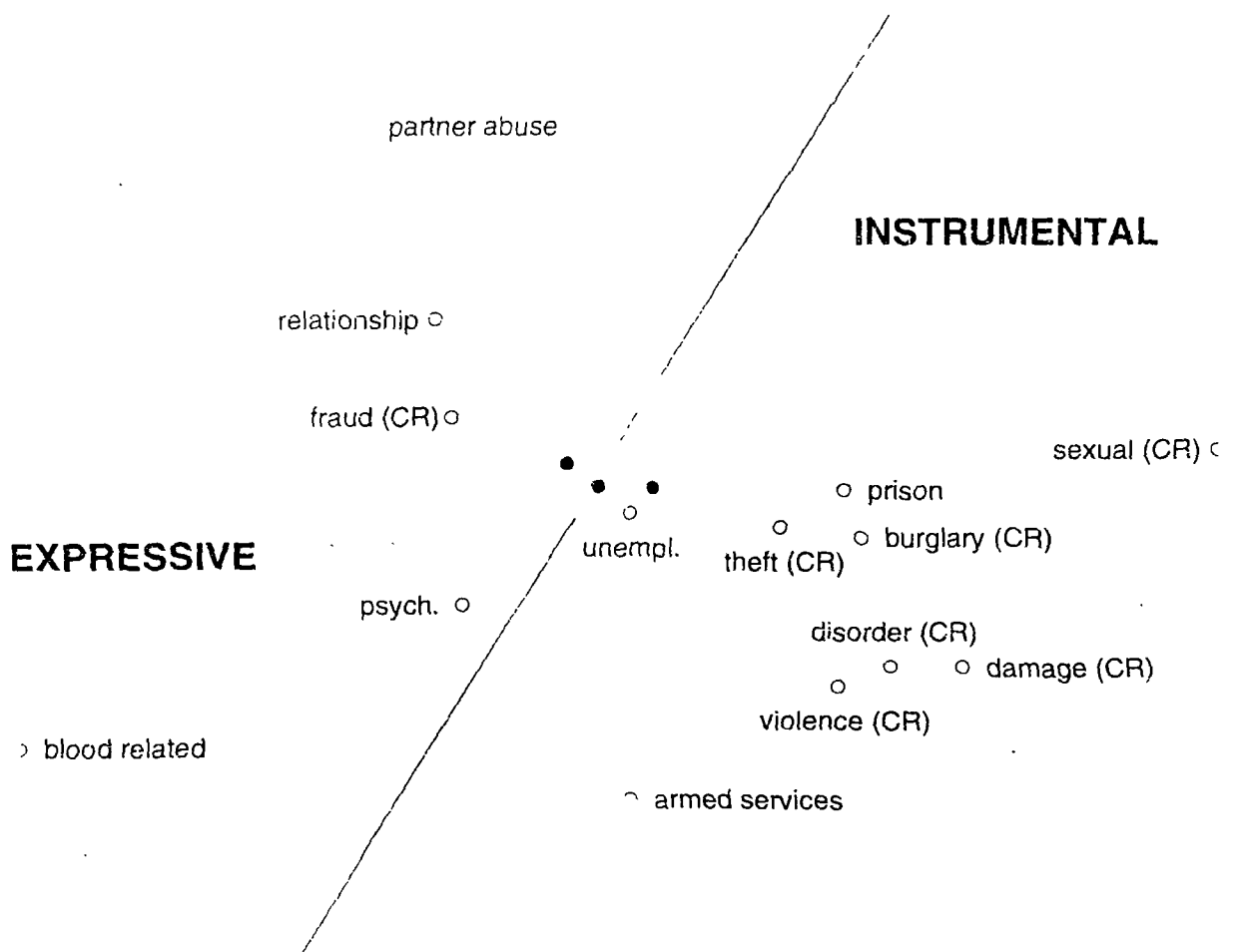
Expressive Background Characteristics

Characteristics, which co-occurred in this region of the plot (see table 6.3.1), related thematically to personal relationships and emotional issues. The relationship the offender had with the victim is paramount to the structure of the region in that variables which relate to an intimate, or sexual relationship with the victim, co-occurs at the top of the region. Here the offender who kills a partner, or an ex-partner can be seen to often have other thematically consistent characteristics in their background such as previously having abused their partner either sexually or physically and having previous offences of fraud, which again is consistent with the theme of deviant interaction with other individuals.

Table 6.3.1: Expressive (Person) Offender Characteristics

Percentage Range	Expressive (Person) Offender Characteristics
30-50%	Intimate relationship Psychological-psychiatric Fraud (CR)
10-30%	Past abuse to partner
Less than 10%	Blood related

At the bottom of the region are characteristics, which are more related to the offender killing a blood relative and co-occurring with the variables of having previous psychological and psychiatric problems. Killing relatives is often considered 'mad' or 'psychologically unstable' in the literature due to the illogical act of killing close kin in whom many sociobiological resources have been invested (Daly and Wilson 1988).

Although the top and the bottom ends of the Expressive region are slightly different, there were too few variables to reliably divide this region into sub-themes, and thus all the behaviours in this region or theme were treated under the umbrella of an Expressive or Reactive theme.

This region can further be likened to Canter's (1994) Person theme, where the offender deals with other people and situations as having direct emotional impact on them. The actual victim targeted here is the person who has the specific meaning to the offender, and thus why they are the one who gets killed. Like in Canter's sample of rapists, it is important to offenders in this theme that the victim is a particular person, not just a body or a representative of a person. The victim in these cases are usually known to the offender so the offender will attack indoors, near where they live, spilling over into this kind of violence from other criminal activity, such as theft or burglary. Indeed these offenders tend to have a chequered criminal history behind him.

Instrumental Background Characteristics

Offender characteristics that co-occurred in this region of the plot were thematically distinguishable from the characteristics in the Expressive region of the plot by the fact that all the variables in the Instrumental region almost exclusively dealt with the offender's previous criminal record. At the top of the region, the criminal record variables of previous theft and burglary co-occurred with unemployment, which is not unsurprising in that most criminals are unemployed, and this unemployment may be associated with financial gain crimes such as burglary and theft. Co-occurring with these variables was the variable of previous imprisonment, which is concordant with seasoned criminals with several counts of offences. Also at the top of the plot, but slightly further removed, is the previous criminal record variable of sexual offences, which by its co-occurrence with the economical gain variables suggest its thematic link to these variables, in this case presumably because of the fact that it is a

crime, like theft and burglary, which is invasive on the victim and from which the offender stands to gain something instrumentally from the crime, in terms of money or sex. Indeed this has been a previous association found in other homicide data sets (see Salfati and Canter, in press). However, sexual offences, by its nature and by the fact that the offender needs to be much more physically close to the victim during the offence which may account for the fact that it is spatially, although close, still spatially further apart from the other variables at the top of the plot.

At the bottom end of the Instrumental region, previous criminal record variables with a theme of violence can be seen, namely previous convictions for public disorder, damage and violence offences. Co-occurring with these criminal antecedent variables is the variable of previously having been involved in the armed services, is thematically consistent in that it broadly deals with the same theme of violence against people.

Table 6.3.2: Instrumental (vehicle and Object) Offender Characteristics

Percentage Range	Expressive (Person) Offender Characteristics
30-50%	Unemployed
	Theft (CR)
	Burglary (CR)
	Prison
10-30%	Violence (CR)
	Disorder (CR)
	Damage (CR)
	Armed Services
Less than 10%	Sexual offences (CR)

This top to bottom division of the co-occurrences of variables within the Instrumental region can be seen to signify a secondary thematic regional split of how the offender has previously dealt with their environment, namely as a Vehicle (top of region) and as an Object (bottom of the region) (see figure 6.3.2).

Figure 6.3.2: SSA of Themes of
Offender Background Characteristics
Person/Vehicle/Object

partner abuse

relationship ○

fraud (CR) ○

OBJECT

sexual (CR) ○

○ prison

PERSON

unempl.   theft (CR)   ○ burglary (CR)

psych. ○

disorder (CR)

○   ○ damage (CR)
○

violence (CR)

○ blood related

○ armed services
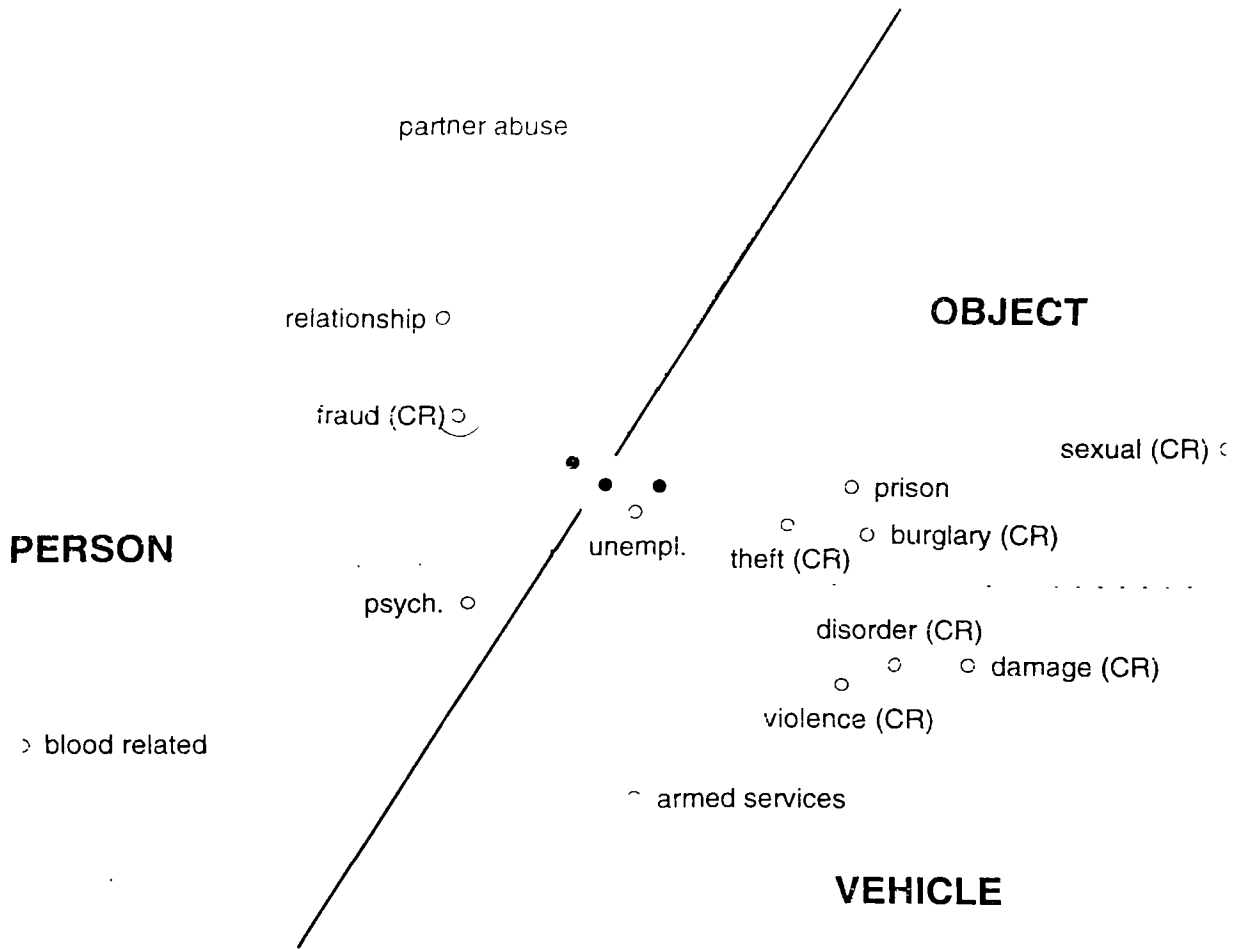
VEHICLE

Canter defines the offender of the Vehicle region of rape as offenders who target victims who reflect significant women in their own lives and will travel far to make contact with suitable victims. Central to these offenders' personal mission are usually attempts to rebuild broken relationships that existed before violence dominated their personal narratives, therefore, Canter suggests, it may be expected that this sort of offender has a series of broken relationships behind him. Because of this it is not uncommon that they tend to be older. Canter also likens this type of offender to the Organised type in the FBI typology.

The bottom end of the Instrumental region can be defined as a "Vehicle" region as all the variables co-occurring in this part of the region can be defined as dealing with the offender treating other people and situations in their life as objects onto which to vent their aggression. Here the victim takes on a symbolic meaning to the offender, and will be used as a Vehicle though whom the offender's aggression will be vented.

Canter sees the general attitude towards the victim in the victim as Object cases as one of lack of feeling. The victim is little more than an thing to be explored and played with. Because the real lives of their women victims are so irrelevant to these men, the women tend to be vulnerable victims of opportunity. This group would include other vulnerable victims such as elderly people as well. These men Canter exposes, do not stalk or target specific victims. Indeed, if the situation allows it, any woman may become a victim. Because of this, it is unlikely that the offender will travel far to commit their crimes.

6.3.2 Summary

The co-occurrences of the 17 variables chosen for the SSA analysis of offender background characteristics, could be seen to divide into two themes of Expressive and Instrumental background characteristics. Further detailed scrutiny revealed that the Instrumental theme could be sub-divided into two sub-themes, Vehicle and Object, thus resulting in a three-way split of the offender background characteristics of Person (Expressive) and Object and Vehicle (Instrumental).

When looking at the pattern of the distribution of the Instrumental and the Expressive variables, it is important that all the Instrumental variables, in particular the variables relating to the offender's criminal record, co-occurred in a very close cluster, signifying that not only do criminals often have several different crimes in their background, but that taken together, as a pattern, they signify individuals who lead a very criminal lifestyle. In contrast to the Instrumental region, the variables in the Expressive region were very spread out, suggesting a much bigger variety of background characteristics which are not necessarily as closely linked as are the criminal characteristics variables. Further, this spread of the Expressive variables, and the big gaps in between the variables, suggest that there are many more different variables which probably belong with these variables, but which the records of the offenders did not have any information about, most probably because they were not relevant to the investigation and prosecution of the offender.

As can be seen in figure 6.3.2, apart from the missing information in the 50-80% frequency band, there were additionally three main areas in the plot, where variables were missing. These three areas helped to separate the three themes (Person, Vehicle, and Object), but leaves open the question as to their context. The hypothesis here is that these missing variables would most likely be variables which the police did not record in the files, because they were not relevant to the investigation. These variables would be likely to be concerned with other aspects of the life style of the offender.

The layout of the three themes in the SSA exhibits a progression, anti-clockwise from the Person theme towards the Object theme, suggesting a move from the offender being the most involved with the victim in an inter-personal manner, through the Vehicle theme towards the Object theme, where the offender exhibit characteristics suggesting a very minimal involvement with the victim, and indeed where the victim takes on a completely secondary role to the act (see figure 6.3.3).

Figure 6.3.3: Three themed model of the Co-occurrences of Offender Background Characteristics
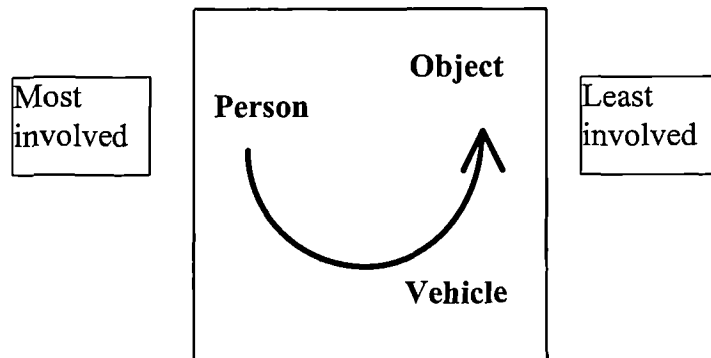
6.4 DISTRIBUTION OF CASES ACROSS THEMES OF OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

It is important to state, before determining the distribution of offenders across the different themes, that this section is not looking at offenders who belong *exclusively* to one theme, as it is unlikely that individuals have exclusively only characteristics in accordance to one theme. Rather, this section will look at the predominant theme which an offender exhibits. As Berkowitz (1993) concluded that violent offenders don't always fall neatly into one of the two categories in the Expressive/Instrumental dichotomy. Block (1977) also stresses that the Expressive/Instrumental typology is not so rigid that it suggests that instrumental killings are always coldly calculated and entirely deliberate. As an example, robbery deaths can be seen to most likely occur when victims resist armed assailants.

6.4.1 Instrumental and Expressive Themes of Offender Characteristics

In order to verify and validate the regional thematic split of the SSA of the offenders' background characteristics, the split of offenders across the two themes (Expressive and Instrumental) was calculated. If the majority of the offenders were found to be classifiable in terms of either of the two different themes, it was taken as an indication that the two regional themes were a good classification of the differential types of backgrounds of homicide offenders.

Whether a case belonged to either the Expressive or Instrumental theme was decided on depending on whether the percentage of behaviours present in one theme was at least twice the percentage present in the other theme. This analysis concentrated only on the 14 variables that made up the SSA, and excluded the 3 core variables. If the case had an equal amount of behaviours present in the two themes, it was classified as a hybrid case, where the offender was considered to exhibit just as many Expressive as Instrumental behaviours. All other cases were classified as having no

specific theme, i.e. if their behaviours were spread haphazardly -across the two themes.

As can be seen by figure 6.4.1, as many as two thirds (66.4%) of all offenders could be classified as either exhibiting Expressive or Instrumental behaviours at the crime scene. Four and a half percent were classified as being hybrids, i.e. exhibiting an equal percent of behaviours in each group.

Twenty-nine percent (29.1%) were labelled as being non-classifiable. Within this group, there were 13 cases (5.3% out of 29.1%) which had none of the 14 background characteristics variables present in either theme, either because they did not have these variables present in their records or because the information regarding these variables were not available for analysis.

Figure 6.4.1: Distribution of Offenders Across Themes of Offender Characteristics

Classification	Percent of Offenders
No theme	29.10%
Expressive	27.90%
Instrumental	38.50%
Hybrids	4.50%
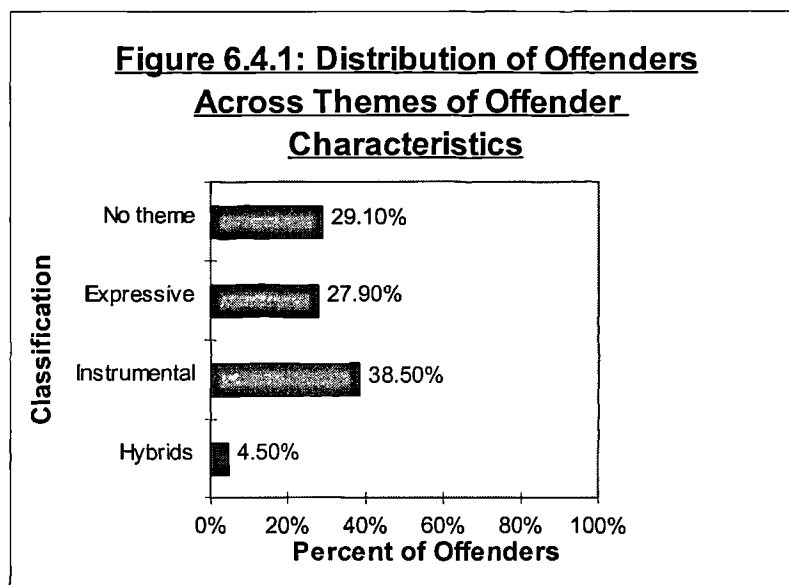
The fact that over two thirds (66%) of the offenders could be classified into either one of two of the themes, despite the fact that the literature points out that people are usually a mix of both Expressive and Instrumental characteristics, validates the classification system of the Instrumental/Expressive split in the themes of offenders' background characteristics.

6.4.2 Person, Object and Vehicle Themes of Offender Characteristics

When the distribution of offenders were looked at in terms of how they were distributed across the three themes of Person, Object and Vehicle (see figure 6.4.2), it could be seen that 70% of the cases could be classified as belonging in one theme over any other. Almost 9% (8.9%) in addition could be classified as a pure hybrid between two cases, that is where the number of characteristics were the same across two of the three themes, and zero in the third theme. This then accounts for almost 80% of the sample, a very high proportion, which suggests that the three-way split of Person/Object/Vehicle of how the offender had previously dealt with both people (including the victim) and situations in their lives, is a valid classification system.

Figure 6.4.2: Distribution of Offenders Across Three Themes of Victim Target

Theme	Percent
V-O-P hybrid	0.40%
V-O hybrid	7.30%
V-P hybrid	1.20%
Vehicle (V)	19.80%
Object (O)	2%
Person (P)	48.20%
No theme	21.10%

Percent
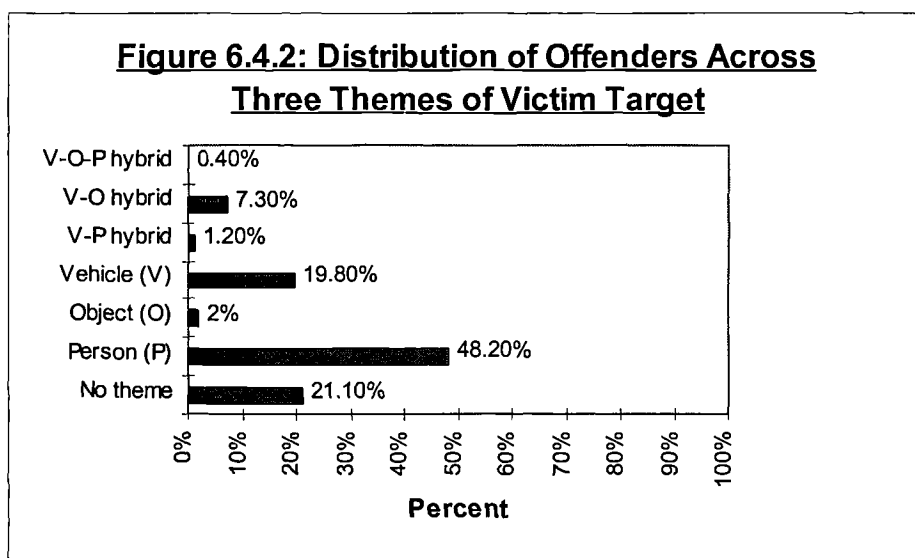
6.5 SUPERIMPOSING BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AS EXTERNAL VARIABLES ONTO SSA PLOT

To gain a fuller picture of the themes of co-occurrences of background characteristics, a further set of characteristics were selected as external variables to be superimposed onto the SSA plot of the 14 characteristics. These variables were analysed as external variables, rather than included in the SSA analysis for a number of methodological and theoretical reasons, which are more fully explained below. Further, the inclusion of these variables as external variables rather than variables in the SSA analysis would better complement the understanding of the themes in terms of their Expressive and Instrumental themes by highlighting how the co-occurrence of these specific variables superimposed on the themes of background characteristics, thus revealing a more detailed picture of the offenders' interpersonal styles.

6.5.1 External Variables

Variables concerning evidence of the way the offender had previously dealt with other people in their life were included in order to test the hypothesis that these variables would co-occur with the Expressive (Person) variables. These variables included information about their post-event behaviours of either

- committing suicide, or

- turning themselves in after the crime.

These two variables were not strictly background characteristics, and so were not included in the SSA, as they may have skewed the plot. Further, although they could be considered crime scene variables, as they occurred at the time of the crime, they were not included in the crime scene SSA either as they did not follow the common range of 'nastiness of the offender to the victim', however, they were included as

external variables on the background characteristics SSA plot as they provide crucial information as to the mental state of the offender as well as their feelings about the recent homicide, and thus give an indication of the type of offender involved.

The offender being a

- stranger to the victim

was also superimposed onto the SSA plot to discern the pattern of this non-knowledge of the victim with the other background variables. Including this variable in the SSA would mean having mutually exclusive variables in the same plot (e.g. 'knew the victim' and 'was a stranger to the victim') , which would distort the pattern of co-occurrences, as each of the variables would pull the plot apart.

Variables that dealt with the maturity of the offender, in particular in terms of their criminal career were included as external variables with the hypothesis that they would co-occur with the other Instrumental-variables. These variables included the

- age of the offender, and

- the offender having been involved in a series of crimes at the time of the murder which resembled a pattern, i.e. rapes or violence against the person.

The reason for their inclusion as external variables rather than as variables in the SSA are due to the fact that age is not a categorical present/absent variable, and that the variable 'serial' was not directly related to the offender's actions at the crime scene, towards the victim.

6.5.2 The Analysis of the External Variables

In order to uncover the pattern of co-occurrence between the external variables and the variables on the SSA plot, the percentage of the co-occurrence between each external variables was calculated for each background characteristics on the plot, i.e. how often they co-occurred in the records of offenders. These percentage values were then superimposed onto the plot, and the pattern of percentage of co-occurrence discerned (see figures 6.5.1 to 6.5.5).

<u>Suicide</u>

Whether an offender committed, or attempted to commit suicide after an offence can be considered as an indication of the offender's emotional state at the time of the crime, in particular with regard to their actions regarding the crime, and their feelings towards the victim. In this case, the distribution of the percent of co-occurrences with the other background characteristics revealed a clear pattern, showing that post-murder suicide is more likely to occur with an offender with Expressive characteristics in their background as opposed to Instrumental characteristics in their background. All the co-occurring percentages (see fig 6.5.1) in the Expressive region were over 10%, and most in the 20% range, with a general mean of 18% (N=5), whereas all percentages in the Instrumental theme were under 10%, with a general mean of 8% (N=9), with the exception of the offender having been in the armed services which had a percentage co-occurrence of 20%. Mann-Whitney U-test show a significant difference between the values in each of the two regions of p<.008 thus confirming that there is a difference between offenders with an Instrumental background and those with an Expressive background in terms of whether they were likely to commit suicide after the murder.

The Offender Turning Themselves In After the Crime

The offender turning himself or herself in after the crime can be seen as an indication of the way the offender feels about their actions of having killed the victim. The hypothesis here is that the negative emotion, catharsis and guilt the offender feels after the crime will be linked to the relationship they have with the victim, notably an intimate one, and will lead them to turn themselves in. Results from superimposing the percentages of co-occurrence of the variable 'turnin' on all the background characteristics in the SSA (see figure 6.5.2) shows that this hypothesis is mirrored in the data. Mann-Whitney U-test shows a significant difference between offenders who turned themselves in and those who did not (p<.01) in terms of how they co-occurred with the Instrumental and Expressive themes. The pattern was further refined in particular in terms of how the offender regards the victim as a target. The highest percent of co-occurrence occurs with the Person variables, and moves down in the percentage of co-occurrence as the offender regards the victim as more of an Object, and lastly as a Vehicle through which to attain an ulterior gain. This shows that the variable of the offender turning themselves in is directly related to the way the offender regards the victim, in particular the fact that they are more likely to turn themselves in the more of a relationship they have with the victim, thus showing that it is highest in the Victim as Person region, and least in the Victim as Vehicle region.

Stranger Homicides

To test this, the variable 'stranger' (that is had no previous personal relationship of any kind with the victim) was superimposed as an external variable onto the SSA plot of offender characteristics (see figure 6.5.3). The distribution of percentages of co-occurrence clearly shows that the offender is more likely to be a stranger to the victim when they bring with them other Instrumental and criminal characteristics to the crime, rather than Expressive characteristics (Mann-Whitney U-test shows that p<.005). This again substantiates that offenders with an Expressive background are

thematically very different to offenders with an Instrumental background, in particular with regards to the type of victim they target.

Offender Age

As can be seen from figure 6.5.4, when the mean co-occurrence of the external variable of the offender's age was superimposed onto the SSA plot with the distribution of the other offender characteristics, a clear, although statistically non-significant pattern was revealed. Co-occurring with the Instrumental characteristics were a lower set of age means (mean = 32 years for 8 Instrumental characteristics) than those co-occurring with the Expressive characteristics (mean = 38 years for the 5 Expressive characteristics).

'Serial' Cases

In 4.5% of the 247 cases, offenders were involved with what was defined as serial crimes at the time they committed the murder. These cases were termed such in order to identify offenders who may have been involved in many similar violent crimes at the time of the offence. These did not include offenders who were involved in theft or burglary, but offenders involved in parallel crimes of rape or violence. Murderers are not by nature serial like 'rapists' and 'burglars', unless they are 'serial killers', mostly because they are caught, but also because of the serious nature of the crime of murder. Therefore, a serial case may instead be involving a person who is exhibiting violence in general in their life, e.g. through parallel violent crimes, rape or through exhibiting violence in the rest of their non-criminal life, such as violence against their partner and so forth. When the pattern of co-occurrences of the serial variable with the offender characteristics in the SSA was examined (see figure 6.5.5), a significant difference (Mann-Whitney U-test p<.05) could be seen between the mean percentages in the Instrumental and Expressive regions. Further, a distinct pattern

could be established in line with how the offender regarded the victim as a Person (mean percent = 18%), as an Object (mean percent = 27%) or as a Vehicle (mean percent = 42%). The lowest percentage co-occurrence occurred with the Person variables and increased as the definition of the way the offender regarded the victim moved across the plot through the offender regarding the victim as an Object and then regarding the victim as a Vehicle.

Figure 6.5.1: SSA of Distribution of Percent Co-Occurrences of 'Suicide' with Offender Background Characteristics

15

23

INSTRUMENTAL
(Mean Theme Percent = 7.7%)

22

5

7

8   9   8

EXPRESSIVE
(Mean Theme Percent = 18%) 20

4   4
4

10

20
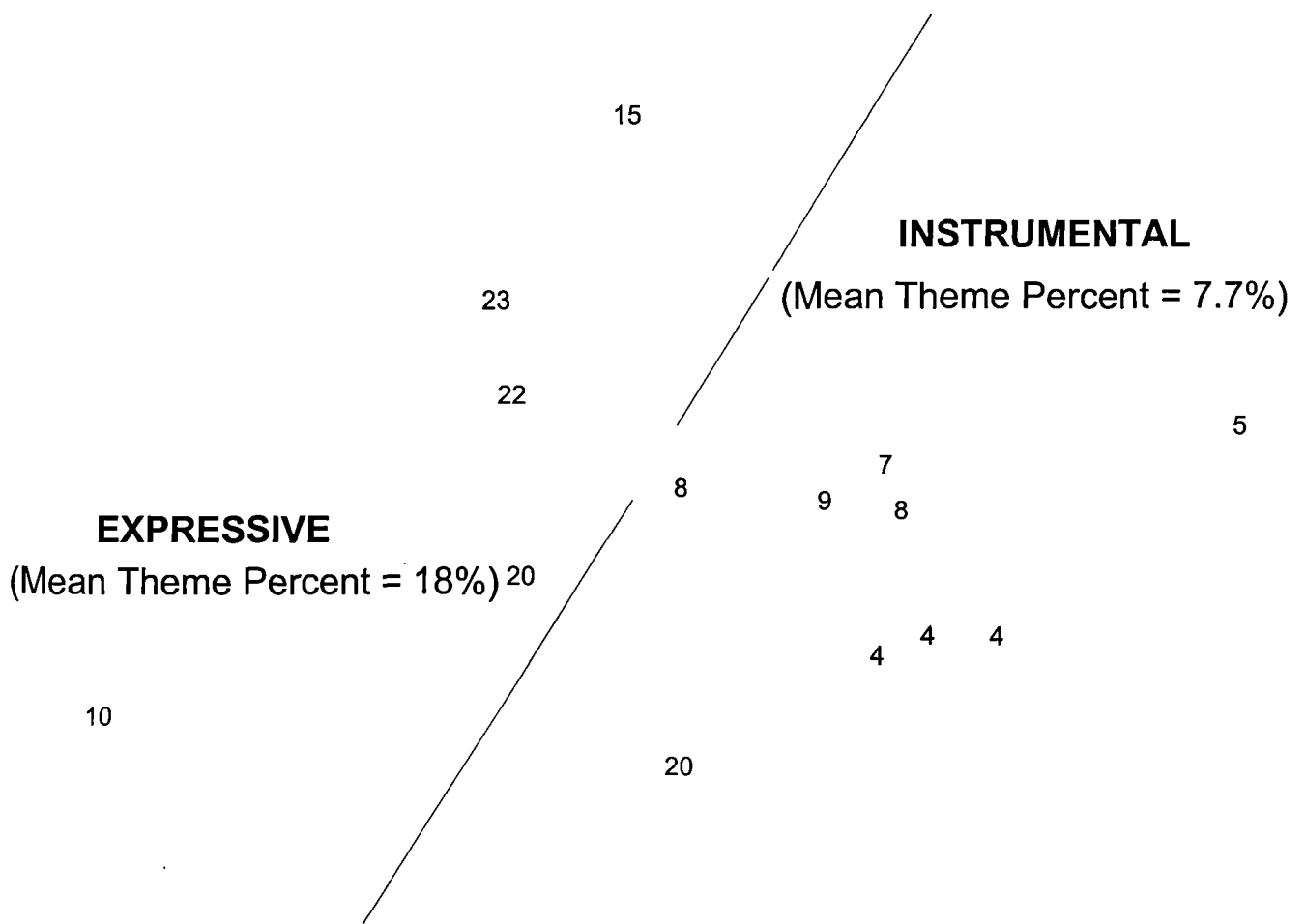
**Figure 6.5.2: SSA of Distribution of Percent Co-Occurrences
of 'Offender Turning Themselves In'
with Offender Background Characteristics**

33

36

31

23

INSTRUMENTAL

(Mean Theme Percent = 17.6%)

9

18

15   16

EXPRESSIVE

(Mean Theme Percent = 18%) 24

20   14

21

48

23
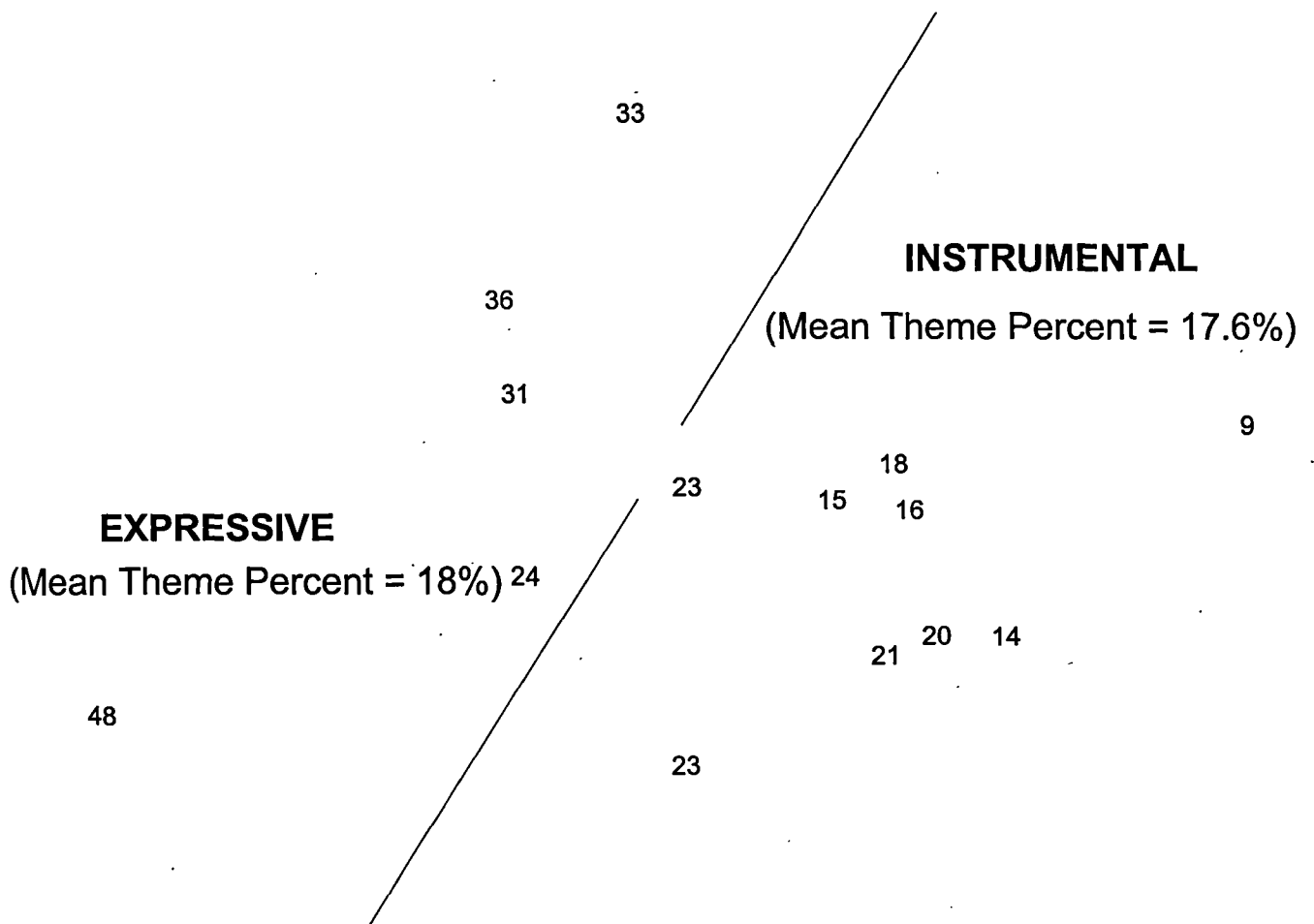
Figure 6.5.3: SSA of Distribution of Percent Co-Occurrences of 'Stranger' with Offender Background Characteristics

7

0

INSTRUMENTAL

(Mean Theme Percent = 35%)

16

26

42

42

58   44

EXPRESSIVE

(Mean Theme Percent = 10%) 26

44 16 37

0

9
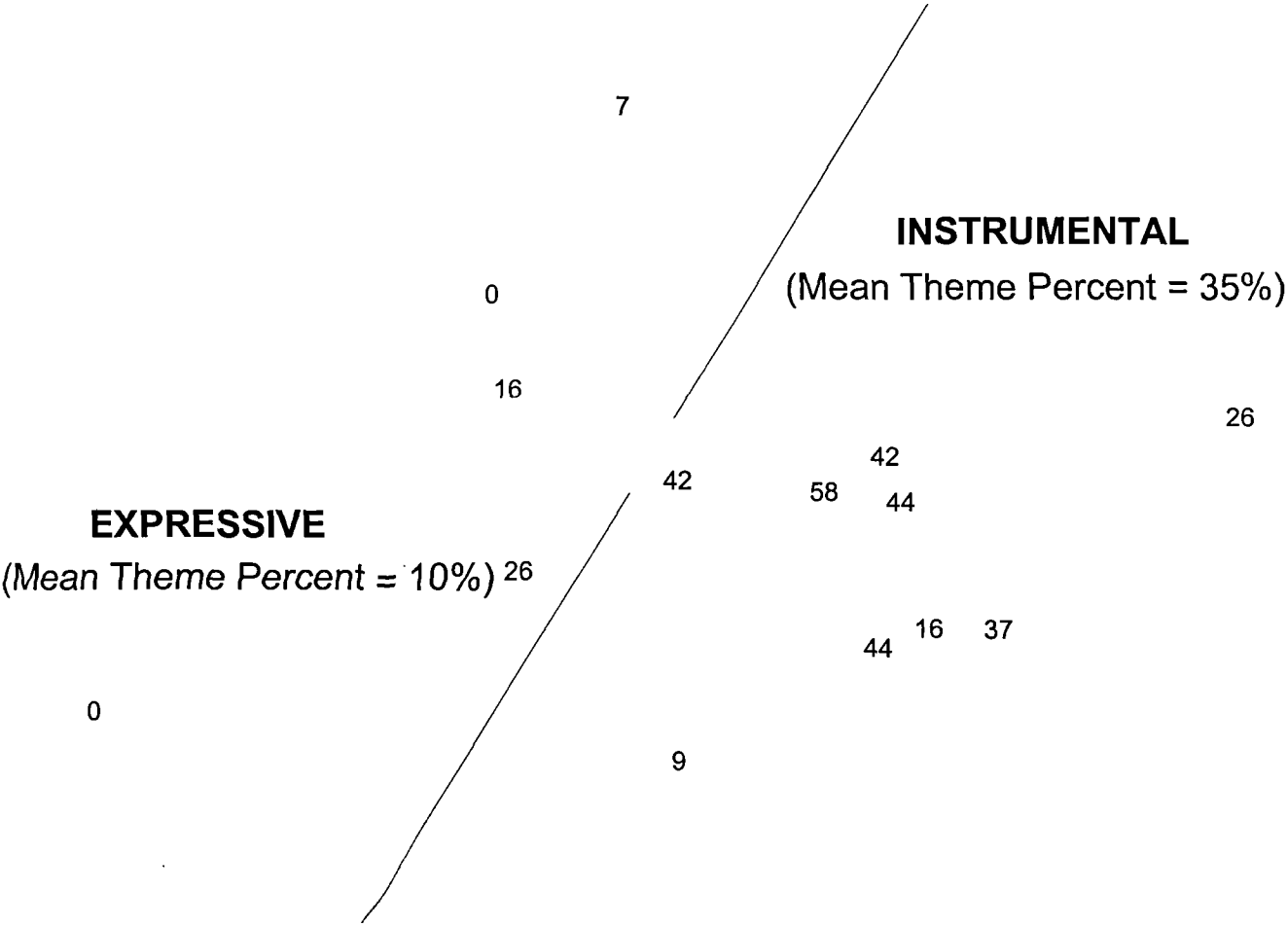
Figure 6.5.4: SSA of Distribution of Percent Co-Occurrences of 'Age' with Offender Background Characteristics

37

41

47

INSTRUMENTAL

(Mean Theme Percent = 32.3%)

35

32

34

30   30

EXPRESSIVE

(Mean Theme Percent = 10%) 38

30   31

30

29

39
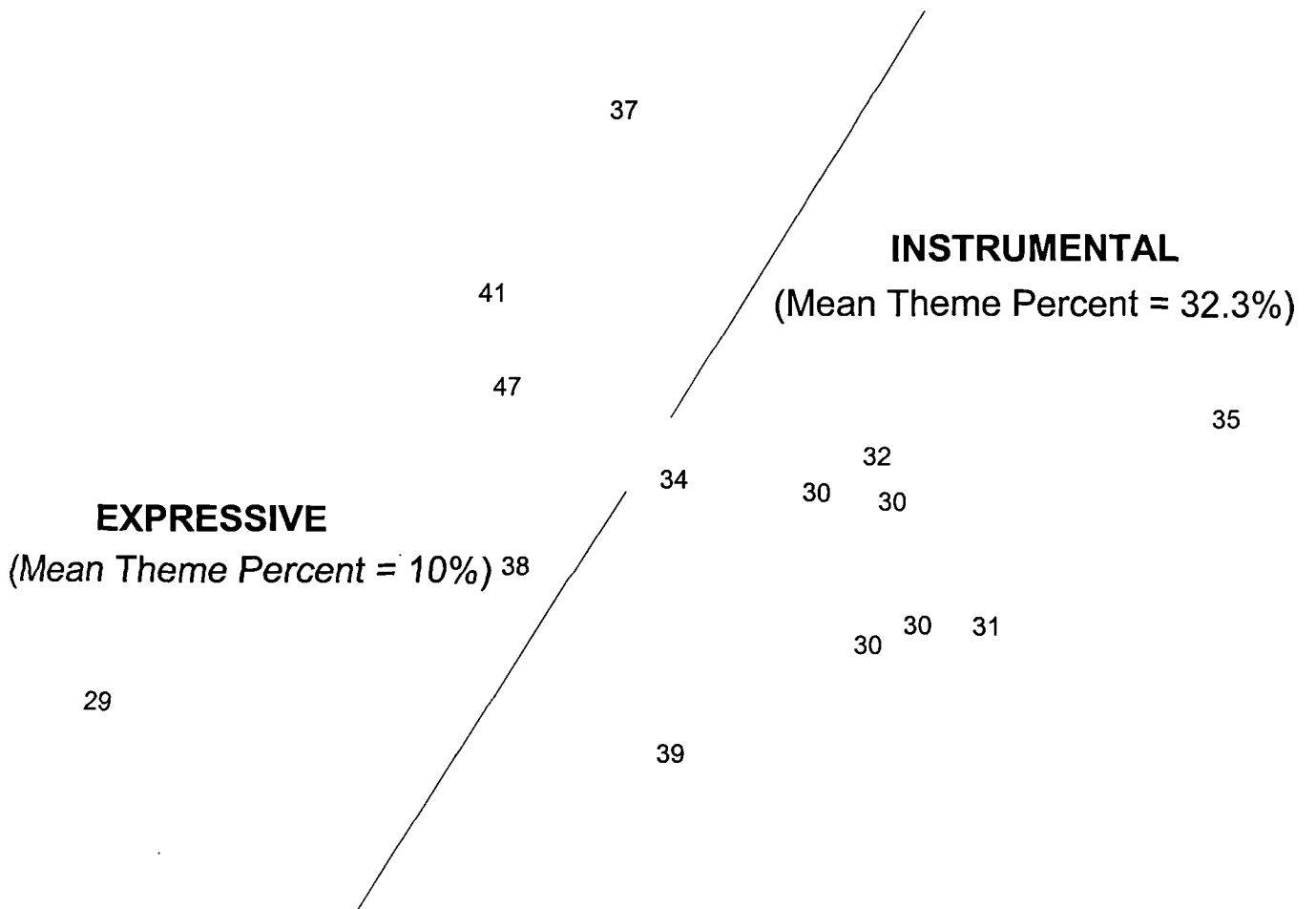
Figure 6.5.5: SSA of Distribution of Percent Co-Occurrences of 'Serial' with Offender Background Characteristics

9

27

OBJECT

(Mean Theme Percent = 41.8%)

27

27

45

27   55   55

PERSON

(Mean Theme Percent = 18%)27

27

36   27   18

0

27   **VEHICLE**

(Mean Theme Percent = 41.8%)
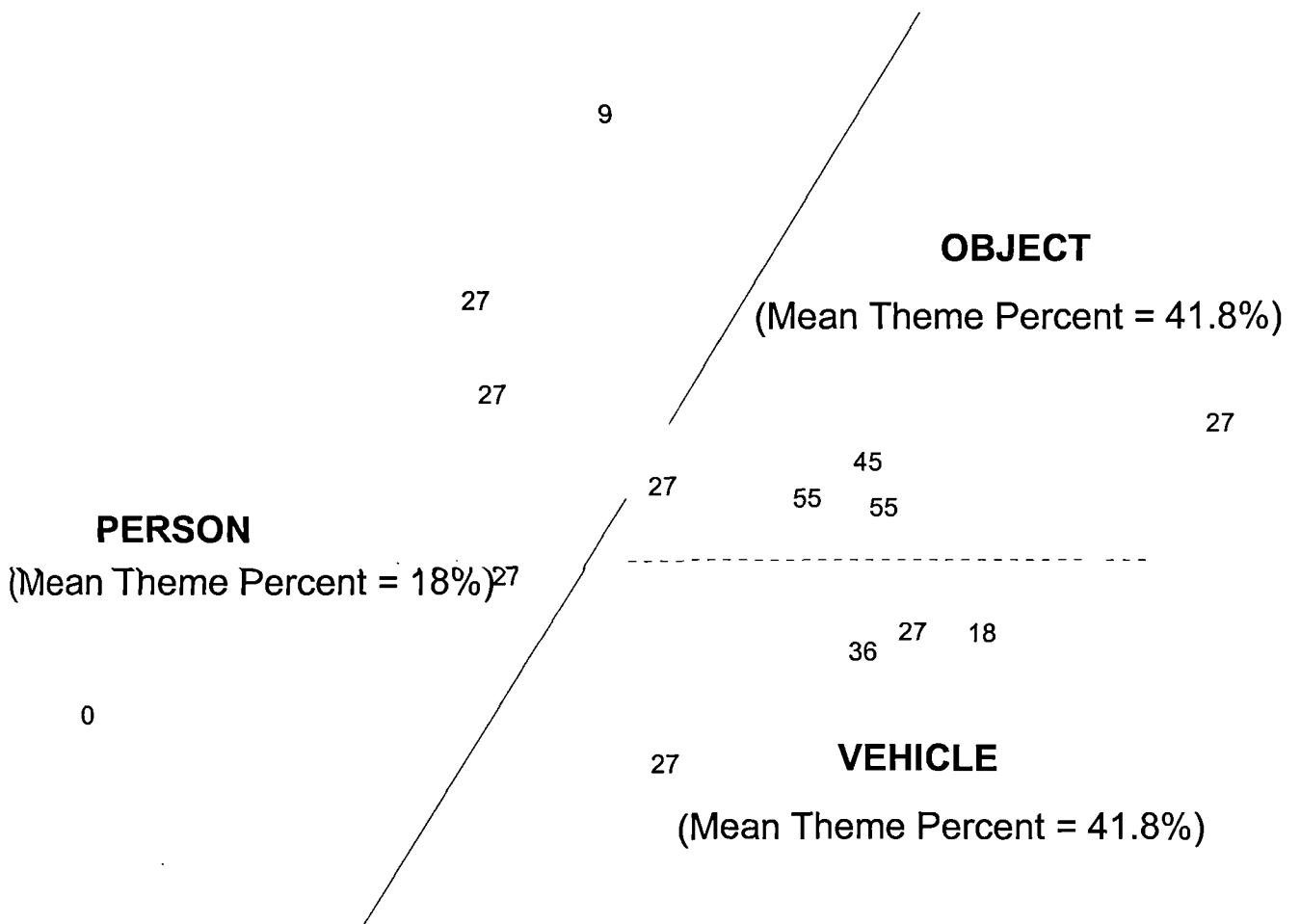
6.6 SUMMARY OF HOMICIDE OFFENDERS BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

The results from this phase of the thesis builds on the work by Fesbach (1964), Toch (1969), Block (1977), Berkowitz (1993) and Cornell et al. (1987) by showing that an Expressive/Instrumental split does exist in the previous histories of homicide offenders. The results further show that this two-way classification can be observed through the analysis of offenders' previous records, their previous interpersonal relationships and their interpersonal relationship with the victim.

The results from the study also shows that inherent in the Expressive/Instrumental split, is a secondary split which incorporates Canter's (1994) three-way model of the offender treating the victim as a Person, as an Object, or as a Vehicle. The validity of the classification system is in part verified through its ability to accommodate most of the sample into the Person/Object/Vehicle classification model. Even with the stringent classification guidelines of this study (see section 6.4), almost 80% of the sample could be classified as having a dominant background characteristics theme.

The next important question addressed how these themes of background characteristics related to themes of behaviours at the crime scene. The hypothesis put forward stated that offenders would exhibit thematic consistencies between their *previous interpersonal interactions (background characteristics), and the way they* interacted with the victim at the crime scene, as evidenced by the behavioural evidence left at the crime scene. In this way an offender who predominantly acts in an Expressive way at the crime scene, will have predominantly Expressive offender characteristics. This next phase will be delineated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

RELATING CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOURS TO OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

7.1 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ACTIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS

The study so far has established that there are consistencies to the way an offender acts at the crime scene (Expressive and Instrumental) and that offenders have consistent patterns of background characteristics (Expressive, Instrumental Vehicle and Instrumental Object).

Most of the longitudinal literature shows that there are thematic consistencies and patterns between earlier and later life characteristics (e.g. West and Farrington 1977, Sampson and Laub 1993, Huesmann et al. 1984). There have also been some early indications that these characteristics can be thematically linked to the different ways offenders commit their crimes (e.g. Canter and Heritage 1990, Davies et al. 1997, Salfati and Canter in press). The next aim of the thesis investigated whether this consistency held across situations and time by testing whether the way an offender thematically acted at the crime scene is related to similar themes in their background characteristics.

7.1.1 Design of Study

The 36 Crime scene variables (see chapter 5) and the 17 background characteristics variables (see chapter 6) were included together into an SSA analysis of the 247 cases of homicide. Because an SSA will plot closely together variables which are associated, the hypothesis was that offender characteristics which were closely associated with certain crime scene behaviours would co-occur in the same region of the plot.

7.1.2 Results of SSA Analysis of Homicide Offenders' Crime Scene Behaviours and Background Characteristics

Figure 7.1.1 shows the distribution of the 36 crime scene behaviours and 17 offender characteristics for the 247 cases of homicide on the 1 by 2 projection of the 3-dimensional SSA analysis. The Coefficient of alienation of this analysis was 0.18226, showing a good fit of the spatial representation of the co-occurrences of the variables.

7.2 DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENCIES OF CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOURS AND OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

Superimposing frequency bands onto the SSA plot (see figure 7.2.1) it could be seen that the frequency structure of both the crime scene variables and the offender characteristics remained the same. High frequency variables were located in the middle of the plot, with variables moving concentrically out from the middle to the outer edges of the plot to where the low frequency variables were located.

Figure 7.1.1: Distribution of Crime Scene Actions and Offender Background Characteristics

Figure 7.2.1: Distribution of Frequencies of
Crime Scene Actions and Offender Background Characteristics

o
arson

o clothdam

armed serviceso

cr.disorder

cr.damageo   o   o cr.sexual

10-30%   cr.violence   o prop.not.id
               o   cr.burglary
                      o   o prison
                      cr.theft
weapon.to   prop.v o   object c
   o   unempl
               faceup **>80%**covered   o naked   analo
stab
      torso   psych o o male   manual
shot   faceunhid o o fam.area
      30-50% knew   o forensic
      weapon.fr o   o mwoa o neck
          relationship o   o partundr   o sexual
      cr.fraud   o head o face
         oo   o   vaginalo
      prop.id   mwd   o partner abuse
                   o
                   blunt
           o   bound
           limbs   o   hidden
                                    o

      <10%   transported
bloodref   o
   o

suffocated
   o
water
   o

drug/poison   blindfold
   .   o

7.3 THEMES OF OFFENDER CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOURS AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

The regional hypothesis, as explained previously, states that items which have a common theme will be found in the same region of the SSA space. It thus follows that similarly themed crime scene behaviours and offender characteristics would occur in the same region of the plot. In this way the analysis would show the associations between themes of actions and themes of characteristics.

7.3.1 The relationship between Homicide Offender Crime Scene Behaviours and Their Background Characteristics

Visual examination of the SSA plot in figure 7.3.1 demonstrates that when the crime scene behaviours and the offender characteristics were included into the same SSA, the same 2-way Expressive/Instrumental split of the SSA plot, as evidenced in the *crime scene and background characteristics SSA's* separately, was still very clearly evident. This resulted in a two-themed model of how the offender had previously dealt with situations and people and the way they consequently and thematically consistently treated the victim at the crime scene..The fact that these two groups of variables (crime scene actions and offender characteristics) co-occurred in the same thematic regions, reflected the fact that they shared the same thematic characteristics, in this case, Expressive, or Instrumental. The Person (Expressive) region, or theme, incorporated 24 variables, of which 19 were crime scene behaviours and 5 were offender characteristics (see table 7.3.1). The Instrumental theme incorporated 22 variables of which 13 were crime scene behaviours and 9 were background characteristics (see table 7.3.2). The core seven characteristics (see table 5.2.1 and 6.3.1) were not included in either of the thematic regions as they occurred in the majority of the cases.

Figure 7.3.1: Themes of Crime Scene Actions and Offender Background Characteristics

o
arson

INSTRUMENTAL

o clothdam

armed services o

cr.disorder
cr.damage o   o   o cr.sexual
cr.violence
o prop.not.id
o   cr.burglary
o   o prison
cr.theft
prop.v o unempl
o   covered   o naked   anal o   object c
weapon.to
shot   stab o   manual
)   torso opsych o •   neck
o partundr   o sexual
forensic   vaginal o
weapon.fr o   •
relationship o head o face
cr.fraud   o   o partner abuse
oo   o mwd
prop.id   blunt   bound
o   o   hidden
.t.   limbs   o

transported
o

bloodrel
o

EXPRESSIVE

suffocated
o
water
o

blindfold
o

drug/poison

The Expressive Theme

The variables in the Expressive (Person) region all reflected variables, both in terms of crime scene behaviours, and offender background characteristics, which were emotional and personal in origin. These person variables reflected specifically how the offender may have previously dealt with intimate relationships, and what relationship they had with the victim.

Table 7.3.1: Expressive (Person) Themed Variables

N	Crime Scene Behaviours	Offender Characteristics
1	Limbs	Relationship
2	Weapon from scene	Fraud (CR)
3	Head	Partner abuse
4	Face	Blood related
5	Drugged/poisoned	Psychiatric/Psychological
6	Property identifiable stolen	
7	Forensically aware −	
8	Multiple wounds distributed	
9	Blunt	
10	Bound	
11	Hidden	
12	Transported	
13	Blindfolded	
14	Suffocated	
15	Water	
16	Torso	
17	Stab	
18	Weapon to scene	
19	Shot	

Here the relationship the offender had with the victim is paramount to the structure of the theme. The offender who kills a partner, or an ex-partner can be seen to often have other thematically consistent characteristics in their background such as previously having abused their partner either sexually or physically (see table 7.3.1). These individuals' crime scene behaviours, which co-occurred with their background

in the same region of the plot characteristics (see table 7.3.1), mirror the Expressive theme which runs through their background characteristics.

The Instrumental Theme

The variables in the Instrumental region comprised of characteristics which reflected how the offender had previously dealt with situations and things, in particular with reference to their previous criminal activity. This was consistent with the pattern revealed in the analysis of offenders' background characteristics in chapter 6. Offender characteristics which co-occurred in this region of the plot almost exclusively dealt with the offender's previous criminal record.

Table 7.3.2: Instrumental Themed Variables

N	Crime Scene Behaviours	Offender Characteristics
1	Neck ✓	Violence (CR)
2	Manual ✓	Damage (CR)
3	Covered ✓	Disorder (CR)
4	Property not identifiable	Armed services
5	Property of value	Burglary (CR)
6	Partially undressed ✓	Theft (CR)
7	Sexual	Unemployed
8	Naked ✓	Prison
9	Arson	Sexual (CR)
10	Clothing damaged	
11	Vaginal ✓	
12	Anal ✓	
13	Object ✓	

Within the Instrumental region the same secondary thematic regional split of how the offender had previously dealt with his crimes could be observed, namely as an Object or as a Vehicle. This 2-way sub-split of the Instrumental region, was again consistent with the one found in the SSA of the offender background characteristics in chapter 6. However, because there were no crime scene variables which specifically could be associated with this area on the SSA plot, a discernible division could not be made.

7.4 TESTING THE THEMATIC LINK BETWEEN CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOURS AND OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

In order to test this 2-way Expressive/Instrumental facet framework of homicide crime scene behaviours, each of the 247 offences in the dataset was individually examined to ascertain whether it could be assigned to a particular theme on the basis of the variables which occurred during the incident. Every offence was given a percentage score (which included both the crime scene variables and the background variables) for each of the two crime scene themes, reflecting the proportion of total Expressive or Instrumental variables that occurred during the crime.

Percentages of intra-theme occurrences were used rather than actual numbers of occurrences because the total number of behaviours in each theme differed (Expressive = 23, Instrumental = 22). the seven core behaviours were not included in the distribution analysis as they occurred in the majority of cases.

Looking at the simple distribution of cases across the two themes (classification I in table 7.4.1) it could be seen that approximately half fell into the Expressive group, an approximately half fell into the Instrumental group.

If the more stringent classification was used, where a case was only assigned to a particular theme if it contained at least twice the percentage of variables as in the

other theme (see classification II in table 7.4.1), 30% could be classified as Expressive, and 25.1% as Instrumental.

Table 7.4.1: Distribution of Cases Across Combined Crime Scene and Offender Characteristics Themes

Classification	Expressive Theme	Instrumental Theme	Hybrids	No Classification
I	51.8%	48.2%	--	--
II	30%	25.1%	25.1%	19.8%

In classification II, a case was classed as a hybrid case in terms of the total *number* of actions present, rather than the percentage. This was done because the percentage of the two regions were different due to the fact that different numbers made up the two regions, therefore making a percentage comparison difficult. Instead, it was decided that if a case had the same number of variables in both themes, or if a case had one more variable than in the other region, it was classed as a hybrid case. In this case, 25.1% were classified as hybrids. 19.8% were deemed unclassifiable according to this classification.

Comparing classification II distribution of the cases across the two themes from the combined crime scenes and background characteristics SSA, with the classifications distribution of crime scenes (chapter 5) and offender characteristics (chapter 6) only, it can be seen that less cases were classifiable as having a majority of variables in one theme over the other. This discrepancy can be hypothesised as being due the issue of thematic consistency thrown up by the literature (e.g. Berkowitz 1993, Block 1977, Cornell et al. 1996). These authors stress that although individuals may exhibit a particular theme in their offending behaviour, they may not always have exclusively that theme in their background characteristics.

Looking at the thematic classification distributions of cases in the crime scene actions SSA (chapter 5) and the background characteristics SSA (chapter 6), a descriptive model can be presented to further investigate the association between homicide offenders' actions and characteristics (see figure 7.4.1).

Figure 7.4.1 shows the associations between the 172 (69.6%) cases which could be classified as having either an Expressive, Instrumental or hybrid crime scene theme and background characteristics theme.

As can be seen from figure 7.4.1, the majority of the 172 offenders who had classifiable crime scene themes and classifiable background characteristics themes, committed a majority of Expressive actions at the crime scene (N=67), yet the majority had Instrumental background characteristics (N=102). In fact, 62% (N=41) of cases which had an Expressive crime scene theme, were committed by offenders with an Instrumental background. Comparatively, only 36% (N=24), almost half, of cases which had an Expressive crime scene, were committed by offenders with an Expressive background.

Figure 7.4.1 also shows that of crime scenes that could be classified as Instrumental, *35% (N=18)* were committed by offenders with an Expressive background, and *59%* (N=30) by offenders with an Instrumental background.

These figures suggest that irrespective of the crime scene theme, offenders were more likely to have Instrumental background characteristics as defined by the background characteristics SSA in chapter 6. As the Instrumental background theme is largely defined by the presence of previous convictions, this suggests that most homicide offenders committed homicide as part of their general criminal career.

Figure 7.4.1: Associations Between Offenders' Crime Scene Theme Classifications and Offender Characteristics Theme Classifications

NUMBER OF CASES WITH
CRIME SCENE THEME

NUMBER OF CASES WITH
BACKGROUND THEME

EXPRESSIVE
67 *

24
41
2

EXPRESSIVE
86

18

INSTRUMENTAL
51

30
3

INSTRUMENTAL
102

20
31

HYBRID
54

3
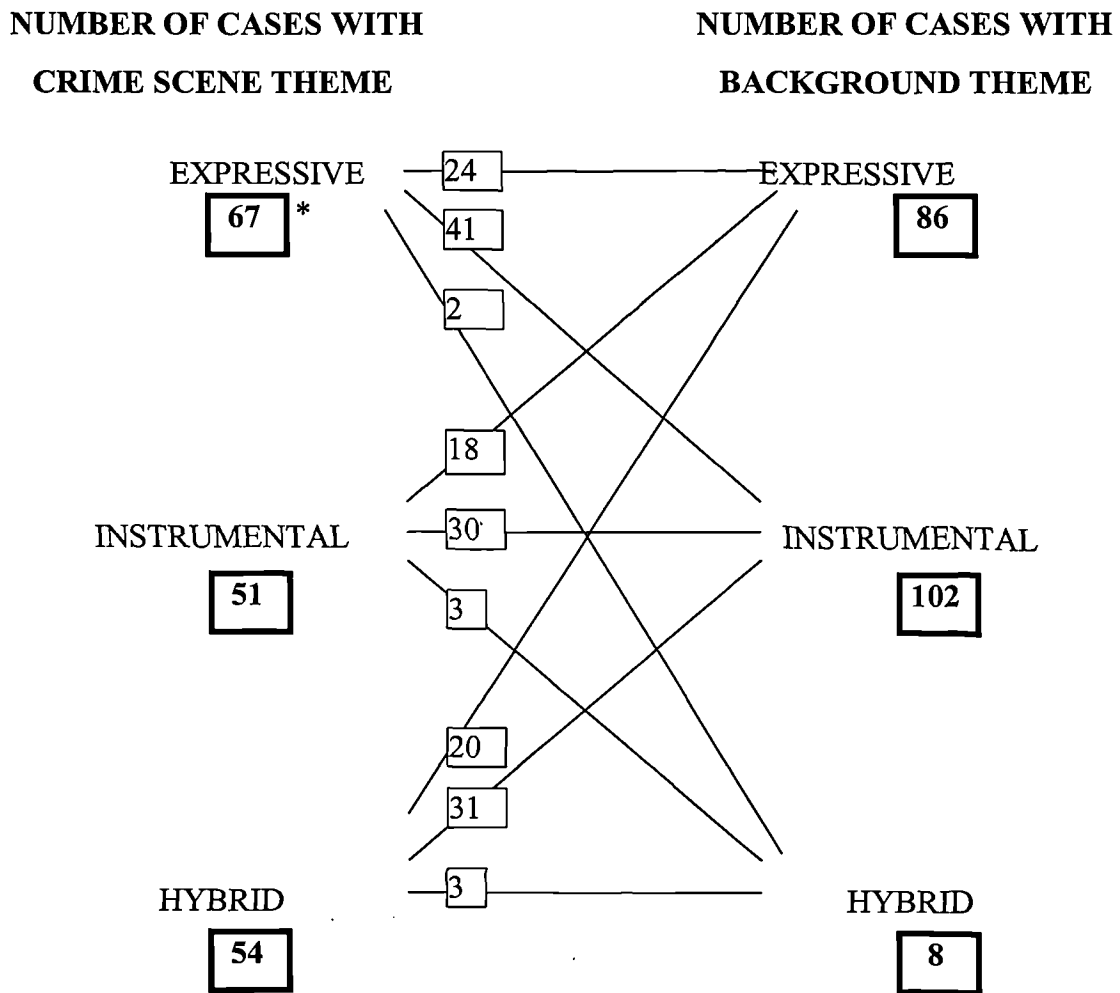
HYBRID
8

* Denotes the total number of cases which had this theme.

What is of further interest to note, is that of the hybrid crime scenes, 37% (N=20), were committed by offenders with Expressive characteristics, and 54% (N=31) by offenders with Instrumental characteristics. This again shows that most homicide offenders will come from a background of crime, and will commit actions at the crime scene which are both Expressive, Instrumental and a mixture of both. However, looking at offenders with Instrumental backgrounds specifically (N=102), it can be observed that the majority of homicides they commit, are Expressive in nature (N=41, 40%), compared to 29% (N=30) Instrumental homicides and 30% (N=31) Hybrid homicides.

7.4.1 Summary

Having established that although over 50% of cases could be classified as exhibiting either a dominant Expressive or dominant Instrumental combined crime scene and offender characteristics theme, this section has highlighted that this is still lower than when cases are classified purely on crime scene actions or purely on offender characteristics. This it is hypothesised, is due to the fact that although offenders are predominantly thematically consistent in the way they commit crimes and in their characteristics, there are certain psychological processes present which suggests that the actions-to-characteristics association is not as straightforward as first hypothesised (see Block 1977, Berkowitz 1993). Results confirm that there is a substantial mix between crime scene themes and themes of background characteristics. Homicide is essentially an Expressive crime, and therefore it explains why both offenders with Expressive and offenders with Instrumental backgrounds commit mostly Expressive homicides (see figure 7.4.1). However, homicide tends to be committed by people who have to a large extent, an extensive criminal history behind them. This will explain why most homicides, especially Expressive homicides, are still committed by offenders with Instrumental backgrounds.

7.5 SEXUAL HOMICIDES

Much of the previous literature on the behavioural classification of homicide (e.g. Ressler et al. 1988) focuses on sexual homicides in particular. Indeed the classification systems which have been posited, are based on this subgroup of homicides. The important question is to ascertain whether this subgroup of sexual homicide is indeed representative of homicide, or whether it is a specific sub-group which differs significantly from other types of homicide. A study of 82 stranger British homicide found that homicides which contained sexual behaviours such as vaginal penetration, penetration by a foreign object and presence of semen, were in fact a subgroup within the greater 'Instrumental Opportunistic' theme of behaviours where the victim is seen as a vehicle to attain other goals such as property and sex (i.e. where the offender essentially steals from the victim (Salfati and Canter, in press).

7.5.1 Hypotheses

In the present sample, it could be observed that the region which made up the Instrumental theme, incorporated many behaviours regarding the sexual aspect of the crime. It was therefore hypothesised that there would be a subgroup of Instrumental crime scenes which were sexual in nature, and it was hypothesised that this subgroup, although similar to the general Instrumental crime scene theme, would have certain specific characteristics which differed from other Instrumental crime scenes which did not contain sexual behaviours.

In terms of the likely previous convictions of the offender, with regard to whether they committed a sexual homicide or not, both official records and self-reports show that specialised violent offenders are rare. It is more common for people to commit a variety of different types of offences. West and Farrington (1977) reported that 80% of adults convicted of violence also had convictions for dishonesty. McClintock 1963) found that nearly half of those first convicted for violent offences had previous

convictions for non-violent offences, and that the same was true for 80% of those sustaining a second conviction for violence. Soothil et al. (1976) showed that the most common previous and subsequent convictions of rapists were for theft. Christiansen et al. (1965) obtained similar results with a Danish sample of more than 3000 sex offenders.

However, while it is rare to find a high degree of specialisation, it is also rare to find complete generality in an individual's criminal career. Looking at the differences between person and property crimes, studies show that violent offenders tend to have more convictions than non-violent offenders. Farrington (1978) found that violent delinquents averaged 4.3 convictions each in comparison with 2.7 for non-violent delinquents. Walker et al. (1967) showed that the probability of committing a violent offence increased with the number of previous non-violent offences, and concluded that a conviction for violence was an occupational risk of a career of non-violent crime.

Davies (1992, 1997) suggested that excessively violent behaviour during, as an example, sexual assaults, could be interpreted as an indication of an innate predisposition to aggressive behaviour which might have resulted in previous convictions for violent crime. On the other hand, inferences regarding the possibility of a rapist having a criminal record for burglary or other types of property crimes, could be drawn from behaviour reflecting experience of property crime which has subsequently been incorporated into a 'rape script', i.e. *crimes during which the victim will be both burgled and raped.*

Following this, it was thus the hypothesis that more generalised previous convictions such as theft would not be differentiated between sexual and non-sexual Instrumental homicides.

Just as there is generality in offending, there is generality in deviant behaviour. Violence is related not only to other kinds of criminal offences but also to other kinds of deviance, such as heavy drinking, sexual promiscuity, heavy smoking, heavy

gambling, hanging around with anti social groups and having an unstable job record (e.g. West and Farrington 1977). This evidence supports the idea that although criminals may not specialise as such, they do show a specialisation in their thematic behaviours, such as aggression, power, intimacy and so forth, as suggested by both McAdams (1988) and Canter (1994). The second hypothesis would thus be that there would be other differences between sexual and non-sexual groups, notably in terms of their previous recorded convictions for sexual offences.

Longitudinal surveys are especially useful in providing information about the details of how offenders develop and come to commit crimes such as homicide. In particular, indications of age, when they start, when they finish, and what is the peak age are important in terms of understanding the specialisation of the offender, and in terms of profiling the offender from their crime scene behaviours.. The Uniform Crime Reports in the US (Farrington 1982) show that the peak ages for arrests for violence (24 years) and sexual offences (26 years) are later than for property offences such as burglary (17 years) and theft (17 years). However, what these figures do not show, are the intra-crime differences, for crimes such as homicide, where the hypothesis would be that there would be an age difference between different subgroups of homicide offenders.

With respect to homicides which were sexual in nature, the hypothesis was that they would be committed by younger offenders than other types of homicides, in particular other Instrumental non-sexual homicides. Most homicides are committed by offenders in their 30's (Home Office statistics 1995). Because most sexual offences are committed by offenders in their mid-20's (e.g. Farrington 1982), it would thus suggest that this subgroup of offenders would be part of those offenders who commit sexual homicides.

7.5.2 Comparing Instrumental Sexual and Non-sexual Instrumental Homicides

Fifty-nine cases were classified as having a dominant Instrumental crime scene (see chapter 5). Of the thirty-eight cases that had the variables 'sexual' present, denoting a sexual homicide, twenty-one (76%) of them were classified as Instrumental, thus providing further evidence that most sexual homicides are Instrumental in nature. Fifty-nine percent of Instrumental cases could thus be classified as sexual in nature. This section investigated the difference between cases with a dominant Instrumental crime scene that were and were not sexual in nature in order to establish whether sexual homicides are a distinct Instrumental subgroup as suggested by the literature, or whether they are part of the bigger umbrella of Instrumental homicides.

Mann-Whitney U Analysis was performed on the fifty-nine cases with dominant Instrumental crime scenes, comparing the 21 sexual cases against the 38 non-sexual cases on various background characteristics.

Table 7.5.1: Differences in Offender Background Characteristics Between Sexual and Non-sexual Instrumental Cases

Offender Characteristics	Mann Whitney U Significant Differences
Young offender (16-21 years)	.0282
Sexual criminal record	.0365
No known psychiatric/psychological history	.0127
No previous or current sexual relationship with victim	.0013
Stranger	.0360
Did not turn themselves in	.0016

The results in table 7.5.1 show that offenders who committed Instrumental sexual homicides were younger than those who did not commit Instrumental sexual homicides (p=.0282). They were more likely to have a criminal record for sexual offences (p=.0365) than non-sexual offenders, but did not significantly differ on any

other type of previous convictions. Their victims were less likely to be a current or ex-partner (p=.0013), and more likely to be strangers (p=.0360), they were less likely to have had previous psychological, social or psychiatric problems (p=.0127) and were less likely to turn themselves in (p=.0016).

Looking at the 51 cases (out of 59 Instrumental cases) where distance information was available (16 sexual cases and 35 non-sexual cases), the mean distance travelled by offenders who committed Instrumental sexual crimes (see table 7.5.2), was significantly further (Mann Whitney U p=.0237) than non-sexual offenders.

<u>**Table 7.5.2: Distances From Home to Crime Scene of Sexual and Non-sexual**</u>

<u>**Offenders**</u>

	Instrumental Cases Baserate (N=51)	Sexual Cases (N=16)	Non-sexual Cases (N=35)
Mean Distance Between Offender's Home and Crime Scene	18.9 miles	38.1 miles	10.1 miles

7.5.3 Summary

The results of this analysis of the differences between offenders who commit a sexual homicide and those who do not, suggest that sexual homicides were indeed a sub-group of Instrumental homicides which are committed by a significantly different sub-group of offenders.

Offenders who committed sexual homicides were younger, more criminally oriented, and less likely to have Expressive characteristics suggesting a previous relationship to the victim or a psychological or psychiatric problem which may have led to the offences. Indeed, this sub-group of offenders were more likely to have previous experience and convictions for sexual offences.

These offenders travelled a much greater distance to commit their crimes than did other Instrumental offenders. This again indicates that this sub-group of offenders is different to other types of homicide, as the distances travelled in general by homicide offenders are very short (see next section 7.6 on the geography of homicide).

7.6 THE GEOGRAPHY OF HOMICIDE

Canter (1989) sees time and space as being explicitly or implicitly selected by the offender. This may therefore be used to tell us something about the temporal and spatial conceptualisations with which the offender operates. This identification of patterns and trends in the distance that an offender travels from home to commit his crime is of particular interest to police investigations for the purposes of focusing the inquiry to a certain area.

7.6.1 Hypotheses

The previous section suggested that there was a difference between sexual and non-sexual Instrumental homicides in the distances they travelled to commit homicide. This supports the hypothesis that general mean differences between crime groups are too generalised, and that the more subtle intra-crime differences need to be investigated. This section aims to further investigate the patterns of the distances which different types of homicide offenders travel to commit their crimes.

Recent literature suggest that the geographical area which the offender is likely to victimise, can be predicted based on the understanding of an offenders' experience of the area and their conceptions of place within it. What such studies have indicated is that, generally, criminals do not travel far from home to commit their crimes.

Stephenson (1974) as an example found that the average distance separating offences and offenders' residences in Phoenix, Arizona, was 4.5 miles. Bullock (1955) showed that 40% of all Houston homicides, including domestics, between the years 1945 and 1949 occurred within one city block of the offenders' residence. Another fairly consistent finding is that offenders will travel less far if they commit person crimes as compared to offenders who commit property crimes (e.g. Brantingham and Brantingham 1981). Other studies have examined the influence of age and gender on this home-to-crime difference. Repetto (1974) in a US study, found that mostly, young (under 18 years) burglars were unwilling to travel more than one hour from their homes to commit an offence and since they were also more likely to travel on foot, they tended to operate within their own neighbourhoods. He also found that the older age groups (18-25 and over 25 years) were willing to travel further (25% were willing to travel more than 24 hours) and they were also more likely to show a certain level of sophistication by using a car.

Baldwin and Bottoms (1976) in their study of the geography of crime in Sheffield, found that older offenders travel further to offend. The type of offence was also very differentiated. Violence and sex offences appeared most localised while fraud and theft were least localised.

There has been relatively little research into the differences between the spatial behaviours of male and female offenders. One of the few which do exist however, by Rengart (1975), looked at the differences between male and female burglars and found that burglaries by females tended to be not only clustered more than male burglaries, but also be closer to their home. When crimes were committed elsewhere, the study showed that females tended to travel shorter distances than males.

Canter (1989) suggests that through the geographical patterns of their social transactions, people build up representations of what is possible where. It can therefore be hypothesised that there may be patterns of space use typical of different criminals, relating to where they are living at the time of their crimes.

Barker (1989) studied the spatial offence patterns of burglaries. Her results showed that given a uniform distribution of opportunities, the offence area of burglars appeared to be within the area defined by a circle around the offender's home. Explaining her findings, Barker suggests that the home area has significance for offenders over and above the fact that it is familiar, and that because of this, the offender's choices of targets are constrained. This concept is based upon the idea that there is a geographical area around our homes in which we travel and use more regularly than areas a greater distance from our homes. This area would typically contain the shops, the homes of friends and relatives and the social activities we frequent.

An associated concept to that of the home range is that of the cognitive map, which, from its earliest conception, has been suggested as being strongly related to residential location. Cognitive maps are representations of what is possible and where, built up via the geographical patterns of our social transactions. Canter (1985) notes that mental maps we have of an area, change with time, reflecting our changing lifestyles and priorities. This concept of changing cognitive representations of offenders' interaction with the environment is important to the development of the *spatial dynamics of criminals*, since they illustrate the significance of psychological factors in our conceptions of familiar areas.

Canter and Larkin (1993) proposed a model of individual sexual offenders' spatial activity based upon 45 British male sexual stranger assaulters. Their results showed that 91% of the sample of offenders had all their crimes located within a circular region. It was also found that 87% of the offenders had a base within this circular region. Having established that the geographical pattern of rapist' behaviour have a broad relationship to their homebase, Canter and Gregory explored the hypothesis that offenders can be differentiated in terms of the resources of time, travel costs, and knowledge of an area. In other words, longer distances travelled from home to an offence location would relate to greater access to means of financial travel, greater availability of time and more extended knowledge of an area. Several

hypothesis were drawn from this. In particular they hypothesised that older offenders would travel further than young offenders.

Based on the evidence in the literature, this study hypothesised that there would be an age difference in the distances offenders travel. Similarly there would be a difference between the theme of the offender's crime scene actions and the distances they travel. Specifically, the hypothesis is that offenders who commit Expressive homicides travel less far than Instrumental offenders. Lastly, based on the results in the previous section on sexual homicides, the hypothesis was that the offender-victim relationship would influence the distance the offender travelled. In particular, the hypothesis was that the more intimate relationships would travel less far than stranger relationships.

7.6.2 The Distances Homicide Offenders Travel

As can be seen from table 7.6.1, 42.6% of cases committed homicide in their own home ('Same Home'). Thirty-three percent lived between 0-2 miles of where the victim was found ('Local'). A further 11.7% lived 2-5 miles from where the victim was found ('Vicinity'). Thus, 89.3% of the 197 homicides for which distance information was available, lived within 5 miles of where the victim was found.

Table 7.6.1: Distances of Offenders' Home From Crime Scene

Distance Travelled	Percent of Offenders (out of 197)
Same Home (0 miles)	42.6%
Local (0-2 miles)	33%
Vicinity (2-5 miles)	11.7%
Other (5 miles +)	10.7%

Offenders who lived more than five miles from the crime scene, constituted 10.7% of the sample of 197 offenders where the distance information was available. Of these 10.7%, 3% lived between 5-10 miles away, 2% lived 10-20 miles away, 1% lived 20-50% miles away, 3% lived 50-100 miles away and 3.6% lived more than 100 miles away (see table 7.6.2).

Table 7.6.2: Distances From Crime Scene of Offenders' Home of Offenders Who Lived More than 5 Miles Away

Distance Travelled	Percent of Offenders (out of 197)
5-10 miles	3%
10-20 miles	2%
20-50 miles	1%
50-100 miles	3%
100 miles +	3.6%

The in-depth analysis of the distances offenders live from the crime scene in the rest of this section, will investigate how different sub-groups of offenders differ in the distances between their homes and the crime scene.

7.6.3 The Relationship Between Age and Distance

When the distribution of offender age groups was calculated for each distance group, it could be observed that offenders who killed the victim in their own homes, were most often mature offenders (46.4% of offenders in the 'Same Home' group). This is in accordance with previous results in earlier sections, suggesting that mature offenders are by and large offenders who are more Expressive, and so are offenders who will kill the partners with which they live.

Conversely, for offenders who travelled up to 2 miles beyond their homes to commit their crimes were more likely (52,3%) to be between 22-39 (Average offender). Offenders who travelled between 2-5 miles beyond their homes were in turn more likely to be at the younger end of the scale (15.4%).

Figure 7.6.3: Age Group Distribution Across Distances

	Same Home (0 miles)	Local (0-2 miles)	Vicinity (2-5 miles)	Other (5 miles +)
Young Offender 16-21 years (N=39)	7 (8.3%)	20 (30.8%)	*6 (15.4%)*	6 (26.1%)
Average Offender 22-39 years (N=91)	33 (39.3%)	*34 (52.3%)*	11 (12.1%)	*13 (47.8%)*
Mature Offender 40 years (N=56)	*39 (46.4%)**	7 (10.8%)	4 (7.1%)	6 (17.4%)

* Italics denote the largest within-group percent

Although these results confirm that most homicide offenders (89.3%) live within 5 miles of their homes, they put into question previous results (Canter and Larkin 1993) regarding distances different age groups travel. Previous results show that the older an offender is, the more likely they are to have greater resources, such as cars and experience, and therefore, they are more likely to travel further. However, first indications in the distance analysis of the present sample indicate that this may not be the case for homicide. This highlights the problem of producing generalised mean figures of distances across offence categories such as rape, murder, robbery and so forth, unless they are to be used as mere inter-crime comparisons.

The hypothesis is that the differences between the results from previous studies and the present study, may be explained by the analysis of the distribution of distances across the different themes of crime scene actions which the offender engages in at the crime scene. It is hypothesised that it will be these differences which will more clearly and reliably distinguish between different distances offenders travel.

7.6.4 The Relationship Between Crime Scene Theme Classification and Distance

Investigating the relationship between the distance an offender travels and the theme of their crime scene classifications (see table 7.6.4), it could be observed that offenders who committed a largely Expressive homicide, would tend to live in the same home as the victim (39.5%). This follows the idea that most Expressive crimes are committed by offenders who knew the victim and were more emotionally involved with the victim because of this closeness in the relationship.

Table 7.6.4: Distances Travelled by Offenders in Different Crime Scene Theme Classifications

	Same Home (0 miles)	Local (0-2 miles)	Vicinity (2-5 miles)	Other (5 miles +)
Expressive (N=76)	*30 (39.5%)**	21 (27.6%)	12 (15.8%)	13 (17.1%)
Instrumental (N=51)	*20 (39.2%)*	*20 (39.2%)*	4 (7.8%)	7 (13.7%)
Hybrid (N=58)	*30 (51.7%)*	18 (31%)	6 (10.3%)	4 (6.9%)
No Theme (N=12)	4 (33.3%)	*6 (50%)*	1 (8.3%)	1 (8.3%)

* Italics denote the largest within-group percent

However, similarly, offenders who committed Instrumental (39.2%) and Hybrid homicides (51.7%) were also more likely to live in the same home as the victim (see table 7.6.4). This result is most likely due to the fact that most of the homicides in the

present sample were between offenders and victims who previously know each other (83%), and indeed between offenders and victims who had a previous or current relationship (35.6%) or who were blood relatives (8.5%). This again highlights the importance of analysing, in more detail, the influence of the offender-victim relationship on the act of homicide and on the associated offender characteristics such as the distance travelled by the offender to commit the crime.

7.6.5 The Relationship Between Offender Background Characteristics Theme Classification and Distance

In order to investigate further the relationship between the distance an offender lives from the crime scene and their characteristics, the percentage distribution of distance groups was investigated across the different themes of characteristics as determined by the SSA classification in chapter 6.

Table 7.6.5: Distances Travelled by Offenders in Different Background Characteristics Theme Classifications

	Same Home (0 miles)	Local (0-2 miles)	Vicinity (2-5 miles)	Other (5 miles +)
Expressive (N=67)	45 (67.2%)*	9 (13.3%)	5 (7.5%)	22 (32.8%)
Instrumental (N=80)	13 (16.3%)	41 (51.3%)	14 (17.5%)	12 (15%)
Hybrid (N=8)	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
No Theme (N=42)	22 (52.4%)	11 (26.2%)	4 (9.5%)	5 (11.9%)

* denotes the largest within-group percent

As can be seen from table 7.6.5, as hypothesised, offenders with Expressive background characteristics (67.2%) were more likely to live in the same home which later became the crime scene. Conversely, the analysis of the background characteristics show more clearly that offenders with instrumental characteristics, i.e.

characteristics mainly relating to previous criminal history, were more likely to travel to commit their crimes, than they were likely to commit the crime in their own homes. And, as previously discussed, the Instrumental subgroup of sexual homicide offenders, were even more likely to travel further away from their own home. These results again stress the importance of the influence of the characteristics of the offender, in particular their relationship to the victim, and emphasise the need to investigate this offender-victim relationship further for a more detailed understanding on its effect on the distance the offender travels to commit their crimes.

7.6.6 The Relationship Between Offender-Victim Relationship and Distance

When each offender-victim relationship group was compared across different distance groups (see table 7.6.6), it could be seen that offenders who had a previous or current relationship with the victim (63.2%) and offenders who were blood related to the victim (61%) both tended to commit the homicide in their own home. This follows the general literature on domestic homicides which suggests that not only do most homicides occur close to the home, but most of the homicides which are committed by close relatives or lovers are committed in the home of both the offender and the victim (e.g. Daly and Wilson 1988).

Table 7.6.6: Distances Travelled From Home Across Offender-Victim Groups

	Same Home (0 miles)	Local (0-2 miles)	Vicinity (2-5 miles)	Other (5 miles +)
Strangers (N=33)	2 (6.1%)	*18 (54.5%)**	6 (18.2%)	7 (21.2%)
Relationship (N=19)	*12 (63.2%)*	4 (21.5%)	1 (4.3%)	2 (5.3%)
Blood Related (N=77)	*47 (61%)*	16 (20.8%)	7 (30.4%)	7 (9.1%)

* denotes the largest within-group percent

Conversely, offenders who kill victims who are strangers to them, will be less likely to kill in their own homes (6.1%), but rather will live within two miles of the crime scene (54.5%). This again shows that although certain subgroups, such as strangers, travel slightly further than offenders who knew their victims, they still tend to live within five miles of the crime (78.8%).

7.7 AGE DIFFERENCES IN HOMICIDE

An interesting question is whether the degree of specialisation, and therefore an offender's background theme, increases with age. Phillpotts and Lacucki (1979) show that by collapsing crimes into violence and sex versus burglary, robbery, theft and handling, 38.5% of violent offences were followed by violence under the age of 21, in comparison with 88.5% of the burglary group being followed by burglaries. Offenders over the age of 21 were slightly more specialised, since 48.6% of violence was followed by violence and 87.1% of the burglaries were followed by burglaries. The issue of generality versus specificity at different ages is one that deserves more detailed investigation. The start of this will be to investigate the influence of age on homicide.

7.7.1 Hypotheses

The hypothesis regarding age is that younger offenders are more inexperienced and more generalised and so will exhibit more eclectic and less thematically structured behaviours than will older offenders who it is hypothesised are more experienced and specialised. in their crimes.

7.7.2 The Distribution of Ages Across Homicide

As can be seen by table 7.7.1, the majority of homicides were committed by offenders in their early twenties to their late thirties. Of the 226 cases where information about age was available, 52% of homicides were committed by offenders between 22-39 years. Twenty percent were labelled young offenders (16-21 years) and 28% were labelled mature offenders (over 40 years).

Table 7.7.1: Distribution of Offenders Across Different Age Bands

Offender Group	Age of offender	Number of offenders in sample (out of 226)
Young	16-21 years	45 (20%)
Average	22-39 years	108 (52%)
Mature	40 years +	63 (28%)

7.7.3 Thematic Differences of Different Age Groups

In order to establish the individual thematic patterns within each age group, their within-group percentage distributions were calculated for each theme (Expressive, Instrumental, Hybrid, None) within each group of variables; crime scene, background characteristics, and the combined crime scene and background characteristics set of variables (see figure 7.7.2).

Table 7.7.2: Offender Groups Percentage Distribution Across Theme Classifications

	Young Offender (16-21 years) N=45	Average Offender (22-39 years) N=118	Mature Offender (40 years +) N=63
Scene Theme			
Expressive	11 (24.4%)	43 (36.4%)	27 (42.9%)
Instrumental	13 (28.9%)	32 (27.1%)	12 (19%)
Hybrid	17 (37.8%)	32 (27.1%)	21 (33.3%)
None	4 (8.9%)	11 (9.3%)	33 (4.8%)
Background Theme			
Expressive	2 (4.4%)	32 (27.1%)	39 (61.9%)
Instrumental	34 (75.6%)	49 (41.5%)	12 (19%)
Hybrid	0 (0.%)	8 (6.8%)	1 (1.6%)
None	9 (20.%)	29 (24.6%)	11 (17.5%)

Looking at the distribution of the percentages of young offenders (aged 16-21) across homicide crime scenes, it could be seen that, as hypothesised, the majority, 37.8% (p=.0484), fell into the hybrid crime scene group, as compared to any other theme group (see table 7.7.3). This would suggest that young offenders are less specialised in the execution of their actions at the crime scene.

Table 7.7.3: Chi-square Significances of Theme Differences for Young, Average and Mature Offenders

	Offender Age Group		
	Young	Average	Mature
Scene Theme	.0484 $(X^2\ 7.89)$[1]	.0004 $(X^2\ 18.20)$	.0001 $(X^2\ 21.00)$
Background Theme	.0000 $(X^2\ 37.73)$	.0000 $(X^2\ 28.78)$	.0000 $(X^2\ 50.46)$
Combined theme	.0841 $(X^2\ 6.65)$	.4799 $(X^2\ 2.47)$	.0000 $(X^2\ 27.85)$

[1] All Chi-squares (X^2) are rounded up to two decimal places.

Looking at the average (aged 22-39) and mature (aged 40 and over) age groups (see table 7.7.2), it could be seen that the majority of the offenders in both these two groups 36.4% (p=.0004) and 42.9% (p=.0001) respectively, consistently committed Expressive actions at the crime scene (see table 7.7.3). This is consistent with the earlier observations in this chapter. It is also interesting to note that the percentage of Expressive scenes goes up as offenders get older in the sample, and conversely, the percentage of Instrumental scene reduces as the age of the offender increase (see table 7.7.2 and figure 7.7.1).

Figure 7.7.1: Expressive and Instrumental Crime Scene Theme Distribution Across Age Groups
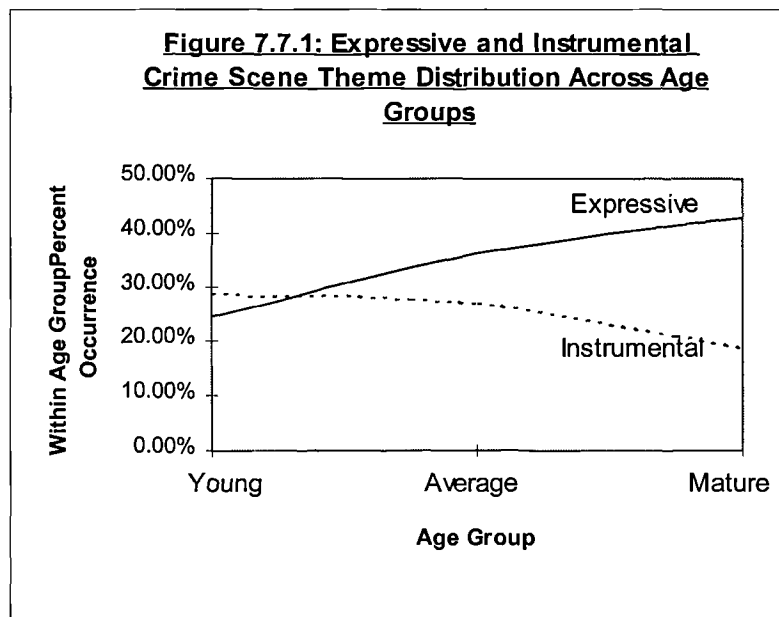
When the trends within each age groups is compared across different background characteristics groups, it can be seen that both young and average age offenders have got a significantly higher (p=.0000 and p=.0000 respectively) proportion of Instrumental Crime scenes than they do any other type of crime scene (see table 7.7.3). As the Instrumental crime scene is largely made up of previous criminal convictions, it is safe to say that offenders up to the age of 40 years, are largely criminally oriented and commit the homicide as part of their larger criminal lifestyle.

It can further be seen, that over three quarters of young offenders could be classified as having an Instrumental background, suggesting that they in particular have an association between their previous criminal history and their age. Conversely, the distribution of mature offenders shows that the largest proportion, 61.9% (p=.0000), of this age of offender can be classified as having Expressive background characteristics (see table 7.7.3). As the Expressive background characteristics are very much to do with the offender's relationship with the victim, and their psychological frame of mind, it can be hypothesised that the more mature offender commits homicide as part of their more intimate day to day activities. It may thus be hypothesised that older offenders will be more likely to kill their partners or relatives.

Table 7.7.4: Victim Type by Offender Age Group

	Offender Age Group		
	Young	**Average**	**Mature**
Stranger victim	11 (24.4%)	22 (18.6%)	6 (9.5%)
Relationship victim	8 (17.8%)	38 (32.2%)	36 (57.1%)
Blood related victim	4 (8.9%)	4 (8.9%)	5 (7.9%)

Table 7.7.4 shows the distribution of type of victim killed by offenders from different age groups. These figures clearly show that the younger an offender is, the more likely they are to kill a victim who is a stranger to them (24.4%) compared to the other two groups (18.6% and 9.5%). Conversely, offenders in the 22-39 year age group and mature offenders were more likely to kill partners. Indeed, mature offenders were almost 35% more likely to kill an intimate partner, or ex-partner than was the average aged offender.

7.7.4 Summary

These results then show that not only is age an influencing factor in the type of homicide which is committed, but it also influences the type of victim which the offender is more likely to kill. The younger the offender is, the more likely they are to be eclectic in their actions at the crime scene, and the more likely they are to come from a general criminal background, and kill strangers. The older an offender is, the more likely they are to commit an Expressive crime which is part of their general background characteristics in relation to the victim involved. In the majority of cases, it is an intimate partner who gets killed.

All the analysis of the influence of sub-groups on homicide in this chapter has highlighted that it is the relationship between the offender and the victim which carries most of the weight. The next chapter therefore, will investigate this relationship, and its influence on homicide, in greater detail.

CHAPTER 8

THE INFLUENCE OF SUBGROUPS ON THE UNDERSTANDING OF HOMICIDE

"'Murder is overwhelmingly a domestic crime', in which men kill their wives, lovers and children, and women kill their children. Half of the killers are linked to their victims through family ties, 'and up to two-thirds of all have had a personal relationship of some duration and/or intensity with the victim'....Murder is not a planned and calculated event, but one in which 'emotion (often passionate), panic, or mental disorder play a role disproportionate to that which they play in any other crime'". (Leyton 1995, quoting Morris and Blom-Cooper[1])

8.1 UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

All the analysis of the influence of sub-groups on homicide in the last two chapters has highlighted that the relationship between the offender and the victim to a large extent defines homicide. This next chapter therefore, will in greater detail, investigate this relationship, and its influence on homicide.

---

[1] Morris and Blom-Cooper 1967, Homicide in England, in Marvin Wolfgang (ed.) Studies in Homicide, New York; Harper & Row: 29. 32; Terrence Morris and Louis Blom-Cooper, 1979, 'Murder in England and Wales Since 1957', The Observer, p.10, 11, 6, 8-9, 12.)

The hypothesis of this thesis is that it is the interpersonal interaction between the offender and the victim which will carry most of the psychological dynamics of homicide. It is therefore important to establish how this relationship affects the way an offender acts at a homicide crime scene. The hypothesis is that more will be understood regarding the actions-to-characteristics association by taking account of this relationship.

8.2 UNRAVELLING THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER AND OFFENDER-VICTIM RELATIONSHIP ON HOMICIDE

In order to investigate further the relationship between the gender of the offender and their relationship to the victim, it was proposed to use the method of Multiple Scalogram Analysis.

Multiple Scalogram Analysis (MSA) is, like SSA, a Multidimensional Scaling technique. MSA, differently to SSA however, allows for the examination of similarities and differences between *cases* across a set of variables. The MSA program produces profiles of offenders based on the coded presence or absence of specified variables. These profiles are then plotted in a geometric space so that offenders whose profiles are similar in their pattern of variables are plotted close together, while those with few variables in common are plotted further apart.

The MSA outputs a composite plot of the individual profiles as well as plots for each variable. Interpretation of the MSA involves partitioning each variable plot into regions which discriminate between the different categories within each variable. These plots are then compared with each other and with the composite plot. This allows for a more detailed analysis of how the combination of the chosen variables help discriminate between profiles of individuals.

8.2.1 The MSA Analysis

The current MSA software is limited to analysing no more than 100 cases at any one time, so the MSA was performed on a random sample of 100 cases taken from the dataset of 247 cases. Because a large number of profiles can be generated from relatively few variables, the interpretation of the MSA plot can become extremely complex unless the number of variables are kept to a minimum. Six variables were therefore selected to include variables denoting the crime scene classification (see chapter 5), the background theme classification (see chapter 6), the offender-victim relationship (see appendix 1) and the gender of the offender (see appendix 1). Table 8.2.1 shows the variables chosen, and how they were coded for the purpose of the MSA analysis (see appendix 7 for MSA datamatrix).

Table 8.2.1: Variables Used in the MSA Analysis

Variable	Categories	Category value in MSA
Crime Scene Theme Assignation	No-theme	1
	Expressive	2
	Instrumental	3
	Hybrid	4
Background Characteristics Theme Assignation	No-theme	1
	Expressive	2
	Instrumental	3
	Hybrid	4
Strangers	Yes	2
	No	1
Previous/Present Relationship	Yes	2
	No	1
Blood related	Yes	2
	No	1
Gender of Offender	Male	2
	Female	1

The MSA composite plot represents only those profiles that are different from each other. In this case, the dataset of 100 cases was reduced to 43 different profiles, based on the six variables in table 8.2.1.

In order to establish if the random sample was representative of the whole sample of 247 cases and thus generalisable to the whole sample, a comparison was made between the distribution of cases across the variables investigated (see table 8.2.2).

Table 8.2.2: Comparing The Frequencies in Selected Random MSA Sample and Original Database of 247 Cases of Homicide

Variables	Homicide Database (N=247)	Random Sample Used in MSA (N=100)	Chi-Square Significance
Scene Theme:		.	
Expressive	38.5%	38%	
Instrumental	23.9%	21%	.35737
Hybrid	30%	34%	
No Theme	7.7%	7%	
Background Theme:			
Expressive	31.2%	29%	
Instrumental	43.3%	47%	.05920
Hybrid	4.5%	2%	
No Theme	21.1%	22%	
Gender and Offender-Victim Relationship:			
Male/Female	88.7%	85%	.15253
Strangers	17.4%	19%	.46640
Previous/Current			.15253
Relationship	35.6%	29%	
Blood Related	8.5%	7%	.17137

Figure 8.2.1: Main MSA Plot
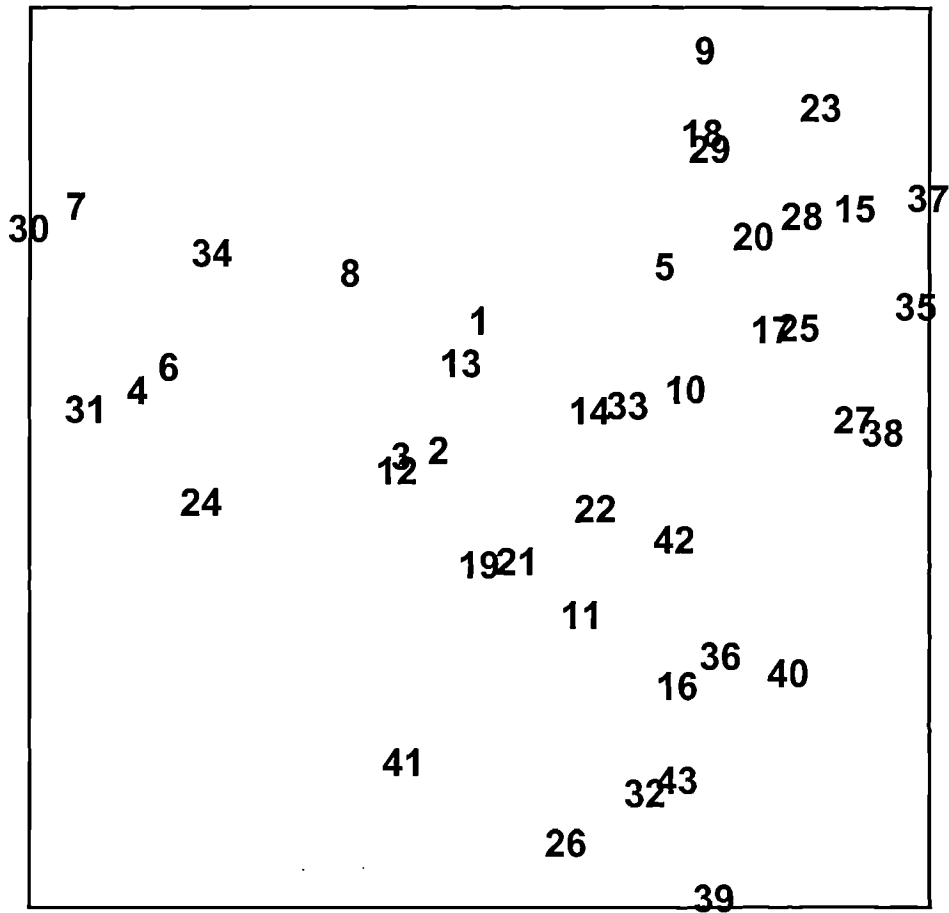
As can be seen from the comparisons of percentage occurrences in table 8.2.2, the two samples were very similar, as shown by the non-significant Chi-squares. The Chi-square showed that there was no significant difference between the crime scene themes, nor between background themes, the distribution of gender, the offender-victim relationship of stranger, intimate past or present relationship, or between blood relatedness.

8.2.2 Results of MSA Analysis

Figure 8.2.1 shows the main MSA plot of all 43 profiles. Figures 8.2.2 to 8.2.7 show the individual item plots for each of the variables. Figure 8.2.8 shows the combined structure of the Expressive crime scene actions.

Figure 8.2.2 of the distribution of the crime scene classifications of the 43 profiles revealed a strong partition between cases that had no themes (1) or hybrids (4), and cases that could be classified as Expressive (2) or Instrumental (3). This shows that offenders who have a crime scene theme (Expressive or Instrumental) appear to be distinct from those who do not (No-theme, and Hybrid) in relation to other variables used in the MSA analysis. These results support the growing picture that although crime scenes can help classify behaviours into thematic groups, their role in distinguishing between individuals on a more detailed scale is a more involved and complex procedure. Results to date in this thesis has shown that to get a greater understanding of actions as they occur at crime scenes and how they relate to offender characteristics, homicide needs to be classified primarily on the basis of subgroups relating to the relationship the offender had with the victim. Once the relationship between different offender-victim relationship groups has been linked to different patterns of behaviours, a more in-depth and knowledgeable insight can then be had on the investigation of the behaviours at the crime scene.

Figure 8.2.3 shows the distribution of the themes of the characteristics of the offender. As the distribution shows, the offenders with Expressive backgrounds (2) were clearly separated from offenders with Instrumental backgrounds (3). Interestingly they were separated by those cases who had no specific crime scene theme (1), whereas those cases that were classified as hybrids (4) co-occurred in the same space as the cases with Expressive offenders. This split can be explained by the fact that offenders with no dominant background theme classification in fact were a mixture of both Expressive and Instrumental characteristics. However, they did differ to hybrid cases in that the distribution of characteristics across the two themes were not equal. The 4 hybrid profiles on the plot, although closer to the Expressive cases, were located close to the top right hand corner where Expressive and Instrumental cases were closer together and more intermixed. This indicates a less defined subset of cases, which had a number of variables which pulled them away from the more 'pure' cases made up of a very large proportion of characteristics from one over the other theme.

Figure 8.2.2: MSA Item Plot of Crime Scene Themes
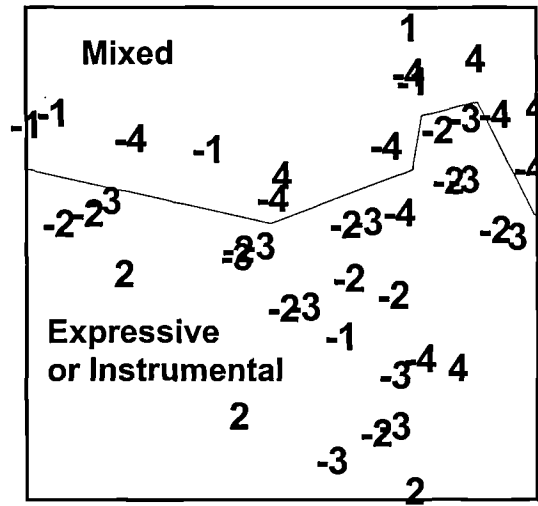
Figure 8.2.3: MSA Item Plot of Background Characteristics Themes
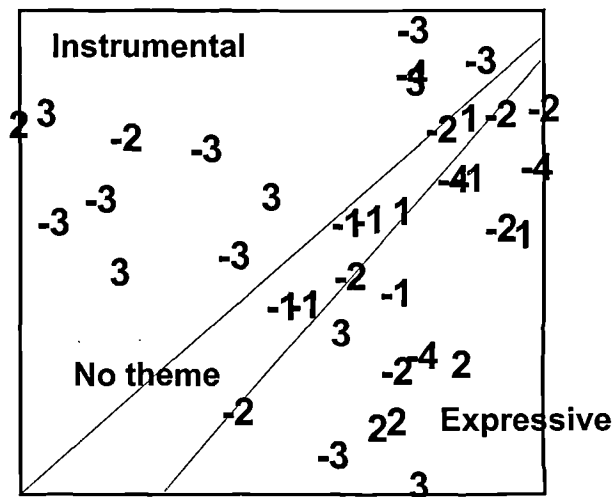
Figure 8.2.4 representing the individual MSA item plot of gender shows a clear distinction between male (2) and female (2) offenders. This confirms earlier results in the thesis, which back up the literature that stresses that to understand violent crime, the division between men and women who commit these crimes must be made (e.g. Heidensohn 1985).

The stark contrast between victims who were strangers to the offender (2) and those who were not (1) were represented by the clear differentiation on the MSA item plot on figure 8.2.5. This supports earlier results and stresses the importance of the link between the offender and the victim for the deeper understanding of the underlying psychological processes that lead individuals to commit the types of homicides they commit.

Figure 8.2.6 shows an equally clear division in the differentiation of the offender-victim relationship, namely that of offenders and victims who were consanguinal (blood related), as does figure 8.2.7 which separates offenders who killed a present or past partner, and those who did not.

What these individual item plots reveal (see combined MSA plot figure 8.2.8), is that not only can cases be differentiated by the relationship type between the offender and the victim, but the plots indicate that these different types of relationships relate to very different types of homicides in terms of crime scene action themes, and different offender characteristics in terms of background themes. This strongly confirms the hypothesis that different offender-victim relationships will be central in understanding the type of offender who commits the homicide, and on whom this crime is committed against.

The important question that follows from this is the identification of the measures on which the offender-victim relationship makes a marked difference, such as in the way it is revealed through the actions an offender engages in at the crime scene or in other characteristics these different types of offenders may have, in particular with reference to gender. Looking at how the plot of the background theme structure

superimposed onto the offender-victim plot and gender plot, it became clear that most offenders with Instrumental characteristics, i.e. offenders with a history of a criminal lifestyle behind them, were more likely to kill strangers. These stranger offences were also more likely to be the domain of male offenders. Conversely, offenders who had Expressive characteristics in their backgrounds, were more likely to kill blood relatives, and as can be seen from the combined plot (figure 8.2.8), blood related offences tended to be more associated with female offenders.

Where the victim was a previous or current partner however, it was interesting to note that both offenders with dominantly Expressive and dominantly Instrumental characteristics were are likely to commit these crimes. This may be why many of the Hybrid classification cases also fell into this region on the background characteristics item plot.

Figure 8.2.4: MSA Item Plot of 'Offender Gender'

Male

Female
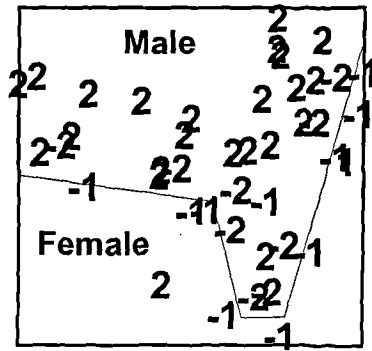
Figure 8.2.5: MSA Item Plot of 'Stranger'

Stranger

Not stranger
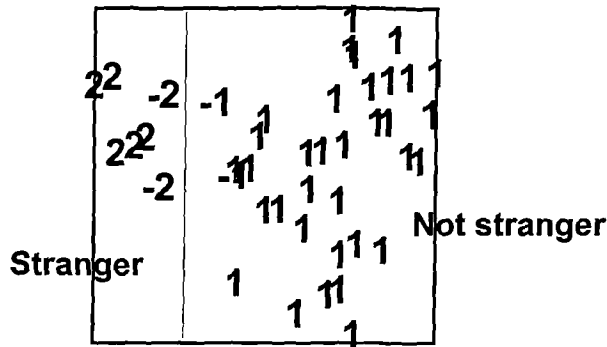
Figure 8.2.6: MSA Item Plot of 'Blood related'

Not blood related

Blood related
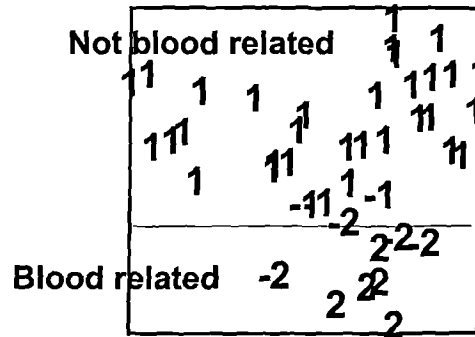
Figure 8.2.7: MSA Item Plot of 'Previous/present relationship'

Relationship
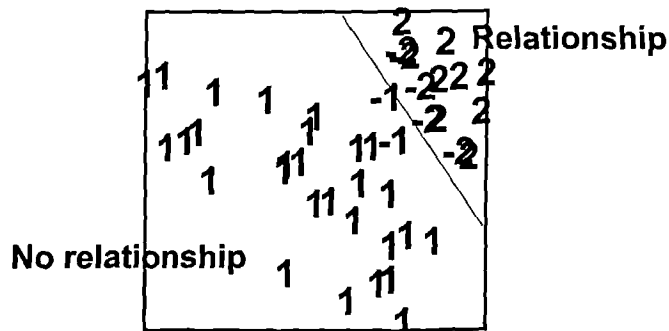
No relationship

Figure 8.2.8: Combined MSA Item Plots
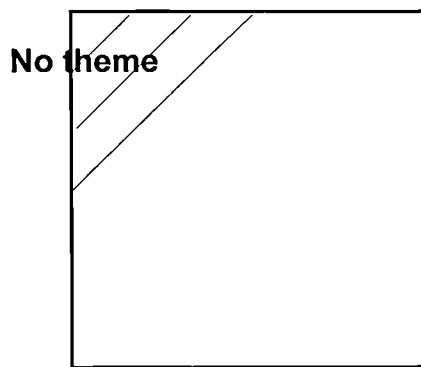
Crime Scene Themes
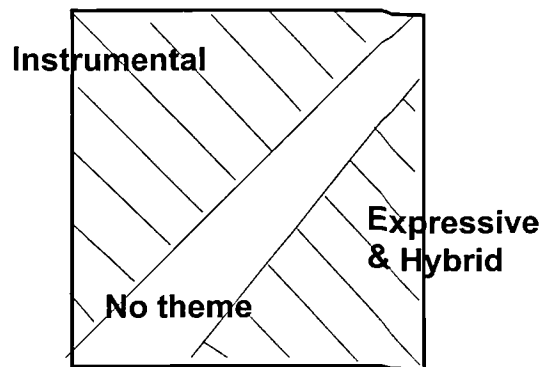
Background Themes
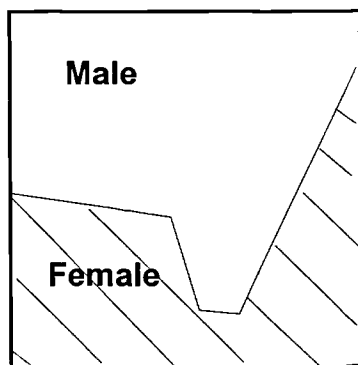
Offender Gender
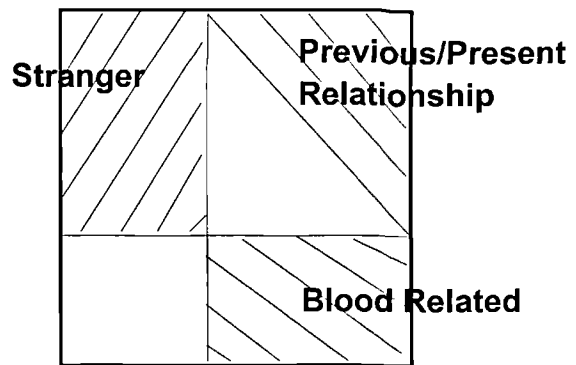
Offender-Victim Relationship

8.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has highlighted that there is a difference between those offenders who have a dominant Expressive or Instrumental theme, and those who do not. Within those offenders who have a dominant Expressive or Instrumental theme, the analysis has shown that 1) the gender of the offender and 2) the previous relationship between the offender and the victim, are what underpins the structure of the Expressive and Instrumental split in homicide crime scene themes. The analysis highlights that the majority of the Expressive crimes encompassed offenders who killed people they knew, in particular partners or blood related relatives. The analysis also highlights that most of the female offenders fitted into this group. The analysis also shows that Instrumental crime scene themes encompassed victims who were strangers to the offenders, and that these crimes were the domain of the male offender.

The results in this chapter further emphasise that Expressiveness and Instrumentality is a result not only of the situational behaviours, but encompass both the gender of the offender and the previous relationship between the offender and the victim. By understanding the influence of the offender-victim relationship in homicide, a more fully comprehensive model of crime scene actions and associated background characteristics may thus be produced. The next two chapters aim to unravel these issues.

CHAPTER 9

GENDER: EXPRESSIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL HOMICIDES

"Sex differences in criminality are so sustained and so marked as to be, perhaps, the most significant feature of recorded crime." (Frances Heidensohn 1985, p.11)

9.1 THE GENDER ANGLE

The MSA in the previous section clearly showed that there was a clear distinction in terms of the gender of the offender in the structure of homicide. This raised the question of the influence of gender on homicide. This next section will look at the difference between male and female offenders in greater detail in order to further investigate the role of the gender of the offender on homicide.

Much of the literature on gender and crime highlight that men and women behave differently with regards to aggression. This has been explained in terms of social scripts of gender and in terms of how each gender has learnt to internalise different acceptable aggressive strategies (Campbell et al. 1992, Campbell et al. 1993, Campbell and Muncer 1994). This essentially suggests that men and women will react with aggression for different reasons. Previous work (Jones 1991) indicates that women will react with agggression in situations with a high emotional element or in situations where they are threatened. In particular, women have been documented to strike at abusive husbands or at their children due to insurmountable social and emotional pressures. Daly and Wilson (1988) stressed that women who kill their

husbands do not typically act out of the same proprietary inclinations as the men who kill their wives. More commonly, they act in self-defence against husbands who are abusive to themselves, their children, or both. Men on the other hand, will react to situations where they feel their 'maleness' to be threatened whether that is by their partner or by other males. Male offenders as a sub-population it is also hypothesised here, are more involved with crime in general and so will kill as part of that general criminal lifestyle. These types of crimes it is proposed, are more Instrumental in nature in that the male offender kills to achieve an ulterior Instrumental gain, be it pride, sex or property.

Polk (1994) examined themes which emerged from a review of homicide case studies from Victoria, Australia, 1985-1989. In particular he sought to identify firstly, why homicide in general is such a male concept, and for this, drew heavily on Daly and Wilson's (1988) work.

Because most homicides are between people who know each other his study proceeded from the assumption that a primary focus of exploration should be the social relation between victim and offender. As males account for most offenders, Polk went on to examine the elements of masculine scenarios of violence which were being played out in the dramas found within the narratives of the homicides he surveyed. His survey brought him to classify male homicide into two distinct patterns of homicides where men kill women, one concerned with sexual possession where violence is employed as a control strategy, the other with a pattern of suicidal masculine depression which also encompasses the female partner in a control process, but to quite a different end.

Fifteen percent (N=58) of all homicides in Polk's study could be attributed to the male use of violence to control their female sexual partners. Wallace (1986) in her study of homicide in New South Wales also observed this trend that separation (or its threat) or jealousy were the major precipitating events of homicides where men took the lives of their spouses.

Daly and Wilson (1988) observe that a number of studies have corroborated this finding. They quote Guttmacher, who in 1955 evaluated 31 people in Baltimore who had killed their spouses to determine whether they were 'fit' to stand trial. Twenty-four of the offenders were male and seven were female. Guttmacher presented what he called 'apparent motivational factors' on the basis of his personal interviews with the perpetrators. While the data was slightly ambiguous due to the fact that the categories were not mutually exclusive, the numbers still showed that as many as 81% were motivated by sexual proprietariness. Showalter et al. (1980) indicated similar results with their Virginia sample of seventeen cases where the offender killed or seriously wounded their common-law or legal spouse. Of the seventeen cases, eleven were so similar that they classified them under the term "Spousal Homicide Syndrome". All eleven attackers were men, and all claimed that they were deeply in love with their victims. Ten of the eleven homicides were precipitated by 'an immediate threat of withdrawal' and eight of the eleven victims had previously left the offender, only to return.

Daly and Wilson further quote Chimbos (1978) who they say "...points once again to the overwhelming predominance of male sexual jealousy and proprietariness as motives in spousal homicide" (Daly and Wilson 1988, p.201). Chimbos interviewed 34 spousal killers (29 males and 5 females) on average 3 years after conviction. Twenty-two of the 34 couples had previously separated due to infidelity and had later been reconciled. The most striking result of the study was the near unanimity (85%) of the killers in identifying the main source of the homicides as relating to 'sexual matters'.

Dobash and Dobash (1984) interviewed 109 battered Scottish wives, and asked them to identify the main source of conflict in a 'typical' battering incident. Forty-eight of the women pointed to possessiveness and sexual jealousy on the part of the offender as the reason. Brisson (1983) found similar results in Denver when asking 122 wife-beaters the main reason for their crimes, namely jealousy. Indeed Daly and Wilson (1988) suggest that this jealousy goes beyond sexual jealousy to encompass a theme

of a more generalised proprietariness, including the husband objecting to their wives even seeing friends or leaving the house.

Polk (1994) also states that due to the emotional nature of the inter-personal exchange, suicide can very often also follow cases where the offender has attempted to control his female partner. In these events the male is going through some form of depressive crisis which is severe enough to lead him to consider suicide. These events revolve then around the decision of the male to take his own life, with the killing of the woman being a secondary consequence of this decision. These males are not primarily focused on the destruction of their partner, but reach the point of insisting, after they have concluded that their own lives must end, that their partner should be part of this decision as well. Twenty percent (N=15) of cases where a male killed their sexual partner was followed by suicide in Polk's sample. Polk suggests that these husbands view their wives as possessions which should be carried along on this final journey. This male theme of sexual possession, Polk expands to include related types of homicides, such as when cases involved another male sexual rival. Anger in these cases was aimed exclusively at the sexual rival (N=12).

This theme of possessiveness and the objectifying of people and things around the offender goes beyond mere close relationships to encompass a more general theme of possessiveness in homicide committed by males. Salfati and Canter (in press) found that possessiveness carried over from general criminal behaviour. They identified a certain sub-population of offenders who came from a general background of theft and burglary. These offenders killed their victim as well as raping them and stealing property of value from them (see chapter 1).

Daly and Wilson (1988), Polk (1994) and Salfati and Canter (in press) thus emphasise that male homicides, even when they are outwardly Expressive, in fact can be better explained from an Instrumental thematic standpoint, stressing themes of posessiveness, control and gain.

Conversely, the literature on female offenders, in particular Campbell and Muncer (1994), stress that whereas "men hold an instrumental social representation of aggression in which aggression is viewed as a functional interpersonal act aimed at imposing control over other people...women view aggression in expressive terms as a breakdown of self-control over anger". In this way, women are more expected to show Expressive modes of action when they commit crimes like homicide, and are expected to have more Expressive characteristics as their reference point, than do men.

9.2 AIMS

The aim of this chapter was to further investigate the gender differences in actions and characteristics illustrated in the MSA in chapter 8. It was hypothesised that males, when analysed separately from females, would exhibit a much more Instrumental (possessive and object oriented) homicide than would females. It was further hypothesised that this trend would equally be reflected in female and male offenders' general background themes.

9.3 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN OFFENDER GENDER DIFFERENCES TO THEMES OF CRIME SCENE ACTIONS AND TO BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Table 9.3.1 summarises the frequency distributions for both crime scene actions and offender background characteristics for each gender group across the whole sample of 247 cases. The results emphasise the results from the MSA in chapter 8 by clearly showing that there were significant differences between male and female offenders, where females were more likely (42.9%) to commit dominantly Expressive homicides than males (37.9%) (chi-square analysis, p<.0001, X^2 41.26)[1]. Conversely, males were more likely (24.7%) to commit Instrumental homicides (chi-square analysis, p<.0001, X^2 36.25) than were females (17.9%).

As regards the offender gender differences in their background characteristics, table 9.3.1 again clearly shows that when the distribution of the percentage occurrence of the different themes were looked at separately for each gender, females (64.3%) were more Expressive (chi-square analysis, p<.0001, X^2 16.25) than were males (26.9%). In comparison, males (46.6%) were more likely (chi-square analysis, p<.0001, X^2 64.80) than females (17.9%) to have Instrumental characteristics.

These results substantiate the gender division in the MSA item plot of offender gender, by showing that the reason for this split is a gender-related dominant theme in both an offender's crime scene actions and in their background characteristics, where females were more Expressive and males more Instrumental.

---

[1] All Chi-square analysis in this thesis used Fisher's exact test for cells that contained less than five cases.

Table 9.3.1: Offender Gender Differences in Classification Categories Across Crime Scene Themes and Background Characteristics Themes

Themes	Male Offenders (Total N=219) Frequency (%)	Female Offenders (Total N=28) Frequency (%)
Crime Scene		
Expressive	83 (37.9%)	*12 (42.9%)**
Instrumental	*54 (24.7%)*	5 (17.9%)
Hybrid	64 (29.2%)	10 (35.7%)
None	18 (8.2%)	1 (3.6%)
Background		
Expressive	59 (26.9%)	*18 (64.3%)*
Instrumental	*102 (46.6%)*	5 (17.9%)
Hybrid	11 (5%)	0 (0%)
None	47 (21.5%)	5 (17.9%)

* Figures in italics show the most frequent gender group

It is interesting to note that the dominant crime scene theme (Expressive) within the female population in the sample occurred in 42.9% of cases. By comparison, the dominant theme (Instrumental) in the male sample was only 24.7%. This suggests that females on the whole were more categorically Expressive, whereas males were more spread across the different themes. This is shown by the 37.9%, 24.7% and 29.2% occurrence across Expressive, Instrumental and Hybrid crime scenes respectively (see table 9.3.1).

Although men appeared to be more likely to commit Instrumental homicides and females more likely to commit Expressive homicides, it is important to note that there were a number of profiles (profile numbers 27, 37 and 40 on the MSA plot, figure 8.2.1) where females did commit Instrumental crimes and males did commit Expressive crimes (profile numbers 15, 16, 20, 22, 30, 32, 41, 43 on the MSA plot, figure 8.2.1). These profiles accounted for 23 out of 100 cases used in the MSA, that is almost 25% of the sample. This highlights the importance of these cases and raises the question of their role in the modelling of gender related homicide.

In order to address the question of the nature of these mixtures of themes across offender gender categories, the actual frequencies of the actions which made up the crime scenes committed by male and female offenders were looked at in more detail.

9.4 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN FREQUENCIES OF HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE ACTIONS

In order to establish the exact behavioural differences for each gender group, the frequencies of occurrence of all crime scene actions were calculated within female and male offender subgroups. Table 9.4.1 shows the general frequencies between the two groups of offenders. Chi-squares analysis produced the significant between-group differences shown.

First it is interesting to note that there were several variables that did not occur in the female sample, that did occur in the male sample. Notably, these variables ('Bound', 'Blindfolded', 'Hidden', 'Transported', 'Arson', 'Vaginal penetration', 'Anal penetration', 'Penetration by a foreign object', 'Clothing damaged', 'Sexual'), either dealt with the sexual or forensic nature of the crime where the offender attempted to hide or remove the body of the victim. The variables that did not occur in the female sample, were all highly Instrumental and typically associated with male offenders. Conversely, the variable 'drugged/poisoned' did not occur amongst the male offenders. This was the most indirect way of killing the victim and has often been associated with killings by women in particular.

219

Table 9.4.1: Differences in Frequencies of Crime Scene Actions Across Offender Gender

Crime Scene Actions	Male Offenders (Total N=219) Frequency (%)	Female Offenders (Total N=28) Frequency (%)
Expressive		
Torso	108 (49%)	14 (51.9%)
Face	83 (37.7%)	7 (25.9%)
Head	82 (37.3%)	6 (22.2%)
Stabbed	81 (36.8%)	13 (48.1%)
MWD	78 (35.5%)	7 (25.9%)
Weapon to scene	55 (25%)	3 (11.1%)
Blunt instrument	54 (24.5%)	1 (3.7%)
Limbs	53 (24.1%)	6 (22.2%)
Forensic	47 (21.4%)	2 (7.4%)
Hidden	22 (10%)	0
Transported	21 (9.5%)	0
Property identifiable	16 (7.3%)	1 (3.7%)
Shot	15 (6.8%)	2 (7.4%)
Suffocation	10 (4.5%)	4 (14.8%)
Bound	10 (4.5%)	0
Found in water	6 (2.7%)	2 (7.4%)
Blindfolded	3 (1.4%)	0
Drugged/poisoned	0	4 (14.8%)
Instrumental		
Manual wounding	109 (49.5%)	6 (22.2%)
Neck	105 (4.8%)	9 (33.3%)
Weapon from scene	94 (4.3%)	18 (66.7%)
Property of value	52 (23.6%)	1 (3.7%)
Partially undressed	49 (22.3%)	1 (3.7%)
Sexual	38 (17.3%)	0
Property not identifiable	27 (12.3%)	1 (3.7%)
Vaginal penetration	23 (10.5%)	0
Naked	19 (8.6%)	1 (3.7%)
Covered	18 (8.2%)	1 (3.7%)
Arson	14 (6.4%)	0
Clothing damaged	11 (5%)	0
Anal penetration	8 (3.6%)	0
Foreign object	4 (1.8%)	0

220

The mode of killing was different for male offenders. Males tended to use a blunt instrument more than females (chi-square analysis, p<.02, X^2 6.04). Females on the other hand were more likely (chi-square analysis, p<.0001, X^2 33.13) than males to use drugs or poison on their victims, and like using drugs or poisons, using other indirect and less violent methods such as suffocating the victim (chi-square analysis, p<.03, X^2 4.74).

No other Expressive crime scene actions were significantly different between the two groups, although it is worth noting that males were more likely to bring a weapon to the scene (25%) than were females (11.1%), thus showing more criminal sophistication and planning, which is consistently a more Instrumental action. Males were also more likely to be aware of forensic evidence (21.4%) than were females (7.4%).

Regarding the Instrumental crime scene actions, males were more likely than females to leave their victims partially undressed (chi-square analysis, p<.05, X^2 5.14), wounding the victim through hitting, kicking or strangling them (chi-square analysis, p<.01, X^2 7.23), stealing property of value (chi-square analysis, p<.02, X^2 5.67) and committing sexual acts at the scene (chi-square analysis, p<.02, X^2 5.51). Conversely, female offenders were more likely than males to commit the Instrumental crime scene action of taking a weapon from the scene (chi-square analysis, p<.02, X^2 5.56). Even though this was classified as an Instrumental crime scene action, it was consistent with behaviours expected from female offenders, namely that they would be more likely to use an available weapon from the scene (e.g. Heidensohn 1985).

When frequencies of crime scene actions were discerned within each gender group, it thus became clear that although both male and female offenders committed many of the same actions, they committed them at different proportions, and differed essentially in the actual makeup of the Expressive and Instrumental crime scene themes.

This highlights the issue that although crime scene actions could be classified into Expressive and Instrumental themes, the meaning of these themes varied according to the gender of the offender who committed these actions. This raises the question of the differing nature and meaning of Expressiveness and Instrumentality of homicide to both male and female offenders. Fundamentally, the hypothesis is that male offenders will be more Instrumental across both their Expressive and Instrumental themes, as compared to female offenders whose Expressive and Instrumental crime scene actions will essentially be more Expressive in nature.

9.5 ILLUSTRATIONS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES WITHIN CRIME SCENE THEMES

To illustrate this point, the case studies in this next section will highlight how each gender used both Expressive and Instrumental crime scene actions in subtly different ways and for different purposes.

Case studies III and IV illustrate an Expressive and an Instrumental homicide committed by a female offender. Both these cases involved the offender killing her partner. In the Expressive crime scene (case study III), the offender used an available weapon found at the crime scene (the kitchen in their communal home where the argument took place). Escalating from an argument about the emotive issue of infidelity, the offender moved from a verbal attack into an uncontrolled physical attack, starting with throwing objects at the victim and then using a knife to kill the victim.

Case Study III

Expressive Crime Scene by Female Offender (case 145)

The offender resided alone. Her estranged husband returned to the matrimonial home each weekday for breakfast and lunch. Leading up to the incident, the offender and deceased were involved in an argument, in the kitchen, about the deceased's relationship with his mistress. The offender then threw things at the deceased, the argument escalated and the offender then repeatedly stabbed the victim in the neck. She then called the police and reported what she had done.

In the Instrumental case (case study IV), the female offender had been the object of physical abuse by her partner (the victim in this case) on numerous occasion leading up to the event. In this case the physical attack by the victim on the offender lead to the offender using an available weapon from the crime scene to defend herself and strike back at the victim, and consequently killing him.

Both these crimes committed by a female offender, although thematically in different groups, were very similar in its behavioural components. In both cases the female offender defended herself from an emotional or physical situation by using an available weapon, and consequently killing her partner. Both crimes were committed in the communal home of the victim and the offender.

Case Study IV

Instrumental Crime Scene by Female Offender (case 209)

The offender was the girlfriend of the deceased. The deceased had previously frequently been violent toward the offender. On this occasion he hit her again, but this time she took a knife and stabbed him in the back and chest. The incident took place on front lawn. The offender then called the police and notified them about what she had done.

Looking at the two cases (case study V and VI) representing an Expressive and an Instrumental homicide committed by a male offender, two things were immediately apparent. Firstly, the two cases were very different in nature, and secondly the actions used and the underlying psychology of these actions were very different to those crimes committed by a female offender.

In the Expressive crime scene (case study V), as in the Expressive case (case study III) involving a female offender, the offender reacted to a situation where his partner was intending to leave him. Just like in case study III, the events escalated from an the emotive issue, but in this case, there was the additional element of the offender refusing the victim to leave him. In this case the offender resorted, as Daly and Wilson (1988) would suggest, to the posessive action of homicide to keep her from leaving.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:1em;">

<u>**Case Study V**</u>

<u>**Expressive Crime Scene by Male Offender (case 179)**</u>

The victim was the wife of the offender. The victim had been complaining about the behaviour of the offender and had previously mentioned that she was contemplating divorce proceedings. On the morning of the offence, the offender alleges that he thought the victim was preparing clothing to pack in order to leave him. The offender then took a knife from a kitchen drawer and asked his wife to kill him. When she refused, he attacked her, stabbing her ten times to her body and at least five times to her forehead.

</div>

In the Instrumental crime scene (case study VI), the offender deceptively stole from a vulnerable older female stranger victim and consequently killed the victim when he felt that she had become a threat to him as a witness to the event. This crime was behaviourally very distinct from case study V, where the offender killed in an Expressive manner. Thematically however, both crimes, despite being dominantly in different crime scene thematic groups, had the same undertones of the offender acting in a controlling manner towards the victim by treating the victim as a threat to his self-worth and self-preservation.

This illustrates that male and female homicide offenders not only differ markedly from each other in their crime scene activities, especially with regard to their Instrumentally themes offences, but they differ markedly within their gender groups with regard to how, behaviourally, they commit Expressive and Instrumental homicides. Females will commit both types of homicide in a more similar way than males, who distinguish themselves by being qualitatively more Instrumental in their crimes than female offenders.

Case Study VI

Instrumental Crime Scene by Male Offender (case 120)

The victim was a stranger to the offender. The offender had previously visited the home of the deceased claiming to be collating for an Ethiopian Appeal. After the offender had left the house of the victim, the victim found that he had stolen her purse. She consequently phoned the police. The police in turn picked up one of the offender's friends, and took him to the home of the victim to see if she could positively identify him. The victim stated that this was not the right offender, but that she would definitely recognise him should she see him again. When the offender learned of this, he returned to the home of the victim and attempted to strangle her, rendering her unconscious. He then stabbed her over twenty times with a pair of scissors he found at the scene.

To further investigate the exact nature of these gender differences, a more detailed analysis was done on the specific gender differences across offender background characteristics variables.

9.6 DIFFERENCES IN FREQUENCIES OF OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

The pattern of the gender splits in offender background characteristics further substantiates the illustrative narratives in the previous section. When the within-gender group frequency percentages were looked at (see table 9.6.1), it could be seen that female offenders, as compared to males, were more likely to kill victimsto whom they were blood-related (chi-square analysis, p<.0001, X^2 17.39). However, although there were no other statistically differences between the two groups amongst Expressive characteristics, it was interesting to note that females were more likely to kill a partner (50%) than were males (33.8%) in the sample. However, males were more likely (19.6%) than females (10.7%) to have previously physically or sexually abused one or more previous partners.

Table 9.6.1: Differences in Frequencies of Offender Characteristics Across Offender Gender

Background Characteristics	Male Offenders (Total N=219) Frequency (%)	Female Offenders (Total N=28) Frequency (%)
Expressive		
Relationship	74 (33.8%)	14 (50%)
Psych.	70 (32%)	10 (35.7%)
Fraud	66 (30%)	8 (28.6%)
Abuse	43 (19.6%)	3 (10.7%)
Blood related	13 (5.9%)	8 (28.6%)
Instrumental		
Theft	112 (51.1%)	4 (14.3%)
Unemployed	108 (49.3%)	15 (53.6%)
Burglary	77 (35.2%)	0 (0%)
Prison	73 (33.3%)	0 (0%)
Violence	67 (30.6%)	1 (3.6%)
Disorder	52 (23.7%)	2 (7.1%)
Damage	51 (23.3%)	0 (0%)
Armed Services	30 (13.7%)	0 (0%)
Sexual	22 (10%)	0 (0%)

This highlights again the gender split which suggests that women kill in the context of human relationships, whereas men kill within a theme of criminal activity. This is further substantiated when differences in previous Instrumental characteristics are investigated. As can be clearly seen here (see table 9.6.1), male offenders were the almost exclusive gender with extensive criminal histories. This again highlights the less criminal experience of female offenders in the sample. Males were significantly more likely to have a previous record for 'Theft' (chi-square analysis, $p<.001$, X^2 12.58), 'Burglary' (chi-square analysis, $p<.001$, X^2 13.73), 'Violence' (chi-square analysis, $p<.01$, X^2 8.63), and 'Damage' (chi-square analysis, $p<.01$, X^2 7.89). Males were also more likely to have been to prison (chi-square analysis, $p<.001$, X^2 8.63) and having been to the armed services (chi-square analysis, $p<.04$, X^2 4.19).

9.7 SUMMARY OF MALE AND FEMALE DIFFERENCES IN EXPRESSIVENESS AND INSTRUMENTALITY IN HOMICIDE

Males, as compared to females, even when committing essentially Expressive homicides, on the whole tended to be more dominated by an Instrumental theme. They progressed to homicide from a general past of crime, and committing homicides which suggest that they were not attacking so much the person, as they were extending their previous criminal behavioural patterns into the realm of interpersonal violence. These offenders were the ones who killed other people because it served a specific self-serving purpose beyond that of an emotional catharsis or reaction.

Females on the other hand, when looked at separately from males, committed a substantially larger percent of Expressive crimes and had a dominant trend of Expressive background characteristics. Indeed even when they committed Instrumental homicides, they were more Expressive than were males who committed either Instrumental or Expressive homicides. This suggests a sub-population in which a particular person is targeted in a reactive manner at the crime scene, and an

offender who is connected to the victim in some way, be it through a personal relationship, or a consanguinal intra-familial relationship.

These results again stress that the issues of Expressiveness and Instrumentality are more involved and subtle than the previous literature on the subject has alluded to. Both themes of aggression are not only different in themselves, but also differ in relation to *who*, in terms of gender, uses these different strategies in violent aggressive situations such as homicide.

CHAPTER 10

FROM STRANGERS TO INTIMATES:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OFFENDER-VICTIM
· RELATIONSHIP AND THEMES OF HOMICIDE

"Because motives do not exist in a vacuum, the subject-object, doer-sufferer relationship is of primary importance in this particular crime...homicide is a dynamic relationship between two or more persons caught up in a life drama where they operate in a direct, interactional relationship." (Wolfgang 1958, p. 203)

The MSA in chapter 8 clearly illustrated a clear distinction between different offender-victim relationship groups in the structure of homicide. This next section will look at the difference between these different groups in greater detail in order to further investigate the role of the offender-victim relationship in homicide.

10.1 THE RELATIONSHIP AS THE INTERPERSONAL ANGLE

As stated previously, homicide is seen here as a product of the individuals and their relationship. It has been hypothesised and shown hitherto that more may be understood about the nature of murder, its varieties and causes, by considering how the relationships between the participants may differ.

Most people are killed by those close to them (Pokorny 1965, Voss and Hepburn 1968, Curtis 1974, Reed et al. 1978). Gillis (1986) found that the closer the tie between offender and victim, the more often homicides seemed to be a spontaneous, emotion-laden act. He also found that these acts were committed by a high number of both males and females over the age of 30. On the other hand, he found that uninvolved offenders were more likely to be male, under 30 with little or no evidence of emotional content in their acts.

Silverman and Mukherjee (1987) concur by stressing that most homicides can be best characterised as a social event in which there are at least two actors and a social relationship that plays a dynamic role in the way that the homicide unfolds. The social relationship between offender and victim, they suggest, should play a key role in the analysis of homicide. In particular, they hypothesise, the intensity levels associated with intimate relationships, will be associated with the type of homicide which occurs.

Wolfgang (1958) also stressed the importance of the interpersonal relationship between the victim and the offender. He claimed that because a relationship is a prerequisite to homicide, stranger homicides are less frequent than homicides between people who know each other. Out of 550 homicides, he found that 65% involved primary contacts (close friend, family member, paramour and homosexual partner). Kratcoski (1987) further concluded that characteristics of the victim and the assailant, and the circumstances surrounding the incident when the death occurred, differed significantly when family-related homicides were compared with those involving acquaintances or strangers. In particular he stressed that while the assailant in all types of homicide cases is typically a young male, in family-related cases there is an emergence of females and older family members in the assailant group.

Kratcoski's study however, like most others, did not test the link between the actions at the crime scene and the relationship between the offender and the victim. He stated that "since information on the background characteristics of the assailants,

such as previous criminal record, socio-economic class, history of receiving abuse as a child, and mental health problems, was not readily available, one can only speculate on the degree to which a violent response to a frustrating situation was typical behaviour for the assailant and related to social learning or stress factors" (Kratcoski 1988 p.69). It is thus worthwhile to further investigate this by examining the relationship between crime scene behaviours and background characteristics of offenders.

10.1.2 Aims and Hypotheses

In summary, a hypothesis was developed, suggesting that the patterns and relationships between the assailant and victim were different enough from those found in stranger to stranger cases and those found in intra-familial cases to continue separate investigative lines of research. The focus of this section will be in terms of how this inherent closeness/distance in the bond between the offender and the victim, was important to the way the crime was carried out at the crime scene. Related to this was the illustration that stranger cases most often involved a criminally more experienced offender with Instrumental background characteristics, whereas offenders who had an intimate relationships or a blood relationship with the victim, were more likely to involve offenders who fell into the Expressive group.

The results from this chapter in turn it is hypothesised will relate to the pattern found between male and female offenders as found in the MSA analysis in chapter 8, and as further analysed and discussed in the previous chapter 9.

10.2 OFFENDER-VICTIM RELATIONSHIP DIFFERENCES IN THEME CLASSIFICATION

Table 10.2.1 shows the within-group percentage occurrence of each crime scene and background characteristics theme for each of the three offender-victim classification groups; strangers, intimate relationships, and blood related.

The figures demonstrate what the literature discusses, namely that homicide is dominantly an Expressive crime. All three groups had the majority of their cases classified as having dominantly Expressive crime scene, with the secondary classification being a Hybrid crime scene, followed by an Instrumental crime scene. As the MSA in chapter 8 suggested, the differences between the two groups could partly be explained by their differing background characteristics. It is noteworthy to mention however that part of the clarity in the differentiation between offender-victim relationship and background themes may be due to the fact that the variables 'Related' and 'blood Related' were part of the Expressive theme (see chapter 6). Conversely it could be seen that Stranger victims were more likely to be killed by offenders with an Instrumental background (83.7%), i.e. offenders with previous criminal histories, whereas victims who knew their offender, either because of a current or previous intimate relationship, or because they were blood related were more likely to have Expressive background characteristics (58% and 66.7% respectively).

Because the differences in the dominant themes were again seen more clearly in the characteristics, rather than in the actual crime scene themes, a more detailed look was taken (see next section) at the individual crime scene behaviours in order to further understand the effect of the offender-victim relationship on the actions of the offender during the crime.

Table 10.2.1: Offender-Victim Relationship Categories Differences in Classification Categories Across Crime Scene Themes and Background Characteristics Themes

Themes	Strangers (N=43)	Relationship (N=88)	Blood Related (N=21)
Crime Scene			
Expressive	*19 (44.2%)**	*30 (34.1%)*	*7 (33.3%)*
Instrumental	9 (20.9%)	25 (28.4%)	5 (23.8%)
Hybrid	11 (25.6%)	26 (29.5%)	*7 (33.3%)*
None	4 (9.3%)	7 (7.6%)	2 (9.5%)
Background			
Expressive	2 (4.7%)	*51 (58%)*	*14 (66.7%)*
Instrumental	*36 (83.7%)*	8 (9.1%)	1 (4.8%)
Hybrid	4 (9.3%)	3 (3.4%)	1 (4.8%)
None	1 (2.3%)	26 (29.5%)	5 (23.8%)

* Figures in italics show the largest within-group percentage

10.3 OFFENDER-VICTIM RELATIONSHIP DIFFERENCES ACROSS CRIME SCENE VARIABLES

The most salient information from table 10.3.1 centres on the difference between offenders who commit sexual acts at the crime scene, who are aware to remove or not leave forensic evidence, and those who do not. As has been discussed in chapter 7, sexual homicides were more likely to have been committed by strangers. This again suggests that homicide is the domain of people who have a previously established relationship, and that sexual homicides is a distinct subgroup of offences, committed by strangers.

Table 10.3.1: Differences in Frequencies of Crime Scene Actions Across Offender-Victim Relationship Categories

Crime Scene Actions	Strangers (N=43)	Relationship (N=88)	Blood Related (N=21)
Expressive			
Stabbed	17 (39.5%)	31 (35.2%)	5 (23.8%)
Blunt instrument	10 (23.3%)	21 (23.9%)	4 (19%)
Shot	3 (7%)	4 (4.5%)	1 (4.8%)
Head	16 (37.2%)	31 (35.2%)	8 (38.1%)
Torso	26 (60.5%)	37 (42%)	6 (28.6%)
Limbs	16 (37.2%)	16 (18.2%	4 (19%)
MWD	19 (44.2%)	24 (27.3%)	6 (28.6%)
Weapon to scene	18 (41.9%)	13 (14.8%)	1 (4.8%)
Property identifiable	3 (7%)	4 (4.5%)	1 (4.8%)
Forensic	12 (27.9%)	10 (11.4%)	1 (4.8%)
Found in water	3 (7%)	2 (2.3%)	1 (4.8%)
Face	17 (39.5%)	26 (29.5%)	8 (38.1%)
Suffocation	1 (2.3%)	2 (2.3%)	4 (19%)
Drugged/poisoned	1 (2.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (9.5%)
Bound	2 (4.7%)	5 (5.7%)	0 (0%)
Blindfolded	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Hidden	10 (23.3%)	5 (5.7%)	0 (0%)
Transported	9 (20.9%)	6 (6.8%)	0 (0%)
Instrumental			
Partially undressed	13 (30.2%)	13 (14.8%)	1 (4.8%)
Naked	7 (16.3%)	6 (6.8%)	1 (4.8%)
Manual wounding	22 (51.2%)	41 (46.6%)	10 (47.6%)
Neck	17 (39.5%)	48 (54.5%)	10 (47.6%)
Weapon from scene	13 (30.2%)	41 (46.6%)	12 (57.1%)
Property not identifiable	9 (20.9%)	4 (4.5%)	1 (4.8%)
Property of value	6 (14%)	9 (10.2%)	1 (4.8%)
Covered	5 (11.6%)	2 (2.3%)	1 (4.8%)
Arson	2 (4.7%)	5 (5.7%)	0 (0%)
Vaginal penetration	8 (18.6%)	5 (5.7%)	1 (4.8%)
Anal penetration	4 (9.3%)	1 (1.1%)	0 (0%)
Foreign object	2 (4.7%)	1 (1.1%)	0 (0%)
Clothing damaged	2 (4.7%)	3 (3.4%)	0 (0%)
Sexual	13 (30.2%)	6 (6.8%)	1 (4.8%)

10.4 OFFENDER-VICTIM RELATIONSHIP DIFFERENCES ACROSS BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Because the defining core of high frequency variables (see table 10.4.1) of the background characteristics (see chapter 6, figure 6.2.1) dealt with the offender's knowledge of the area in which the crime was committed, male offenders as well as the offender-victim relationship, these three variables were compared across the three offender-victim relationship categories (see table 10.4.1).

As can be seen from table 10.4.1, there was an increasing percentage occurrence for the familiarity with the area, as the offender-victim moved from 'Stranger' (76.7% to 'Relationship' (90.9%) and then to 'Blood Related' (100%). Further, it was interesting to note that as the relationship between the offender and the victim went from 'Blood Related' to 'Relationship' to 'Stranger, there was an increasing likelihood that the offender was male (61.9%, 84.1% and 97.7% respectively), thus again stressing that the Instrumental, non-related crime is the domain of men and not of women who essentially kill people with whom they have a close and traumatic relationship.

Table 10.4.1: Offender-Victim Relationship Categories Differences in Classification Categories Across High Frequency Background Characteristics Variables

Variables	Strangers (N=43)	Relationship (N=88)	Blood Related (N=21)
Familiar With The Area	33 (76.7%)	80 (90.9%)	*21 (100%)*
Knew Victim	0 (0%)	*88 (100%)*	*21 (100%)*
Male	*42 (97.7%)*	74 (84.1%)	13 (61.9%)

* Figures in italics show the largest between-group percentage

As mentioned earlier in section 10.2, part of the problem of looking at the distribution of background characteristics themes across the three offender-victim relationship groups was that they were part of the makeup of the actual theme. Therefore it was necessary to look at the associations between the relationship groups and the other individual background characteristics variables to gain a more detailed understanding of the relationships between the offender-victim relationship and the offenders' background characteristics (see table 10.4.2).

10.4.2: Differences in Frequencies of Offender Characteristics Across Offender-Victim Relationship Categories

Background Characteristics	Strangers (N=43)	Relationship (N=88)	Blood Related (N=21)
Expressive			
Fraud	7 (16.3%)	*45 (51.1%)*	5 (23.8%)
Psych.	*11 (25.6%)**	35 (39.8%)	*11 (52.4%)*
Abuse	3 (7%)	29 (33%)	2 (9.5%)
Instrumental			
Theft	*25 (58.1%)*	26 (29.5%)	5 (23.8%)
Burglary	19 (44.2%)	19 (21.6%)	3 (14.3%)
Disorder	7 (16.3%)	11 (12.5%)	3 (14.3%)
Sexual	11 (25.6%)	5 (5.7%)	0 (0%)
Violence	19 (44.2%)	14 (15.9%)	2 (9.5%)
Damage	16 (37.2%)	10 (11.4%)	0 (0%)
Prison	18 (41.9%)	18 (20.5%)	1 (4.8%)
Armed Services	4 (9.3%)	14 (15.9%)	1 (4,8%)
Unemployed	18 41.9%	*38 (43.2%)*	*11 (52.4%)*

* Figures in italics show the largest within-group figure

When comparing the within-group percentage distributions for Expressive characteristics, the data confirmed Daly and Wilson's standpoint that offenders who killed blood relatives were more likely to have a psychiatric history or psychological and social problems. Indeed, looking at table 10.4.2, the variable 'Psych.' was the

most frequent Expressive variable in the blood related group (52.4%). It is also interesting to note that 'Psych.' was the most frequent Expressive characteristics of stranger homicides, suggesting that if offenders who kill strangers do have Expressive characteristics they are likely to be ones reflecting an unstable state of mind.

In terms of Instrumental background characteristics, as can be seen by table 10.4.2, offenders who killed victims who were strangers to them, were the more likely to have a criminal record for various offences, and were the more likely to have been to prison.

Offenders who killed individuals with whom they had had an intimate relationship, or with whom they were involved with at the time of the crime, were the more likely, of the three groups to have Expressive variables concerning previously showing inadequate, or even violent, interpersonal transactions with 51.1% of cases having a criminal record for fraud and 33% having a previous history of sexually or physically abusing a previous or the current partner. It is also worth noting that this relationship group was the more likely to have the offender having been in the armed services, which again suggests a violent interpersonal set of experiences.

10.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has further highlighted the importance of taking the offender-victim relationship into account in the analysis of homicide, in particular with reference to defining Expressive and Instrumental crime scene themes and themes of offender background characteristics.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this thesis, the nature and variations in murder have been investigated through the consideration of how the relationship between the offender and the victim differs. It has been proposed that different forms of these interpersonal transactions are reflected in the murder crime scene and reflect differences in line with an Expressive-Instrumental interpretation. This Expressive/Instrumental split has also been shown to be consistent in the background characteristics of offenders.

11.1 REDEFINING THE EXPRESSIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Previous literature on Expressive and Instrumental aggression (e.g. Berkowitz 1993, Cornell et al. 1987, Cornell 1990, Hartup 1974) has specified that the goal of the first type is to make the victim, or the actual person suffer, whereas the second type is centred on attaining an ulterior aim such as material goods. These previous descriptions of Expressive and Instrumental types of aggression have centred on defining the actual event such as the specific type of crime committed, that is property (Instrumental) crimes such as theft, or robbery; or person (Expressive) oriented crimes such as homicide, rape and assault.

The concepts of Expressiveness and Instrumentality have been widely used to describe aggressive events and situations. The specifics of these two types of

239

aggression however have never been defined in any great detail. In particular, no descriptions have previously been put forward as to how Expressiveness and Instrumentality are exhibited during an event, through specific description of the behavioural makeup of these events.

Expressiveness and Instrumentality have moreover been used implicitly in other descriptive definitions of aggressive behaviour. By examining the behaviours in homicide rather than the overall nature and context of the crime, the link to other proposed classifications can be seen more clearly. In particular, classifications like Ressler et al.'s (1988) of the Disorganised and Organised types of serial sexual murders appear to address the Expressive and Instrumental actions. Although Ressler et al. put forward the specifics of what behaviours would constitute such an event, they themselves stated that their classification model had not been put to empirical test.

The results from the present work on Expressiveness and Instrumentality in homicide has highlighted a number of important points. Firstly, the value of using police homicide files for the purpose of delineating and analysing the different actions as they are carried out by the offender at the crime scene, has been demonstrated. In particular, the analysis has shown that using actual traces of behaviours as the unit of analysis is a valuable process.

Secondly, the analysis has shown that actions committed by the offender at homicide crime scenes can be classified into two subgroups, defined by the two general descriptions of Expressiveness and Instrumentality. This shows that the concepts of Expressiveness and Instrumentality are useful in distinguishing not only different types of crimes as previous literature has pointed at, but that they are also useful in distinguishing different subgroups *within* crimes such as homicides in terms of the different ways the offender acted towards the victim at the homicide crime scene.

The present study, through the analysis of the co-occurrences of the actual behaviours used by offenders at homicide crime scenes has brought to attention the

behavioural components which make up different themes of homicide such as Expressive and Instrumental crime scenes. Through understanding the individual behaviours in the context of other behaviours with which they co-occurred, our understanding not only of what Expressiveness and Instrumentality signify, but also *what* behaviours during homicide are considered Expressive or Instrumental, and *why*, have been refined.

Levels of closeness with which the offender interacted with the victim were found to be related closely to the frequencies of the behaviours as they occurred across the sample, with the high frequency behaviours denoting very impulsive and direct behaviours, common to most homicides, irrespective of their crime scene theme. Lower frequency variables suggested behaviours where the offender deliberately distanced themselves from the victim through their actions.

In terms of the thematic content of the behaviours which occurred at crime scenes, two general interactional styles of Expressiveness and Instrumentality at homicide crime scenes were found to superimpose over the frequency structure. These two behavioural styles reflected ways in which the offender acted towards the victim at the crime scene, namely in terms of the Expressive or Instrumental quality of their crime.

This Expressive/Instrumental split was also found to differentiate between personal histories of homicide offenders. The results further show that this two-way classification could be observed through the analysis of offenders' previous records, their previous interpersonal relationships and their interpersonal relationship with the victim. Inherent in the Instrumental theme, was a secondary split, showing a distinction between offenders who had previously treated victims of their crimes as "Objects" as in when previously having committed violence crimes, or as "Vehicles" when previously having committed theft crimes .

As described in the Expressive case study II, the offender used the specific Expressive actions of blindfolding the victim, and transporting the victim away (after

death) from the original crime scene and dumping the victim in water. These actions, although on their own could be interpreted as cold and calculated, when taken together, presented an Expressive picture of an offender who attempted to depersonalise the victim and distance themselves from the evidence.

The offender's behaviours were seen as exemplifying the theme of Expressive crime scene actions in that they centred on the offender acting towards the victim as a specific person that had some meaning to the offender. Because the victim was a specific person to the offender, they would inevitably 1) have an emotional impact on the offender, and 2) be linked to the offender during the investigation. Rather than using a blindfold to avoid recognition, the offender used it in the context of depersonalising the victim, possibly in order to make the task easier by attempting to remove part of the emotional element.

Further, like other offenders with dominant Expressive crime scene themes, the offender removed the victim from the crime scene to an area that would not only be dissociated with the victim and the offender, but also an area which would entail a more difficult discovery of the body by the police. The offender leaving the body of the victim in water further demonstrated an action of the offender attempting to hide the body, which supported the Expressive quality of the crime. Placing the body in water is not only a good way of disposing of the body, but also increases the likelihood of the forensic deterioration of the body.

Actions in the Instrumental theme on the other hand suggested that behaviours at the crime scene were not singularly directed at the victim as a person. Rather, the actions were part of a larger theme of the offender using the victim to further attain an ulterior aim such as sex or money. Where property was stolen, it was of financial value. This could indicate that the offender may have had an ulterior motive for the homicide, such as burglary, or that the offender decided to steal from the victim after the homicide took place and so turning the crime into something much more financially profitable. Indeed, it may be that a sub-section of these crimes could be classified as what the police term 'burglaries gone wrong'.

Case study III illustrated an Instrumental case, highlighting the core thematic features which the offender exhibited at the crime scene. This case included the offender stealing property from the victim, as well as engaging in sexual activity with the victim. Both these sets of actions were what defined the Instrumental crime scene theme. This was an offender who had a past of using people for his own ends, with a criminal record for theft and burglary dating back to when he was 13 years old. Indeed, he went to the victim's home with the aim of robbing and brutalised her in order to achieve this aim.

The fact that even in very Instrumental crimes like the one presented in the case study, Expressive components like multiple woundings were present indicating that there will always be an element of Expressiveness in violent crimes such as homicide.

Distinct subgroups such as the more cold and calculated killings are rare in British homicides. Even in murders such as the one described above, where the actions are very Instrumental in nature, they are usually committed not by cold, calculated and organised individuals, but rather by angry individuals who will vent this anger at the victim during their crime, thus objectifying the victim in order to attain both relief and financial/sexual gain. In most cases these Expressive components centred around the very high frequency Expressive behaviours of different types of wounding, which were more common across most cases, irrespective of their dominant theme. This Expressive element to Instrumental homicides may further indicate other aspects of the characteristics of the offender, beyond just those that are statistically and thematically associated with Instrumental cases.

Like previous studies which have defined Expressive crimes as crimes centred on the person and Instrumental crimes centred on the acts of theft, the analysis of actions at the homicide crime scene revealed that these two themes could also differentiate between homicides themselves. The establishing of behaviours which defined the homicide crime scene themes, refined not only the behavioural composition of the

two themes as related to homicide, but also refined the meaning of what Expressive and Instrumental homicide entailed.

In terms of the distribution of cases across the two crime scene themes, it could be seen that of those cases that could be classified as exhibiting a dominant theme, most crime scenes were classified as Expressive, again stressing that homicide is dominantly an Expressive crime. Because homicide is essentially an Expressive or emotive crime it further explained why both offenders with Expressive and Instrumental background themes committed mostly emotive homicides.

Most homicides however tended to be committed by people who, to a large extent had an extensive criminal history, explaining why most homicides, even Expressive homicides, were still committed by offenders with Instrumental backgrounds. This again stresses that even individuals with extensive criminal histories can be seen as Instrumental, and still find the rage and emotional outrage within them to carry out Expressive crimes. Indeed, it may be just because of their extensive criminal histories and disregard for other people that they will allow themselves to vent this rage in situations of conflict and crime.

Within the framework of emotive and exploitative homicides, several subgroups of homicides allowed for a more detailed analysis of the concepts of Expressiveness and Instrumentality in homicide. Here the gender of the offender and the offender's previous relationship with the victim were found to be what underpinned the structure of the Expressive and Instrumental split in homicide.

The analysis highlighted that the majority of the Expressive crimes encompassed offenders who killed people they knew, in particular partners or blood related relatives. The analysis also highlighted that most of the female offenders fitted into this group. On the other hand Instrumental crime scene themes encompassed victims who were strangers to the offenders. Although men committed mostly Expressive homicides against people they knew, the stranger homicides that were committed was the sole domain of the male offender.

Both themes of aggression were thus not only different in themselves, but also differed in relation to who, in terms of gender, used these different strategies in violent aggressive situations such as homicide. Not only did males and females differ between them, but there were further differences in the way the males and females represented anger or emotional distress and manipulative behaviours at the crime scene.

Males in these cases appeared to progress to homicide from a general past of crime, and commit homicides which suggest that they were not attacking so much the person, as they were extending their previous criminal behavioural patterns into the realm of interpersonal violence. These offenders were the ones who killed other people because it served a specific self-serving purpose beyond that of an emotional catharsis or reaction.

Males, even when committing essentially emotive homicides, on the whole tended to be more dominated by an Instrumental theme. They would use more of the core behaviours defining the theme, such as stealing from the victim and engaging in sexual acts, than would female offenders. Indeed the fact that more male offenders engaged in strongly Instrumental crimes suggest that men on the whole, when they commit crimes, do so within a more criminal and manipulative context.

This leads to the speculation of whether this may be a reflection of differences between men and women in their abilities to relate to other people in situations of conflict. The hypothesis here would be that men, in general, would relate less readily to other people than would women. These differences it would be hypothesised, would be reflected in the act of homicide itself. Whereas men commit even their Expressive homicides with undertones of Instrumental motivations such as possession, women tended to commit homicides reflecting the breakdown of situations of intense interpersonal conflict.

When the manifestation of Expressiveness and Instrumentality of homicides committed by females were investigated separately from males, it could be seen that

they committed a substantially larger proportion of Expressive homicides and had a dominant trend of Expressive background characteristics. Indeed even when they committed Instrumental homicides, they were qualitatively more impulsive or demonstrative than were males who committed either Instrumental or Expressive homicides. This suggests a sub-population in which a particular person is targeted in a reactive manner at the crime scene, and an offender who is connected to the victim in some way, be it through a personal relationship, or a consanguinal intra-familial relationship.

Within these general patterns of gender and offender-victim relationships, it was also possible to identify certain other subgroups that affected the expression of Expressive and Instrumental themes both in the offenders' crime scene behaviours and in their background characteristics.

Results from the analysis indicated that age was an influencing factor in the type of homicide which was committed. The younger the offender was, the more likely they were to be eclectic in their actions at the crime scene, that is, showing a wide mix of both Expressive and Instrumental variables. They were also more likely to come from a general background of criminal activity and were also more likely to kill strangers. Conversely, the older an offender was, the more likely they were to commit an Expressive crime as part of their general background characteristics in relation to the victim involved. In the majority of cases where the offender was older, it was an intimate partner who was killed.

Sexual homicides were a specifically distinct sub-group of Instrumental homicides. These offenders were also younger, more criminally oriented and were more likely to have previous experience and convictions for sexual offences. They were less likely to have Expressive characteristics thus suggesting the smaller likelihood of an offender with a previous relationship with the victim or a psychological or psychiatric problem which may have led to the offence.

Virtually all the offenders lived within five miles of the crime scene. This followed from the fact that most homicides were committed by people who knew each other. Although this five mile radius included both Expressive and Instrumental cases, Instrumental cases on the whole tended to travel further than Expressive cases. Specific Instrumental subgroups, such as stranger cases however, although they mostly lived within the 5 mile radius of the crime scene, travelled slightly further than offenders who knew their victims.

By establishing the exact nature of Expressive and Instrumental homicides, the concepts of these two themes of aggression have been both expanded and specified. This enables not only an empirically based understanding of homicide, but also a more methodological and theoretically robust definition of Expressive and Instrumental aggression as related to homicide.

A detailed investigation of the concepts of Expressiveness and Instrumentality in homicide allows for a richer understanding of not only how these themes of aggression are exhibited during the crime, and in relation to subgroups of homicide, but also in terms of how these concepts relate to the psychological processes which give rise to Expressive and Instrumental modes of expression. It has been shown that these two concepts are defined in terms of the gender of the offender and the offender's relationship with the victim, thus showing that they are intrinsically tied in to cognitions about how the offender relates to their social world. This leads to the speculation that some of the responsible processes may deal with these issues of cognition such as the offender's internal or external loci of control, or other socially adopted strategies for learning and cognition. This thesis did not specifically deal with the details of the specific causal processes that lead to homicide, however, in order to fully investigate the Expressive-Instrumental mode of aggressive expression, this needs to be addressed in future studies in this area.

11.2 USING BEHAVIOURS AND CRIME SCENE MATERIAL IN HOMICIDE RESEARCH

Few previous studies have used behaviours as revealed from the description of the actions carried out by the offender at the actual crime scene, as recorded in police files of homicide. Mostly, studies of homicide have concentrated on narrative accounts given by the offender, which, if relied on for objective information, are both biased and unreliable; or on studies of psychiatric groups of murderers, which are too narrow a subgroup from which to make generalisations about homicide.

The results from the analysis of homicide crime scene behaviours show that the information which is contained in police files is detailed and extensive enough to allow for a comprehensive modelling of actions during homicide. The results also indicate that behaviours are a useful unit of analysis to help distinguish between offences and offenders, in terms of their Expressive and Instrumental components.

The problem with police files however, are their lack of extensive personal details of the offender beyond their previous relationship with the victim and their previous criminal record. This lack in information has led to a sketchy picture of the previous experiences of offenders. More details with regard to the interpersonal styles would have added more detailed information to the model already built. In particular, personal characteristics which would further expand on the Expressive theme of background characteristics would have been helpful in possibly distinguishing between offenders with Expressive backgrounds in relation to whether they killed a partner or a blood relative.

11.3 MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING TECHNIQUES AND THE STUDY OF HOMICIDE

Using Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) techniques in the study of crime is a relatively new concept (e.g. Canter and Heritage 1990). Using MDS for classifying homicides and for linking these different classifications to characteristics of the offender, is a unique approach in the study of homicide. Multidimensional Scaling techniques, as used in this thesis, have allowed for a detailed examination of homicide and has allowed for a re-evaluation of the issues inherent therein.

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) was used in the analysis of the co-occurrences of both actions at a crime scene, and the co-occurrences of previous actions in an offender's background. This methodology enabled an understanding of how sets of actions co-occur to form the themes of Expressive and Instrumental homicide crime scenes and offenders. This allowed for the establishing of a model of homicide crime scene actions and related offender characteristics based on *themes* of co-occurring sets of variables, rather than isolated one-to-one item correlations.

The Partial Order Scalogram Analysis (POSA) further refined the understanding of the structure and cumulative dimension of Expressive and Instrumental homicides. Multiple Scalogram Analysis (MSA) additionally allowed for the comparison between different subsets of cases in order to establish how different subgroups differed on a number of Expressive and Instrumental variables. These methodologies thus allowed for a much deeper and richer understanding of the data relating to homicide, and open up new possibilities for the study of homicide.

11.4 PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Beyond the theoretical implications, this work has several practical applications. Most notably this work can be applied to areas of police investigations of homicide. Findings also support other areas relating to issues of the prevention of homicide and crisis management in situations such as domestic disputes, and of vulnerable subgroups such as young infants and the elderly.

11.4.1 Application to Investigative Profiling of Homicide

Over one third of the cases in this study were ones that posed little problem to investigations, as they either turned themselves in or committed or attempted to commit suicide after the crime and by so doing, admitting to the offence. However, two thirds of the cases involved offences in which the offender attempted to deceive the police and avoiding arrest. It is for these cases that investigative profiling may be of value for police investigators.

One of the main areas of concern regarding investigative profiling has been the general lack of extensive empirical studies on the psychological processes underpinning this process. The lack of any robust empirical studies has lead to a lack in the validity and reliability of current methods used in the area of investigative profiling. The question therefore which has been pertinent to the study of the profiling of offenders' actions at crime scenes, is whether the process which leads to the classification of these actions is clear and stable enough for the application to police investigations. Indeed, the exact nature of what information can be used from the crime scene and exactly how this links to characteristics of the offender have been important steps to establish.

The results from this empirical study of actions and characteristics of homicide offenders have aided to establish a classification system of homicide crime scenes and its related offenders that go beyond the mere experience and expertise of the

'profiler'. It has been possible to establish the foundations for a scientific approach of the study into the principles and limitations that underpin this system, and by so doing – demystifying the hitherto shrouded process which has been called 'Psychological' or 'Investigative' Profiling. This in turn has lead to a more informed conception of what can be expected from this process.

The results from the thesis show that there is both a consistency in terms of different crime scene patterns (Expressive/Instrumental) of actions carried out by homicide offenders and in terms of the type of offender who is related to these crime scene themes.

The classification model stresses the meaning of certain sets of behaviours at the crime scene which the police in homicide investigations may be able to focus on in order to determine the theme of homicide, and thus the possible characteristics of the offender who may have committed the crime.

Although they have their place, using large checklists (e.g. VICAP and VICLAS) like those employed by the FBI and many police forces to identify the type of homicide and the likely type of offender, can be time wasting and too indiscriminate. By identifying the most significant set of variables indicative of the likely offender responsible for the crime, a system can be devised where scarce resources such as time and manpower can be reduced. By understanding the underlying psychological processes to profiling, and focusing on the most important and indicative variables, as selected through valid and reliable empirical studies, a more accurate prediction of the likely characteristics of the offender will be achieved.

In this case, a dominantly Expressive crime scene would indicate behaviours related to the victim as a person, and would suggest an offender who is known to the victim, possibly intimately. These offences would mostly involve those which the police already classify as 'domestics', but will give the added advantage of understanding the behavioural components of those offenders in this category who remove forensic evidence and transport the victim away from the original crime scene.

On the other hand, a dominantly Instrumental crime scene would reflect a more 'criminally' themed homicide, centred on the offender stealing either property or sex from the victim. These cases would indicate a greater likelihood of offenders who are male, who come from a general background of criminal activity, who are at the younger end of the scale, and who will have travelled further to commit their crimes.

Results however point out that beyond these general differences, the science of profiling as related to police investigations still has a great need for further study and development. These first empirical indications show the possibility for using the actions of the offender at the crime scene to establish the likely characteristics of the offender. However, as the analysis has shown, these characteristics are related, to a great extent, to certain subgroups of offenders.

It will be through the further, more detailed study of these subgroups that the actions-to-characteristics connection may be unravelled. In particular, this would be significant for cases that involve offenders and victims who are not related or intimately involved, and where the crime was of a more Instrumental nature.

11.4.2 Application to Crisis Management

Results of the study also draws attention to the application of the results to the area of crisis management of violence - in particular in relation to domestic violence. This study confirms existing knowledge of domestic violence which stress the heightened risk factor of individuals who reside within a family where consistent situations of stress and its consequent violence occurs. By identifying the specific situations of these high risk groups, programs of intervention may be established in order to intervene at times of high risk to the victim(s) involved.

Results from the present study highlight three groups in particular which needs further detailed investigation. In particular, intimate partners with a past of domestic disputes, specifically regarding issues of infidelity is a higher risk group. Similarly,

small infants are at risk within a domestic situation where the parent(s) is young, inexperienced and unable to cope with the pressure of bringing up the child. Thirdly, the vulnerable group of the elderly and their risk to burglaries and violent attacks needs to be investigated further.

11. 5 THE FUTURE OF HOMICIDE RESEARCH

This study has highlighted a number of issues important to the understanding of homicide, its behavioural components and the offenders responsible for these acts. However, these results have also highlighted areas which still need to be investigated in order to gain a fuller understanding of the different psychological and cultural processes that lead to homicide.

The present study has dealt with homicide as reported, descriptively in police files, and with homicide offenders as detailed in these files regarding their relationship with the victim, their previous psychiatric history and their previous criminal record.

In order to more fully understand the actions the offender commit at the crime scene, and in order to use this information to develop a classification system of different styles of homicide offending, it is important to establish to what extent the offender is consistent in the way they commit their crime, particularly in relation to their general background characteristics. It is reasonable to hypothesise that the actions of the victim at the crime scene, and indeed the identity of the victim and their previous interpersonal dealings with the offender are crucial in influencing the offender's actions.

11.5.1 Interviewing Victims

Studying attempted homicide could throw light on many of the issues raised in the present study of homicide. In a study of attempted homicide, victims could be interviewed, in order to establish how many of the offender's actions at the crime scene are directly related to their own personal and generalised interpersonal style, and how much and exactly what is influenced by their interaction with the actual victim. The hypothesis would be that the intention behind both of these crimes are similar, and thus the main difference between homicides and attempted homicides would be due to the extent of the wounding and the survival of the victim from these injuries. Taking these factors into account, as well as content analysing the accounts of the victims for variables that will describe those of their actions that influenced the way the offender dealt with the victim, it is proposed will allow for a more detailed understanding of the offender-victim dynamic and its inherent influence on the thematic style of the offender's crime scene actions.

11.5.2 Interviewing Offenders

Understanding how the offender is influenced by his environment is also important for the application of this work to serial offenders. By understanding how an offender changes over time, and what they change in relation to, must be accounted for in any model which attempts to investigate the consistencies in an offenders behaviour at the crime scene or through a series of crimes.

To further refine our understanding of those individuals who commit homicide, and to acquire more information as to their previous experiences, interviews with these offenders would serve the purpose of adding a narrative perspective to the behavioural information acquired through crime scene material. By linking an offender's narrative account, the way they describe their own lives and crimes, to a behavioural classification of their actual actions at the crime scene, will enrich our

understanding of the relationship between the way an offender reasons about their character, experiences and their crimes and how they consequently deal with the victim at the crime scene. As information from interviews is biased in terms of the way the offender rationalises their own experiences, this source of information could only be taken as far as an account of how the offender portrays themselves to the outside world. However, even this personal image that the offender wants to portray it is hypothesised would be crucial in understanding the way they situate themselves within the cultural concepts of acts of aggression and the social learning of aggression.

11.5.3 A Cultural Investigation of Homicide

Related to this, is the issue of the cross-cultural application of how offenders use concepts such as Expressiveness and Instrumentality in their crimes. Leyton (1995) show that British murders are very different in quality to murders committed in the United States. This difference specifically centres on the fact that there are more suicides following murder in Britain, which has been put down to issues of culturally encoded feelings of remorse. This could partly explain why murders in Britain are more Expressive in nature. Here murder is still very much the domain of conflict between individuals who have previously established interpersonal difficulties, such as intimate partners and family members. The hypothesis is that as the nature of the culture changes, so will the manifestation of Expressiveness and Instrumentality of homicide.

An interesting question that follows is whether aggressive strategies and the cultural legitimacy of these are encoded in scripts of behaviours which are adopted by the individual and hence retrieved and used in the appropriate situation or scenario. Through interviewing offenders, it may be possible to discern the behavioural scripts that offenders use in situations of aggression, and ascertain the cultural availability and acceptance of these scripts.

It could be postulated that cultures where the outwards expression of negative emotions is accepted, such as in Latin cultures, will have not only more Expressively defined homicide, but will have a richer number of categories within these Expressive homicides. If individuals use culturally encoded scripts for behaviour, then the hypothesis can be put forward that cultures where aggression and violence is more acceptable, will have a greater variety of scripts available for these types of situations. Conversely, these scripts would be different from cultures based on a highly controlled level of display of aggression, such as in Oriental cultures. The hypothesis here is that these cultures will exhibit a lesser number of violent acts like homicide, but when they do, they will be defined by more Instrumental scripts.

As Expressiveness and Instrumentality are further tied closely in with issues such as gender and inter-personal relationships, and as the constructs of these are also culture dependent, it raises the possibility that cultural variations would be evident in particular through the interpersonal relations that identify a particular culture. It is therefore of future importance to establish the nature and extent of these cultural variations.

11.6 EPILOGUE - UNDERSTANDING HOMICIDE

Homicide is essentially an impulsive violent act aimed at those who are emotionally close to us. As such it will always contain elements of violent or Expressive behaviours. Because of this, our ultimate understanding of homicide will be served by enriching our understanding of those violent acts that do not focus on the person, but instead are expressions of manipulative and exploitative Instrumental actions.

REFERENCES

Abrahamsen, D. (1960) *The Psychology of Crime*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Adler, F. and Simon, R. J. (1979) *The Criminology of Deviant Women*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Arbuthnot, J., Gordon, D. A., and Jurkovic, G. J. (1987) Personality. In H. C. Quay (ed.) *Handbook of Juvenile Delinquency*. Chichester: Wiley.

Baldwin, J. and Bottoms, A. E. (1976) *The Urban Criminal*. London: Tavistok.

Banay, R. S. (1952) Study in Murder. *The Annals*, 284, 26-34.

Barker, M. (1989) *Criminal Activity and Home Range*. Unpublished Msc Dissertation. University of Surrey.

Bartol, C. R. (1995) *Criminal Behavior: A Psychosocial Approach (4th ed.)*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Bartol, C. R. (1991) *Criminal Behavior: A Psychosocial Approach (3rd ed.)*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Berkowitz, L. (1970) Experimental Investigations of Hostility Catharsis. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 35, 1-7.

Berkowitz, L. (1993) *Aggression: Its Causes, Consequences and Control*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Blackburn, R. (1968) Personality in Relation to Extreme Aggression in Psychiatric Offenders. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 114, 821-828.

Blackburn, R. (1971) Personality Types Among Abnormal Homicides. *British Journal of Criminology*, 11, 14-31.

Blackburn, R. (1984) The Person and Dangerousness. In D. J. Muller, D. E. Blackman, and A. J. Chapman (eds.) *Psychology and Law*. Chichester: Wiley.

Blackburn, R. (1993) *The Psychology of Criminal conduct: Theory, Research and Practice*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

Block, R. (1977) *Violent Crime*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books/D.C. Heath.

Borg, I. and Lingoes, J. C. (1987) *Facet Theory: Form and Content*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Box, S. and Hale, C. (1983) Liberation and Female Criminality in England and Wales. *British Journal of Criminology*, 23, 1

Brantingham, P. J. and Brantingham, P. L. (1981) *Environmental Criminology*. Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.

Brisson, N. J. (1983) Battering Husbands: A Survey of Abusive Men. *Victimology*, 6, 338-344.

Bromberg, W. (1961) *The Mold of Murder*. New York: Grune and Stratton.

Bullock, H. A. (1955) Urban Homicide in Theory and Fact. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 45, 5, 565-575.

Campbell, A. and Gibbs, J. J. (1986) *Violent Transactions: The Limits of Personality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Campbell, A. and Muncer, S. (1994) Sex Differences in Aggression: Social Representation and Social Roles. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 233-240

Campbell, A., Muncer, S., and Coyle, E. (1992) Social Representation of Aggression as an Explanation of Gender Differences: A Preliminary Study. *Aggressive Behaviour*, 18, 95-108

Canter, D. (1985) *Facet Theory: Approaches to Social Research*. New York: Springer Verlag.

Canter, D. (1989) Offender Profiles. *The Psychologist*. January.

Canter, D. (1994). *Criminal Shadows*. London: Harper Collins.

Canter, D. and Heritage, R. (1990) A Multivaraite Model of Sexual Offence Behavior: Developments in 'Offender profiling' I. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*, I, 2, 185-212.

Canter, D. and Kirby, S. (1995) Prior Convictions of Child Molesters. *Scientific & Technical*, 35(1), 73-78

Canter, D. and Larkin, P. (1993) The Environmental Range of Serial Rapists. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 1, 63-69.

Caspi, A. and Bem, D. (1990). Personality Continuity and Change Across The Life Course. In L. A. Pervin (ed.) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*. New York: Guilford.

Caspi, A. and Moffitt, T. E. (1992). The Continuity of Maladaptive Behaviour: From Description to Understanding in the Study of Antisocial Behaviour. In D. Cicchetti and D. Cohen (eds.) *Manual of Developmental Psychopathology*. New York: Wiley.

Chimbos, P. D. (1978) *Marital Violence: A Study of Interspouse Homicide*. San Fransisco, CA: R&E Research Associates.

Christiansen, K. O., Elers-Nielsen, M., LeMaire, L., and Sturup, G. K. (1965) Recidivism Among Sexual Ofenders. In K. O. Christiansen, *Scaninavian Studies in Criminology* (Vol. 1). London: Tavistock.

Copson, G. (1995) Coals to Newcastle? Part 1: A Study of Offender Profiling. *Police Research Group Special Interests Series*: Paper No. 7. London: Home Office Police Department

Cornell, D. G. (1990) Prior Adjustment of Violent Juvenile Offenders. *Law and Human Behavior*, 14, 569-578.

Cornell, D. G., Benedek, E. P., and Benedek, D. M. (1987) Juvenile Homicide: Prior Adjustment and a proposed typology. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 53, 383-393.

Cornell, D. G., Warren, J., Hawk, G., Stafford, E., Oram, G. and Pine, D. (1996). Psychopathy in Instrumental and Reactive Violent Offenders. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*. *64*, 4, 783-790.

Curtis, L. (1974). *Criminal Violence*. Lexington Books.

Dobash, R. E. and Dobash, R. P. (1984) The Nature and Antecedents of Violent Events. *British Journal of Criminology*, 24, 269-288.

Daly, M. and Wilson, M. (1988) *Homicide*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Danto, B. L. (1982) A Psychiatric View of Those Who Kill. In Danto, B. L., Bruhns, J, and Kutscher, A. H. (eds.) *The Human Side of Homicide*. New York: Columbian University Press.

Davies, A. (1992) Rapists' Behaviour: A Three Aspect Model as a Basis for the Analysis and Identification of Serial crime. *Forensic Science International*, 55, 173-194.

Davies, A., Wittebrod, K and Jackson, J. L. (1997). Predicting The Criminal Antecedents of a Stranger Rapist From His Offence Behaviour. *Science and Justice*. *37*, 3, 161-170.

Douglas, J. E. (1981) *Evaluation of the (FBI) Psychological Profiling Programme.* Unpublished.

D. P. Farrington (1978) The Family Backgrounds of Aggressive Youths. In Hersov, L. A. and Shaffer, D. (eds.) *Aggression and Anti-social Behaviour in Childhood and Adolescence.* London: Pergamon Press

Farrington, D. P. (1982) Longitudinal Analysis of Criminal Violence. In Wolfgang, M. E. and Weiner, N. A. (eds.) *Criminal Violence.* London: Sage.

Farrington, D. P. (1991) Antisocial Personality From childhood To Adulthood. *The Psychologist*, 4, 389-394.

Farrington, D. P. (1995) The Twelfth Jack Tizard Memorial Lecture: The Development of Offending From Childhood: Key Findings From the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Developemnt. *Journal of Child Psychology*, 6, 929-964

Felthous, A. R. and Kellert, S. R. (1986) Violence Against Animals and People: Is Aggression Against Living Creatures Generalized? *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and Law*, 14(1), 55-69

Fesbach, S. (1964). The Function of Aggression and the Regulation of Aggressive Drive. *Psychological Review. 71*, 257-272.

Fesbach, S. (1978) The Development and Regulation of Aggression: Some Research Gaps and a Proposed Cognitive Approach, in W. W. Hartur and J. De Wit (eds.) *Origins of Aggression.* Hague: Mouton Publ.

Gearing, M. L. (1979) The MMPI as a Primary Differentiator and Predictor of Behavior in Prison: A Methodological Critique and Review of the Recent Literature. *Psychological Bulletin*, 79, 929-963.

Gillies, H. (1976) Homicide in the West of Scotland. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 128, 105-127.

Glaser, D., Kenefich, D., and O'Leary, V. (1968) *The Violent Offender*. Washington DC: US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Rehabilitation Service, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development.

Goetting, A. (1988) Patterns of Homicide Among Women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 3(1), 3-20

Gottfredson, R. and Hirschi, T. (1990). *A General Theory of Crime*. Stanford University Press.

Guttmacher (1973) *The Mind of The Murderer*. New York: Farrar.

Hagan, J. and Palloni, A. (1988) Crimes as Social Events in the Life Course: Reconceiving a Criminological Controversy. *Criminology*, 26, 87-100.

Hartman, H., Kris, E., and Lowenstein, R. (1949) Notes on the Theory of Aggression. In A. Freud (ed.) *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* (vol.3). New York: International Universities Press.

Hartup, W. W. (1974) Aggression in Childhood: Developmental Perspectives. *American Psychologist*, 29, 336-341.

Heidensohn, F. (1985) Women and crime. New York: New York University Press.

Henderson, M. (1982) An Empirical Classification of convicted Violent Offenders. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 22, 1, 1-20.

Henderson, M. (1983) An Empirical Classification of Non-violent Offenders using the MMPI. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 4, 671-677.

Home Office Criminal Statistics England and Wales (1977-1995). *The Government Statistical Service*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Huesmann, L. R. (1988) An Information Processing Model for the Development of Aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, 14, 13-24.

Huesmann, L. R., Eron, L. D., Lefkowitz, M. M. and Walder, L. O. (1984). The Stability of Aggression Over Time and Generations. *Developmental Psychology. 20*, 1120-1134.

Huesmann, L. R. and Eron, L. D. (1989). Individual Differences and the Trait of Aggression. *European Journal of Personality. 3*, 95-106.

James, J. and Thornton, W. E. (1980) Women's Liberation and the Female Delinquent. *Journal of Research of Crime and Delinquency*, 17, 2, 230-240.

Jesse, F. T. (1952) *Murder and its Motives* (rev. ed.). London: Harrar.

Jones, A. (1991) *Women Who Kill*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Jurik, N. C. and Winn, R. (1990) Gender and Homicide: A Comparison of Men and Women Who Kill. *Violence and Victims*, 5, 4, 227-242.

Kagan, J. and Moss, H. A. (1962) *Birth to Maturity*. New York: Wiley.

Kratcoski, P. C. (1987) Families Who Kill. *Marriage and Family Review*, vol.12, part 1-2, p.47-70

Lefkowitz, M. M., Eron L. D., Walder, L. O, and Huesmann, L. R. (1977) *Growing up to be Violent: A longitudinal study of the development of Aggression*. New York: Pergamon Press Inc.

Leonard, E. B. (1982) *Women, Crime and Society*. London: Longman.

Leyton, E. (1995) *Men of Blood: Murder in Modern England*. London: Constable.

Lingoes, J. C. (1973). *The Guttman Lingoes Nonmetric Program Series*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Mathesis Press.

Lombroso, C. and Ferrero, W. (1958) *The Female Offender*. London: Fisher: Unwin.

Luncle, D. T. (1976) *Murder and Madness*. San Fransisco: Sam Fransisco Book Co.

McAdams, D. (1988) *Power, Intimacy and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity*. New York: Guilford Press.

McClintock, F. H. (1963) *Crimes of Violence*. London: Macmillan. [chap 7] in chap by farrington in wolfgang and weiner 1982

McCord, J. and Otten, L. (1983) A Consideration of Sex Roles and Motivation for Crime. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 10, 1, 3-12.

McGurk, B. J. (1978) *Personality Types Among Normal Homicides*. British Journal of Criminology, 22, 1-20.

Megargee, E. I. (1966) Undercontrolled and Overcontrolled Personality Types in Extreme Antisocial Aggression. *Psychological Monographs*, 80, (3, whole no. 611).

Megargee, E. (1970) The Prediction of Violence With Psychological Tests. In C. Spielberger (ed.), *Current Topics in Clinical and Community Psychology*, p.97-153. New York: Academic Press.

Megargee, E. I. (1982) Psychological Determinants and Correlates of Criminal Violence. In Wolfgang, M. E. and Weiner, N. A. (eds.) *Criminal Violence*. London: Sage.

Mischel, W. (1968) *Personality and Assessment*. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc.

Morrison, W. A. (1973) *Criminal Homicide and the Death Penalty in Canada: Time for Reassessment and New Directions: Towards a Typology of Homicide*. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 15, 267-396.

Otis, N. and McCandless, B. (1955) Responses to Repeated Frustrations of Young Children Differentiated According to Need Area. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 50, 349-353.

Patterson, G. R., Littman, R. A., and Bricker, W. (1967) Assertive Behavior in Children: A Step Toward a Theory of Aggression. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 32, (5 and 6).

Phillpotts, G. J. and Lancucki, L. B. (1979) *Previous Convictions, Sentence and Reconviction*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Pinta, E. R., Bessimer, P., Smeltzer, D., and Fine, R. (1990) Background Variables in Murderers, Violent and Nonviolent Felons. *American Journal of Forensic Psychology*, 8(4), 63-71

Pokorny, A. (1965) A Comparison of Homicides in two Cities. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 59, 449-508.

Polk, K. (1994) *When Men Kill: Scenarios of Masculine Violence*. Cambridge University Press.

Rengert,G.F. (1975). Some Effects of Being Female on Criminal Spatial Behaviour. *The Pennsylvania Geographer*,13:2 (Nov).

Repetto,T.A. (1974) *Residential Crime*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Ressler, R. K., Burgess, A. W. and Douglas, J. E. (1988). *Sexual Homicide: Patterns and Motives*. Massachusetts: Lexington Books.

Ressler, R. K., Douglas, J. E., Burgess, A. W. and Burgess, A. G. (1992*). Crime Classification Manual*. London: Simon and Schuster Ltd.

Revitch, E. and Schlesinger, L. B. (1978) Murder: Evaluation, Classification and Prediction. In J. L. Kutash, S. B. Kutash, and L. B. Sclesinger and Asociates (Eds.*) Violence: Perspectives on Murder and Aggression*. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass.

Robins, L. N. (1986) Changes in Conduct Disorders Over Time. In D. C. Farran and J. D. McKinney (eds.) *Risk in Intellectual and Psychosocial Development*. New York: Academic Pess.

Salfati, C. G. and Canter D. V. (in press) Differentiating Stranger Murders: Profiling Offender characteristics From Behavioural Styles. Submitted to *Journal of Behavioral Sciences and the Law.*

Sampson, R. J. and Laub, J. H. (1993*). Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life.* Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard University Press.

Showalter, C. R., Bonnie, R. J. and roddy, V. (1980) The Spousal Homicide Syndrome. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry,* 3, 117-141.

Shye, S. (1978) Partial Order Scalogram Analysis. In S. Shye (ed.*) Theory Construction and Data Analysis in The Behavioural Sciences.* San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Silverman, R. A and Mukherjee, S. K. (1987) Intimate Homicide: An Analysis of Violent Social Relationships. *Behavioural Sciences and The Law,* vol.5, No.1, p.37-47

Soothil, K. L., Jack, A., and Gibbens, T. C. N. (1976) Rape: A 22-year Cohort Study. *Medicine, Science, and The Law,* 16, 62-69.

Stephenson,L.K. (1974) Spatial Dispersion of Intra-Urban Juvenile Delinquency. *Journal of Geography.* 73, pp 20-26.

Toch, H. (1969). *Violent Men: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Violence.* Chicago: Aldine.

Voss, H. L. and Hepburn, J. (1968) *Patterns in Criminal Homicide in Chicago.* Journal of criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 59, 499-506.

Waldo, G. P. and Dinitz, (1967) Personality Attributes of the Criminal: An Analysis of research Studies 1950-1965. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 2, 185-202.

Walker, N. Hammond, W., and Steer, D. (1967) *Repeated Violence*. Criminal Law Review, 465-472.

Wallace (1986) *Homicide: The Social Reality*. Sydney: New South Wales Bureau of crime statistics and research

Ward, D., Jackson, M., and Ward, R. E. (1968) Crime and Violence by Women. Washington DC: *President's Commision on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*, vol. 13, Crimes of Violence, Appendix 17, 843-910.

West, D. J. and Farrington, D. P. (1977) *The Delinquent way of Life*. London: Heineman.

Wille, W. (1974) *Citizens Who Commit Murder*. St. Louis: Warren Greene.

Wisdom, C. S. (1981) Perspectives of Female criminality: A Critical Examination of Assumptions. In A. Morris and L. Geltsthorpe (eds.) *Women and Crime*. Cambridge: Institute of Criminology.

Wolfgang, M. E. (1958). *Patterns in Criminal Homicide*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Wolfgang, M. E. and Weiner, N. A. (1982) (eds.) *Criminal Violence*. London: Sage.

Zillman, D. (1979). *Hostility and Aggression*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

HOMICIDE CRIME SCENE AND OFFENDER BACKGROUND VARIABLES

CODING FRAMEWORK

CRIME SCENE VARIABLES

1 Day

This variable was scored as present if there was evidence that the victim had been killed (not when the body was found) during daylight. If there was evidence that the victim had been killed during dark hours, as defined by the sunup and sunset of the time of year, then the variable was scored as absent.

2 Premise - victim's

Where the victim was found at his/her own premises.

3 Body found same scene as death

Where the body was left at the same scene as where the death occurred. If the victim was killed in one room in a house but found in another it was still considered the same scene. However, if the victim was killed inside a house and found in the garden, it was considered a different scene. In such cases however, the victim was not considered as having been 'transported' (variable 33) unless a vehicle had been used.

4 Face up

Where the face of the victim was found lying face up and where the face was in full view. This variable can also be seen as defining cases where the victim was found lying on their back.

5 Outside

This variable is scored as present if the victim was found outside, and as not present if they were found inside. This variable does not deal with where the victim was killed, only where they were found.

6 Face not hidden

Where the face of the victim had not been deliberately hidden by either the victim's position or by the offender deliberately having placed something on top of the victim's face so that it was totally or partially covered.

7 Forensically aware

Where there was evidence that the offender was forensically aware, i.e. if they used gloves, if they tried to wipe away marks, if they avoided leaving bodily fluids and so on.

8 Staging

Where there was evidence that the offender had attempted to stage the scene, e.g. where they had attempted to make it look like a burglary or a sexually motivated crime and so forth.

9 Arson

If the offender set light to the victim or to the premises. Unless arson was the cause of death, it was not counted as a wound (variables 17-24).

10 Water

If the victim was found in water. Cases where the victim was found in the bathtub are not coded under this variable.

11 Body hidden

Where there was evidence that the body had been deliberately hidden from view. This variable is mutually exclusive to variable 84 'body covered' and usually referes to victims found outside, although if there had been a deliberate attempt to hide, and not only cover the body, inside a building, then this variable was scored as present as well.

12 Body covered

This variable is to allow for cases not included under variable 32 (body hidden), that is cases where the body was covered by an object (e.g. blanket), not outside but inside.

13 Body transported

Where there was evidence that the body had been moved by a motor vehicle to a different scene after death, where they were subsequently found.

14 Body placed

This variable was scored if there was evidence that the body had been moved into a particular position other than the one it would have had if the body had been left as it fell. It particularly denotes any symbolic placing of the body by the offender.

15 Manual

Where there was evidence that the victim had suffered wounds due to hitting or kicking or manual strangulation, i.e. where the offender used his/her own body as the weapon. Ligature strangulation was also scored under this variable.

16 Suffocation

Where the victim was suffocated through any other means than starngulation. Cases of drowning were also included under this variable. Unless other wounding occurred, this method was not counted under the variables of wounds (variables 17-24).

17 Drugged/poisoned

If the offender drugged or poisoned the victim. This variable is not mutually exclusive to any other variable dealing with method of wounding or killing the victim. The death of the victim neend not have been from the poisoning for the variable to be coded as present.

18 Stab wound

Where there was evidence that the victim had been stabbed.

19 Blunt instrument

Where there was evidence that the victim had wounds caused by a blunt instrument. This variable was also scored as present if the instrument was not blunt but was used as a blunt instrument which resulted in blunt wounds, such as using a poker to hit rather than stab.

20 Shooting

Where there was evidence that the victim had been shot by any kind of firearm.

21 Weapon from scene

Where there was evidence that the offender had used a weapon from the scene with which they inflicted the injuries to the victim. The 'scene' in this case includes the whole house if the victim was killed in their own home, and also includes a different room in the case of a shop or office. This variable is not mutually exclusive with variable 25.

22 Weapon to scene

Where there was evidence that the offender had brought a weapon with them to the scene with which they inflicted the injuries to the victim. This variable was not mutually exclusive with variable 26.

23 Injury to torso

Where there was evidence that the victim had sustained injuries to the torso, that is from beneath the neck to the waste, excluding arms and hands.

24 Injury to neck

Where there was evidence that the victim had sustained injuries to the neck.

25 Injury to face

Where there was evidence that the victim had sustained injuries to the face, that is from the ears forwards, excluding the neck.

26 Injury to head

Where there was evidence that the victim had sustained injuries to the head, that is the surface behind the ears, excluding face and neck.

27 Injury to limbs

Where there was evidence that the victim had sustained injuries to any limb, be it arm, hand, legs or feet. This included defence wounds as it was difficult to distinguish from may of the reports whether wounds were defence wounds or not. Defence wounds were also included under this variable as it was considered evidence that the offender did not stop their attack despite the victim's obvious position of defence and vulnerability.

28 Single wound

Where there was evidence that the victim had received a single wound only to one body area as defined in variables 17 to 21. This variable is not mutually exclusive to variables 23 and 24.

29 Multiple wounds distributed

Where there was evidence that the victim had sustained wounds to several body areas as defined in variables 17 to 21. This variable is not mutually exclusive to variables 22 and 23.

30 Multiple wounds one area

Where there was evidence that the victim had sustained several wounds to the same body area as defined in variables 17 to 21. This variable is not mutually exclusive to variables 22 and 24.

31 Vaginal penetration

Where there was evidence that the vagina had been penetrated by any body part or object.

32 Anal penetration

Where there was evidence that the anus had been penetrated by any body part or object.

33 Foreign object

Where there was evidence that the anus or vagina had been penetrated by an object specifically.

34 Sexual

This variable was scored if it was evident (in the authors opinion if not explicitly stated), from the case notes, that the murder was sexually motivated, as determined from either the case information or the crime scene photographs. This variable thus included cases where there seemed to be an OBVIOUS sexual motive or where there were physical signs of a sexual nature such as; body fluids; interference with the victim's mouth, breasts or buttocks; necrophilia; vaginal or anal penetration or the use of a foreign object.

35 Naked

Where the victim was found naked. This variable was coded even if the victim had already been naked before the offence.

36 Partially undressed

Where the victim was found partially undressed, but not completely naked. Nor must the clothes just have been disturbed due to the violent action or fall. This variable wsa only coded as present if it was acertained that the clothes had been removed during the offence.

37   Clothing replaced

Where there was evidence that the clothes of the victim had been replaced after they had been taken off.

38   Deliberate clothing damage

Where there was evidence that the clothes of the victim had been deliberately damaged by the offender and where any damage was not only due to the fall or violent action, e.g. ripping or tearring or where buttons were missing because the offender had deliberately tried to tear open the victim's blouse.

39   Property stolen - identifiable

Where there was evidence that an identifiable object had been stolen from the victim or the crime scene. These objects are defined as objects with clearly identifiable marks that allows them to be identified by anyone, not just experts or people who knew the property well. Such marks could include names, addresses or serial numbers. This variable is not mutually exclusive with variable 29.

40   Property stolen - not identifiable

Where there was evidence that a non-identifiable object had been stolen from the victim or the crime scene. This variable is defined as the opposite of variable 27. Objects under this category could include such things as unremarkable clothing and common objects such as books and so on.

41   Property stolen - of value

This variable deals with property stolen that has a value in the sense that it is re-saleable, i.e. where the offender may be making a profit. Objects coded under this variable would be such things as cheque books, pension books, cash, credit cards, passports and so on. This variable is not mutually exclusive to variable 27.

42   Binding

Where the victim was found bound or where there was evidence that the victim had been bound.

43   Blindfold

Where the victim was found blindfolded or where there was evidence that the victim had been blindfolded.

44   Offender turn themselves in to police

When it was evident from the case notes that the offender turned themselves into the police rather than having been apprehended or turned in by someone else. It is not enough for the offender to have told someone who then in turn tells the police, unless it is evident that they wanted this other person to contact the police for them. This variable was also scored as present if the emergence services (ambulance etc.) were called by the offender (unless the offender rang the emergency services anonymously) and who in turn notified the police when they observed the evidence of 'foul play'.

45   Suicide

If the offender committed suicide after committing the crime. Attempted suicides are also scored under this variable. Cases where the offender attempted suicide once they had been apprehended are not scored as present under this variable.

46   Female victim

If the victim was female. In cases of transexuals, the victim was coded as female if they had the outer appearence of a woman. Unless the crime was sexual in nature or the victim was found naked, the outer appearance of a transexual was not dependent on the gender of sexual parts.

47   Age of victim

This variable recorded the age of the victim at the time of death. This variables takes up 2 columns in the data matrix.

OFFENDER BACKGROUND VARIABLES

48   Age of offender

This variable recorded the age of the offender at the time of the offense. This variables takes up 2 columns in the data matrix.

49   Male offender

If the offender was a male this variable was scored as present.

50   Further education

This variable was scored if there was evidence that the offender had been educated beyond secondary level, that is A-level onwards. A-level equivalents and above were also coded under this variable. Manual labor traineeships and equivalent were not included under this variable.

51   Unemployed

This variable was scored if the offender was unemployed at the time of the offense.

52   Only child

This variable was scored if the offender was an only child.

53   Married/cohabit

This variable was scored if the offender was married or cohabited at the time of the offense.

54   Previous marriage

This variable was scored if the offender had previously been married. Previous relationships were not scored under this variable although they may have been as serious as a marriage, because the author did not feel that judgments could be passed as to how serious past relationships had been.

55   Theft

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record of theft (as an adult and/or as a juvenile). This variable included the theft of motor vehicles. Burglary or robbery was not included in this variable.

56   Burglary

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) of burglary.

57   Fraud/deception

Where the offender had a past criminal record for fraud or deception

58   Traffic

This variable includes offenders who have breached any one of the traffic laws (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) relating to the use of a motor vehicle. This includes offences of driving without tax, licence or insurance. This variable does not include theft of a vehicle or joy-riding.

59   Vehicle crime

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) of stealing cars or stealing from cars.

60   Drugs

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) for any crimes involving drugs, be it possession or selling.

61   Violence

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) of violence. This variable included offences of bodily harm, assault and homicide.

62   Disorder

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) of disorder, such as breach of the peace, drunk and disorderly etc.

63   Damage

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) of committing any kind of damage.

64   Sexual

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) of indecent exposure, indecent assault or rape. Prostitution was not scored under this variable.

65   Firearms

If the offender had a criminal record involving firearms, or any other weapons charge.

66   Arson

This variable was scored if the offender had a criminal record (as an adult and/or as a juvenile) of arson.

67   Prison

This variable was scored if the offender had a record of imprisonment or youth detention. Army detention was excluded under this variable.

68   Abuse to past/present partner(s)

This variable was scored as present if there was evidence that the offender was, or had been violent to his present or past partner. This includes both physical and sexual violence.

69   Armed services

This variable was scored if the offender had previously or was currently serving in the armed forces. This included the Territorial Army.

70   Serial

If other similar but not yet linked cases, which were related to the offender, were discovered during the inquiry this variable was scored as present. This includes GBH and rape cases with similar behaviours exhibited in them.

71   Distance travelled

The distance (in miles) betwen the offender's home and where the victim was found.

72   Familiar with area

This variable was scored if the offender knew the area in which the offense was committed well.

73   Psychiatric history

This variable was scored if there was any evidence that the offender had had any psychiatric history such as receiving treatment by a psychiatrist.

74   Psychological/social problems

If the offender had a history of psychological or social problems.

75   Psychological-psychiatric .

A combination of variable 73 and 74.

76   Violence in family background

This variable relates to whether there was evidence of violence in the offender's family background, whether direct or indirect, towards themselves or not. Observed violence not towards the offender was also scored under this variable.

77   Knew victim

This variable relates to whether the offender knew the victim in any capacity at all, i.e. if they were not strangers. Stranger cases (i.e. where cases were coded with a 0), were defined as having met the day or night of the offence and never previosly.

78   Relationship (past or present, including sexual only)

This variable was scored as present if there was evidence that there was, at the time of the offence or in the past, a relationship between the offender and the victim. This also included purely sexual relationships, but excluded cases of prostitution.

79   Blood related

If the victim was blood related to the offender.

APPENDIX 2

DATAMATRIX

The first column indicates the case number.

Each column after that each correspond with the variable number in appendix 1.

'99' for victim or offender age indicates missing ages.

'999.00' for distance indicates missing distance.

Case	... (binary variables) ...	Age 1	Age 2	Distance	...
1		31	22	999.00	
2		84	23	999.00	
3		99	99	999.00	
4		20	20	215.00	
5		61	22	.83	
6		35	29	999.00	
7		79	23	999.00	
8		46	22	999.00	
9		29	24	999.00	
10		2	21	62.10	
11		30	32	3.56	
12		54	24	1.32	
13		46	44	4.20	
14		78	20	.01	
15		12	20	.63	
16		90	21	32.50	
17		26	32	.05	
18		81	16	999.00	

Row	Value
103	.00
104	1.78
105	.00
106	.00
107	.00
108	.00
109	115.00
110	.00
111	.00
112	.00
113	40.63
114	2.25
115	.00
116	.00
117	.00
118	999.00
119	.00
120	.00
121	.39
122	.00
123	.00
124	.00
125	999.00
126	.09
127	.89
128	.00
129	999.00
130	.00
131	2.14
132	9.00
133	999.00
134	54.00
135	.17
136	.00
137	2.84
138	.49
139	.01
140	.00
141	999.00
142	999.00
143	999.00
144	.00

Row	Value
145	.00
146	999.00
147	999.00
148	.00
149	.25
150	.40
151	.00
152	999.00
153	.01
154	.00
155	1.54
156	999.00
157	.00
158	.89
159	.00
160	.30
161	999.00
162	999.00
163	2.15
164	.01
165	105.00
166	999.00
167	.00
168	.30
169	190.00
170	.00
171	4.60
172	.00
173	.00
174	999.00
175	.30
176	6.67
177	.22
178	.01
179	.00
180	999.00
181	.00
182	1.57
183	.28
184	.00
185	4.23
186	1.34

Row	...		Value
229	55 55		.00
230	19 21		999.00
231	18 17		.00
232	42 47		.00
233	31 38		3.75
234	99 22		.00
235	36 32		999.00
236	37 37		.00
237	3 40		.00
238	47 28		.25
239	41 46		.00
240	46 40		10.24
241	27 29		999.00
242	99 48		.01
243	25 36		7.00
244	57 34		999.00
245	20 48		300.00
246	18 19		8.10
247			.06

APPENDIX 3

Results of the reliability study can be found in J. H Farragher (1995) *Assessing The Reliability of a Coding Framework For The Content Analysis of Homicide Cases.* Internal Document submitted as part of the Msc course in Investigative Psychology.

Eight coders (four male and four female) coded the same three homicide cases. When the results of the coding were examined, it was found that the overall inter-rater reliability was good. The lowest correlation between two coders was .7465, with most correlations being around .9.

APPENDIX 4

CRIME SCENE VARIABLES USED IN SSA ANALYSIS

1. Face not hidden
2. Victim found at the same scene where they were killed
3. Face up (victim found as they fell)
4. Multiple wounds to one body area (MWOA)
5. Wounds to torso
6. Manual method (hitting, kicking and strangled)
7. Wounds to neck
8. Weapon from scene used
9. Stab
10. Wounds to face
11. Wounds to head
12. Multiple wounds distributed across different body parts
13. Wounds to limbs
14. Weapon brought to scene
15. Blunt instrument
16. Property of value taken
17. Victim partially undressed
18. Offender forensically aware
19. Sexual crime
20. Property not identified taken
21. Vaginal penetration
22. Body hidden (outside)
23. Body transported
24. Victim naked
25. Victim covered (i.e. inside rather than outside)
26. Shot
27. Property identifiable
28. Arson to crime scene/body
29. Suffocation
30. Clothing damage
31. Bound
32. Anal penetration
33. Victim found in water
34. Foreign object used
35. Victim drugged and/or poisoned
36. Blindfolded

APPENDIX 5

OFFENDER BACKGROUND VARIABLES USED IN SSA ANALYSIS

1. Male
2. Familiar with the area
3. Knew victim
4. Unemployed
5. Theft (CR) *
6. Intimate relationship
7. Psychological-psychiatric
8. Burglary (CR)
9. Fraud (CR)
10. Prison
11. Violence (CR)
12. Disorder (CR)
13. Damage (CR)
14. Past abuse to partner
15. Armed Services
16. Sexual (CR)
17. Blood related

* CR signifies an offence recorded in the offender's criminal record

APPENDIX 6

DATAMATRIX FOR POSA ANALYSIS

```
111111111221111111
112121111221111111
111121111221211111
211112111112121111
211111111221211111
121111111112111111
211122111121111111
112122111221111111
221221112112111111
211221112112111111
111111111221111211
121221111221111211
111221111221211111
112121111212111111
111211111112111211
211121112222111211
121111111221121111
222121121222111111
121111111222111111
212222111211211111
112111111212111111
212122121112111111
212111111222111211
212111211221111211
111111111221211211
211121112221211111
211211111221211211
112111111221111211
112121111112211211
112111111112111111
212111111111111111
112111111222111111
112111111221111111
121111111112111211
221112111222121111
221121211112111111
111111111221111211
111111111122121211
211221111122121211
221111111211112111
222111111211111111
221121112111111111
221222111212211211
221112111221111111
221111111211111121
121111111111112221
112121111111111121
111111111211121121
```

```
2211121111111112111
1221111111111111112
1121121112221211211
2211111112211111111
2122121111111111111
2211221112121211111
2221121122221111111
1111221111111111111
1121111112211111111
1211111111222112121
1111111111111111111
1221111111211211211
1212211111111111111
1212221111111111111
1121112112221211211
1122111121111111121
1111111112211111111
2121121112111111111
2111121111111111111
2121211122221111111
2221111112111111111
2221111111211111111
2112221111111111121
2111121112111111212
1111111111111111121
1111111112221122211
1111112111111111121
2111111111111112121
1211211111111111221
1211111111222111111
1111211212111112111
1122211111111211111
2111111111111111221
2112211111111111121
1111111112222112111
1111111112222121211
1211111112111112111
1111111112111111121
1111111111111111112
2111111112211111111
2112111111111111111
2212211111111111121
1111111111111111221
2111111111111121221
2111111112221112111
2211111112221122211
1211111111111112211
2111111111111111121
1211121111111112111
2211111112221112211
1111112112111211111
1111111111111111121
1111111111211112221
1211112111111111111
2111111111111111221
```

211111211221111112
211111211111111212
121111111111111221
121111111222211111
221111111212221221
222121111111111111
211111112222112121
111111211212112111
221111111111122221
111111111121121121
212121112221111111
211211112111111121
211111111111121221
222111111222121211
221111111111111212
111112112111111121
212111111211111111
111111111211111111
111111111111121121
211211111111112121
212112111222212121
111111111221111121
221112111212211211
111111111111112121
211111111111112221
211121111211111112
211112111111112121
121121121211111111
111212111121111111
211212111222211111
211112111122111211
111111111222111211
212112111222211111
211111111111112221
121111111121112111
121112111111112111
221211111111111121
221112121111111111
221111111111111111
111111111111111121
121111111111111212
111111111111111121
122111111212111121
111111111111121221
211111111111112121
222112111221111111
211111121222111111
111111111111112121
211221121111111121
212111111212112211
221111111111111111
211212111111112111
112211111111111111
211111111111112221
111111121221222221

```
1111111111121111121
1111111111221111111
1121111111222111111
2111111111222121111
2221111112222111111
2111111111121121111
1111111111111111111
2212111112222212111
1111111111221111111
1212111111111111111
1111111111111111221
1211111111111121212
2211111111211121121
1111111211111111212
2211111111111111121
2111111111121111112
1111211111111111121
2111111111111121221
2112211211211111111
2221121111222111111
1211111111111111121
2121111111221121111
2111111111111112221
2211111111121111111
2221211211222111111
2111111111211111212
2111111111211111121
1211111111221221221
1111111111111111121
2211111111221111121
1121211111222121121
2111111111222112221
1111211211222111111
2211211111222112121
1111121111212111121
1111111111221111212
2121111111221111212121
1221111112221112211
1111111111111111112
2211111111111112221
1211111111212111111
1111111111111111221
1121211111222111111
1111111111111112221
1111111111211111111
1111111111111111111
2212121111111211111
2111111111111111121
1211111111111111221
1111111111111111121
1111111111111111121
1111112111111111212
1111111121111111112
2211111111111111112
2221211111121111111
```

```
111111111222111111
121111111111112221
112111211212112111
211122112111111211
111221221211111221
111111111111112121
111212211211112211
121111111222111121
121111111222112212
111111111221111111
211111111222111221
121121111111111111
111111211111111111
221111111111112221
112111121211111121
211111112111111221
111111111222111211
111111111111111111
211111111212111221
111111121111111121
111111111221111111
221211111211112111
211111111111111121
111111211111111212
121111111221111111
111111111212111211
121221111221111111
111111111222111111
211122112212222211
122111111212112221
121111111211111211
211111111211111112
121111111222111111
211111111111112112
```

APPENDIX 7

DATAMATRIX FOR MSA ANALYSIS

432111
332111
232111
332111
232211
232211
232211
232211
432111
232211
332111
232111
232111
432111
412111
232111
332211
132211
132111
132211
112112
422111
122121
342111
442111
422111
212111
332111
422112
232211
232111
132111
422112
312121
222112
212111
432112
231111
212112
331111
222111
222112
412112
231211
322112
331121
221112
312112

432111
422112
432111
312112
422112
312112
332211
122112
142211
242211
222121
422112
322112
332111
422112
412111
312111
212111
432211
432211
132211
232211
421112
312112
332211
332111
322112
432111
422121
312112
411112
412111
321112
221112
221121
411121
422111
411112
242121
232211
242211
212112
232111
312112
212111
222121
432111
212111
222112
211111
232211
322121