ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

The Sexual Murderer

Offender behavior and implications for practice

Eric Beauregard and
Melissa Martineau

Brilliant book on the subject, contains up-to-date information on the backgrounds of sexual killers, criminal careers, motivation, victim choice and modus operandi. Hence, this book is essential for anyone in the criminal justice, academics, and students, and is an essential addition to those involved in this area's bookshelf.

Anthony Beech, *Professor in Criminological Psychology, University of Birmingham, UK*

The Sexual Murderer is a very timely book and contains up-to-date scientific evidence, which will be an essential reading for those in the sex offender and homicide fields. Professor Beauregard and Ms. Martineau have done a masterful job in explaining each feature of sexual homicide offending in a thoughtful, compelling, and comprehensive manner. This book is a brilliant work that makes the research both accessible and practical, especially for law enforcement who directly (and indirectly) deal with sexual homicide offenders.

Heng Choon (Oliver) Chan, *Assistant Professor of Criminology, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, S.A.R.*

Eric Beauregard and Melissa Martineau have written an accessible yet scientifically rigorous book on sexual murders and murderers. They go beyond sensationalism and "common sense" explanations to clearly describe the developmental, psychological, and situational factors that underlie the processes that culminate in sexual murder. This book is necessary reading for students, researchers, and practitioners who want an excellent overview of the state of current knowledge on sexual murder.

Jean Proulx, *Professor, School of Criminology, University of Montreal, Canada, and author of* Sexual Murderers: A Comparative Analysis and New Perspectives

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The Sexual Murderer

Sexual homicide continues to be one of the most widely reported and sensationalized forms of murder, attracting fascination from the public and scholars alike. Despite this continued interest, few empirical studies have been conducted on this particular form of sexual crime. *The Sexual Murderer* provides an analytical review of the state of knowledge on the sexual murderer and his offense, and presents new data that confront some of the accepted ideas and myths surrounding this type of homicide.

The authors draw on original data stemming from both offenders and the police to present an exhaustive and accurate picture of the sexual murderer and his offense, and compare the sex offenders who do kill with sex offenders who, despite being very violent, do not. Each chapter includes a section on the practical implications of the findings, and what the findings mean for professionals working with these cases and for the criminal justice system. This book explores themes including the role of fantasies, paraphilias, and personality; criminal career; context of the crime; journey to murder; modus operandi and crime scene; sex trade workers; avoiding detection; body disposal pathways; and whether we can predict sexual homicide occurrence.

This book is a comprehensive resource for academics and professionals involved in sexual homicide cases, such as psychologists, psychiatrists, investigators, and profilers, as well as individuals working in the field of sexual violence. This book will also be of interest to students taking courses on homicide, sexual homicide, and serial homicide.

Eric Beauregard is Professor in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Canada, and a member of the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies (ICURS) at Simon Fraser University.

Melissa Martineau is Manager of Behavioural Sciences Research and Development working for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

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The Sexual Murderer

Offender behavior and implications for practice

Eric Beauregard and Melissa Martineau

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EB:
À mes trois amours, Melanie, Romy, et Danaé…
Hoping that my work will contribute to make this world a safer place for you.

MM:
To Wayne, Susan, and my colleagues in behavioral sciences…
Thank you for being a continual source of support and for your dedication to protecting others.

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About the authors

Eric Beauregard is Professor in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Canada, and a member of the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies (ICURS) at Simon Fraser University. He obtained his PhD from the University of Montreal in 2005. He has worked as a clinical criminologist for Correctional Service of Canada where he assessed more than 1,200 sex offenders. His work focuses on the offending process, decision-making, and the criminal investigation. He has served as an expert witness in cases of sexual homicide and he has provided training to law enforcement agencies nationally and internationally. He has published more than 100 publications in the field of sexual violence. This is his third book specifically on sexual homicide.

Melissa Martineau is a criminologist working for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. She has spent the last 14 years working in the area of behavioral science. She obtained her Masters of Criminology Applied from the University of Ottawa in 2002. She began working for the RCMP, Behavioural Sciences Branch, that same year. Over the past 14 years, she has received specialized training and developed expertise in the areas of violent crime linkage, sex crime, risk and threat assessment, false allegations, and the detection of deception. She has led or been involved in the implementation of three national police programs in the areas of polygraph, sex offender registration, and statement analysis. She has provided operational investigative assistance on hundreds of cases and provides specialized training to domestic and international law enforcement. She has published several publications and chapters in the fields of crime linkage and sexual violence.

Foreword

Sexual homicide: an exemplar horror crime

Sexual homicide is an exemplar horror crime. The images of a random attack, a violated victim, and a brutal murder coalesce into an archetype of terror and evil. While statistically a rare offense, sexual murder has such a far-reaching impact that a single incident can frighten millions of people. On crime severity scales, it always places in the top ranks. For these reasons, it is important to fully understand the reality of sexual murderers and their actions. To this end, Eric Beauregard and Melissa Martineau's book, *The Sexual Murderer: offender behavior and implications for practice*, makes a significant contribution.

In spite of – or maybe because of – such horror, the crimes, investigation, and criminal trials of sex murderers captivate popular attention. What is it about these acts that generates such attention? The interest in sexual murders in part originates from the fact that, compared to other homicides, they are more likely to be "whodunit" crimes perpetrated by strangers. Consequently, fear and risk are more easily generalized to the larger community than, say, a gang shooting. Such crimes also present significant investigative challenges for police. Detectives must work in a cauldron of community fear, media attention, and organizational pressure. The fact that the victim cannot bear witness to her crime means investigators need to pay great attention to detail, evidence collection, and information analysis. Many innovative forensic techniques were originally developed to help solve sexual murders. For instance, the first time DNA fingerprinting was used operationally by police was in the Narborough Murder Enquiry, a massive four-year manhunt in England for the rapist and killer of two teenage girls.

However, the intense pressure to solve such appalling crimes can also lead police astray. In more than a few instances, investigators have arrested an innocent person because they rushed to judgment or suffered from tunnel vision. Sexual murder often shows up in lists of wrongful conviction cases, including those of David Milgaard, Guy Paul Morin, and Ron Williamson. Paradoxically, the compelling pressure to solve a horrible crime can sometimes lead to the wrong solution.

One way or another, a single act of sexual homicide has the capability of reverberating for many years across large communities, even entire countries. The controversy and debate surrounding the recent Netflix documentary, *Making*

a Murderer, dramatically reveals the impact and fascination of such crimes. The arrest and conviction of Steven Avery following the 2005 homicide of Teresa Halbach in Wisconsin has served as a lightning rod for a cultural *topical* storm that touches on dangerous sex offenders, wrongful convictions, police incompetence, prosecutorial malfeasance, prejudiced media, and bias in "true" crime documentaries.

Public safety, criminal justice, and mental health agencies need to improve their methods of prevention and intervention, and *The Sexual Murderer* provides an important foundation for such efforts. Three particular features make this book stand out. First, the authors base their research on two large and representative datasets, more comprehensive in content than those used for most other works found in the literature. Second, both sexual murderers and sexual murders are analyzed; it is important to remember that the offender and the offense are very different phenomena and that they require distinct analyses and modes of study. Third, the book is characterized by a unique and innovative design. Each of the nine chapters tackles a specific question, addressing such issues as the role of offender fantasy and paraphilias, modus operandi and crime scene characteristics, and our ability to predict sexual homicide. In turn, each chapter is systemically organized into a case study illustrating the specific focus question, a review of the literature, new analyses of the question using the two datasets, and proposed implications for police investigations and correctional practice. This consistent structure helps readers integrate the various research findings by facilitating the comparison of chapter topics across the same set of dimensions.

The Sexual Murderer explores these offenders and their crimes from a variety of perspectives. Our efforts to understand and control social problems require comprehensive data and multifaceted analyses. Policy makers should pay close attention to the scientific research to develop evidence-based legislation and treatment responses. Through their book, Eric Beauregard and Melissa Martineau help move us rationally toward these goals.

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Director, Center for Geospatial Intelligence and Investigation
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Preface

I (EB) have a confession to make. I watched (maybe too many times according to some) the movie *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991). And yes, it had an influence on what I do today. I feel fine disclosing this fact as I am at a point in my career where I teach criminology to kids who were not even born when the movie first came out! For the younger generation and those who may have not watched it (yet!), the movie introduced and popularized an investigative tool known as *criminal* or *offender profiling*. Although the technique had been developed and used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) since the late 1970s, it's only with the movie that people became aware of offender profiling. Considering that becoming a police officer was not an option for me (due to vision problems), I decided to study criminology at the University of Montreal.

Although I began my undergraduate degree in criminology in 1994, it was only a year later that I really found what interested me in criminology. During that year, Jean Proulx, a recently appointed new professor at the School of Criminology, was teaching a course on the criminal personality. The course covered different theories about the criminal personality but was mainly focused on the different thinking errors identified by Yochelson and Samenow (1976) as well as Hare's Psychopathy Checklist (PCL-R). We would watch interviews of incarcerated criminals conducted by Jean and we had to identify their thinking errors and the different items of the PCL-R. I was amazed at how Jean was able to get inside the mind of these offenders, to connect with them, and to get the information he wanted. I was even more amazed – or scared, depending on your point of view – when Jean was playing the role of the offender in class and we had to interview him. It was so real, too real actually. But that is a different story.

During my last semester as an undergraduate, it became clear that I had not had enough. I approached Jean and asked him about the possibility of doing my masters with him. I explained to him why I wanted to do a masters and also the topics that were of interest to me. Instead of suggesting a topic right away, Jean showed me a book: *Whoever Fights Monsters* (1993) by the late Robert Ressler, a former FBI profiler. In less than a week I was finished with the book and I had a better idea of what I wanted to do. Of course I wanted to be profiler! But I was not a police officer so I knew this would not be possible. However, I knew that

the police would always need people who understood violent offenders, especially the most heinous ones.

The following meeting with Jean shaped my future career. Jean had put together an ambitious research project in collaboration with Correctional Service of Canada to study the recidivism of sex offenders. The project was located at the Regional Reception Center, a maximum security penitentiary in the province of Quebec where all inmates convicted of a sentence of two years or more would be sent for evaluation. The inmates would spend on average six to eight weeks at this institution in order to have their risk level and treatment needs assessed by a multidisciplinary team. The setting was perfect for the research project as all convicted sex offenders had to go through the assessment process too. The goal was to catch them during the assessment process.

The research team included a mix of academics from criminology and psychology, as well as clinicians from the penitentiary and an army of graduate students. Everybody had a role with a specific set of interests and expertise. I was wondering where I would fit in to all this. Everybody was working on child molesters or rapists and it seemed to me that all the interesting topics were already covered. This is when Jean approached me to offer me one of the greatest opportunities. The team had already collected information on 14 sexual murderers. However, this number was too small and judging by the rate at which they were admitted, I would have had to wait 25 years in order to get a decent number. But as a very pragmatic individual, Jean simply told me to go to the different penitentiaries in the province to collect information relating to all the sexual homicide offenders that were already incarcerated. It seemed like a good idea.

I was very fortunate to have the chance to learn from probably the best two clinicians I know, Bruno Pellerin, a criminologist and Michel St-Yves, a psychologist now working for the Sûreté du Québec, Quebec's provincial police. With their guidance, I developed the skills I needed to interview offenders, to connect with them and establish rapport but more importantly, to get the information I was looking for. By the time the data collection was completed for this project, I had convinced 60 sexual murderers to participate in the study.

As most penitentiaries are located outside urban centers – some even in remote locations – I spent several weeks sleeping in cheap motels (and even in a trailer) to be able to convince sexual murderers across the province to participate in the study. It was worth it, as nothing can replace the experience of sitting across from and discussing the lives and criminal careers of these sexual murderers. For me, it was a perfect opportunity to go beyond the files and ask questions that no one had asked them before. Although some of them clearly thought I was crazy to ask such questions, I like to believe that most of them respected me for it. They could sense that my interest was genuine and that I really wanted to learn from them and critically assess what I had read in books. One of my former professors, Pierre Tremblay, was teaching a course at the time where we had to interview a criminal about one type of crime in particular and we needed to explain in great detail how to commit such a crime. In other words, the goal was

to teach someone who had no experience with crime how to successfully commit this specific type of crime. Although somewhat unconventional, this type of thinking greatly influenced how I was conducting my interviews with the offenders. I needed to know everything, as if I was there. The smallest details were necessary so that I could reconstruct the whole crime sequence in my head.

After completing my thesis on sexual homicide, the data that I had collected were used for a series of studies, which led to the publication of two books, the latest being *Sexual Murderers: A Comparative Analysis and New Perspectives* in 2007. The book focuses on the differences between sexual murderers and non-homicidal sex offenders. Contrary to popular belief, sexual murderers presented more similarities than differences when compared to non-homicidal sex offenders. This was a finding also observed by other colleagues from other countries. But all the research we published on sexual homicide left me unsatisfied. After completing my PhD, I was hired at the University of South Florida in Tampa and started to talk about my research to one of my colleagues who was the chair of the department at the time, Tom Mieczkowski. Despite being new to this field, Tom was interested in research methods but more importantly in doing something useful! Working with Tom was easy, stimulating, and it got me thinking differently about methods. We worked together on projects involving different methods looking specifically at the risk of lethal outcome in sexual assaults. Despite the interesting findings, we often came to the same conclusion: more cases were needed.

I (MM) too watched *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) and was addicted to the television shows *Millennium* (1996–1999) and *Profiler* (1996–2000). In fact, I cannot remember a time when working in law enforcement did not interest me. My favorite class in high school was law and to this day I remember how excited I was when the teacher assigned a project where we could write about any criminal case. I wrote a paper on Clifford Olson, one of Canada's infamous serial killers. I was absorbed in the details and found myself wanting to understand what made Olson tick. When it came time to select a post-secondary path, mine was obvious. I would pursue a degree in criminology and then become a police officer, working my way up the ranks and eventually becoming a criminal profiler.

In 1997 I headed off to begin my degree in criminology at the University of Ottawa. During university I discovered that not only did I have a passion for law enforcement and the law but also for higher learning. When I graduated with a double degree in criminology and sociology in 2000, I held the highest standing in the department of criminology and in the faculty of social sciences. I decided to continue my education and obtain an honors degree in criminology. During my honors degree I conducted a field placement with the RCMP, Behavioural Sciences Branch. It was a dream come true for me. I was working in the exact area in which I hoped to one day have a career. It was during this academic year that professors Michael Petrunik and Kathryn Campbell approached me independently and recommended that I consider graduate school.

I figured that I could put my plans of becoming a police officer on hold for a little longer if I was accepted into the master's program. After being accepted, and receiving a full scholarship and an Ontario Graduate Scholarship, the decision was clear. I began my master's program at the University of Ottawa in 2001. I decided to pursue an applied masters which would allow me to conduct a work placement during the course of my academic studies. I obtained a placement with the Ottawa Police Service. Over the next year, I was able to combine my two passions, academics and law enforcement in a profound way. I was able to apply the theoretical knowledge I had developed, but more importantly I was able to experience the reality of policing. I enjoyed every minute of my placement with the Ottawa Police Service and was subsequently hired on contract to complete some work for the service.

Anxious to pursue my career, I decided to accelerate my studies and complete my major paper requirement in time to finish my two-year master's program in one year. Just as I was finishing my graduate studies, I received a call from the RCMP, Behavioural Sciences Branch asking if I was interested in doing contract work. It seemed like fate. Similarly afflicted with poor vision as my co-author, I knew that a career in policing would mean laser eye surgery. So I figured a contract working in the field of my dreams was a perfect fit. Three months became six, and six months a year. I found myself working in law enforcement, in the area that is my true passion. Perhaps I was not a police officer, but I was working in concert with criminal profilers and using my education to conduct applied research.

I have spent the last 14 years working in the area of behavioral sciences. The RCMP has provided me with incredible opportunities. I have received very specialized training and have traveled throughout Canada and abroad. I have reviewed and/or provided operational investigative assistance in over 1,000 cases of violent crime. I have specialized in violent crime linkage, false allegations, risk and threat assessment, sex crime, and detection of deception. I have worked with and learned from incredible colleagues including Canada's first profilers Ron MacKay and Glenn Woods, as well as Supt. Pierre Nezan, S/Sgt. Carl Sesely, and Sgt. Jamie De Wit. I have had the privilege of working with and teaching so many dedicated law enforcement officers. While many people do not understand the appeal of my career, being exposed to the worst that humans are capable of, my work is one of my greatest passions.

In 2007 I (EB) moved back to Canada and joined the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. Melissa Martineau was working at the time for the RCMP Behavioural Sciences Branch, Research section and she was interested in conducting a research project involving interviews with offenders. She had heard of my work on sex offenders and sexual murderers and we started discussing the possibilities. After meeting a few times to write our proposal, I decided to inquire about her interest in a research project on sexual homicide. We both suspected that getting approval to interview offenders would take a long time so I suggested that while we wait, we could be working on a project on sexual

homicide. So we did. Melissa did most of the hard work as she pulled all the data together, making sure we were only selecting sexual homicide cases. From more than 600 cases, we ended up with a total of 350 real cases of sexual homicide. Finally, we would have a sample large enough to explore some new issues related to this type of sex offender.

Melissa was working closely with investigators and profilers. Her extensive knowledge of police practices related to investigations guided our research. As an academic, I was sometimes playing with the data intuitively looking for relationships between certain variables. I remember a few times when, all excited, I sent some output of statistical analyses to Melissa thinking that I had found something interesting. But Melissa, always in a gentle manner, asked me how this would be useful. It may look good in a journal but if the research we are conducting is not useful to anyone, what is the point? And that was it. Although I was a bit disappointed that my idea did not pass the test, after a while I finally understood the true purpose of this research project. Most police investigators that we have talked to have either never worked a case of sexual homicide or have only had the opportunity to work on one or two such cases during their career. This is good news in itself as it suggests that the number of sexual homicides is relatively low. However, it also highlights an important issue: most police investigators do not have a lot of investigative experience with sexual murders. As investigators cannot rely solely on their investigative experience, it has become clear that they need a tool that will provide them with the knowledge that usually comes from experiencing several sexual homicide investigations.

We started by publishing a descriptive study of our sample of sexual homicide cases in 2012 in the *Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. It was very simple but at the same time, it was filling a gap left by previous studies limited by their small sample size. We published several other articles following the descriptive study and every time we received positive feedback about our research. People working in the field were telling us that they were using our studies to train their investigators. Moreover, they were asking us to let them know when we would have more. Well, here is more!

We truly hope that you will enjoy the book. But more importantly, we hope that you find it useful. This would be our greatest reward.

Eric Beauregard and Melissa Martineau

Acknowledgements

Although the writing of a book is often a solitary experience, this book would not have been possible without the help of some important people. First, we would like to thank Tom Sutton, commissioning editor, as well as Hannah Catterall, editorial assistant at Routledge, for believing in this project and making sure the process was as smooth as possible. We would like to acknowledge the University Publication Fund at Simon Fraser University who awarded us with a small grant to facilitate the process of reviewing and revising the manuscript. Thank you also to Ashley Hewitt, PhD candidate at Simon Fraser University who agreed to take on the difficult task of reviewing our early drafts as well as the proofs of the whole book. Your attention to detail, insightful comments, and professionalism were greatly appreciated. We also would like to thank Dr. Jean Proulx at the University of Montreal and the RCMP[1] for sharing what we believe to be some of the richest data on sexual homicide. Having the chance to use and analyze both types of data – i.e., prison and police – made this book unique. We also extend our thanks to our colleagues who were always available to discuss our findings. We are well aware that not everyone is comfortable talking about mutilation, dismemberment, and acts of physical humiliation while having lunch! More specifically, we would like to thank Sergeant Nathan Wells of the Integrated Homicide Investigation Team of the RCMP who kindly reviewed and commented on a few chapters of the book and suggested some practical implications of our findings. Thank you as well to Emily Fox and Staff Sergeant Carl Sesely for supporting this project and offering useful advice and suggestions along the way. Finally, we would like to sincerely thank all the people, mostly law enforcement personnel, who came to see us after conferences or who sent us emails regarding our work on sexual homicide. Your interest and encouragement played a key role in our decision to take on such a big project.

Note

1 The views expressed in the book are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Introduction

Why study sexual murderers?

Sexual homicide is a crime of rare occurrence; its rate in North America has been slowly declining for several years (James & Proulx, 2014). Between 1974 and 1986, sexual homicides comprised 4% of all homicides in Canada as estimated by Roberts and Grossman (1993). This proportion fell to 3% between 1985 and 1995 (Statistics Canada, 2013), and reached its lowest point at 2% between 1991–2001 (Kong, Johnson, Beattie, & Cardillo, 2003). This downward trend has also been observed in the US where the proportion of homicide with a sexual component declined from 0.8% between 1976 and 2004 (Chan & Heide, 2008) to 0.7% between 1991 and 1995 (Meloy, 2000), and 0.2% in 2011 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012). Interestingly, these numbers are similar in the United Kingdom. Francis and Soothill (2000) reported that in England and Wales between 1985 and 1994, 3.7% of homicides involved "sexual circumstances." This number fell to 2.5% between 1995 and 2000 (Francis et al., 2004). Moreover, Greenall (2005) reported that between 1999 and 2004, the number of homicides involving "sexual mutilation or a sexual attack" dropped to 1.2% according to the Home Office.

Other countries have also recorded similar rates of sexual homicide. According to Mouzos (2003), 0.9% of homicides committed between 1989 and 2002 in Australia were considered to be motivated by "sexual gratification" whereas between 1998 and 2002 in Jamaica, 5% of female homicides were motivated by rape (Lemard & Hemenway, 2006). In Finland, Häkkänen-Nyholm and her colleagues found that between 1995 and 2004, 2.8% of homicides were considered to be sexually motivated (Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen, Lindberg, Salenius, & Weizmann-Henelius, 2009). The only outlier appears to be South Africa. Findings suggest that in 1999, 16% of female homicides were "suspected" of being rape-homicide (Abrahams et al., 2008). According to Seedat and colleagues, this relatively high number could be explained by the unusually high crime rate in South Africa (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla, & Ratele, 2009, as cited in Greenall, 2012).

Given that sexual homicides comprise such a small percentage of violent crime and trends indicate that they are becoming more rare, why is there a need to study this specific type of homicide in the first place? This is a valid question with different answers. First, as Roberts and Grossman (1993) have pointed out,

crime seriousness surveys have shown tremendous public concern over sexual homicide, assigning it the second highest seriousness rating among over 200 crimes, just below an act of terrorism killing 20 people (Wolfgang, Figlio, Tracy, & Singer, 1985). Although rare, sexual homicide provokes fear in the community, probably due in part to the potential brutality and gruesomeness of the acts but also to the apparent randomness of victim selection. Moreover, these crimes tend to receive the greatest news media coverage, which may contribute to the moral panic surrounding these crimes (Roberts & Grossman, 1993).

Second, because of the low base rate of sexual homicide, gaining valuable and reliable knowledge about these crimes and offenders has proven to be very difficult. Much of the early research conducted on sexual homicide has been clinical in nature, involving more often than not small convenience samples. These studies were also more concerned about the psychological makeup of these offenders and less about the identification of the offenders who were at risk of committing these crimes. Finally, a third reason why it is important to study sexual homicide is that because of the low base rate of this crime, accumulating knowledge that can inform effective investigative practice has been problematic. As many investigators cannot rely upon investigative experience, sexual homicide cases pose an investigative challenge. In most specialized investigation units, it is rare to encounter detectives who have investigated more than 10 cases of sexual homicide throughout their career. Moreover, these behaviorally rich cases tend to present in a fashion that differs from other forms of violent crime and yet they do not make a homogeneous type. Each case may vary in terms of the modus operandi and ritualistic behavior exhibited, causing each case to appear unique. The differential characteristics as well as the possible presence of psychopathology which may be identified through a careful study of the crime scene may appear very atypical for the detective involved in such a case for the first time.

Furthermore, it has been well documented that the number of sexual homicide cases are likely underestimated in official statistics. Victims of sexual homicide may be classified as missing persons when a body has not been located. In some cases, the disappearance of the victim is never even reported to the police. Moreover, in some cases the offender is successful in destroying the victim's body (e.g., by burning) and eradicating all evidence of the crime. When human remains are found, the police are not always able to establish the identity of the remains. Crime statistics, or lack thereof, also hide a troubling fact specific to this type of crime: there is no standardized definition of sexual homicide (Chan & Heide, 2008).

What is sexual homicide? The question is an important one as depending on the definition used, the yearly rates of commission may vary. The fact that sexual homicide does not have a legal definition (Roberts & Grossman, 1993) has opened the door to the proposal of a variety of definitions from different researchers and practitioners. For many, sexual homicide is defined as the intentional killing of a person where there is evidence of a sexual element to the murder (Beech, Fisher, & Ward, 2005; Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, & Ressler,

1992; Folino, 2000; Meloy, 2000; Myers, 2002; Porter, Woodworth, Earle, Drugge, & Boer, 2003; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988). For some, sexual activity is not necessary for the murder to be sexual as the act of killing itself may be sexually gratifying for the offender (Krafft-Ebing, 1886/1965; Money, 1990; Schlesinger, 2004). For instance, MacDonald (1986) stated that for a murder to be sexual, a sexual element had to be present or "deeper study will clearly reveal that sexual conflict underlies the act of aggression" (p. 164). Similarly, others emphasize certain acts performed by the perpetrator such as mutilation or displacement of breasts, rectum, and/or genitals (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Finally, others attempt to capture a broader conceptualization of this type of homicide. For example, Burgess and colleagues suggest that sexual homicides "result from one person killing another in the context of power, control, sexuality, and aggressive brutality" (Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986, p. 252).

The definitions reviewed above offer a somewhat simplistic view of sexual homicide. However, these definitions are of little pragmatic value when attempting to identify and classify cases of sexual homicide. Most of the definitions rely on information known only to the offender and do not provide operationalized criteria that one may utilize in the classification process. To our knowledge the only practical definition of sexual homicide currently available is that proposed by the FBI (Ressler et al., 1988), which states that to be considered sexual, a homicide has to present at least one of the following: (a) victim's attire or lack of attire; (b) exposure of the sexual parts of the victim's body; (c) sexual positioning of the victim's body; (d) insertion of foreign objects into the victim's body cavities; (e) evidence of sexual intercourse; or (f) evidence of substitute sexual activity, interest, or sadistic fantasy.

According to Kerr, Beech, and Murphy (2013), the FBI definition does not define the offense nor does it provide investigators with any useful information about the offender. It is true that the definition does not provide any information about the offender. It is a definition of the act – not of the offender type. Despite its limitations, this definition constitutes the only guidelines available in order to reliably identify cases of sexual homicide based on what is observable at the crime scene. Kerr et al. argue that using the FBI definition leaves considerable room for error. They cite the example of an offender "staging" a domestic homicide to appear as a sexual homicide by removing the victim's clothing and exposing the genitals. Although they make a good point, that it is possible to misclassify an offense using any definitional or classification system, they neglect to mention that staging a crime scene is not common, particularly in cases of sexual homicide (Beauregard & Martineau, 2013). Kerr et al. (2013) continue by citing Folino (2000) who argues that killing after a sexual act when the intention of the kill is to destroy evidence or eliminate the witness should not be considered as a sexual homicide. Folino argues that this constitutes a "false positive." While this argument may have merit, it is problematic in a pragmatic sense. As classifications are most often made without the insight of offender rationale, it is not possible to classify based on the specific and accurate intent of

the offender. Without having the opportunity to discuss the intentions of the offender with the offender himself, there is no way to identify the reason(s) why the offender killed the victim. This brings us naturally to the question of motivation in sexual homicide.

According to some authors, it is important to distinguish between homicides that are sexually motivated and homicides associated with sexual activity. Grubin (1994) provides examples of scenarios whereby a homicide is connected to sexual activity but is not necessarily sexually motivated:

- elimination of a potential witness after a rape;
- overcoming victim resistance during a rape;
- accidently killing the victim during a rape;
- participating in a rape-homicide with accomplices.

Others have argued for the importance of identifying the "true" sexual murderer. In their study on offense pathways, Stefanska, Carter, Higgs, Bishopp, and Beech (2015) compared the offense pathways of sexual murderers who had previous convictions for rape or attempted rape with sexual murderers without such convictions. They identified three offense pathways within which the *sexually driven* group was mainly composed of offenders with previous convictions for rape/attempted rape and was very similar to non-homicidal sex offenders in terms of treatment needs. Similarly, a different study by Higgs, Carter, Stefanska, and Glorney (2015) attempted to identify the sexually motivated sexual murderer by looking at postmortem sexual interference. Comparing sexual murderers who committed acts of postmortem sexual interference to non-homicidal sexual aggressors, the authors identified several differences. Interestingly, the non-homicidal sexual aggressors were more likely to target strangers in a blitz attack, use a high level of violence, vaginally rape and humiliate the victim, as well as hold the victim captive for extended periods, than the sexual murderers. Despite these interesting findings, Higgs and colleagues conclude that it is important to distinguish between sexual homicide cases for which sex and killing are directly and indirectly linked in order to assess the suitability of risk assessment and interventions with these offenders. Similar to Kerr et al. (2013), they also advocate for the need for a less ambiguous definition of sexual homicide without offering one themselves.

For the purpose of this book, the FBI definition of sexual homicide has been adopted (Ressler et al., 1988). Is this definition perfect? No. Such a definition does not exist. However, we argue that it is the best available and the only one that can lead to the reliable identification and classification of sexual homicide cases from study to study. In a perfect world, it would be possible to garnish an accurate understanding of the offender's motivation through observation of the crime scene. Unfortunately, this is rarely the case. Understanding an offender's true motivation for their crime(s) is without a doubt desirable. However, it is difficult to achieve. Anyone who has attempted to interview an offender with the intention of establishing true motive can attest to the difficulty in obtaining reliable information. Even a

very cooperative offender may lack insight with respect to his true motivation. Thus, we cannot always presume to know the motivation of the offender based on the crime scene characteristics. We are not arguing that motivation is not an important element in better understanding sexual homicide. Rather, we are arguing that motivation is not a necessary element for the classification of a homicide as sexual. It is possible that the FBI guidelines will identify "false positive" cases of sexual homicide. Nonetheless, these false positives should be found in all studies. Moreover, typological studies have shown that it is possible to identify these cases that some have labeled false positive, such as the offender who kills to eliminate the witness (e.g., Beech, Robertson, & Clarke, 2001; Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004; Clarke & Carter, 1999; Kocsis, 1999; Malmquist, 2007). When studying sexual homicide, it is prudent to focus on what can be observed. It is the observable behavior of the offender and characteristics of the crime scene, modus operandi, and crime locations that will inform investigative direction, as this is the information that is available to criminal justice personnel. These observable characteristics and behaviors that have the potential to inform investigative practice will be the focus of this book.

Despite the low frequency of this crime and the issues surrounding its definition, sexual homicide continues to attract a lot of attention from the public and the criminal justice system. Similarly, academics have been fascinated with homicides of a sexual nature. Despite this interest, very few empirical studies have been conducted on this particular form of sexual crime. Furthermore, among these previous studies, many suffered from several limitations. This book is an attempt to remedy some of the main limitations of previous studies on sexual homicide.

Early studies on sexual homicide have suffered from very small sample size. In addition to the limit it imposes on the type of analyses possible, small samples are usually not representative and therefore their findings are not generalizable. Moreover, some of these studies have focused on the worst cases (e.g., sadists) or have relied on convenience sampling, including only those offenders who agreed to participate in their study (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). Similarly, some of the studies have mixed together serial and single cases, ignoring the fact that important differences exist between serial and non-serial sexual murderers (James & Proulx, 2014). Another issue with previous studies has to do with the variables investigated. Some studies have focused on offenders whereas other studies have looked at a limited number of behavioral characteristics in sexual homicide. Studies that incorporate an extensive number of variables on sexual homicide are limited. Few studies to date have provided a comprehensive portrait of the phenomenon. Furthermore, the majority of studies on sexual homicide have failed to include a control group. Despite providing informative findings, the impact of these studies is limited by the lack of comparisons with other groups of sex offenders. Finally, another issue related to previous studies is the fact that the majority of these studies have used either clinical or police data (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). Each type of data presents strengths and weaknesses, which is why it is important to include both whenever possible.

Police data will include a lot of details about the crime and the crime scene characteristics. However, this type of data contains a limited number of offender characteristics. On the other hand, data collected in clinical settings (e.g., prison, treatment programs) usually include less detail on the crime but present the advantage of having detailed information about the offender (e.g., personality characteristics, psychometric testing, intelligence, cognitive distortions).

In order to overcome most of these limitations, this book is centered on two different datasets. The first dataset was collected in a prison setting in the province of Quebec, Canada between 1998 and 2005. All sexual murderers incarcerated in the province of Quebec between 1998 and 2005 were identified and solicited to participate in the study. Despite a few offenders refusing to participate in the study, 85 sexual murderers agreed. Most of the 85 offenders were interviewed by two male criminologists/psychologists as to the following topics: crime phase variables (e.g., crime scene variables, acts committed while committing the crime), emotions (e.g., affects before, during, and after the crime), attitudes toward their crimes (e.g., admit all acts committed, negative consequences for the victim, responsibility), disinhibitors (e.g., deviant sexual fantasies, alcohol, drugs, pornography), occupational problems (e.g., compulsive work, loss of job), and relationship problems (e.g., loneliness, separation, familial difficulties). Before the interview, all the information contained in the subject's institutional records was reviewed. This allowed for corroboration of the information that the subject provided during the semi-structured interview. In the event of a discrepancy, officially recorded data took precedence. We also reviewed the police reports of the sexual murders. We went to different police agencies in order to gather as much information as possible to reconstruct the offense. We also consulted the autopsy reports and, on occasion, the crime scene photographs.

The second dataset emanates from police records. Information on all cases of sexual homicide was obtained from a national database operated by the RCMP. Detectives assigned to the case are required to collect the information from the case file via close-ended and multiple-choice questions approximately 45 days into the investigation. This not only ensures that investigators consider aspects of the crime that may not have otherwise been reported, but also forces them to make a choice about particular details of the crime. Data are collected that relate to the victim(s), the potential or suspected offender, the behavior of the offender during and after the crime, and any forensic information that may be available. A query of the database yielded 600 potential sexual homicide cases investigated by the RCMP. Following a review of these cases by the authors, the sample was reduced to 393 cases with 55 cases needing further confirmation of the sexual component. A second review of all cases resulted in a further reduction of 43 cases which lacked sufficient evidence of a sexual nature. The final sample includes 350 cases of sexual homicide that occurred between 1948 and 2010.[1] The majority of these cases have been solved ($N=250$), however, 100 cases were unsolved at time they were entered in the database.

The book is organized into nine chapters, with each chapter addressing a specific question. Chapter 1 examines the question whether we can identify sexual

murderers early in life. Several factors have been associated with the development of the sexual murderer and this chapter reviews the main developmental factors associated with sexual homicide as well as the different theoretical models of sexual homicide. Data are also provided to show that some combinations of developmental factors may be associated with sexual homicide. Chapter 2 examines the role of fantasy, paraphilias, and personality in sexual homicide. This chapter examines how personality constructs relate to tendencies toward sexual violence, homicide in particular. The role that deviant fantasies, including sexual sadism, and paraphilia play in the perpetration of sexual homicide is also considered. In Chapter 3, the question of whether the criminal career of the sexual murderer is characterized by polymorphism or specialization is posed. More specifically, the chapter discusses whether sexual murderers are specialists, with a history that consists predominately of sexual convictions or whether these offenders exhibit versatility in their offending behavior (i.e., sexual murderers with a diverse criminal record). We also present the differences between sexual murderers who have prior convictions for sexual crimes and those with no such prior convictions. In Chapter 4 we examine whether there is a specific context leading to sexual homicide. This chapter reviews the different situational and contextual factors that have been associated with sexual homicide. We also present new contextual factors associated with a lethal outcome in sexual assault. The chapter examines how certain disinhibitors and combinations of disinhibitors may increase the risk of a lethal outcome. Chapter 5 examines the geographic mobility of sexual murderers. More specifically, this chapter examines the distances traveled by sexual murderers when committing their crimes. In addition to the traditional measure of journey to crime, the chapter discusses the distance traveled by sexual murderers to dump the victim's body as well as the distance traveled from the initial contact scene to the body recovery scene. The criminal mobility of sexual murderers is discussed in light of previous studies on criminal mobility of sex offenders and other offenders. Chapter 6 examines modus operandi and crime scene characteristics and attempts to determine what characteristics are typical versus unusual in cases of sexual homicide. Offender behavior and crime scene characteristics are examined in terms of uniqueness and some misconceptions associated with sexual homicide are discussed.

In Chapter 7, we focus on a specific type of victim – the sex trade worker – and ask whether this is a choice of victim or a victim of choice. Specifically, we cover the characteristics associated with sexual homicide of sex trade workers. The chapter also highlights the differences between sexual homicides committed against this group of vulnerable victims and other victims. The chapter discusses the factors that make sex trade workers attractive targets for sexual murderers and the different challenges associated with the investigation of these crimes. In Chapter 8, we look at whether sexual murderers can avoid detection. This chapter reviews the different strategies used by sexual murderers to avoid police detection. More specifically, the forensic awareness of sexual murderers is examined and whether such an awareness culminates in successful avoidance of detection. The chapter examines whether organized characteristics of sexual

murderers are associated with a greater likelihood of avoiding detection. Chapter 9 examines one particular aspect of the crime-commission process that has value for the investigation: body disposal. Because the method of body disposal is one of the most important factors in solving cases, four mutually exclusive body disposal pathways are identified: (1) *transported-concealed*, (2) *transported-dumped*, (3) *left at crime scene-concealed*, and (4) *left as is*. Moreover, this chapter discusses the relationships between each body disposal pathway and the different elements significant to the investigation of sexual homicide, such as the geography, type of victim, method of access, weapon/manner of death, and offender–victim interactions. Finally, the conclusion attempts to answer arguably one of the most critical questions: can we predict sexual homicide? Here, we review the main comparative studies between sexual murderers and non-homicidal sex offenders and the main differences as to the offender, victim, and crime characteristics are highlighted. The chapter discusses why certain factors or combinations of factors may lead some sex offenders to kill their victim. In light of existing risk assessment tools, we raise the question as to the possibility of predicting a rare event such as a sexual homicide.

Each chapter is organized in five main sections. The first section introduces a case study related to the question examined in the chapter. The second section introduces the question addressed in the chapter, and provides an extensive review of existing literature. In this section we try to organize and synthesize the information so that it becomes easily available to the reader. The third section, "Findings," is devoted to the novel analyses of data. Where possible, analyses of our two datasets are presented to address the question that was posed at the outset of the chapter. Finally, we conclude each chapter with a section on the practical implications of our findings. In this section, we make suggestions regarding the potential pragmatic application of our findings to the investigation of sexual homicides and correctional practice.

We are well aware that this book cannot provide definitive answers to every question raised. We sincerely hope, however, that the book will positively influence how we think about and respond to cases of sexual homicide. We aim to spark new ideas and debate that will ultimately contribute to our understanding of this complex crime. Finally, we hope you will find the book useful and informative.

E. B. and M. M.

Note

1 Cases included are from all provinces of Canada except for Ontario and Quebec as these two provinces have a provincial police force that investigates these crimes.

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1 Can we identify sexual murderers early in life?

Case study

Bill has been convicted for the manslaughter, kidnapping, forcible confinement, and sexual assault of a 24-year-old woman. He had no previous convictions when he committed this sexual homicide.

Bill came from a dysfunctional family. He had a brother and a sister. His father was described as submissive; he was often away due to his forestry work. His mother on the other hand was portrayed as authoritarian, and violent; a woman who liked to humiliate and degrade her children. Bill was her preferred target. He was subjected to psychological and physical violence at the hands of his mother. For instance, when he would contradict his mother, she would use physical violence to correct him. She paired this physical violence with psychological abuse, treating him as if he was worthless. This violence led Bill to develop deviant fantasies toward his mother but also a positive bond with his father. His father was well aware of his wife's disposition and tendency toward abusive behavior. He would tell Bill: "Don't worry, your mom is crazy; I know, I live with her." Bill felt assured when he was with his father. However, because his father was often away, Bill often had to face his mother alone.

During our interview, Bill reported a number of traumatic events that happened during his childhood. At seven years old, Bill was sexually assaulted by his brother. His brother committed fellatio on him and masturbated in front of him. Three years later, his brother sodomized him, as he wanted to experience penetration. Bill was hesitant to characterize this event as abuse. To him, it seemed more like sexual experimentation. However, he reported that during the event, he wanted his brother to stop because of the pain and his brother did not. In addition to the physical pain Bill suffered, he explained that his brother reported what he had done to his mother. Instead of punishing his brother, Bill's mother laughed at him. She continued to refer to the event in the coming weeks, always laughing at him.

Bill had another traumatic experience at the age of 12 or 13. Bill wanted to experience penetration. One evening, while he was feeling sexually aroused, he decided to penetrate a goat that was living close by. Unfortunately, Bill's brother saw what Bill did and told their mother. According to Bill, he was only

experimenting. His mother's reaction was to humiliate Bill. Often, during dinner time, she would take the goat and attach it to the dinner table. She would then ask the other family members if the goat was getting bigger, suggesting it might be pregnant. Moreover, she often threatened Bill that she would tell his future girlfriends that his first girlfriend was a goat. Bill explained that living with his mother felt like a death sentence. He lived in constant fear that she would tell someone about the incident with the goat. As long as he did everything his mother asked of him everything would be fine. However, Bill decided that if his mother told anyone else about the event, he would kill himself. To make matters worse, following this event, his father became distant.

Bill was acting-out at school in order to blow off some steam. He had disciplinary problems, he was rebellious, and he was obtaining poor grades. He finally decided to leave his family at 18 years of age. It is at this age that Bill first experienced sexual intercourse with a woman. He only had two serious relationships with women. The frequency of sexual relations – when he was in a relationship – was two to three times a day. Bill reported a problem of premature ejaculation.

Bill reported that before the murder he had been having deviant sexual fantasies. Specifically he would fantasize about picking up a hitchhiker in his van and driving to a deserted area where he would tie the victim to a tree, naked. In his fantasy, the victim would first try to resist and then would eventually agree to sexual contact. The day of the murder, Bill was particularly upset. He was worried about losing his girlfriend and he was very jealous. At times when he felt this way he would use pornography and erotic phone lines compulsively. As the deviant sexual fantasies became overwhelming, Bill decided to go out to a bar to have a few drinks. After a few drinks, he decided to leave the bar and stopped at a 24-hour restaurant to have something to eat. At the restaurant, the waitress refused to serve him indicating that the owner did not accept intoxicated patrons. This angered Bill and he went outside to retrieve his knife from his truck. He grabbed the waitress by the arm and forced her into his truck. His anger did not dissipate but rather accumulated, especially given his deviant sexual fantasies of rape. He drove for a while and began to think about the trouble he would find himself in if he continued. He realized that he could lose the things in his life that were most important to him: his girlfriend and his job. When he decided to turn around, his truck got stuck in the snow. Bill got out of the truck and intended to go get some help. The victim, afraid to be left alone, grabbed him by the arm. In response, Bill punched her in the face. Bill then raped her outside of the truck. After raping the victim, he left to go get some help. When he returned to the truck, the victim had disappeared. Just as he was getting into the truck, the victim jumped on him from behind. Bill took his knife and stabbed her seven times. Bill left the victim, who was still alive, at the scene. After returning home, Bill noticed blood on his face and on his clothes. He took a shower, made sure to wash all his clothes and went to bed. He did not sleep well, thinking about what he had done. He decided to return to the crime scene, bringing along some garbage bags. The victim's body was not in the location where he had left her. The victim had crawled about 10 feet from the attack site

before succumbing to her injuries. Bill wrapped the body in garbage bags and disposed of the body a few kilometers from the crime scene. What he had failed to notice at the time, is that he dumped the body directly under a street light. The police found the body a few hours later, and through investigation were able to identify Bill as the prime suspect.

Introduction

In his 2003 paper, Langevin asked the question of whether it is possible to identify sexual murderers before it is too late. More specifically, at issue is whether it is possible to identify sex offenders who will eventually kill a victim by examining factors present in childhood. Despite the enormous amount of research in developmental and life-course criminology (e.g., Laub & Sampson, 2003), very few studies have looked specifically at the developmental factors that are associated with sexual homicide. Most of the studies have identified factors that can partially explain why certain individuals commit crime but very few are able to predict the particular type of crime that an individual will go on to commit. It is important to identify general criminogenic factors so that we can better identify those most at risk of engaging in a criminal lifestyle. However, it would be of greater use to criminal justice professionals if we could map out those developmental factors which lead to specific types of criminality. Can we identify development factors that lead to sexual offending? Needless to say, sex crimes attract a lot of attention. If we can identify a developmental pathway that fosters sexual deviance, then the concern becomes not only which offenders will recidivate, but which ones will escalate. What is the likelihood that the offender will kill his next victim? Is it possible to identify these cases through a comprehensive examination of factors that are present during the childhood of these individuals?

This chapter focuses on the developmental factors associated with sexual homicide. The aim is to review existing literature and attempt to identify risk factors present in the childhood of sexual murderers that may explain why, compared to other sex offenders, they commit fatal crimes. This chapter begins with a review of the various theoretical models that have been proposed by researchers over the years. Interestingly, all the theoretical models suggest that the etiology of sexual homicide can be found in childhood. Then, we examine existing empirical research to find support for those factors identified by the theoretical models and whether empirical research has been able to confirm the hypotheses suggested by the theoretical models. The chapter continues by presenting findings on the developmental factors associated with sexual homicide and investigating whether these factors are more important in sexual murderers compared to non-homicidal sex offenders. We conclude by suggesting new ways to look at developmental factors related to sexual homicide and how this could influence criminal investigation and correctional practice.

Despite research indicating that the outcome (e.g., lethal or not) of a sexual crime is highly dependent on situational factors (e.g., Beauregard &

Mieczkowski, 2012; Mieczkowski & Beauregard, 2010), several authors have posited that the etiology of sexual homicide rests in the childhood of the offenders. More specifically, four theoretical models have been proffered to explain sexual homicide from a developmental perspective.

Theoretical models of sexual homicide

Developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the motivational model is often considered one of the first empirical models of sexual homicide despite never having been tested (Healey & Beauregard, 2015). Based on a small sample of 36 serial sexual murderers, the model is composed of five interacting factors: (1) ineffective environment, (2) child and adolescent formative events, (3) patterned responses to these events, (4) resultant actions toward others, and (5) the killer's reactions to his killings via a mental "feedback filter" (Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988). According to the model, sexual murderers come from criminogenic environments where there is either an absence of bonding or problematic bonding between the offender and his caregiver. Problematic bonding occurs when a child is not consistently provided with the necessities of life, a nurturing environment, and a sense of security. These elements are required to allow for a secure attachment to form and for prosocial development. When a caregiver is neglectful, abusive (physical and sexual), and inconsistent a child's development can be impeded, resulting in a child who is hostile and socially isolated. It is difficult for the negative consequences of these events to be adequately addressed by the offender's social environment. Due to feelings of isolation and helplessness, the offender retreats into a world of deviant sexual fantasies, which are thought to be a mechanism by which the budding offender regains control of his life and achieves dominance, both of which are missing from his reality.

The model predicts that due in part to traumatic events the fantasy life of the child is sexually violent and has themes of power, dominance, and revenge. Consequently, the child is unable to develop prosocial bonds and becomes increasingly dependent on his deviant sexual fantasies for both his sexual and emotional needs. This is also why these offenders develop negative rather than positive personality traits (e.g., social isolation, rebelliousness, aggression, chronic deceitfulness). The rich fantasy life of the offender becomes increasingly ineffective at satisfying his needs, and the offender begins to act out, committing violent crimes, escalating from crimes such as arson and animal abuse in childhood to abduction, rape, and nonsexual murder in adulthood. According to the model, this escalation in violence reaches its pinnacle when the offender experiences a significant stressor in his life (e.g., interpersonal conflict with a female partner). This stressor causes the offender to reach his breaking point. He subsequently releases his pent-up rage in the form of sexual homicide. Following the crime, the "feedback filter" helps the offender to justify and evaluate his actions. He assesses his behavior in terms of its congruence with his fantasies and considers how to navigate any obstacles within the external environment

(e.g., avoiding punishment, detection). Offenders experience increased states of arousal through fantasy variation as well as through feelings of power and control.

As with the motivational model proposed by the FBI, the trauma-control model presented by Hickey (1997) has never been subjected to empirical validation (Healey & Beauregard, 2015). This model, initially developed to account for the development of serial homicide, has been subsequently revised to account for various forms of homicide, including sexual homicide (Hickey, 2002). At the core, the trauma-control model assumes that innate factors contribute to the development of sexual murderers by predisposing affected individuals to sexual violence. Hickey (2002) does not suggest that any one factor is more important than another. However, he does suggest that innate factors, such as sociological (e.g., dysfunctional home environment), psychological (e.g., mental illness, personality disorders), biological (e.g., extra Y chromosome syndrome), or a combination thereof, are the foundation of serial/sexual homicide offender development. Individuals with these innate factors, and who also experience traumatization (e.g., death of a parent, physical abuse, corporal punishments, or any other negative event), are at a greater risk of becoming serial/sexual murderers.

According to Hickey (2002), experiencing a trauma while having one (or more) innate factors prompts a triggering mechanism that results in an inability to cope with stress. Hickey further hypothesizes that the effect of trauma is exponential, such that the more the offender experiences, the more likely he is to become excessively violent and a serial/sexual murderer. The traumas experienced at a young age develop into feelings of low self-esteem, inadequacy, and helplessness. The combination of low self-esteem and trauma cause the child to psychologically dissociate because he does not have the skills to cope with the pain and negative feelings. During the dissociative phase, offenders may develop a mask or a facade of self-confidence. Because he is unable to effectively cope with his negative feelings, the child develops sexually violent fantasies. Although it is unclear as to the exact mechanism of how and why sexually violent fantasies develop, rather than nonviolent fantasies, the model predicts that the offender's fantasies will escalate and become increasingly violent. The themes of these violent fantasies are thought to reflect the offender's need for complete control over another person. He will dominate and humiliate his victim, which is thought to be a manifestation of his original childhood trauma. These fantasies serve as reinforcement of the trauma in that when a problem is experienced externally, the offender will retreat into his fantasy world (where he has complete control) and find relief in his violent fantasies. Facilitators serve to concurrently increase the offender's feelings of low self-esteem/violent fantasies, and disinhibit the offender, causing him to act on his fantasies (i.e., commit homicide). Hickey suggests that facilitators can be alcohol/drugs, pornography, or any other stimuli that the offender finds exciting.

The integrated paraphilic model (IPM) of sexual homicide proposed by Arrigo and Purcell (2001; Purcell & Arrigo, 2006) states that sexual homicide

(i.e., lust murder) is a paraphilia and that sexual murderers acquire this deviant sexual interest from a complex process of individual predispositions, emotional states, fantasies, feedback loops, and operant conditioning. This model is an extension of Hickey's trauma-control model and the FBI's motivational model of sexual homicide. Specifically, the integrated paraphilic model builds on the common assumption that sexual murderers have some sort of predisposition to commit sexual murder, and come from criminogenic families where violence and sexual abuse are commonplace. These criminogenic environments produce children who are unattached to their caregivers, become severely socially isolated, and have low self-esteem. These factors combined cause a young man to develop violent sexual fantasies as a means of regaining self-esteem and a sense of self. Arrigo and Purcell (2001) emphasize the development of paraphilia in addition to existing innate factors and criminogenic families, and suggest that fantasy and compulsive masturbation are essential features in the development of paraphilic behavior in general, and in the development of lust murder specifically. The offender's compulsive masturbation, together with the unique risk factors outlined in all sexual homicide models (innate factors, formative development, low self-esteem, fantasy development) reinforce the offender's paraphilic fantasies and desire to sexually kill.

Despite their best efforts to identify and integrate important factors leading to sexual homicide, the proposed models lack empirical validation (Healey & Beauregard, 2015). Moreover, many of the different factors hypothesized to be related to sexual homicide have not been operationalized (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). Finally, some have suggested that these models fall short in terms of linking developmental factors to either criminological or psychological theories, therefore failing to explain "the processes by which potential offenders become motivated to sexually murder or decide to sexually murder and then act on that desire, intention, and opportunity" (Chan, 2015, p. 81).

Chan, Heide, and Beauregard (2011) have attempted to fill the gap by proposing an alternative model, which combines two different criminological theories: social learning and routine activities theories. This model incorporates social learning theory, providing an explanation for how a psychologically maladaptive childhood and adolescent development becomes a pathway to murder. Research has shown that the majority of sexual murderers grew up in a dysfunctional home environment, experiencing physical and/or sexual abuse or witnessing violence in the home. As children these offenders developed antisocial methods for expressing needs. Their methods of needs expression were learned through a process of social learning beginning in early childhood. This learning process manifested through direct and indirect associations with individuals with whom they shared close and intimate relationships. Over an extended period of time through frequent and intense exposure to various aggressive and deviant attitudes, an antisocial pattern of behavior and cognitions is internalized in these children and becomes part of their belief system.

The offenders learn attitudes and behaviors conducive to sexual offending in two primary ways: through the interaction with primary groups and through

emulation of primary role models' behavior. Parents and primary caregivers are important sources of role modeling for these children. Aside from direct emulation of the behaviors of primary role models, reference groups such as the media also have a tremendous impact on the social learning of these offenders. For instance, Chan et al. (2011) mention that a significant number of sexual murderers admitted to an interest in violent pornography as a means to compensate for their social isolation and emotional loneliness that originated from their domestically abusive environment. As these children were suffering from violence at home, they indulged in a deviant fantasy world that served as their gateway to control and euphoria. Their deviant fantasies functioned as positive reinforcement, encouraging them to return to their fantasy world for pleasure in the future, a process similar to that identified in Hickey's (1997) and Arrigo and Purcell's (2001) models.

Once the mere indulgence in deviant fantasies is insufficient to produce anticipated sexual arousal, these individuals begin to seek alternatives. The acting-out of their deviant fantasies is one of the best methods for these offenders to achieve desired psychological and sexual gratification. However, the behavioral manifestation of the fantasy is not random and routine activity theory may help us to understand this part of the process. Offenders begin to seek opportunities to act out their fantasies as they come into contact with potential victims in the course of their daily routines. In order to successfully capture victims, these offenders develop a set of criteria in their search for suitable targets through engaging in stalking and voyeuristic behavior. *Mental mapping* is utilized during their search for suitable and attractive targets in order to maximize the chances of capturing and abducting targets successfully. These offenders are waiting for the golden opportunity to attack their targets when the guardianship in the surroundings is weak or absent.

This mental mapping is predominately carried out as the offender experiences his routine activities. The offender is on the lookout for potential victims as he goes to and from work and as he engages in leisure activities; the likelihood of a victim being selected and targeted increases when the routine activities of the offender intersect with those of potential desirable victims. For example, an individual drinks to quell social anxiety that he feels because of negative childhood experiences. Drinking helps him to feel more powerful, to interact more easily with women, and to experience more self-perceived sexual prowess. If this individual regularly frequents bars because he is a regular drinker, he is more likely to select a victim at a bar. Once a target is captured, if the offender is so motivated, various paraphilic behaviors may be performed on the victims before and/or after the killing in order to achieve sexual gratification. Most of these paraphilic behaviors, in conjunction with deviant fantasies, are repetitive behaviors that encourage re-offending unless offenders are stopped by legal authorities (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001).

Contrary to all the other theoretical models on sexual homicide, Chan (2015) undertook the task of testing his proposed model. However, despite his best efforts, Chan was unable to find empirical support for Chan et al.'s (2011)

original model as well as a revised version (including pre-crime factors, Chan, 2015). Of interest, however, is the fact that greater support was found for the propositions from the social learning theory than those from routine activity theory, highlighting once again the importance of developmental factors in the etiology of sexual homicide.

The different theoretical models proposed to explain sexual homicide share a common primary focus: developmental factors. According to the various authors, it is possible to trace the origin of why certain offenders kill to specific factors that appear in childhood. Although most of the theoretical models reviewed here have not been empirically tested, there has been limited empirical research conducted to investigate the importance of certain developmental factors in sexual homicide.

Empirical research on developmental factors related to sexual homicide

Since the publication of *Psychopathia Sexualis* in 1886 by Richard von Krafft-Ebing, only a few studies have focused their attention on the developmental factors potentially associated with sexual homicide. As mentioned previously, collecting information on this population is a challenging task, not easily accomplished. Moreover, getting the murderers to talk about their childhoods or getting access to this information is not always possible. However, some researchers and clinicians have been able to gather enough information on the development of these offenders to allow for some exploration of the influence of specific developmental factors on precipitating sexual homicide.

Of the 11 studies identified that present empirical findings on developmental factors, eight have reported that sexual murderers were often victims of sexual abuse in childhood and/or adolescence (Langevin, Ben-Aron, Wright, Marchese, & Handy, 1988; Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen, Lindberg, Salenius, & Weizmann-Henelius, 2009; Milsom, Beech, & Webster, 2003; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Briken, Habermann, Berner, & Hill, 2005, 2006; Nicole & Proulx, 2007; Oliver, Beech, Fisher, & Beckett, 2007; Ressler, Burgess, Harman, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986). Moreover, physical and/or psychological abuse is also reported in a majority of the studies on the developmental factors which contribute to sexual murder (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, & Larose, 1998; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Briken et al., 2005, 2006; Nicole & Proulx, 2007; Oliver et al., 2007). Other studies have looked specifically at the offenders' families and found that alcoholism, mental illness, violence, and/or criminality were often present as well as placement outside of the home (Langevin et al., 1988; Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose, & Curry, 1998; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Myers & Blashfield, 1997).

Several studies have focused on the education of sexual murderers. Most of these studies have identified a lack of educational attainment, or academic difficulties as being commonplace among sexual murderers (Langevin, 2003; Firestone et al., 1998, 1998; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Briken et al., 2005, 2006;

Nicole & Proulx, 2007). Relatedly, six of the 11 studies reported some form of brain abnormalities, neuropsychological impairment and/or low IQ (Langevin et al., 1988; Langevin, 2003; Firestone et al., 1998, 1998; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Briken et al., 2005, 2006; Oliver et al., 2007). Only a few studies identified endocrine abnormalities among sexual murderers (e.g., high testosterone level; Langevin et al., 1988; Langevin, 2003; Briken et al., 2005, 2006).

Other studies have identified a pattern of behavioral problems in the childhood of sexual murderers. Such behavioral problems in the lives of sexual murderers have taken the form of truancy, enuresis, daydreaming, running away, temper tantrums, stealing, cruelty to animals, fire setting, angry temperament, chronic deceitfulness, low self-esteem, phobias, nightmares, and sleep disorders (Langevin et al., 1988; Langevin, 2003; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Briken et al., 2005, 2006; Nicole & Proulx, 2007). Table 1.1 summarizes all the research findings related to the developmental factors associated with sexual murderers.

While informative, these research findings only offer a partial picture of the importance of developmental factors in sexual homicide. Although the results reported in Table 1.1 allow for examining the prevalence of each of the factors reported, it is not possible to know whether these factors are unique to the developmental histories of sexual homicide offenders. Interestingly, only a few studies conducted thus far have attempted to compare sexual murderers to other groups of offenders – other groups of sex offenders (e.g., rapists, incest offenders, child molesters, sadists) or groups of nonsexual murderers – in order to identify developmental factors specifically related to sexual homicide. In one of the pioneer studies, Langevin et al. (1988) compared three groups of 13 offenders each, namely sexual murderers, non-homicidal sex offenders, and nonsexual murderers. Likely due to the small sample size, Langevin et al. were unable to identify many significant differences between the three groups. However, their findings revealed that sexual murderers presented a higher rate of elevated testosterone in their blood compared to the other two groups. Several years later, Langevin (2003) conducted a similar study on a larger sample comparing the presence of psychosocial characteristics in 33 sexual murderers, 80 sexually aggressive offenders, 23 sadists, and 611 general sex offenders. Contrary to the first study, Langevin (2003) identified several significant differences between these groups. Sexual murderers reported more childhood theft, vandalism, fire setting, and cruelty to animals compared to the other groups. Moreover, they were more likely to have been members of gangs and gone to a reformatory institution. Sexual murderers had lower than average educational attainment (fewer years of completed education), a higher percentage of educational failure (failure to complete a grade), and more often required special education programs. In terms of intelligence and neuropsychological tests, findings showed that the majority of sexual murderers failed the neuropsychological tests, suggesting major cognitive impairment.

In their study from Finland, Häkkänen-Nyholm and colleagues (2009) compared 18 sexual murderers to 615 nonsexual murderers on a number of variables. Similar to previous studies examining developmental factors, they found more

Table 1.1 Summary of developmental factors identified in previous studies

Study	*Types of offenders*[1]	*Developmental factors*
Ressler et al. (1986)	36 SHO	Sexual abuse in childhood (43%) | sexual abuse in adolescence (32%)
Langevin et al. (1988)	13 SHO 13 NHSO 13 NSM	Sexual abuse in childhood (20%) | truancy (64%) | temper tantrums (83%) | stealing (70%) | enuresis (62%) | running away (80%) | alcoholic father (60%) | IQ (102) | brain abnormality (40%) | right temporal horn dilatation (30%) | neuropsychological impairment (Halstead Reitan; 20%) | neuropsychological impairment (Luria Nebraska; 17%) | elevated testosterone level (70%)
Langevin (2003)	33 SHO 80 SA 23 S 611 NHSO	Childhood theft (63.6%) | vandalism (33.3%) | fire setting (30.3%) | cruelty to animals (30.3%) | member of gangs (21.2%) | gone to reform school (27.3%) | few years of education (8.88) | grade failed (69.7%) | special education (48.5%) | failed neuropsychological tests (63.6%) | IQ (103.2) | birth abnormalities (21.2%) | knocked unconscious (39.4%) | endocrine abnormalities (9.1%)
Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, & Larose (1998)	48 SHO 50 NHSO	IQ (96.3) | years of education (9.9) | physical abuse prior to 16 (40%) | placement outside the home prior to 16 (61.1%) | alcoholism in family (33.3) | mental illness in family (25.6%) | violence in family (66.7%) | criminality in family (25%) | being from intact family (57.9%)
Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose et al. (1998)	17 SHO 35 NHSO	IQ (98) | years of education (9.8) | physically abused prior to 16 (28.6%) | placement outside the home prior to 16 (62.5%) | alcoholism in family (37.5%) | mental illness in family (26.7%) | violence in family (66.7%) | criminality in family (18.8%) | being from intact family (62.5%)
Häkkänen-Nyholm et al. (2009)	18 SHO 615 NSM	Childhood sexual abuse (18.8%) | placement in foster/institution (38.9%) | special education (35.3%) | contact with mental health services to prior 18 (50%) | physical violence in family (41.2%) | IQ (98.9) | organic brain disorders (5.9%)

Milsom et al. (2003)	19 SHO 16 NHSO	Childhood sexual abuse (68%) | female grievance in childhood (68%) | peer group loneliness (68%)
Myers & Blashfield (1997)	14 SHO	Chaotic family system (93%) | abandoned and/or neglected by father (86%) | sexual abuse (15%) | physical abuse (69%) | emotional abuse (62%) | family violence (86%) | school grade completed (9) | academic difficulties (100%) | truancy (93%) | suspensions (77%) | learning disabilities (57%) | failed at least one school grade (54%) | special education (46%)
Briken et al. (2005, 2006)	166 SHO	Brain abnormalities (31%) | failed to complete school degree (37.6%) | special education (9.7%) | IQ (101.5) | isolation in childhood (69%) | teased by others (46%) | daydreams (17%) | enuresis/encopresis (27%) | chronic lying (13%) | school problems (72%) | repeating classes (48%) | attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorders (17%) | physical maltreatment (71%) | sexual abuse (22%) | age at first masturbation (14) | age at first intercourse (17) | XYY chromosome abnormalities (23%) | genital abnormalities (17.9%)
Nicole & Proulx (2007)	40 SHO 101 NHSO	Physical violence (64.1%) | incest (20.5%) | psychological abuse (56.4%) | sexual violence (33.3%) | parental abandonment (38.5%) | daydreaming (48.6%) | social isolation (56.8%) | chronic lying (59.5%) | low self-esteem (78.4%) | phobias (32.4%) | reckless behaviors (32.4%) | enuresis (10.8%) | rebellious attitudes (59.5%) | nightmares (10.8%) | cruelty to animals (10.8%) | angry temperament (40.5%) | sleep disorders (24.3%) | running away from home (37.8%) | headaches (10.8%) | self-mutilation (8.1%) | physical complaints (10.8%) | low education level (grades 7/8) | discipline problems in school (62.9%)
Oliver et al. (2007)	58 SHO 112 NHSO	IQ (102.2) | sexual abuse (65%) | physical abuse (68%)

Note
1 SHO = sexual homicide offender; NHSO = non-homicidal sex offender; NSM = nonsexual murderer; SA = sexual aggressive; S = sadist.

similarities than differences between sexual murderers and nonsexual murderers. The exception was the experience of childhood sexual abuse which was more common among sexual murderers. No other significant differences were observed in terms of developmental factors. However, Milsom et al. (2003) compared 19 sexual murderers to a group of 16 non-homicidal sex offenders and looked at emotional loneliness at three different stages of their lives: childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Focusing on the two earlier periods, findings revealed that sexual murderers and non-homicidal sex offenders were significantly different on a number of developmental factors. First, the study showed that sexual murderers reported significantly more sexual abuse during childhood compared to non-homicidal sex offenders. Moreover, sexual murderers reported significantly more female-directed grievance in childhood compared to non-homicidal sex offenders whereas in adolescence the only significant finding was related to peer group loneliness, being more prevalent in sexual murderers than in non-homicidal sex offenders.

Nicole and Proulx (2007) examined the differences in developmental factors between a group of 40 sexual murderers and 101 non-homicidal sex offenders. Again, similar to previous studies, Nicole and Proulx found more similarities than differences. However, in terms of victimization experiences, the authors found that sexual murderers were significantly more often victims of physical violence and incest than non-homicidal sex offenders. Also, a significant number of sexual murderers reported experiences of psychological abuse, sexual violence, and parental abandonment. With regards to inappropriate adolescent behaviors, Nicole and Proulx identified more significant differences between the two groups. Sexual murderers reported more episodes of daydreaming, social isolation, chronic lying, low self-esteem, phobias, and reckless behaviors compared to the group of non-homicidal sex offenders. In terms of education, sexual murderers had lower levels of educational attainment and more discipline problems compared to non-homicidal sex offenders. Finally, Oliver et al. (2007) compared a group of 58 sexual murderers to a group of 112 non-homicidal sex offenders on a number of features. Contrary to previous studies, they found that sexual murderers presented a higher IQ than non-homicidal sex offenders. Interestingly, the groups did not differ in terms of childhood victimization.

The majority of studies that have examined developmental factors in sexual murderers come to the same conclusion: there tend to be more similarities than differences between sexual murderers and other groups of offenders (i.e., sex offenders or nonsexual murderers). However, some of these studies have shown that some factors are more often associated with sexual murderers. Taken together, these findings are congruent with the theoretical models proposed to explain sexual homicide. It is thus crucial to continue investigating the impact of developmental factors on sexual homicide to better understand why some sex offenders are at an increased risk of killing their victim during a sexual assault. The next section examines our findings regarding the developmental factors of sexual murderers.

Findings

Similar to Langevin et al. (1988), we have divided our group of sex offenders into three subgroups: non-homicidal sex offender (NHSO, $N=387$), violent NHSO ($N=144$), and sexual homicide offender (SHO, $N=85$). In order to better comprehend what distinguishes SHOs from other NHSOs, it is important to compare the SHOs to sex offenders whose crimes differ only in terms of lethal outcome. Such a comparison allows us to examine whether the difference between those who kill and those who do not is mainly circumstantial. Violent NHSOs are defined as offenders who inflict physical injuries that go beyond forced sex (e.g., beating of the victim, or any other physical injury excluding defensive wounds experienced by the victim).

Table 1.2 reports the comparisons between the three groups of sex offenders as to their family antecedents. First, of the three groups of sex offenders, it is the violent NHSOs who present with the most negative family antecedents. With the exception of prior convictions for nonsexual nonviolent crimes, violent NHSOs come from families with the highest number of prior criminal convictions, including nonsexual violence as well as sexual crimes including non-contact offenses. SHOs come from families with the highest number of prior convictions for nonsexual nonviolent crimes. Moreover, it is within the violent NHSOs' families that we find the most psychiatric problems and prior suicide attempts or completions (statistically significant). Although not statistically significant, the SHOs come from the least criminalized families of the three groups (14.9% versus 35.9% and 38.2% for the NHSOs and violent NHSOs respectively).

Table 1.3 presents victimization experiences, exposure to different types of violence and inadequate role modeling prior to 18 years of age. Interestingly, exposure to violence and inadequate role modeling did not reveal significant

Table 1.2 Family antecedents

Developmental factors	*% NHSOs (N = 387)*	*% violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*% SHOs (N = 85)*
Family with psychiatric problems	14.7	21.5	14.1
Family with prior suicide attempts/ completion*	17.3	26.4	15.3
Family with prior convictions for nonsexual violent crimes	15.2	18.1	12.9
Family with prior convictions for nonsexual nonviolent crimes	27.1	29.2	35.3
Family with prior convictions for sexual crimes with contact	7.5	7.6	7.1
Family with prior convictions for sexual crimes without contact†	0.8	3.5	1.2
Family with any prior convictions	35.9	38.2	14.9

Notes
† $p<0.10$;
* $p<0.05$.

Table 1.3 Victimization and exposure to different types of violence and inadequate role models prior to 18 years old

Developmental factors	*% NHSOs (N = 387)*	*% violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*% SHOs (N = 85)*
Exposed to alcohol abuse	55.3	59.7	57.6
Exposed to drug abuse	10.3	13.9	10.6
Exposed to psychological violence	53.0	49.3	52.9
Exposed to physical violence	46.5	45.8	49.4
Exposed to sexual contacts as children†	5.9	6.3	12.9
Exposed to sexual assault of adult woman	2.1	2.1	2.4
Exposed to incest	8.5	6.9	12.9
Exposed to sexual violence in general	13.4	13.9	21.2
Victim of psychological violence	50.9	54.2	56.5
Victim of physical violence***	45.0	51.4	67.1
Victim of incest†	12.1	7.6	17.6
Victim of sexual contacts**	45.0	30.6	42.4
Victim of parental abandonment†	35.4	45.8	35.3

Notes
† $p<0.10$;
** $p<0.01$;
*** $p<0.001$.

differences between the three groups of sex offenders. SHOs did report having witnessed more sexual contacts as children compared to the other two groups. However, this finding only approached significance. Although not statistically significant, there is a trend suggesting that as a group, SHOs experienced more exposure to sexual violence in general during childhood compared to NHSOs and violent NHSOs. With respect to the personal experience of victimization in childhood, a different picture emerges. Our findings show that SHOs report significantly more physical, incestuous, and sexual contact victimization, as well as more parental abandonment in comparison with the other two groups of sex offenders. Despite a high rate of psychological violence victimization in childhood (56.5%), SHOs do not differ in this regard from the other two groups of sex offenders. Finally, it is noteworthy that at least half of the SHO group reports having been exposed to alcohol abuse, and psychological and physical violence, as well as having been victim of psychological and physical violence in their childhood.

Table 1.4 presents the findings comparing the three groups of sex offenders on their sexual development and specific sexual behaviors prior to 18 years of age. Contrary to the exposure to violence and victimization experiences examined in Table 1.3, the results show several significant differences between the three groups of sex offenders. When looking at specific sexual behaviors, it is clear that SHOs engage significantly more often in many sex-related activities than the other two groups of sex offenders. Except for compulsive masturbation for which no differences were noted, SHOs report more frequent viewing of pornography (movies and magazines), going to venues for adult entertainment

Table 1.4 Sexual development and specific sexual behaviors prior to 18 years old

Developmental factors	*% NHSOs (N = 387)*	*% violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*% SHOs (N = 85)*
Age at first masturbation	13.2	13.4	12.3
Age at first sexual contact	15.2	15.1	15.0
Age at first sexual intercourse*	18.1	16.9	17.5
Compulsive masturbation	19.1	17.4	18.8
Watching pornographic movies**	15.2	20.8	29.4
Going to strip joints*	13.2	19.4	23.5
Being with prostitutes†	3.6	4.2	9.4
Participating in prostitution***	4.1	4.9	17.6
Using pornographic magazines***	18.9	19.4	36.5
Scale of specific sexual behaviors (0–6)**	0.74	0.86	1.4

Notes
† $p < 0.10$;
* $p < 0.05$;
** $p < 0.01$;
*** $p < 0.001$.

(e.g., strip clubs), being with prostitutes, and participating in prostitution activities. Moreover, as a whole SHOs report a more problematic presentation of specific sexual behaviors than NHSOs or violent NHSOs. As to the sexual development, the trend suggests that SHOs masturbate and experience their first sexual interactions at a younger age (12 and 15 respectively) but that violent NHSOs experience sexual intercourse for the first time earlier in life (16.9 years old).

Table 1.5 presents the findings relating to specific behavioral indicators present in childhood for the three groups of sex offenders. Of the 14 behavioral indicators examined, 10 are significantly more prevalent among the group of SHOs. SHOs report significantly more social isolation, rebellious attitude, reckless behaviors, running away, poor self-image, and angry temperament during childhood than the other two groups of sex offenders. Moreover, SHOs are more likely to report chronic lying, cruelty to animals, phobias, and nightmares in comparison to NHSOs and violent NHSOs. Despite not being statistically significant, the trend suggests that SHOs also report more daydreaming, enuresis, sleeping problems, and headaches compared to the other two groups of sex offenders.

Finally, Table 1.6 presents the comparisons between the three groups of sex offenders in relation to education, brain abnormalities, and previous contacts with professionals during childhood. Several significant differences emerge. Although SHOs present with the most problematic history of academic-related behavioral problems, it is violent NHSOs who more often present with neuropsychological deficits. Although the SHOs were significantly more likely to have been treated for psychiatric problems during childhood, it is the NHSOs who were more commonly seen by professionals for sexual problems. It is noteworthy that none of the SHOs reported having brain abnormalities. SHOs were also more likely to have attained a secondary level of education.

Table 1.5 Behavioral indicators present prior to 18 years old

Developmental factors	*% NHSOs (N = 387)*	*% violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*% SHOs (N = 85)*
Daydreaming	34.9	34.0	42.4
Social isolation**	40.1	39.6	58.8
Chronic lying***	26.1	30.6	50.6
Enuresis	27.4	27.1	31.8
Rebellious attitude***	34.4	50.0	54.1
Nightmares*	18.9	21.5	31.8
Cruelty against animals**	7.8	3.5	16.5
Poor self-image**	42.6	37.5	60.0
Anger temperament***	23.8	28.5	44.7
Sleeping problems	15.2	13.9	23.5
Phobias***	20.7	20.1	42.4
Running away***	24.3	21.5	48.2
Reckless behavior***	14.7	15.3	37.6
Headache	10.6	9.7	16.5

Notes
* $p < 0.05$;
** $p < 0.01$;
*** $p < 0.001$.

Table 1.6 Education, brain, and previous contacts with professionals

Developmental factors	*% NHSOs (N = 387)*	*% violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*% SHOs (N = 85)*
Education (secondary)	32.8	37.5	42.4
Learning difficulties	51.7	50.0	50.6
Discipline problems in school***	29.2	45.1	49.4
Brain abnormalities	2.6	4.2	0.0
Neuropsychological deficits***	46.0	62.5	15.3
Followed for psychiatric problems*	17.8	18.8	30.6
Followed for sexual problems***	25.1	7.6	7.1

Notes
* $p < 0.05$;
*** $p < 0.001$.

Family antecedents

Our findings support the notion that SHOs come from families with troubled backgrounds. However, it is interesting to note that among the three groups of sex offenders, it is the violent NHSOs' families that show the greatest levels of dysfunction. With the exception of the presence of prior convictions for nonsexual nonviolent crimes, violent NHSOs, compared to SHOs, originate from families with the most severe criminal careers. NHSOs also experience more psychiatric problems as well as prior suicide attempts/completions. Our findings suggest that family antecedents may play a lesser role in the pathway to sexual

homicide than previous studies have indicated. As shown in Table 1.1, Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose et al. (1998) reported that criminality in the families of SHOs varied between 18.8% and 25% whereas mental illness was around 25%. In the current sample, families of SHOs more commonly had prior convictions for nonsexual nonviolent crimes. This suggests that despite the sexual element of their crime, a contributing factor to their offending could well be the general criminality of their parents, as opposed to a familial history of sexual crimes specifically. This finding is congruent with the different theoretical models on sexual homicide. More specifically, all the models without exception suggest that SHOs tend to be raised in criminogenic or ineffective familial environments. Although no details are provided as to the specific antecedents of the families of these offenders, it can be hypothesized that in addition to their negative attitudes, some members of these families may have had contact with the criminal justice system. Thus, as suggested by Burgess et al. (1986), it is possible that the parents or caregivers normalized the various dysfunctional behaviors of the child through their own criminal behavior.

Exposure to inadequate models and victimization in childhood

Our findings show that experiencing sexual abuse in childhood is an important developmental factor in the lives of SHOs. Almost 18% of SHOs reported having been the victim of incest during childhood; more than 42% reported they were a victim of sexual abuse prior to the age of 18. These rates of sexual victimization are congruent with previous studies. As can be seen in Table 1.1, the percentage of SHOs who have reported experiencing sexual abuse in childhood varies between 15% (Myers & Blashfield, 1997) and 68% (Milsom et al., 2003). However, in only three studies did the authors identify a significant difference between SHOs and other groups of offenders (Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Nicole & Proulx, 2007; Milsom et al., 2003). The lack of a significant difference between groups suggests that although reported frequently by SHOs, sexual abuse may not be an explanatory factor for why some sexual offenders kill while others do not. Our findings, however, are consistent with the three previous studies that identified a significant difference, showing that experiences of child sexual abuse are a distinguishing factor between sex offenders who kill and NHSOs, violent or not. Interestingly, SHOs do not necessarily experience the greatest amount of sexual abuse. Our findings show that although SHOs report the greatest amount of incest victimization, NHSOs experience more sexual victimization during childhood.

Five studies identified parental abandonment as an important developmental factor in the lives of SHOs (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, & Larose, 1998; Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose, & Curry, 1998; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Nicole & Proulx, 2007). However, none of the studies found significant differences between SHOs and other sex offender groups. This is in contrast with our findings which indicate that SHOs differ in their experience of parental abandonment compared to other groups. In fact, our

results show that parental abandonment is more commonly reported by violent NHSOs as opposed to SHOs. SHOs were least likely to report having this experience in childhood.

The developmental factor that was most useful in distinguishing SHOs among the groups of offenders is the experience of physical abuse. SHOs reported significantly more experiences of physical abuse compared to the other two groups of sex offenders. The greater level of physical abuse experienced by SHOs may potentially be related to the likelihood that an offender will kill their victim during a sexual assault. Although five studies have reported physical abuse as an important developmental factor – between 28.6% and 69% (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, & Larose, 1998; Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose, & Curry, 1998; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Nicole & Proulx, 2007; Oliver et al., 2007) – only one identified a significant difference between SHOs and NHSOs (Nicole & Proulx, 2007). Nevertheless, these results taken in combination with ours suggest that the environment of the SHOs is characterized by physical and psychological violence. SHOs are often indirect (through exposure) and/or direct victims of these types of violence.

The current findings are consistent with the different models of sexual homicide. For instance, Chan et al. (2011) use social learning theory to explain the role that witnessing and experiencing violence has on the development of the SHO. Children who witness and/or experience violence at home develop a deviant behavioral learning process. Learning occurs through direct and indirect associations with their parents or caregivers, resulting in the child internalizing deviant and aggressive attitudes that they have been exposed to over an extended period of time. According to Arrigo and Purcell's (2001) model, the widespread violence present at home will produce children who are unattached to their caregivers, become severely socially isolated, and have low self-esteem. Similarly, the motivational model suggests that the violence experienced at home will jeopardize the bonding between the offender and his caregiver, which in turn will produce a child who is hostile and socially isolated. As the child is unable to resolve the trauma, he may retreat into a fantasy world, which is a socially acceptable way to cope with the feelings of helplessness and gain absolute control over his life. For Hickey (2002) and the trauma-control model, the violence witnessed or experienced at home is considered as a trauma. This trauma, when coupled with certain innate factors, is likely to increase the risk of the individual becoming a SHO. The trauma activates a triggering mechanism that results in an inability to cope with stress. The traumas experienced at a young age develop into feelings of low self-esteem, inadequacy, and helplessness.

Sexual development and specific sexual behaviors in childhood

Our results suggest that SHOs adopt specific sexual behaviors early in childhood that suggest a strong need for sexual gratification, may not adequately address sexual needs, and potentially contribute to the seriousness of their sexual offending. As described in Table 1.4, it is clear that SHOs present more solitary sexual

activities and illegal sexual practices compared to NHSOs and violent NHSOs. Despite the fact that no other empirical studies have examined these specific sexual behaviors in SHOs, it is possible to hypothesize that this investment in solitary, illegal, or obsessive sexual behaviors is the result of their need to regain some control over their lives, as suggested by several of the theoretical models of sexual homicide. For instance, Chan et al. (2011) mention that to compensate for their social isolation and emotional loneliness that originated from their domestically abusive environment, offenders will start using pornography – often violent pornography. Offenders will also indulge in deviant fantasies that serve as a means to regain control over their lives. The combination of violent pornography, deviant fantasies, and possibly masturbation function as positive reinforcement for these children, encouraging them to return to their fantasy world for pleasure in the future, a process similar to Hickey's (1997) model. In Arrigo and Purcell's (2001) model, it is the offender's compulsive masturbation, together with the unique risk factors outlined in all sexual homicide models that reinforce the offender's paraphilic behavior, deviant fantasies, and desire to kill.

Behavioral indicators in childhood

Our findings show that during childhood, SHOs present several problematic behaviors. Of the 14 behavioral indicators examined, 10 proved to be statistically significant. In general, SHOs experience more problems in childhood compared to NHSOs and violent NHSOs. Specifically, SHOs experience more social isolation, poor self-image, rebellious attitude, and an angry temperament during childhood in comparison to the other two groups of sex offenders. Moreover, they are more likely to engage in pathological deception, be cruel toward animals, run away, act recklessly, as well as suffer from nightmares and phobias. Only four of the previous studies have identified some of the same behavioral indicators in the childhood of SHOs (Langevin et al., 1988; Langevin, 2003; Briken et al., 2005; Nicole & Proulx, 2007). Among these four studies, Langevin (2003) found that SHOs were more likely to report cruelty to animals while Nicole and Proulx showed that SHOs were more likely than NHSOs to report social isolation, chronic lying, low self-esteem, phobias, and reckless behavior. Interestingly, they also found that SHOs engaged more frequently in daydreaming during childhood compared to NHSOs.

The fact that SHOs present more behavioral problems in childhood is consistent with one of the theoretical models of sexual homicide. The motivational model predicts that due in part to traumatic events a child will become increasingly dependent on deviant sexual fantasies to meet both his sexual and emotional needs and consequently is unable to develop prosocial bonds. This also leads the child to develop negative personality traits such as rebelliousness, aggression, and chronic lying as well as a genuine lack of regard for people and institutions (Burgess et al., 1986). However, as the fantasy life of the offender becomes ineffective at satisfying his needs, the offender begins to act out by adopting problematic behaviors such as fire setting and being cruel to animals.

Education, brain abnormalities, and previous contact with professionals in childhood

Our findings indicate that more than 40% of SHOs attain secondary education; however, half of the SHOs have reported experiencing learning difficulties. Moreover, SHOs from our sample reported significantly more discipline problems in school compared to the NHSOs and the violent NHSOs. Our findings are consistent with those of previous studies. As presented in Table 1.1, previous studies have shown that SHOs typically achieve secondary level education (Langevin, 2003; Firestone et al., 1998, 1998; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Nicole & Proulx, 2007) but between 48% (Briken et al., 2005) and 100% (Myers & Blashfield, 1997) have experienced some form of learning difficulties and between 9.7% (Briken et al.) and 48.5% (Langevin) had to attend special education programs. Although an important aspect of the development of SHOs, educational factors fail to distinguish between the three types of sex offenders included in our analyses. This is contrary to what both Langevin and Nicole and Proulx found, namely that SHOs complete fewer years of education and typically experience more academic difficulties. With respect to the presence of problematic behaviors in childhood, our findings were consistent with those of Nicole and Proulx, who found that SHOs were more likely to pose disciplinary problems within the school system.

Despite the fact that brain abnormalities have been mentioned in a number of studies and were relatively frequent in SHOs – between 5.9% (Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009) and 40% (Langevin et al., 1988), none of the SHOs in our sample presented with such an abnormality. Moreover, no significant differences existed between the three groups of sex offenders, suggesting that brain abnormalities may not be a contributing factor to the explanation of sexual homicide. However, these discrepancies between our findings and previous studies could also be due to the nature of our sample, which is from an incarcerated population (compared to previous studies having been completed in a clinical setting). Contrary to previous studies, our findings indicate that violent NHSOs are most likely to be affected by neuropsychological deficits compared to SHOs and NHSOs, whereas SHOs are more often being treated for psychiatric conditions. Despite an absence of brain abnormalities and very few neuropsychological deficits compared to the other groups of sex offenders, SHOs are more often requiring psychiatric care during childhood. Although the precise reason for seeking psychiatric treatment in childhood was unknown, the condition was not related to sexual problems. In fact, our results have shown that the SHOs in our sample were rarely seen for sexual dysfunction or deviance in childhood, especially compared to NHSOs who were almost four times more likely to have consulted a psychiatrist for sexual problems.

One theoretical model incorporates the presence of brain abnormalities as an explanatory factor for sexual homicide. In his trauma-control model Hickey (1997) states that innate factors are fundamental to the development of SHOs. Although Hickey (2002) does not suggest that any one innate factor is more

important than another, he does suggest that biological factors such as brain abnormalities can predispose an individual to violent behavior and thus play an integral role in the development of SHOs.

Implications

This chapter poses the question of whether it is possible to identify SHOs early in life. Different theoretical models of sexual homicide have put considerable emphasis on childhood as one of the most important life stages of these offenders. According to these theoretical models, inadequate modeling of prosocial behavior and various experiences of victimization prevent a child from establishing a positive bond with caregivers. This in turn leads the child to become isolated and engage in a deviant fantasy world where it is possible to exhibit some control over one's life. These theoretical models, as well as the findings reviewed in this chapter all suggest that certain developmental factors present in childhood are associated with a lethal outcome in sexual crime committed during adulthood. Because of the nature of the data – cross-sectional instead of longitudinal – it is not possible to consider these developmental factors as "causes" of sexual homicide. However, our findings along with those of previous studies provide some important insight into the development of SHOs.

Most previous studies examining developmental factors have not employed a comparison group, comparing SHOs with NHSOs. Through their findings and interpretation of same, these studies have often left the impression that all developmental factors are related to a higher risk of committing a sexual homicide. This is not the case. In fact, our findings have shown that some developmental factors are more prevalent and significantly associated with violent NHSOs. Table 1.7 presents a summary of all the developmental factors that significantly distinguished between the three types of sex offenders examined.

It is possible that violent NHSOs – or at least some of them – do not differ in any significant way from SHOs. Experience studying and investigating sexual crime, as well as relevant literature have all led to the identification of cases where the offender wanted to kill the victim but got interrupted by witnesses or bystanders or the offender left the victim for dead but she managed to survive (e.g., Doerner & Speir, 1986). Similarly, there have been many cases where the intention of the offender was not to kill his victim but circumstances led to a fatal outcome.

Given the lack of clear distinction between violent NHSO and SHOs, how can the current findings influence or inform correctional practice? Most sex offenders who are incarcerated will eventually be released back into the community. While it is not possible to identify with certainty those offenders who will go on to commit a sexual murder, it is possible to "flag" sex offenders who present with more of the risk factors for sexual homicide. For instance, correctional officials could flag those offenders with the most problematic presentation of developmental factors. As presented in Table 1.7, SHOs present a developmental history that can be distinguished from NHSOs. Furthermore, based on Hickey's (1997, 2002) theoretical model and research related to the association

Table 1.7 Summary of distinguishing developmental factors for NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

NHSOs	*Violent NHSOs*	*SHOs*
• Victim of sexual contacts	• Victim of parental abandonment • Younger at first sexual intercourse • Family with prior suicide attempts/completion • Family with prior convictions for sexual crimes without contact	• Exposed to sexual contacts • Victim of physical violence • Victim of incest • Watching pornographic movies • Going to strip joints • Being with prostitutes • Participating in prostitution • Using pornographic magazines • Social isolation • Chronic lying • Rebellious attitude • Nightmares • Cruelty against animals • Poor self-image • Anger temperament • Phobias • Running away • Reckless behavior

between trauma, innate factors, and sexual violence, we are able to identify specific trauma and innate factors that increase the risk of an individual becoming a SHO. Thus, sex offenders who presented with a history of academic behavioral problems, more solitary and illegal sexual activities, and experienced more social isolation, poor self-image, rebellious attitude, and an angry temperament during childhood could be selected for more intensive treatment programs and could be more carefully scrutinized during assessments impacting decisions regarding release.

The identification of relevant developmental factors could also inform potential avenues of intervention with these individuals. The theoretical models reviewed are unanimous with respect to the role of trauma experienced in childhood as the foundation of sexual homicide. Therefore, it is first important for clinicians working with sexual offenders to examine the childhood of these individuals in great depth to determine the presence or absence of the developmental factors that we have identified. This means that assessment tools used with sex offenders need to take into account these developmental factors – not only focus on criminal history. This might require greater efforts to obtain information from collateral sources such as the offenders' families to compile as complete a picture of the offenders' background as possible. Second, after identifying these different traumas or developmental factors, it becomes crucial to establish intervention strategies which adequately address the resultant issues in order to attempt to prevent relapse based on unresolved issues.

It is less common for investigators to be in a position to gather information or evidence about the early development of offenders. Not only is this generally

seen not to be the purview of the police but this information is usually not readily available during an investigation. However, the police are becoming more involved in the active surveillance of high-risk sex offenders in the community. Conducting indirect personality assessments of offenders and prioritizing those offenders who present several of the more problematic developmental factors could potentially help prevent re-offense. Moreover, through a careful assessment of developmental factors, police and correctional staff alike may be able to better assess not only the likelihood of recidivism but the risk of escalation – possibly to a level of fatality.

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2 Fantasy, paraphilia, and personality

Excitation or inhibition?

Case study

Frank is a man who killed a young woman and was on the verge of committing a second homicide when he was apprehended by the police. Frank has two brothers and two sisters. As a child, he witnessed physical and psychological violence between his parents. This violence fueled a certain rage inside of him. His mother was an authoritarian woman who did not show affection. The rage that he feels toward women as an adult may have its origins in the rather sterile relationship he shared with his strict mother. Frank was aware that his mother was having affairs with several men. In addition to his problematic family life, Frank experienced events at school that left him feeling humiliated. For instance, during the interview he explained that his brothers and sisters once tied him to a tree, completely naked. Such humiliating events crushed his self-esteem and in order to cope, Frank developed deviant sexual fantasies.

Frank suffered from enuresis until the age of 14. It is at this age that he also started being cruel toward animals, such as setting cats on fire. He explained that his goal was to observe the suffering of these animals. For him, life had no value. While his deviant behaviors helped contain and calm his rage and frustration, they soon lost effectiveness. Hence, Frank progressed from deviant fantasy to sexually deviant behaviors. He started by fondling one of his sisters after adopting fetishistic, transvestic, and voyeuristic behaviors. During the interview, Frank described two events where he broke into apartments inhabited by young women, armed with a knife. Although his original intent was to kill these women, he did not act, explaining that he did not have the courage. However, he confessed that he used these two opportunities to steal panties from the female inhabitants, wear them, and masturbate in them. Overtime Frank's deviant sexual fantasies evolved becoming more deviant, violent, and sadistic.

Frank's primary fantasy consisted of establishing contact with a woman, having sex with her, torturing, killing, and, finally, dismembering her. Even after two or three years of marriage, Frank continued to act out some of his fantasies. He would contact women by telephone and offer them lucrative jobs in the fashion or restaurant business, or as high-class prostitutes. He would ask them to dress in a specific way (which would always involve nylon stockings) and make

an appointment to meet them in a public place. Frank would go to the appointed place, but remain hidden and observe the unsuspecting woman. He described these practices as "providing enormous mental satisfaction," a "control over women," and "good manipulation." This excited him and gave him a thrill. Furthermore, in order to feed his fantasies and test his power over women, he picked up female hitchhikers. He defined this behavior as hunting. Frank continued these behavioral try-outs for seven years, each time wondering whether he should take the final step and actually kill. It is important to note that neither his marital relations nor his work ever suffered from his deviant sexual fantasies or his behavioral try-outs. Frank also adopted avoidance and withdrawal behaviors. He spent much of his leisure time developing his fantasies, which appear to have constituted a sort of outlet for all his unexpressed emotion.

Several hours before the crime for which he was incarcerated, he reports that he was overwhelmed by fantasies of sexual murder. This time, he contacted a 17-year-old girl whom he had closely watched in the past, and made an appointment to see her near his place of work. He always chose young girls who appeared to be on the fringe of society or who consumed drugs and who therefore, in his view, would agree to be prostitutes. However, if he judged that they would not be amenable, he merely offered them jobs in the fashion or restaurant business. At approximately 7 o'clock in the morning, the site at which they were to meet was deserted. Frank had made sure that no one had seen him with her. He brought her to his workplace and talked to her about the work she would do (i.e., prostitution). He asked for a demonstration of her talents and they began to have sex, which consisted of vaginal penetration, initially digital followed by penile. Experiencing problems attaining an erection, he demanded that she masturbate him. After ejaculating, Frank asked her to get on her hands and knees.

He continued to penetrate her with his fingers, and, with the other hand, he grabbed a hammer he had hidden and struck her violently about the head while verbally humiliating her. Finally, to ensure that his victim was truly dead, he stabbed her through the heart seven times with a screwdriver. His meticulous planning allowed him to commit his crime without any resistance from his victim. His crime was an outlet, an opportunity to express his rage toward women. During his interview, he stated that he had been extremely sexually aroused prior to committing the murder and that he had never experienced anything as powerful as when he took the life of the young girl. The crime scenario corresponded to the deviant sexual fantasies Frank had been harboring for years. In fact, he had planned the crime so carefully that it went off almost without a hitch.

One week after the murder, realizing that he had to get rid of the body, he decided to act out another important element of his fantasies, namely the dismembering of a woman. He took care to bring garbage bags and an electric knife; he also used a hacksaw that was at the crime scene. He began by cutting off one foot, but when this proved too difficult he decided to cut off the legs, head, and arms. He took pains to point out that he had cut the limbs at the joints in order to accomplish the job. He put the arms and the head in one bag, the legs

in another, and the torso in yet another. While he did not find the act of dismembering the victim's body sexually arousing, he did thoroughly enjoy the feeling of total control over a woman that it gave him.

The next morning, he put the bag containing the head and the arms in a garbage container and threw the bag containing the torso in a vacant lot, hoping that waste collectors would pick it up. He placed the legs near another garbage container. A passer-by discovered the torso, and another discovered the legs. The head and arms were never recovered.

After disposing of the body, Frank felt at ease. He told us that the day he disposed of the body, he returned to his normal activities without feeling any disturbance. A few weeks later, he attempted to recreate the same scenario. This time, however, he wanted to take more time to torture the victim. What he had not planned on was that the victim had informed her uncle – who was a police officer – of Frank's offer. Frank was arrested when he tried to contact his second victim.

Introduction

> I made my fantasy life more powerful than my real one.
>
> (Jeffrey Dahmer)

> The fantasy that accompanies and generates the anticipation that precedes the crime is always more stimulating than the immediate aftermath of the crime itself.
>
> (Ted Bundy)

Although there is some debate, in relation to the precise role that fantasy plays in the offense cycle of sexual offenders generally and sexual murderers specifically, researchers and practitioners alike agree that an awareness of an offender's fantasy can provide important insight into his preferences and proclivities. Past research has also examined paraphilic behaviors as an expression of sexual deviance that may or may not constitute criminal behavior. Fewer studies have examined the interconnectedness of fantasy, paraphilia, and personality. To what extent do fantasies incite sexual offending? Conversely, is fantasy a safe outlet for deviant preoccupation, inhibiting hands-on offending? Is paraphilia an extension of fantasy? Are there personality traits more common in sexual offenders and sexual murderers? In addition, how does personality translate into observable offense behavior?

This chapter focuses on the multifaceted and integral roles fantasy plays in the offending behavior of sexual offenders. Through a review of the existing literature, we explore the issue of whether fantasy incites or inhibits sexual violence. This chapter probes into the development of deviant sexual fantasy and paraphilic behavior and the roles that each of these play in offending. Consideration is given to fantasy and paraphilia as distinct entities which are interconnected. A third element is also considered, namely, personality. Are there

differences in personality constructs among the various types of sexual offenders and are certain personalities more prone to fantasy and paraphilia?

Defining fantasy

Fantasy is a normative part of the human imagination. Its very definition is imagination that is unrestricted or unrestrained. The content of fantasy is often that which is unlikely or improbable. Prentky et al. (1989) define fantasy as "an elaborated set of cognitions (or thoughts) characterized by preoccupation (or rehearsal), anchored in emotion, and originating in daydreams" (p. 889). In addition to defining fantasy as a set of cognitions, Gee, Devilly, and Ward (2004) indicate that the "imaginative processes (are) accompanied by a withdrawal from the immediate demands of the external world and a narrowing in focus of an individual's internal world" (p. 316). Fantasies become deviant when they involve the infliction of harm (Prentky et al., 1989), non-consensual behaviors, or behaviors that fall well outside that which society deems to be acceptable. In the case of Frank, one can clearly see the progression from the development of fantasy, to a withdrawal from external influence and preoccupation with internal states. Frank's fantasies became increasingly deviant and their influence over him more profound.

There is agreement among researchers and practitioners alike that even people who have never engaged in deviant sexual practices have deviant sexual fantasies (Arndt, Foehl, & Good, 1985; McCollaum & Lester, 1994; Leitenberg & Henning, 1995; Templeman & Stinnett, 1991). Dominance, sadism, molestation, and bizarre sexual practices feature in the fantasies of average men (Gee et al., 2004). Williams, Cooper, Howell, Yuille, and Paulhus (2009) conducted research on the fantasies of North American male college students. These researchers found an overall rate of deviant sexual fantasies of 95%, a rate that is similar to that found for any sexual fantasy in other studies. This led the researchers to conclude that, "if one has had a sexual fantasy, one has probably had a deviant sexual fantasy" (p. 205). As with all individuals, offenders differ in the extent to which they engage in sexual and/or deviant fantasy (Woodworth, Agar, & Logan, 2013). Woodworth et al. found that 82% of their sample of high-risk sexual offenders from British Columbia, Canada engaged in deviant sexual fantasy. Langevin, Ben-Aron, Wright, Marchese, and Handy (1988), whose sample was more diverse, reported an incidence rate of 33%. While deviant sexual fantasy is common among non-offending and offending samples alike; it appears that the frequency and nature/content of these fantasies may differ between the two groups.

The content of one's fantasies is derived through an individual's perceptual experiences, personality, and cognitive abilities (Jones & Barlow, 1990; Leitenberg & Henning, 1995; Gee et al., 2004). Gee et al. conducted a study examining the nature of sexual fantasy among sexual offenders. Although based on a relatively small sample of 24 offenders, their research provides an in-depth look at the content of fantasies and how fantasies evolve over the span of one's criminal

career. For instance, Gee et al. found that prior to the commission of a first offense; offenders engaged in general deviant sexual fantasy, that is, fantasy that did not involve a specific offense involving a specific victim. As offenders progressed through their offense chain, their deviant fantasies became *offense specific* directing their subsequent offense behavior. As offenders continued in their criminal career, experiencing relapses, their fantasies became ever more specific in terms of detailed content (involved persons, locations, situations, and their role).

Researchers who have studied fantasy as it specifically relates to sexual homicide have defined fantasy as an integration of cognitions, feelings, emotions, and internal scripting that revolve around themes of non-consensual sexual activity, the infliction of pain, death, or other deviant non-normative sexual practices (Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986; MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood, & Mills, 1983; Maniglio, 2010; Prentky et al., 1989). There is a long-standing, albeit limited body of literature, recognizing the importance of fantasy in the commission of sexual homicide. As early as the late nineteenth century researchers were identifying fantasy as a primary motivating factor in such cases (Schlesinger, 2007). With the bizarre ritualistic features of the crimes of Jack the Ripper, it is easy to see how deviant fantasy would have played a central role in directing offense behavior.

The development of deviant sexual fantasies

Many researchers have attributed the development of a deviant sexual fantasy life to a level of social and sexual inadequacy in the individual (MacCulloch et al., 1983; Burgess et al., 1986; Beauregard, Stone, Proulx, & Michaud, 2008). All people will develop sexual fantasies as a normative part of psychosexual development. However, the extent to which our fantasy life becomes a maladaptive preoccupation is, at least in part, informed by our early social and sexual experience. Individuals who are capable of positive interpersonal interaction and have a healthy outlet for sexual expression are arguably less likely to form obsessive sexual fantasies. Although such individuals may fantasize about "deviant" sexual practices, such deviant thoughts remain a figment of their imagination, serving a purpose of inciting arousal. For those individuals, however, who experience trauma or inadequate socialization in childhood, fail to develop secure attachments, suffer low self-esteem, and/or lack the prosocial skills to development meaningful interpersonal relationships (Beauregard et al., 2008), the development of a rich fantasy life can become a means of escaping a harsh reality.

Many researchers and practitioners believe that sadistic fantasies develop in response to social difficulties. As with all fantasy, the sadistic sexual fantasy becomes a form of escape and as argued by MacCulloch et al. (1983), a substitute for real sexual gratification with preferred partners. MacCulloch et al. (1983) suggested that the shaping of fantasy might best be understood in terms of classical conditioning, whereby fantasized cues are paired with orgasm. MacCulloch, Gray, and Watt (2000) argue that feelings of aggression and sexual

arousal come to be associated through a process of "sensory preconditioning." When a child experiences aggression and sexual arousal simultaneously (particularly during traumatic events) the two emotions become associated. Once an association has formed, the experience of one emotion will trigger the other. MacCulloch et al. (1983) found a link between sadistic sexual fantasy and the onset of masturbation. Through the practice of pairing masturbation with deviant sexual fantasy on a routine basis, a strong association between the feeling of arousal and deviance is created. Over time, the individual may need to increase the level of deviance or violence in the fantasy in order to achieve the same level of arousal.

Research by Burgess et al. (1986) has indicated that sexual homicide offenders engage in sexual fantasy early in life. Some researchers have postulated that fantasy develops in response to childhood trauma and sexual dysfunctions or fears experienced by the young person. Once again, a fantasy life emerges as a means of escaping a traumatic reality. Burgess et al. (1986) argued that fantasies become sexualized through sexual abuse or sexual inadequacies and become a means of experiencing a sense of control that is nonexistent in the real world.

The role of fantasy for the sexual offender: from fiction to act

There is acceptance among many clinicians that sexual fantasies can act as an offense facilitator by becoming increasingly intense and encouraging an offender to commit an offense (Howitt, 2004). Studies using the plethysmograph support the notion that fantasy plays a facilitating role for sexually assaultive behavior. Abel and Blanchard (1974) argued that there is ample support for a relationship between deviant fantasies and deviant behavior.

The intensity of and preoccupation with fantasy differs among individuals. In extreme cases, fantasy may be comparable to the experience of obsessive-compulsive disorder. Such a conceptualization is in line with Schlesinger's (2007) compulsive offender or earlier references by MacCulloch et al. (1983) to internal circumstances (in relation to the motivation for offending). Schlesinger's arguments in relation to the compulsive offender are congruent with a likening of fantasy in sexual offenders with the obsession component of obsessive-compulsive disorder. Schlesinger argues that the sadistic fantasies of the offender become obsessions, which create a state of internal tension. It is only through acting upon the fantasies (compulsion) that the offender can relieve this increasing tension. Unlike other clinical forms of obsessive-compulsive disorder where the compulsion may help the individual avoid acting out the inappropriate/deviant obsession, the sexual homicide offender gives in to the obsession. Analogous to obsessive-compulsive disorder, the fantasy (obsession) plays on a cognitive reel repeatedly in the form of a "cognitive rehearsal" (Prentky et al., 1989). The compulsion, that is, killing the victim, relieves the offender of the tension that the obsession creates.

While researchers such as Schlesinger (2007) have focused on the nexus between sadistic fantasy and homicide, there is evidence that fantasies do not

have to be sadistic in nature to precipitate an offense. For example, in the case of Russell Williams, the Canadian sexual murderer who sexually assaulted two women and killed two others, we see evidence of a very fantasy-driven offender. Yet William's offenses were not sadistic in nature and thus not likely fueled by sadistic fantasy. There is no doubt that Williams engaged in very deviant behavior, but acts of kindness toward his victims refute a sadistic nature.

The role of fantasy in sexual offending is likely multifaceted (Maniglio, 2010). In fact, Carabellese, Maniglio, Greco, and Catanesi (2011) identified six purposes of fantasy: (1) planning of the offense, (2) increase sexual activity, (3) rehearsal for masturbation, (4) regulation of the offender's affective state, (5) a coping mechanism allowing an escape from reality, and (6) stimulates grandiosity and omnipotence.

With respect to planning, fantasy may serve as a screenplay for the offense, providing directive cues as to the preferred victim type, sexual activity, level of violence, and the script that should be followed by both the offender and victim. Through fantasy, the offender derives his modus operandi. In addition, the offender imagines and plans the ritualistic aspects of the offense, those actions that serve a purpose of satisfying the offender. The fantasy casts the offender in the role of screenwriter and director.

Fantasy may also act as an emotion/arousal regulator, helping the offender to achieve the level of stimulation that he desires and enabling the offender to obtain and/or maintain arousal/erection. Leitenberg and Henning (1995) found that sexual fantasy is associated with one's ability to become aroused, and achieve sexual satisfaction (e.g., orgasm). MacCulloch et al. (1983) found that psychopaths were likely to have sadistic fantasies and that the fantasies were connected to arousal. Offenses are a manifestation of the fantasy whereby the offender attempts to translate the fantasy into reality. For the patients studied by MacCulloch et al., fantasies were more potent and powerful when the level of sadism increased and that fantasy could be rescripted to include content from previous criminal events. Abel and Blanchard (1974) argue that the more a fantasy is rehearsed the stronger the association becomes between the content of the fantasy and sexual arousal. The strength of the association is often enhanced by pairing fantasy with masturbation.

Fantasy may reduce inhibition by enabling the offender to repetitively experience on a cognitive and emotional level the deviant acts that he will physically act out during an offense (Carabellese et al., 2011). MacCulloch et al. (1983) speculated that through repeated fantasy, inhibition decreases. As inhibition decreases, the offender engages in trial runs in an attempt to accurately embody the fantasy in the crime. As reality can never match fantasy, the offender feels a need to continue to shape and act upon the fantasy again and again with new victims in an effort to perfect the scenario.

Revitch (1965) and Brittain (1970) argued that in particular sadistic fantasy plays a precipitating or facilitating role in sexual homicide. Fantasy occurs throughout an offender's offense cycle (Carabellese et al., 2011; Gee et al., 2004; Prentky et al., 1989). Prior to the offense, it is a means of rehearsal. It may

be an important part of premeditating the offense and informing victim selection. MacCulloch et al. (1983) found that many sadistic offenders indicated that they created fantasies that matched considerably to their subsequent offense. These offenders indicated that the fantasy provided a sense of pleasure and arousal. Masturbatory sessions involving these fantasies prior to an offense were not uncommon. During the offense, fantasy provides the offense script or screenplay ensuring the offender covers the ground he finds most stimulating. Post-offense fantasy may act as an evaluation template, allowing the offender to consider what went well and what must be improved upon the next time.

Woodworth et al. (2013) found that offenders who engaged in violent sexual fantasy were significantly more likely to have committed a violent sexual offense and those offenders who reported child sexual fantasies were more likely to have committed a child sex offense. A significant relationship exists between the presence of violent sexual fantasies and the use of a weapon during the commission of offenses (Woodworth et al.). It would appear that violent fantasies are more common among serial sexual murderers than among first-time offenders. Prentky and colleagues (1989) found that 86% of the serial sexual murderers in their study engaged in violent fantasizing compared to only 23% of the first-time offenders.

Sexual fantasy also has a central role in the typologies of sexual homicide offenders (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002, 2007). The role of fantasy for an offender differs by offender typology. For example, Deu and Edelmann (1997) found that organized offenders had more structured sexual fantasies. Thus one could argue that for the organized offender, sexual fantasy becomes a planning tool for the offense (Woodworth et al., 2013). However, for the disorganized offender, sexual fantasy may serve the purpose of helping the offender to achieve arousal and sexual gratification.

There are researchers who argue that fantasy, rather than having an inciting role, allows for the safe discharge of anger or sexually deviant cognitions (see Kaplan, 1979). Proponents of this theory believe that fantasy provides a safe outlet for deviant sexual interests; that the fantasizer can explore their deviant interests cognitively through their imagination as opposed to engaging in the behavior itself. However, this raises the question of whether fantasizing about a sexual interest would continue to be enough to satisfy an individual over time?

Beauregard et al. (2008) deemed the acting out of fantasy as a coping mechanism for offenders who are experiencing significant stress. Prentky et al. (1989) suggest that whether a fantasy will incite or inhibit acting-out lies in the extent to which an individual engages in paraphilic behavior.

Paraphilia and sexual violence

The DSM-V defines paraphilia as *intense and persistent sexual interests other than in copulatory or pre-copulatory behavior with phenotypically normal, consenting adult human partners*. The previous edition of the DSM-IV defined paraphilia as recurrent intense sexual urges, fantasies or behaviors involving

(1) nonhuman objects, (2) the suffering or humiliation of oneself or one's partner or (3) children or other non-consenting adults. Through this characterization, there were hundreds of identified paraphilias. Under the newer DSM-V, however, there are only eight paraphilias specified: voyeurism, exhibitionism, frotteurism, sexual masochism, sexual sadism, pedophilia, fetishism, and transvestism. As alluded to in the earlier DSM definition of paraphilia, there is a strong connection between fantasy and paraphilia. Indeed, many researchers believe that fantasy plays a role in the development of paraphilia and that paraphilics rely heavily on fantasy for sexual arousal and gratification (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001; Healey, 2006).

Arrigo and Purcell (2001) argue that paraphilia may best be understood by integrating the motivational model of Burgess et al. (1986) and the trauma-control model of Hickey (1997). Similar to deviant sexual fantasy, the development of paraphilic behavior is often rooted in traumatic experience. This suggests that paraphilia will be most commonly present in individuals who have suffered abuse in childhood or adolescence. Indeed, the Integrated Model proposed by Arrigo and Purcell suggests that paraphilia develops through a process of formative development. That is, paraphilic behavior emerges in response to a problematic social environment, developmental difficulties, and childhood and adolescent traumas. Predispositional factors and traumatic events influence formative development. Combined, predispositional factors and traumatic events can lead to a child developing low self-esteem. If the child is unable to overcome the trauma they have experienced or their dysfunctional social environment, they are unlikely to create prosocial relationships or interpersonal bonds. Daydreaming becomes a means for the child to deal with the social isolation that ensues. According to Arrigo and Purcell, it is this social isolation and the development of deviant sexual fantasy that instigates what they refer to as the "paraphilic process." The paraphilic process involves the use of sexually deviant fantasy as an escape. Eventually this fantasy is paired with masturbation and thus sexual deviance is associated with sexual arousal and gratification. This feeling of gratification maintains interest in the fantasy and when paired with drugs, alcohol, pornography, or other offense facilitators, can lead to paraphilic behavior (Arrigo & Purcell). Thus, paraphilic behavior is the physical manifestation of deviant sexual fantasy.

Paraphilic behaviors are generally classified in terms of the age and gender of targets (for those paraphilia that involve a victim), and whether or not the behavior is assaultive or not (Abel, Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, Mittelman, & Rouleau, 1988). Healey (2006) classifies paraphilia according to its acquisition. Paraphilia may be acquired when a young person is introduced to deviant stimuli during their psychosexual development or because of trauma during the period when their sexuality is developing.

The exact prevalence of paraphilic behavior is difficult to ascertain. Existing research on paraphilia provides differing estimates on the prevalence of paraphilic behaviors. An individual who engages in one paraphilic behavior is likely to engage in others. Abel et al. (1988) found that just over 10% of paraphilics

have only a single diagnosis (paraphilia). Almost 40% of paraphilics were found to have between five and 10 different paraphilic behaviors (Abel et al.). Wilson and Gosselin (1980) found that 88% of those individuals who engaged in fetishism also engaged in sadomasochism or transvestism. Studies on paraphilic behavior most often rely upon self-reported data. Given the sensitivity of the topic, the reported incidence of various paraphilic behaviors is likely an underestimate. Research has indicated that paraphilics commonly engage in more than one paraphilia.

Research has also shown that paraphilic behavior is related to sexual offending. Similar to prevalence rates, however, there is little agreement as to the exact relationship between paraphilia and offense behavior. However, researchers tend to agree that sexual paraphilia influences the age of onset of offending behavior and the number of victims an offender will ultimately offend against (Abel & Rouleau, 1990 as cited in Woodworth et al., 2013; Abel et al., 1988; Marshall, Barbaree, & Eccles, 1991). Researchers have also empirically correlated sexual paraphilia with recidivism (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005).

Prentky et al. (1989) examined five paraphilic behaviors. They found that the two behaviors most often associated with sexual aggression were fetishism and transvestism. One need only look at the case of Russell Williams for an example of how these paraphilic behaviors paired with sexual aggression. Russell Williams began his deviant criminal career with fetishist burglaries. He stole thousands of pieces of women's undergarments, which he carefully catalogued. He enjoyed wearing these pieces of clothing and photographing himself. Williams progressed from these burglaries to sexually assaulting women in their homes to sexually murdering two women. While Williams has not spoken directly about his experience of repetitive fantasy, his acts suggest recurrent obsessive fantasy that culminated in the compulsion of first theft and then sexual assault (murder is not included here as it is unclear based on case facts whether the deaths of the victims was part of the fantasy).

MacCulloch et al. (1983) provide support for the notion that paraphilia may play a role in whether one will eventually act upon their fantasies. In their study, offenders indicated that over time in order to achieve the same level of excitement their fantasies became more sadistic. Offenders could also heighten the experience of arousal and pleasure by acting out early phases of the fantasy. MacCulloch et al. refer to this as "behavioral try-outs."

The personality of the sexually violent offender

There has been limited research on the personality of offenders who engage in deviant sexual fantasy. Existing research suggests that offenders who are prone to engage in deviant sexual fantasy tend to exhibit less emotional stability (Curnoe & Langevin, 2002). These offenders tend to be more alienated and experience more interpersonal dissonance. Curnoe and Langevin argue that it may be expected that persons with paraphilic interest would feel social alienation as they defy accepted, normative sexual practice. It would appear that

certain personality constructs are associated with proneness toward fantasy. Fantasy provides an escape for offenders who are experiencing discord. This discord may in part be attributable to personality. One's personality may also be associated with the likelihood of one acting out their deviant sexual fantasy (Curnoe & Langevin). Curnoe and Langevin found that offenders with antisocial personality disorder or psychopathy were more likely to engage in violent sexual fantasy.

Existing research has demonstrated the nexus between each of fantasy and paraphilia and sexual violence. However, much of the existing research has been based on small clinical samples of specific groups of sexual offenders. There is much less research comparing homicidal and non-homicidal sex offenders in terms of the role that fantasy and paraphilia play in inciting offense behaviors. Even fewer studies incorporate and examine the interconnectedness of fantasy, paraphilia, and personality. The next section examines our findings in relation to these three areas among a relatively large sample of incarcerated sexual offenders. Findings in relation to comparisons between SHOs, NHSOs, and violent NHSOs are presented.

Findings

Based on our sample of incarcerated offenders, approximately 37% of sexual offenders report having deviant sexual fantasies. A slightly smaller proportion (23.4%) of sexual offenders report having deviant sexual fantasies in the 48 hours leading up to the commission of the offense that resulted in their incarceration. With respect to paraphilic behaviors, 3.6% of offenders report engaging in one or more paraphilic behaviors as a juvenile. By the time the offenders reach adulthood, 18% report engaging in at least one paraphilia (excluding pedophilia and rape). However, when we examine rape and pedophilia (arguably two of the most serious paraphilic behaviors), we see that 25.5% and 47.2% respectively of the offenders in the sample engage in these paraphilic behaviors.

Table 2.1 examines the differences between SHOs, NHSOs, and violent NHSOs in terms of deviant sexual fantasy and paraphilic behavior. Interestingly, it is the NHSOs who most frequently report engaging in deviant sexual fantasy. Significantly fewer violent NHSOs report having a deviant fantasy life. It is only the NHSOs who report having deviant sexual fantasies in the 48-hour period leading up to their offense. A different picture emerges when we examine paraphilic behaviors among the different groups of sexual offenders. SHOs significantly differ in terms of paraphilic behaviors. The offenders in this group are significantly more likely to have engaged in paraphilic behavior both as a juvenile and as an adult. Although SHOs are significantly more likely to have engaged in a lifetime of paraphilic behavior, they are significantly less likely to be involved in the paraphilias involving non-consenting adult and child partners (i.e., rape and pedophilia). NHSOs are the group of sex offenders who are most likely to engage in pedophilia, whereas the violent NHSOs are most likely to engage in rape.

Table 2.1 Differences in fantasy and paraphilic behavior between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

	NHSOs (N = 387)	*Violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*SHOs (N = 85)*
Admits deviant sexual fantasies (DSF)***[a]	160	33	35
Reports DSF within 48 hours of offense***	109	21	14
Compulsive masturbation (adolescence)	74	25	16
Compulsive masturbation (adult)	53	18	12
Paraphilic behavior as juvenile***[a]	9	4	9
At least one paraphilic behavior as adult***	49	46	20
Pedophilia as paraphilia***[a]	238	41	12
Rape as paraphilia***[a]	67	80	10

Notes
*** $p < 0.001$.
a The difference between violent NHSOs and SHOs is significant.

Table 2.2 examines the differences between SHOs, NHSOs, and violent NHSOs in terms of personality disorders and constructs. In comparing the three sex offender types, differences emerge in relation to the presentation of schizoid personality, antisocial personality, borderline personality, avoidant personality, dependent personality, passive aggressiveness, impulsive disorder, and immature personality. In order to examine the personality differences among the three groups more carefully, three iterations of analyses were run; the first including all three groups, the second based on a dichotomy of SHOs and NHSOs (such

Table 2.2 Differences in personality disorders/constructs between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

	NHSOs (N = 387)	*Violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*SHOs (N = 85)*
Paranoid	20	15	8
Schizoid*[a]	5	2	5
Schizotypal	1	0	1
Antisocial***[a]	106	75	26
Borderline***	48	31	21
Histrionic	8	2	4
Narcissistic	87	32	20
Avoidant***	99	22	6
Dependent***[a]	196	64	14
Obsessive-compulsive	12	3	5
Passive-aggressive*[a]	77	26	7
Impulsive***[a]	60	44	8
Immature*[a]	90	34	9

Notes
* $p < 0.05$;
*** $p < 0.001$.
a The difference between violent NHSOs and SHOs is significant.

that NHSOs and violent NHSOs were combined) and the third comparing SHOs specifically to violent NHSOs.

SHOs are significantly more likely than both NHSOs and violent NHSOs to have a diagnosis of schizoid personality disorder. SHOs are also more likely than NHSOs to have a diagnosis of borderline personality disorder. NHSOs are more likely than both SHOs and violent NHSOs to present with avoidant personality. Both the NHSOs and violent NHSOs are more likely than SHOs to present with avoidant personality, dependent personality, passive-aggressive personality, and immature personality. The violent NHSOs are more likely than the NHSOs and the SHOs to present with antisocial personality disorder and impulsive personality disorder.

The NHSOs and the violent NHSOs share the commonality of committing less than lethal offenses. Therefore, one could argue that these offender groups would be most likely to present with similar personality constructs. This is indeed the case in relation to immaturity and a lack of schizoid personality disorder. Given that both the violent NHSOs and the SHOs use violence in the commission of their offenses, specific analyses were run to examine the similarities and differences in personality between these groups. Violent NHSOs are more likely to present with antisocial personality, dependent personality, passive-aggressive personality, impulsive disorder, and an immature personality than their lethal counterparts, SHOs.

Table 2.3 examines the relationship between the experience of various types of childhood abuse and the development of deviant sexual fantasy and paraphilia. There is a significant relationship between the experience of psychological, physical, and sexual abuse (as well as incest) and the development of deviant sexual fantasy. Those offenders who report having deviant sexual fantasies are more likely to report experiencing various forms of abuse before the age of 18 than offenders who do not report having such fantasies. Although the data do not indicate the timing of the development of the deviant sexual fantasy, they do capture whether or not the sexual offender engaged in daydreaming before the age of 18. Analyses reveal a significant relationship between daydreaming before the age of 18 and having deviant sexual fantasies. Interestingly, no significant relationship is found between the experience of abuse and the presence of

Table 2.3 Experience of childhood abuse as it relates to deviant sexual fantasy and paraphilic behavior

	Deviant sex fantasy	*Paraphilic behavior (adult)*
Psychological violence	138***	29*
Physical violence	126*	26
Incest	43***	8
Sexual abuse	127***	25*

Notes
* $p<0.05$;
*** $p<0.001$.

paraphilic behaviors in childhood. However, there is a significant relationship between experiencing psychological and sexual abuse before the age of 18 and engaging in paraphilic behaviors as an adult. A significant relationship is also found between daydreaming before the age of 18 and engaging in paraphilic behavior as an adult. Interestingly, NHSOs are more likely to have suffered from sexual abuse as a juvenile and SHOs are more likely to have endured physical abuse.

The findings also support a connection between compulsive masturbation, fantasy, and paraphilic behavior. There is a significant relationship between juvenile compulsive masturbation and having deviant sexual fantasies. There is also a significant relationship between juvenile masturbation and engaging in paraphilic behavior as a juvenile. While analyses do not allow us to determine which comes first or if any causal relationship exists, the findings support the existing theory that deviant fantasy develops early and is paired with masturbation. This connection between fantasy, masturbation, and paraphilia continues into adulthood. The significant relationship between compulsive masturbation and deviant sexual fantasy as a juvenile is also evident in adults. Similarly, there is a significant relationship between exhibiting at least one paraphilic behavior in adulthood and engaging in deviant sexual fantasies. It is also interesting that there is a relationship among sexual offenders between engaging in deviant sexual fantasies and having a sexual disorder or dysfunction.

Fantasy and paraphilia: interconnected yet distinct

As espoused by Healey (2006), it is important to recognize fantasy and paraphilia as distinct entities. Fantasy is a cognitive process, the product of imagination. Fantasy is developed early and remains a part of the individual as long as the portions of the brain responsible for imagination remain intact. Sexual fantasy is a normative part of psychosexual development. Even deviant sexual fantasy is normative to a certain extent. Deviant sexual fantasy becomes problematic not when it becomes more bizarre or deviant but when it manifests in behavior. It may be argued that paraphilia is the physical manifestation of deviant sexual fantasy. In other words, paraphilia is the behavioral expression of the deviant cognitions. A person may engage in deviant sexual fantasy but never develop a paraphilia. However, it is unlikely that a person will develop a paraphilia in the absence of deviant sexual fantasy; as in all that we do, the cognitive (i.e., fantasy) leads the physical behavior (i.e., paraphilia).

Fantasy as a precursor to sexual violence

Previous research (e.g., Schlesinger, 2007) has argued that as fantasy becomes increasingly deviant and sadistic, it is more likely to result in offending behavior. If deviant sexual fantasy provides the blueprint for an offense, then one would assume that the offense would be tailored after the fantasy, such as in the case study of Frank. However, it is the NHSOs who are most likely to engage in

deviant sexual fantasy, not their violent counterparts. Thus, perhaps a more comprehensive explanation of how deviant sexual fantasy incites offending behavior is required.

There is little doubt that deviant sexual fantasy is the preliminary step in a cycle that may culminate in sexual offending. One cannot do what one cannot first think. Thus no matter whether the offender is a NHSO, violent NHSO or SHO, or whether they admit to having deviant sexual fantasies in self-report studies, the likelihood is that all sexual offenders have such fantasies. Masturbation is also a normative part of psychosexual development. Thus, it is natural for a person to engage in masturbatory activities while entertaining sexually deviant fantasies. As previously suggested, such behavior becomes problematic when one's social environment is dysfunctional. When social isolation, ineptness, and trauma lead one to delve into deviant fantasy as a means of escape, and when arousal becomes associated with the negative emotions that result, deviant sexual behavior can manifest. This was the case for Frank as presented earlier. Figure 2.1 provides a pictorial of the interconnectedness of fantasy, paraphilia, and offending.

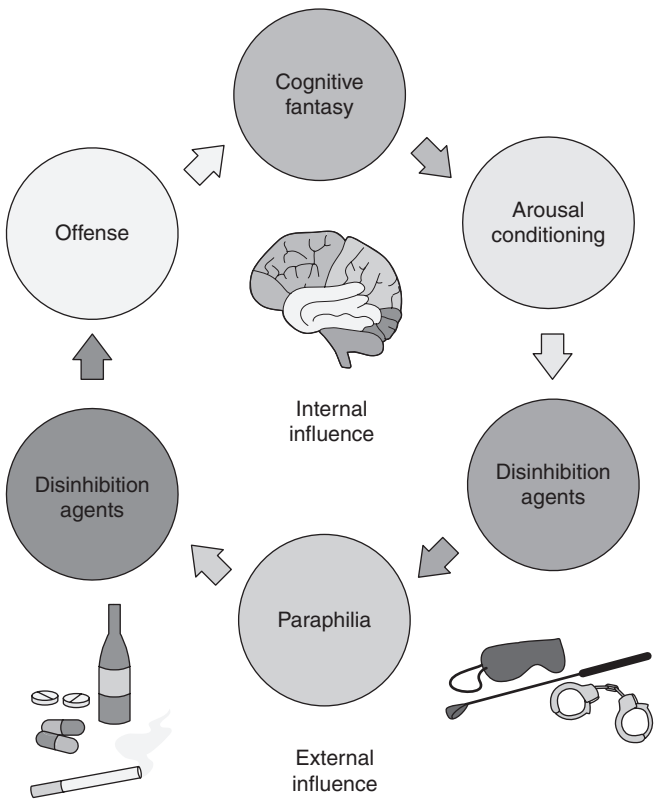

Figure 2.1 Cognitive-behavioural cycle of fantasy, paraphilia, and offending.

The cycle begins at the level of cognitions, that is, deviant sexual fantasy. Deviant sexual fantasy is then paired, as argued by MacCulloch et al. (1983, 2000) with arousal conditioning through masturbatory activity. Disinhibition agents, such as drugs, alcohol, and pornography may be introduced at this stage. Paired with the repetition of the fantasy (what Prentky et al., 1989, referred to as cognitive rehearsal), disinhibition agents help to overcome any cognitive or emotional obstacles to a behavioral "try-out" (MacCulloch et al., 1983). The "try-out" may manifest as a paraphilic behavior, which may or may not in and of itself constitute an offense. If the paraphilic behavior does not involve hands-on offending, the cycle may continue such that over time the offender feels less arousal based on the fantasy and non-hands-on paraphilic behaviors, and more disinhibition agents may be introduced until such time that the offender commits an offense. The offense then leads to an evolution of the fantasy. The offender will learn through the offense what provided the greatest sexual pleasure and can enhance the fantasy. It is important to note that, while Figure 2.1 depicts a progressive cycle, it is possible for the offender to move back and forth along the chain. Throughout the process, internal processes (cognitions, personality) and the external environment (social context, stressors) will influence the individual's behavior.

The differential role of fantasy among NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

While fantasy is conceptualized as the primary step in the cycle of the interconnectedness of fantasy, paraphilia, and offending this too is oversimplified. Sexual offenders are not a homogeneous population. Even the categories of NHSO, violent NHSO, and SHO are composed of very heterogeneous populations. However, it is necessary to categorize as it is impractical to deal at the level of the individual. Given the lack of homogeneity, it makes sense that the role of fantasy may be different among the categories of sexual offenders. Indeed, our findings support this notion.

Of the three groups, deviant sexual fantasy seems to be least important to the violent NHSOs. This group of offenders is the least driven by deviant sexual fantasy and is less likely to engage in paraphilic behavior. The violent NHSOs appear to be otherwise motivated to commit their offenses – the sexual component of the offense appears to be more opportunistic. The primary component of their offense is the violent behavior. This is evidenced in the more diverse and voluminous criminal histories of these offenders as well as their tendency to present with antisocial personality disorder (see Chapter 3).

The NHSO is a fantasy-driven, non-paraphilic offender. We propose that for this offender the role of fantasy appears to be one of emotional regulation and arousal. For the NHSO, fantasy does incite offending behavior as evidenced by the fact that this group was most likely to report engaging in deviant sexual fantasy in the 48 hours prior to the offense. Interestingly, this category of offender is less likely than the SHO to engage in paraphilic behavior either as a

juvenile or as an adult. However, this may be more of a function of the data collection method, that is self-report, than the true behavior of the NHSO. Alternatively, NHSOs may be less likely to engage in paraphilic behavior that does not constitute an offense.

For the SHO, the role of fantasy is more involved. While SHOs are less likely to report having deviant sexual fantasies compared to NHSOs, it is likely that this is a result of self-report and not the actual lack of such fantasy. Previous research has shown that sexual murderers do engage in considerable deviant fantasy. Our findings indicate that SHOs are more likely to be paraphilics than the other two groups. Given that paraphilia is deemed to be derived from fantasy, this lends support to the theory that SHOs are in fact fantasizers. The fact that SHOs are paraphilic suggests that these offenders are capable of acting upon their fantasies. It is likely that fantasy plays a more multifaceted role for the SHO. In particular, it is likely that fantasy is an important planning mechanism for the SHO. The fantasy of the sexual murderer is a blueprint for their offense, as was illustrated in the case of Frank. Based on the results of our research, fantasy may not be as important in terms of inciting the offense for these offenders. SHOs are less likely to report having engaged in deviant sexual fantasies in the 48 hours prior to their offense than NHSOs.

Personality profiles of NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

Distinct and differential personality profiles also emerge among the three groups of sexual offenders. These personality profiles are complementary to the differential roles that fantasy plays for the offenders. As expected, the violent NHSO is more likely to have a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder. These offenders are also more likely than SHOs or NHSOs to have an impulsive personality. The picture that emerges of the violent NHSO is one of an offender who cares little about others, commits crimes because he can and desires to do so, and as a result of his lack of impulse control will have a diverse criminal career.

The NHSO is more likely than the SHO or the violent NHSO to have a dependent personality, to be passive-aggressive, and to be immature. This offender may be likely to avoid direct conflict and commits sexual offenses primarily out of sexual interest that the offender is not able to fulfill elsewhere. This offender is engaged in deviant sexual fantasy and offenses may be conceptualized as "trying out" sexual activities of interest.

The SHO is more likely than the NHSO and the violent NHSO to suffer from schizoid and borderline personality disorders. Others who encounter this offender may deem him to be odd and introverted. The SHO may have considerable intellect, but likely lacks social graces or the ability to form positive interpersonal relationships. We caution the reader from interpreting this as generalizable to all SHOs. These emerging personality profiles simply suggest that each type of offender (i.e., SHO, NHSO, and violent NHSO) has a greater tendency to have these personality constructs than the other groups. For example, Russell Williams

could be considered somewhat of a loner. Although married, he and his wife often lived apart. Russell Williams is an intelligent man; however, his personal history suggests that he had some difficulty with interpersonal relationships. Paul Bernardo, on the other hand, was not only able to form interpersonal relationships but was able to convince his wife to participate in his crimes.

Implications

This chapter sought to take a closer look at the development and role of deviant sexual fantasy and paraphilia among sexual offenders. Given the sensitivity of the topic, researchers have found it difficult to address this issue in a comprehensive manner. It is clear that fantasy plays an important role in the development of paraphilic behavior and that fantasy can incite offending. As Prentky et al. (1989) argued, whether or not fantasy leads to offending behavior may be influenced by the extent to which the individual is paraphilic. Certainly, the SHO shows a proclivity for paraphilia.

It is important, however, that we recognize that fantasy may play a multifaceted and differential role in terms of the behavior of the different types of sexual offenders. Not all sexual offenders are equally likely to engage in paraphilic behavior and not all are driven by a purely sexual motivation. Table 2.4 summarizes the differences among NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs in terms of fantasy, paraphilia, abuse history, personality, and motivations.

The differences among the NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs have important implications for investigation and treatment. While investigators may believe that to know the fantasy is to know the offender, this sentiment is more

Table 2.4 Summary of the comparative differences among NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

	NHSOs (N = 387)	*Violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*SHOs (N = 85)*
Deviant sexual fantasy	Fantasizer. Deviant sexual fantasy likely regulates arousal and emotion	Not driven by deviant sexual fantasy	Fantasizer. Deviant sexual fantasy likely plays a multifaceted role. Fantasy is a mechanism of planning
Paraphilic as juvenile	No	No	Yes
Paraphilic as adult	No	No	Yes
Abuse history	Psychological, incest, sexual	Psychological, physical	Psychological, physical, incest, sexual
Personality disorders/ traits	Dependent, avoidant, passive-aggressive, immature	Antisocial, impulsive	Schizoid, borderline
Primary motivation	Sexual	Violent	Sexual or violent

true of the SHO than the NHSO and generally not true of the violent NHSO. The violent NHSO is primarily a violent offender. Our research has revealed that this offender is not particularly fantasy-driven and thus the offense will not be informed through sexually deviant cognitions.

Knowing when a NHSO is engaged in excessive fantasizing may provide insight into the timing of offense/re-offense as these offenders indicate that they tend to engage in deviant sexual fantasy within the 48 hours prior to committing an offense. The complexity of the deviant sexual fantasies of these offenders will likely differ from offender to offender but on the whole will remain immature or experimental.

The SHO, on the other hand, does not report a tendency to engage in deviant sexual fantasy in the 48 hours preceding the offense. The fantasizing of the SHO is more likely an ongoing process. The fantasy likely informs victim selection, location for offense, the sexual acts that will be attempted or completed and the means of death. It is for these offenders that fantasy becomes a blueprint or screenplay for offense behavior. Investigators can glean important information about the offender through the fantasy, which may be derived from the crime scene. Fantasy is as unique as the imagination from which it came. Therefore, it may be possible for investigators to identify unique characteristics of the offender or modus operandi through the offense scene, which is the stage upon which the fantasy played out.

Practitioners engaged in the treatment of sexual offenders should also consider the differential role that fantasy plays among NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs. It is unlikely that violent NHSOs will benefit in a substantial way from sex offender treatment programming in general or attempts to modify fantasy content specifically. These offenders would benefit more from anger management programming and other programs specifically designed for individuals with antisocial personality disorder and impulse control issues.

NHSOs are more likely to benefit from sex offender treatment programs. Efforts to modify fantasy content and arousal patterns may be useful with this group of offenders who are typically sexually motivated. These offenders may also benefit from life and social skills programs. Many of these offenders do not have paraphilic interests in terms of sexual partners. Rather they victimize as a means of meeting sexual needs. Improvement in interpersonal skills and efforts to modify deviant arousal associations may result in the offender being able to meet his needs with consenting partners.

SHOs present an interesting challenge in terms of treatment. Deviant sexual fantasy and arousal patterns are likely to be highly developed and deeply ingrained among these offenders. In addition to inappropriate arousal patterns, the personality of these offenders may make the development of appropriate sexual relationships difficult. Practitioners must also carefully assess whether the sexual murderer is sexually motivated or motivated by a need to dominate and control. Furthermore, one cannot assume that the intention of the SHO was to kill his victim. The murder may be an intentional act on the part of the offender, it may have been accidental, or it may have been a means of avoiding detection.

In conclusion, fantasy and paraphilia play an important yet differential role in the offending patterns of sexual offenders. Research in this area has been complicated by the sensitivity of the topic and the reluctance on the part of offenders to provide information that may be personally incriminating. Yet, understanding how deviant sexual fantasy, something in which the average person engages, becomes problematic is important in identifying young people who are on a dangerous pathway to inappropriate sexual behavior. It would certainly be easier to intervene before strong associations are made between arousal and violence or at least early on before such associations have become ingrained. Sexual homicide offenders are often paraphilics. In the case of Russell Williams, the paraphilia was a fetish for women's undergarments and transvestism. While these paraphilias are not in and of themselves criminal, research has found a connection between such deviant sexual behavior and sexual offending. Therefore, the treatment of paraphilia should be viewed as an opportunity for preventing sexual offenses.

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3 Criminal career of the sexual murderer

Versatility or specialization?

Case study

Brian committed the first in a series of sexual crimes in October 1989. Around 3 p.m. Brian entered a women's clothing boutique in a busy downtown area. His plan was to rape and/or kill the female salesperson working for the boutique. He brought a backpack that contained a fake gun to threaten the victim, latex gloves to prevent his fingerprints from being found at the crime scene, and thick tape to be able to restrain the victim. After leaving the boutique once, he returned moments later and pretended that he wanted to rob the store. He told the victim to lock the front door so that they would not be interrupted by potential customers. He took the victim to the basement and used the tape to tie her up and prevent her from screaming. Brian undressed the victim, attempted to sodomize her, and kissed and bit her breasts. He then forced the victim to perform fellatio on him and forced her to lick his anus. Brian vaginally penetrated the victim while humiliating her verbally, and after he was done, he put his gloves on and tried to strangle the victim with a chain that he found at the scene. Unable to kill her that way, he then used an iron rod that was close by and hit the victim several times. He finally left the store thinking that the victim was dead. However, the victim survived.

The next two victims were not so lucky. Almost six months later, around the same time of day as the first sexual assault, Brian entered another women's boutique with the intent of raping and killing a woman. Two female salespersons were working at the time. Similar to his previous crime, Brian ordered the victims to lock the door and then he took both of them into one of the fitting rooms at the back of the store. He had replaced the tape in his backpack with two pairs of handcuffs and he had added a large kitchen knife. After ordering the victims to undress, Brian had vaginal sex with both of them while watching himself in the mirrors of the fitting room. He forced one of the victims to perform fellatio but she resisted, pleading that she was a lesbian. After the assault, he stabbed both victims to death with the kitchen knife and then he left the store.

Almost a year later, Brian recidivated, committing a similar offense. He entered a women's boutique at around 6 p.m. and sequestered the two women

who were working at the time. He blindfolded and gagged both victims, but sexually assaulted only one of them, as he explained that the other woman was "fat." He used the same modus operandi less than a month later on two other women working in a women's boutique. This time he handcuffed, blindfolded, gagged, and sexually assaulted both victims. He also verbally humiliated the victims and forced one of them to perform fellatio until ejaculation. Finally, the offender was caught after kidnapping two other victims who were working in a women's boutique. He took them to his residence where he had set up his room in order to accomplish his ritual. The offender performed vaginal and anal sex on both victims, and even forced them to have sexual intercourse with each other. He also threatened the victims and verbally humiliated them. Brian ejaculated after penetrating one of the victims. Following the arrival of one of Brian's roommates, the victims were able to escape and went straight to the police station. It was not long after that that Brian was apprehended.

From a criminal career perspective, one wonders when this offender first began committing crimes. And more importantly, what criminal pathway led to his violent sexual crimes? Brian received his first official conviction when he was 16 for armed robbery. As an adult, he was successively convicted for more than 20 armed robberies, and burglaries, as well as drug-related offenses. What is interesting here – and can often go unnoticed – is that although the offender did not have any official prior convictions for sexual crimes, according to the offender, the armed robberies were sexually motivated. At the time of his earlier robberies, Brian already had developed fantasies which fueled his sexual offenses, but never felt that the timing was right. However, following his first incarceration, it was noted that during the armed robberies, Brian had a verbal sexual exchange with some of the victims.

Introduction

Information on the criminal career of sex offenders and more specifically on SHOs can be very informative for those who investigate sex crimes and practitioners who are responsible for the supervision and treatment of these offenders. The study of the criminal career of sex offenders has clear implications for the investigation of this type of crime. The criminal career has proven to be very promising in the prioritization of suspects in what Scott, Lambie, Henwood, and Lamb (2006) have referred to as "criminal history profiling." Police officers often rely on information about known suspects or offenders who were previously charged and convicted for a similar offense in order to start their investigation. The theory underlying criminal history profiling is that past behavior is the best predictor of future behavior and current criminal behavior will reflect aspects of prior criminal behavior. This premise has been observed in a few studies.

In their study, Davies, Wittebrood, and Jackson (1997) compared the offense behavior of 210 stranger rapists with their previous criminal histories. These researchers found that rapists who stole from the victim were more likely to have

burglary, drug, theft, and robbery convictions than rapists who did not steal from victims. Moreover, fingerprint precautions (e.g., wearing gloves) indicated that rapists were about four times more likely to have a prior burglary conviction than rapists who did not, and that rapists who broke into and entered their victim's residence were more likely to have prior convictions for burglary and theft than rapists who did not break in. Finally, rapists who exhibited expressive violence toward their victim were more than three times more likely to have prior convictions for violence in comparison to rapists who did not exhibit such violence. This last finding is similar to what Jackson, van den Eshof, and de Kleuver (1997) found in their study of 112 rapists in the Netherlands. Rapists who used extreme violence with their victims were more likely to have prior convictions for violence as compared to rapists who used only minimal violence. Moreover, it was found that home invasions by rapists were related to prior burglary and breaking and entering convictions, whereas outdoor rapes were not. Scott et al. (2006) examined 96 stranger rape cases to determine the relationship, if any, between offense behavior and criminal history. These researchers found that rapists who broke into and entered their victim's residence to commit their crime were more likely to have prior convictions for grievous assaults, theft, and trespassing. Also, rapists who stole from their victim were more likely to have prior robbery and theft convictions, but were also more likely to have prior convictions for grievous assaults, which, according to the authors, undermine the link between the act of stealing and the convictions for robbery and theft. Despite these promising results, a study by Mokros and Alison (2002) on 100 British stranger rapists showed no statistically significant relationships between crime scene behaviors and criminal history.

Criminal career information may also serve clinicians or the different actors of the criminal justice system involved in the monitoring of sex offenders. Criminologists and psychologists often have to assess the risk level of an offender. Although more concerned about the risk of recidivism in general, another aspect of concern is the nature of the potential recidivism; meaning whether the offender will escalate (i.e., go on to commit a more serious offense) in the future. Francis and Soothill (2000) examined whether prior sex offending convictions lead to homicide. Looking at all individuals convicted of a sexual offense in 1973 in England and Wales, these researchers investigated subsequent homicides over a 21-year follow-up period. Interestingly, they found that one out of every 400 sex offenders committed a homicide, which drastically contrasts with the rate of one for every 3,000 males in the general population. In addition, those sex offenders who engaged in both sex and violence in their original offense had a subsequent rate of homicide of 9.62 per 1,000 compared to 2.25 for those who did not commit a violent offense. Also of interest was the fact that no differences were found between sexual aggressors of women and sexual aggressors of children, but when sexual aggressors of children did kill, they were more likely to kill a stranger adult female than a child. According to Francis and Soothill (2000), these findings suggest that relatively speaking, sexual aggressors of children who go on to kill are more likely to commit a sexual homicide.

In a subsequent study, Soothill, Francis, Ackerley, and Fligelstone (2002) looked at the relationships between criminal history and the risk of subsequent homicide and serious sexual assault. Their findings revealed that a criminal history of manslaughter, blackmail, and kidnapping increased the relative risk of committing a homicide by 19, five, and four times, respectively. Moreover, robbery and assault with the intent to rob doubled the risk for homicide of a male stranger. As for serious sexual assaults, findings indicated that convictions for indecent assault of an adult female, unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under 16, and unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under 13, increased the relative risk of serious sexual assault by 12, 19, and 26 times, respectively.

As can be seen from these different studies, the criminal career represents a major source of information for law enforcement investigating these crimes as well as for all other actors in the criminal justice system who have to make important decisions relative to these cases. Thus, it becomes important to examine the criminal career of sex offenders, and more specifically of SHOs. An examination of criminal history not only helps us to better understand additional factors that may have led to the sexual homicide, but to also understand potential influences on modus operandi or *how* the sexual homicide was committed.

It has been hypothesized that sexual murderers are typically "career" sex offenders who have evolved into murderers. Based on the "habituation" hypothesis, it is believed that most SHOs start with hands-off sexual crimes (e.g., voyeurism, exhibitionism) and slowly progress toward hands-on sexual assaults, such as unwanted sexual contacts and rape. According to this hypothesis, when the behaviors and the associated fantasies are no longer providing the same level of arousal, the offender needs to increase the level of sexual stimulation by increasing the level of violence, which eventually leads to killing the victim. Based on this hypothesis, SHOs are considered specialists, meaning that these offenders primarily perpetrate crimes of a sexual nature. However, it is important to go back to what Soothill, Francis, Sanderson, and Ackerley (2000) concluded in their seminal paper: "what plagues criminology is the insistence that offenders either specialize or are versatile. We need to recognize that they can do both" (p. 57).

Versatility, specialization, or both?

Blumstein, Cohen, Roth, and Visher (1986) define specialization as the probability of repeating the same type of crime when next arrested. According to Lussier (2005), the specialization hypothesis in sexual crimes suggests that sex offenders have a specific propensity to commit illegal sexual acts. In other words, if the criminal activity of a sexual offender persists, it will primarily be of a sexual nature. When examining recidivism studies, findings suggest that only a minority of sex offenders are at risk of sexual re-offense (see Alexander, 1999; Hall, 1995; Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Hanson et al., 2002). In line with the specialization hypothesis, some studies have found, when comparing sexual offenders and nonsexual offenders, that sex offenders exhibit a higher likelihood of committing another sexual crime upon release (see Hanson, Scott, & Steffy,

1995; Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003; Sample & Bray, 2003). When comparing different types of sex offenders, results suggest that the longer the follow-up period, the higher the likelihood of committing another sexual crime, and the level of specialization tends to be lower for sexual aggressors of women and higher for sexual aggressors of children (see Lussier, LeBlanc, & Proulx, 2005; Prentky, Lee, Knight, & Cerce, 1997; Quinsey, Lalumiere, Rice, & Harris, 1995).

Several studies have found specialization in sexual offending, specifically identifying sex offenders who confine themselves to one victim-type (Cann, Friendship, & Gonza, 2007; Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, & Christenson, 1965; Guay, Proulx, Cusson, & Ouimet, 2001; Soothill et al., 2000). However, when one examines studies conducted in clinical settings, the picture that emerges with respect to specialization differs. Weinrott and Saylor (1991) found that when using only official data, 15% of their sample of sex offenders was versatile. However, when using a self-reported questionnaire, that number rose to 53%. Similar findings were reported by Heil, Ahlmeyer, and Simons (2003); when assessed using official data, only a minority of offenders were versatile as to the victim's age (7%) and gender (8.5%). However, when interviewed using a polygraph, those numbers increased to 70% and 36%, respectively, indicating high versatility or sexual polymorphism.

On the other hand, the versatility hypothesis – or sexual polymorphism – suggests that sex offenders do not restrict themselves to only one type of crime, and that they engage in various antisocial behaviors depending on the criminal opportunities available to them (see Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), or what Lussier (2005) refers to as "cafeteria-style offending." According to the versatility hypothesis in sexual crimes, the criminal activity of sex offenders should include a variety of crime types (i.e., sexual and nonsexual), should be similar to non-sex offenders, and different types of sex offenders should present a criminal activity with similar features apart from the type of sexual crime committed (Lussier). Studies comparing sex offenders to non-sex offenders have shown that sexual aggressors of women tend to commit more violent crimes than do non-sex offenders (DeLisi, 2001), but they do not differ in terms of property crimes or the number of different types of crime committed (Adler, 1984; DeLisi, 2001). However, sexual aggressors of children tend to participate in fewer non-sexual crimes (Hanson et al., 1995) and present a less diversified criminal history (Simon, 2000). When comparing different types of sex offenders, studies show that the criminal activity of sexual aggressors of women is generally more precocious, frequent, and diversified than that of sexual aggressors of children (see Lussier, Proulx, & LeBlanc, 2005; Lussier, LeBlanc, & Proulx, 2005; Simon, 2000).

Two main hypotheses have been suggested to explain sexual polymorphism in sex offenders. First, individuals characterized by high sexualization – i.e., a disinhibited sexuality characterized by sexual preoccupation, sexual compulsivity, and impersonal sex (Lussier, Leclerc, Cale, & Proulx, 2007) – are likely to experience more difficulties in controlling their sexual urges, thus explaining

why they are also more likely to seek out sexual gratification in different contexts (Lussier, Leclerc, Healey, & Proulx, 2007). Second, sexual polymorphism could be a function of general deviance. Research findings show that as the frequency of offending increases, so does the versatility in paraphilic interests and behaviors (Lussier, LeBlanc, & Proulx, 2005; Smallbone & Wortley, 2004). Such results are congruent with the general theory of crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) in which individuals lacking self-control may display different sexual behaviors depending on the opportunity (Lussier, Proulx, & LeBlanc, 2005). However, because of the long incarceration periods usually handed down to SHOs, these offenders do not have many opportunities to re-offend after committing a sexual homicide.

Recidivism of SHOs

When examining the literature on sex offender recidivism, rates vary greatly across studies mainly due to methodological differences such as the definition of recidivism, data sources, follow-up periods, and sample characteristics (Lussier, 2005). Although recidivism studies have contrasted different types of sex offenders (i.e., child molesters and rapists), the recidivism of sexual murderers has not received much research attention from scholars. This is mainly because when convicted, the likelihood of release for these offenders is low. One of the few exceptions to this, however, is the study conducted by Hill, Habermann, Klusmann, Berner, and Briken (2008) in Germany. Upon investigation of 139 sexual murderers for which information was available, these researchers found that the reconviction rate was 23.1% for sexual and 18.3% for nonsexual violent offenses. Interestingly, they found that the younger the offenders were at the time of the sexual homicide, the greater the chance of sexual recidivism. Previous sexual and nonsexual delinquency, psychopathy, and high scores on risk assessment instruments were all related to an increase in nonsexual violent recidivism. In their study, the recidivism rate for attempted or completed homicide was 3.3% for the released sexual murderers, which is similar to homicide recidivism in general (Hill et al., 2008).

These findings perfectly tie in with the study by Myers, Chan, Vo, and Lazarou (2010) who examined the recidivism of juvenile sexual murderers. Although juvenile sexual homicide is rare – between 10 and 15 cases per year in the United States (Chan & Heide, 2008) – their study looked at a sample of 22 juvenile sexual murderers for which follow-up recidivism data were available for 11 cases. Among these 11 offenders, five remained free of further convictions for an average of 8.9 years, whereas six re-offended. Recidivists showed significantly higher scores on the PCL-R than did non-recidivists, and three (27%) of the recidivists were diagnosed with sexual sadism and evolved into serial sexual murderers. According to Myers et al. (2010), these findings place juvenile sexual murderers at a higher risk of recidivism, as sexual homicide committed by youths could be more suggestive of "an overpowering paraphilic motivation than the broader category of rape, which encompasses a spectrum of

variably coercive sexual acts" (p. 55). Thus, Myers and his colleagues suggest that juvenile sexual murderers are not only at greater risk for homicidal recidivism than the typical juvenile murderer, but they could also be at a much greater risk of recidivism than sex offenders in general. Although studies have found multiple offense pathways leading to sexual homicide (e.g., Beauregard & Proulx, 2002; Chan & Heide, 2009), factors leading to the reiteration of sexual homicide remain elusive, especially since the criminal career of sexual murderers seems to be very similar to that of NHSOs (Nicole & Proulx, 2007).

The criminal career of SHOs

A total of 13 studies have examined the criminal career of SHOs. As can be seen in Table 3.1, the findings vary from study to study, and this is largely due to the differences in sampling procedures. Despite the difference, across all studies only a few of the SHOs (range = 12.5 to 29%) had a history of sexual crime (Folino, 2000; Grubin, 1994; Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen, Lindberg, Salenius, & Weizmann-Henelius, 2009; Milsom, Beech, & Webster, 2003; Briken, Habermann, Berner, & Hill, 2005, 2006). Only one study found that 45% of SHOs presented a prior conviction for sexual crime (Darjee & Baron, 2013). This suggests that although SHOs have often been considered sex offenders who escalate to sexual homicide (see, for example, the case of Colonel Russel Williams in Brankley, Goodwill, & Reale, 2014), the findings regarding their criminal career challenge this assumption. Simply put, only one out of four SHOs will present a prior conviction for sexual crime at the time of the sexual homicide. When looking at the mean number of sexual offenses in Table 3.1, it is interesting to note that it varies between 0.6 (DeLisi & Lussier, 2012; Langevin et al., 1988; Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose, & Curry, 1998) and 2.43 (Darjee & Baron, 2013; Nicole & Proulx, 2007). Moreover, Nicole and Proulx found that the age of onset of sexual crimes is usually later in life; the average for SHOs is around 29 years of age. Despite one fourth of SHOs having a history of sexual crimes, it is clear that most of these offenders do not commit these crimes at a high frequency.

SHOs tend to more often have a history of committing violent crimes, however. For instance, studies report that close to 50% of SHOs have a history of violent crime, excluding sexual crimes (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose et al., 1998; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Milsom et al., 2003), and the mean number of violent offenses varies between 0.38 (DeLisi & Lussier, 2012) and 22.0 (Oliver, Beech, Fisher, & Beckett, 2007), with the majority of studies reporting numbers closer to 1.0 (Langevin et al., 1988; Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose et al.). On average, SHOs have served custodial sentences twice prior to their sexual homicide (DeLisi & Lussier, 2012) and they have committed, on average, between 0.75 (Langevin et al., 1988) and 33.3 property crimes (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose et al.). Briken et al. (2006) reported that 2.5% of their sample of 166 SHOs had attempted to commit a sexual homicide prior to their index offense, while DeLisi and Lussier (2012)

reported a mean number of 0.14 previous homicides. In addition, Häkkänen-Nyholm et al. (2009) mentioned that almost one fifth of their sample had a homicidal criminal history prior to committing a sexual homicide.

The findings from previous studies seem to suggest that SHOs are more versatile than they are specialists. However, it is also important to examine if SHOs are different from other sex offenders with regard to their criminal career. Of the 13 studies identified, 10 studies conducted comparative analyses with other types of offenders. Overall, the findings indicate that the question of whether SHOs or NHSOs present a history of past sexual crimes is far from being answered. For instance, three studies found that SHOs usually present a greater history of sexual violence compared to NHSOs (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose et al., 1998; Grubin, 1994). However, studies by Darjee and Baron (2013) and Langevin et al. (1988) found the complete opposite while two additional studies did not identify significant differences between the two groups (Milsom et al., 2003; Nicole & Proulx, 2007). Although the study by Häkkänen-Nyholm et al. (2009) compared SHOs to nonsexual homicidal offenders, their findings revealed that SHOs presented a greater number of previous convictions for sexual crimes compared to the other group of murderers. Based on these results, it is difficult to determine if (1) there is a difference between the two groups of sex offenders, and (2) SHOs present a more extensive history of sexual violence.

It is also important to have a look at the history of nonsexual violence among sexual offenders. A single study found that NHSOs have more previous violent convictions than SHOs (Oliver et al., 2007). Three other studies found the opposite (Darjee & Baron, 2013; Firestone et al., 1998, 1998), while five additional studies did not identify statistically significant differences between the two groups (Grubin, 1994; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Langevin et al., 1988; Milsom et al., 2003; Nicole & Proulx, 2007). We believe that these discrepancies may be due to the fact that except for the study by Langevin et al., most studies have compared SHOs with only one group of NHSOs (or with a group of nonsexual homicidal offenders as in Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009). It is our belief that in order to get a clear picture of the differences and similarities between SHOs and NHSOs, it is important to distinguish the most violent offenders from the latter group of NHSOs.

Findings

Table 3.2 looks at the differences between SHOs, NHSOs, and violent NHSOs with regard to their previous convictions for various crime types. Interestingly, it is the violent NHSOs who present the worst criminal career profile. Thus, violent NHSOs present significantly more prior convictions for burglary, homicide, assault, kidnapping, aggravated sexual assault, sexual homicide, driving-related offenses, and offenses related to the administration of justice in comparison to NHSOs. NHSOs statistically differ from SHOs only in relation to prior convictions for assault and administration of justice-related offenses. SHOs distinguish themselves by two types of offenses in particular. SHOs present more prior

Table 3.1 Summary of criminal career findings identified in previous studies

Study	*Types of offenders*[1]	*Criminal career findings on SHOs*
Brankley et al. (2014)	1 SHO	82 burglaries | 2 sexual assaults | 2 sexual homicides
Darjee & Baron (2013)	47 SHO 53 NHSO	45% any sexual offending | 2.33 mean number of sexual offense | 3.02 mean number of violent offense | 7.95 mean number of other offense
DeLisi & Lussier (2012)	46 SHO	0.14 mean number of homicide | 0.62 mean number of rape | 0.58 mean number of robbery | 0.38 mean number of aggravated assault | 0.24 mean number of child molestation | 0.22 mean number of kidnapping | 2.16 mean number of prison terms
Langevin et al. (1988)	13 SHO 13 NHSO 13 NSM	0.67 mean number of sexual offense | 0.75 mean number of nonsexual violent offense | 0.75 mean number of property offense | 0.83 mean number of alcohol and drug-related offense | 3.0 mean number of previous offense
Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, & Larose (1998)	48 SHO 50 NHSO	47.5% nonviolent nonsexual crime (at least 3) | 4.8 mean number of nonviolent nonsexual crime | 45% violent crime | 1.0 mean number of violent crime | 25% sexual crime | 0.6 mean number of sexual crime | 55% overall crime (3 or more) | 6.4 mean number of overall crime
Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, Larose et al. (1998)	17 SHO 35 NHSO	46.7% nonviolent nonsexual crime (at least 3) | 33.3 mean number of nonviolent nonsexual crime | 46.7% violent crime | 1.0 mean number of violent crime | 26.7% sexual crime | 0.67 mean number of sexual crime | 66.7% overall crime (present or not) | 5.0 mean number of overall crime
Folino (2000)	16 SHO	12.5% rape | 56% other crime

Grubin (1994)	21 SHO 121 NHSO	29% rape
Häkkänen-Nyholm et al. (2009)	18 SHO 615 NSM	88.9% criminal history | 25% sexual crime history | 18.8% homicidal criminal history | 55.6% violent criminal history
Milsom et al. (2003)	19 SHO 16 NHSO	29% sexual crime | 47% nonsexual assault | 29% previous sentences as an adult | 36% previous sentences as a juvenile |
Briken et al. (2005, 2006)	166 SHO	28.6% any sexual offense | 19.3% sexual assault/rape | 14.3% child molestation | 2.5% attempted sexual homicide
Nicole & Proulx (2007)	40 SHO 101 NHSO	3.05 mean number of crimes against property | 5.20 mean number of crimes against persons | 2.43 mean number of sexual crime | 2.23 mean number of other crimes | 12.90 mean number of total crime | 0.22 Wikström index | 5.13 variety of crime | 23.55 age of onset for all crime | 29.12 age of onset sexual crime
Oliver et al. (2007)	58 SHO 112 NHSO	22.0 mean number of violent offense

Note
1 SHO = sexual homicide offender; NHSO = non-homicidal sex offender; NSM = nonsexual murderer.

Table 3.2 Differences between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs on their previous convictions for various types of crime

Previous convictions	*Mean NHSOs (N = 387)*	*Mean violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*Mean SHOs (N = 85)*
Vandalism	0.44	0.56	0.38
Theft	1.18	1.16	1.35
Car theft	0.27	0.27	0.54
Burglary†[a]	1.24	2.10	1.15
Arson	0.03	0.08	0.10
Homicide*[a]	0.02	0.06	0.06
Assault***[a,c]	1.37	3.02	1.22
Kidnapping***[a,b]	0.17	0.87	0.71
Armed robbery***[b,c]	0.43	0.94	1.93
Sexual homicide***[a,b,c]	0.003	0.08	0.83
Sexual assault***[a,b]	4.15	1.87	1.45
Aggravated sexual assault***[a,b]	0.18	0.55	0.38
Exposing himself*[a]	0.40	0.10	0.11
Other crime	0.66	0.87	0.61
Fraud	1.97	1.09	0.90
Drug-related crimes	0.40	0.37	0.23
Driving-related offenses†	0.53	0.81	0.42
Administration of justice-related offenses*[a,c]	1.34	2.53	1.21

Notes
† $p < 0.10$;
* $p < 0.01$;
*** $p < 0.001$;
a = significant difference between NHSO and violent NHSO;
b = significant difference between NHSO and SHO;
c = significant difference between violent NHSO and SHO.

convictions for armed robbery and sexual homicide as compared to the other two groups of sex offenders. Finally, NHSOs are statistically different from the other two groups on the number of prior convictions for sexual assaults, whereas they are only different from the violent NHSOs on the number of prior convictions for exhibitionism (i.e., exposing themselves).

Table 3.3 presents the differences between SHOs, NHSOs, and violent NHSOs in terms of age of onset and previous convictions for various categories of crime. Similar to what was observed in the previous analyses, when looking at nonsexual crimes, violent NHSOs distinguish themselves from the other groups of sex offenders. Violent NHSOs have more prior convictions for all nonsexual crimes and a greater number of convictions overall compared to NHSOs. They have more prior convictions for violent crimes and exhibit greater criminal diversity compared to the NHSOs and the SHOs. Not surprisingly, NHSOs start their criminal career later than the other two groups of offenders, while having more prior convictions for sexual crimes as well as a greater Wikström index (ratio of sexual crime to total crime). The SHOs have the earliest

Table 3.3 Differences between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs on their age of onset and previous convictions for various categories of crime

Developmental factors	*Mean NHSOs (N = 387)*	*Mean violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*Mean SHOs (N = 85)*
Age of onset (first crime)***[a,b]	31.94	26.17	25.46
Age of onset (sexual crime only)***[a,b]	38.37	34.14	31.76
Crime against property	3.17	4.17	3.53
Violent crime***[a,b]	1.99	4.88	3.92
Sexual crime***[a,b]	4.73	2.59	2.76
Other crime	4.89	5.67	3.42
All crime	14.78	17.31	13.64
All nonsexual crime*[a]	10.05	14.72	10.88
Total number of convictions†[a]	4.30	5.13	4.37
Ratio of sexual to all crime***[a,b,c]	0.55	0.29	0.39
Total variety of crime***[a,b]	4.01	5.46	4.93
Cluster of criminal career (specialist)*** (%)	71.4	52.1	52.5

Notes
† $p < 0.10$;
* $p < 0.05$;
*** $p < 0.001$;
a = significant difference between NHSO and violent NHSO;
b = significant difference between NHSO and SHO;
c = significant difference between violent NHSO and SHO.

age of onset for sexual crimes, whereas NHSOs appear to be the most "specialized" offenders.[1]

Table 3.4 reports the descriptive statistics for different criminal career parameters from our police sample on the solved cases only. These findings allow for the comparison of two different types of cases included in studies on sexual homicide. As can be seen, although both samples – the prison sample and the police sample – are comparable on their mean number of prior convictions for all crimes, the police sample presents far fewer prior convictions for violent and sexual crimes compared to the prison sample. SHOs from the prison sample also present a greater number of prior convictions for property crimes compared to the SHOs from the police sample. As mentioned previously, comparing these two types of samples is important as it may shed light on some potential

Table 3.4 Descriptive criminal career parameters for SHOs from police sample (solved cases only)

Types of crime	*Mean SHOs (N = 250)*
Prior convictions – any crime	12.98
Prior convictions – violent crime	1.66
Prior convictions – sexual crime	0.36
Prior convictions – property crime	7.33
Ratio of sexual to total crime	0.05

selection biases present in the more clinical studies. These studies may be less representative of the average offender and may present, rather, a portrait of only the most serious cases.

In order to further investigate the impact of the offenders' criminal career on sexual homicide, we used a similar approach to that of Stefanska, Carter, Higgs, Bishopp, and Beech (2015) where we compared SHOs who had prior sexual crime convictions to SHOs with no such convictions on a number of modus operandi and crime factors. This approach was rooted in the specialization hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, sexual assault is not likely to appear in the criminal history of nonsexual murderers (DeLisi, 2014), but some cases of sexual homicide may appear to be cases of sexual assaults with an unintended fatal outcome (Carter & Hollin, 2014). Therefore, Stefanska et al. suggested that if offenders tend to specialize in their criminal careers, then it would ensue that SHOs who had a history of sexual crime would resemble NHSOs, since their homicide was the result of the context or circumstance. It is this hypothesis that will be tested with our two samples of SHOs.

Table 3.5 presents the list of modus operandi and crime factors that we examined for potential differences between SHOs who had previous convictions for sexual crimes and SHOs without such convictions. None of the factors examined were able to significantly distinguish between the two groups of offenders. We investigated different phases of the modus operandi and the crime stage and none of these factors distinguish SHOs based on their sexual criminal career.[2]

Sexual homicide as the "escalation hypothesis"

Many have portrayed SHOs as sex offenders who have evolved into murderers. According to the escalation or habituation hypothesis (MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood, & Mills, 1983), SHOs often start their criminal career with hands-off sexual crimes, such as peeping or exhibitionism, and progressively move on to inappropriate sexual contacts, rape, and ultimately murder. The idea behind this hypothesis is that inevitably SHOs will experience a decrease in the arousal level experienced when committing similar offenses over a period of time – similar to a habituation process. As arousal levels habituate and fantasies evolve offenders are driven to engage in increasingly more serious offenses (e.g., increased violence, more sexual diversity). Our findings, as well as those from previous studies, do not seem to support this hypothesis. As mentioned, previous studies have shown that the majority of SHOs do not have previous sexual convictions (Folino, 2000; Grubin, 1994; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Milsom et al., 2003; Briken et al., 2005, 2006). Only a single study by Darjee and Baron (2013) found that almost half of their sample of SHOs had at least one prior conviction for sexual crimes. Our findings indicate that SHOs are not only the group with the fewest number of prior sexual convictions, but also the group with the fewest number of prior convictions in general. This suggests that for SHOs, the act of sexual homicide does not follow a natural progression and thus it becomes difficult to identify a pathway to sexual homicide based solely on criminal career.

Table 3.5 Variables that failed to differentiate SHOs with and without prior sexual crime convictions in two samples (prison versus police)

Modus operandi and crime factors	
*Prison sample (*N = *85)*	*Police sample (*N = *250)*
Offender knew victim	Victim state of dress
Sex of victim	Body placement
Victim from criminogenic environment	Body moved
Premeditation	Victim targeted
Crime committed at night	Con approach
Probability of apprehension	Surprise approach
Crime length	Blitz approach
Victim selection	Beating
Coercive approach	Stabbing
Weapon used	Strangulation
Level of force	Gunshot
Coercive reaction from offender to victim resistance	Unusual or bizarre acts
Intrusive sexual acts	Biting victim
Victim forced to commit sexual acts	Foreign objects inserted
Humiliation of victim	Overkill
Body visibility	Use of restraints
Position of body	Use of blindfolds/gags
State of dress	Victim redressed
Premortem torture	Items taken
Postmortem mutilation	Postmortem sexual activities
Dismemberment	Dismemberment
Strangulation/asphyxiation	
Semen found	
Postmortem sex	
Foreign objects inserted	

However, our observations demonstrate that SHOs distinguish themselves from the other two groups of sex offenders on a number of criminal career parameters. SHOs have a tendency to present more prior convictions for armed robberies and start their sexual criminal career earlier than do the other two groups. Despite having fewer prior sexual crime convictions, when sex crime convictions are present, SHOs are likely to have committed these sexual crimes early in their criminal career. As with the case study of Brian, despite not having prior *official* convictions for sexual crimes, he had been previously convicted for multiple armed robberies.

History of violence does not lead to murder

Interestingly, the group of sex offenders with the worst criminal career profile is not the SHOs but the violent NHSOs. Violent NHSOs are the group with the greatest number of prior convictions and the most varied criminal career, which is typical of an antisocial offender. Once again, these offenders do not seem to follow a natural progression in their criminal career. Instead, they commit a wide

variety of crime, going from nonviolent nonsexual crimes to violent sexual crimes. When looking at their criminal career, these offenders conform to the image of the "cafeteria-style" offender described by Lussier (2005). These sex offenders are highly versatile, and are most likely to be opportunistic (i.e., they commit offenses when an opportunity to do so presents itself) (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Moreover, as shown in previous studies, these highly versatile offenders are mixed-type offenders (likely to sexually offend against adult and younger victims) as they generally present a more diversified and voluminous criminal career than that of preferential sexual aggressors of children (e.g., Lussier, Proulx, & LeBlanc, 2005; Simon, 2000). This versatility may be explained by a higher sexualization in violent NHSOs (Lussier, Leclerc, Cale, & Proulx, 2007), but probably more importantly, by the general deviance of these offenders. As the frequency of offending increases, so does the versatility in paraphilic interests and behaviors (Lussier, LeBlanc, & Proulx, 2005). Congruent with the general theory of crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi), individuals who lack self-control may display different sexual behaviors depending on the opportunity (Lussier, Proulx, & LeBlanc). But despite their apparent low self-control – and the fact that they are both highly versatile and violent – these offenders do not escalate to the point of killing their sex offense victim. Therefore, low self-control alone cannot explain sexual homicide as it appears that the individuals who seem to exhibit the lowest self-control – and engage in a variety of crimes – do not kill their victims, but they will inflict physical injuries. Clearly, other explanatory factors or conditions exist that result in a sexual crime having a fatal outcome.

Our findings are supportive of the conclusion reached by Soothill et al. (2000). It appears that sex offenders can actually specialize and be versatile in their criminal career. Although some studies have found that versatility was a typical characteristic of sexual aggressors of women and that specialization was more characteristic of child molesters, our findings seem to suggest that versatility and specialization could actually be distinguished by the level of violence inflicted by sex offenders. Compared to the violent NHSOs, the NHSOs have more prior sexual assaults and sexual crimes in general, they have a greater ratio of sexual to nonsexual crimes, and they present a specialist criminal career profile. Typical of the specialist sex offender, the NHSOs commit their first crime later than the violent NHSO and the SHO.

In addition, our findings indicate that the presence – or not – of prior sexual convictions in one's criminal career is not enough to address the versatility–specialization debate and provide a good understanding of the criminal career of sex offenders. As shown here, when we compared offenders with and without prior sexual convictions in two different samples of SHOs, no significant differences were observed on many modus operandi and crime factors. Therefore, having prior convictions for sexual crimes does not mean that the offender is more typical of the NHSO, nor that an offender without prior sexual convictions is more likely to act as a SHO. The real differences emerge when we take into account the level of violence perpetrated by sex offenders, ranging from no violence to the act of killing the victim.

Implications

This chapter addressed the question of whether SHOs are generalists (i.e., versatile offenders) or specialists. As we demonstrated throughout the chapter, this is a complex question to which there is no simple answer. Looking specifically at SHOs, it is not appropriate to globally apply either the generalist or specialist label. However, when comparing SHOs to violent NHSOs and NHSOs, it became clear that these two latter groups correspond to the versatile and specialist categories, respectively. As can be seen in Table 3.6, the violent NHSOs are distinguished from the two other groups by having committed a wide variety of crimes – from nonviolent to violent offenses. On the other hand, the NHSOs are clearly more specialized; meaning that their criminal histories comprise mainly convictions for sexual crimes. So what conclusions can be made in relation to SHOs? If we look at the findings stemming from our police data, it seems that SHOs more closely resemble the versatile offender. They typically do not possess many prior convictions for violent crimes, but they still have prior convictions for property offenses. Interestingly, most of them do not have prior convictions for sexual crimes. So what does it mean for the people involved in these cases?

It has often been suggested that in cases of sexual homicide, law enforcement agencies should be looking for offenders who have previous sexual convictions. Our findings show that such a recommendation would be ill-advised when investigating a sexually motivated homicide. Most SHOs do not have prior convictions for sexual crimes and they only have a few prior convictions for violent crimes. Therefore, focusing on known sex offenders would be ineffective and constitute a waste of valuable resources for the police. The sex offender registry would most often offer police little assistance in the prioritization of suspects. Moreover, we were able to demonstrate that when comparing SHOs with and without prior convictions for sexual crimes, no real differences emerged as to the modus operandi

Table 3.6 Summary of distinguishing criminal career parameters for NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

NHSOs	*Violent NHSOs*	*SHOs*
Prior sexual assaults	Prior burglary	Prior armed robbery
Prior self-exposure	Prior homicide	Prior sexual homicide
Late age of onset (first crime)	Prior assault	Early age of onset (sexual crime)
Prior sexual crimes	Prior kidnapping	Prior violent crimes
Wikström index	Prior sexual homicide	
Criminal career (specialist)	Prior aggravated sexual assault	
	Prior driving-related offense	
	Prior administration of justice-related offense	
	Prior violent crimes	
	Prior all nonsexual crimes	
	Total number of convictions	
	Total variety of crimes	

and some crime factors. Once again, these findings seem to downplay the importance of prior sexual convictions for SHOs. But can the criminal career of SHOs still be useful in the criminal investigation of these cases? We believe it can. In fact, our findings have shown that SHOs were distinguished from the other two groups of sex offenders by one particular offense: armed robberies (see Table 3.6). Before having committed their sexual homicide, many of these offenders committed other crimes – predominately property crime – but it seems that a large proportion of them also committed armed robberies. Interestingly, this was the case with Brian, as presented at the beginning of the chapter, who had committed many armed robberies before actually committing his first sexual homicide. The reason as to why armed robbery is associated with sexual homicide is unclear at the moment. However, similar to the study by Soothill et al. (2002), some offenses may be related to a higher risk of committing homicide. What these researchers found was that manslaughter, blackmail, and kidnapping increased the relative risk of homicide by 19, five, and four times, respectively. Moreover, the offense of robbery – not necessarily armed robbery – doubled the risk of homicide. These findings are important for the police in charge of investigating these cases. Instead of wasting time and resources on known sex offenders, the findings suggest that SHOs may in fact have minimal criminal histories, characterized by property offenses and especially armed robberies.

With respect to correctional strategies and treatment, our findings may have implications for the follow-up and monitoring of some of these individuals. First, as suggested by our results, the group of NHSOs is the least violent and can be considered specialists. These offenders are typically engaged in sexual crimes and they start their criminal career later in life. It can be assumed that these offenders, when released, will be at a greater risk of committing subsequent sexual crimes. The group of violent NHSOs is distinguished from this group and thus requires a differential follow-up. Although it is tempting to assume that, because of their violent histories, they pose the greatest risk of committing a sexual homicide, our results do not support such an assumption. These offenders are violent, but they do not typically evolve to the point of killing their victims. They engage in a wide variety of crimes – typical of an antisocial offender – which makes it difficult to predict the nature of future offenses. Although these individuals have committed sexual crimes – some very violent ones – we think they should be managed as "violent" offenders, or just as antisocial offenders are typically managed, in and out of correctional institutions.

In conclusion, the criminal career of SHOs provides important insight to better understand the process that leads some individuals to commit sexual homicide. However, an offender's criminal history gains great investigative and correctional importance when one goes beyond simply examining the presence or absence of prior convictions for sexual crimes. In fact, our findings suggest that distinguishing sex offenders on the basis of their versatility (i.e., generalists versus specialists) can be more beneficial and informative for the different actors of the criminal justice system than simply distinguishing those who have prior sexual convictions from those who do not.

Notes

1 The two-cluster criminal career solution (i.e., specialist versus versatile) was identified through a two-step cluster analysis on five criminal career variables. Specialist offenders are described as offenders who started their criminal career late, exhibited almost no variety in their criminal career, and had committed several sexual crimes, but few crimes against property and persons. Versatile offenders are described as offenders who started a varied criminal career early; this career was characterized by few sexual crimes, but many crimes against property and persons. Offenders were classified as Specialist or Versatile based on their cluster membership (see Beauregard, Deslauriers-Varin, & St-Yves, 2010, for more details).
2 It should be noted that we also looked at the mean number of sexual crime prior convictions and once again, no statistically significant differences are observed.

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4 Is there a specific context leading to sexual homicide?

Case study

Richard committed a sexual homicide on a 42-year-old sex trade worker whom he had encountered in a bar in the downtown area. The offender strangled the victim to death. As the victim's body lay in the room completely naked, the offender decided to suck on one of her breasts. During the interview he explained that he stopped doing that as he found the skin texture "disgusting." Later during the day, Richard decided to wash the victim's body and he explained that he shaved her pubic hair so that she would be "cleaner." While doing that, he noticed a piece of skin close to the victim's vagina. During the interview Richard mentioned that the piece of skin detached itself when he gently pulled on it. He then decided to take his razor to make sure that the victim would be all "smooth and clean." However, when the body was discovered by the police, there were many traces of mutilation, the breasts were cut, and there was a 15 cm laceration from the vagina to the rectum. Two days after the homicide, the body was discovered by the janitor due to the strong putrefaction odor. Richard was arrested not too long after that while wandering around in the downtown area.

Richard explained during the interview that just prior to the crime he was unemployed and he firmly believed that the victim wanted to steal from him. He held a very bad opinion of women in general, but more specifically of exotic dancers, women who hang out in bars, and sex trade workers. He perceived all women as ungrateful and untrustworthy. According to the offender, his view of women had largely been influenced by his most recent break up, which caused him great financial losses. Although he recognized that he felt some loneliness prior to the crime, he admitted that he felt calm during the crime. Richard developed a significant alcohol problem over the years and admitted that he was heavily intoxicated prior to the crime.

Introduction

Too often, the study of sexual homicide – or any other criminal act – has focused mainly on the offender, his acts, and to a lesser extent, the victim, neglecting an important component of the criminal event: the context of the crime. As argued

by Meier, Kennedy, and Sacco (2001), no criminological theories adequately examine criminal acts directly by linking preconditions to situational outcomes. To be comprehensive, theories of crime need to account simultaneously and dynamically for offenders and victims as well as for the physical and psychological contexts within which they interact (Meier et al., 2001). This has not been the case for theoretical models proposed to explain sexual homicide. As reviewed in Chapter 1, the focus of these theoretical models has been offender-centric, examining his development and neglecting for the most part the context of the crime. According to these models, the act of sexual homicide is the result of a combination of factors mainly pertaining to the individual, completely omitting what happens in the hours prior to the crime.

However, a revised model proposed by Chan, Heide, and Beauregard (2011) has attempted to address this gap by integrating social learning and routine activities theories into their explanation of sexual homicide. Social learning theory suggests that a person's behavior is learned from the social environment in which their development takes place. Growing up in a sociocultural context which approves of the use of or glorifies violence will result in more violent behavior. Thus, a psychologically damaging childhood and adolescence is seen as a major factor in the pathway to murder. Although this is a common tenet among many theoretical models of sexual homicide, it does not explain how the individual will choose his victim or how he will commit the crime. While the propensity toward violence may be learned, the conduct of violence is not random. Routine activities theory may aid in the understanding of when and how the violence occurs.

Context of the crime through a routine activities approach

Crime, as explained by the routine activities theory, results from the convergence in time and space of three essential elements: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian who may intercede (Cohen & Felson, 1979). All three elements are necessary for the crime to occur. The routine activities approach does not deny that offenders vary in their inclination to commit crime, but rather takes such variation as given (Felson, 1992). If social context limits the presence of capable guardians while increasing the number of suitable targets, then the likelihood of crime occurrence increases, even if the offender's motivation remains stable (Pino, 2005).

For sexual crime involving direct physical contact between the offender and the victim (i.e., contact offenses), the routine activities approach emphasizes the importance of the daily activities of offenders and victims. The routine activities approach assumes that criminal victimization is not randomly distributed in society and that actual crime-commission is a function of the convergence of both the offender's and victim's lifestyles and criminal opportunity. Hence, daily routine activities and lifestyles nurture a criminal opportunity structure by enhancing the exposure and proximity of crime targets to motivated offenders (Felson & Cohen, 1980; Miethe & Meier, 1990; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002).

When looking at victimization, studies have shown that it is the activities and lifestyles of individuals that place them in contexts and interactions that will, in turn, shape their likelihood of being victimized (Miethe & Meier, 1990; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2003). More specifically, lifestyle behaviors and characteristics, above and beyond proxies of lifestyle such as demographics and victim characteristics, are determinant in crime commission and target selection (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2003). As proposed by Kaufman, Mosher, Carter, and Estes (2006), "opportunities are most directly influenced by the victim's situation (e.g., walking alone), target location (e.g., parks), and the involvement of facilitators" (p. 112). For example, studies have consistently shown that engaging in social activities away from home or spending a good proportion of time in places where strangers aggregate is associated with an increased risk of criminal victimization (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2003). Offenders are likely to decide on a suitable area in which to offend, based on the likelihood of finding suitable targets, the latter being a function of the number of potential targets in one location (Bernasco & Nieuwbeerta, 2005). However, since offenders exercise some degree of rational choice, the offender's selection of a particular target over another, within a socio-spatial context, will be determined by the subjective value of the target.

Previous studies have also demonstrated that offenders are likely to adapt the way they commit their crime based on the changing environment in which their victim is located (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993; Felson, 2002; Leclerc, Beauregard, & Proulx, 2008). More specifically, previous studies have shown that the target selection processes of sex offenders depend heavily on the social, physical, and geographic environment, as well as the victim's behaviors and location prior to the crime (Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc, & Allaire, 2007; Beauregard, Rossmo, & Proulx, 2007; Canter & Larkin, 1993; Rossmo, 1997). In their study of the spatial and temporal behavior of child molesters, Ouimet and Proulx (1994) found that the risk of offending was high for those offenders whose routine activities put them in contact with places frequented by children, such as playgrounds, schools, and parks. The model of sexual homicide proposed by Chan et al. (2011) indicated that the postulates of social learning theory were better supported than the ones from routine activities theory. However, the utility of the latter theoretical approach is evident in terms of gaining a better understanding of the context/situation that is conducive to sexual homicide. In relation to sexual crimes, the presence of certain disinhibitors represents one such contextual factor.

Disinhibition and aggressive sexual crime

Several theoretical models of sexual aggression acknowledge the role of disinhibitors in the etiology of violent crime. Barbaree and Marshall (1991) explained that the disinhibition model describes how an emotional or cognitive state may increase the sexual arousal leading to sexual aggression: "When a stimulus loses its inhibitory power abruptly because of some disruptive event, the process is

known as disinhibition, and this concept has been applied to processes associated with the sexual response" (p. 626). Malamuth and colleagues showed that sex offenders score very high on risk variables conceptualized as disinhibitory (e.g., hostility toward women, attitudes facilitating aggression against women), which interact with opportunities to affect the likelihood that sexual violence occurs (Malamuth, Heavey, & Linz, 1993). Similar to Finkelhor's (1984) model of child sexual abuse, Hall and Hirschman (1991) suggested a quadripartite model of sexual aggression characterized by the presence of, among other things, affective dyscontrol – i.e., negative affective states – which constitute a problem with the identification and management of emotions (Ward, Polaschek, & Beech, 2006).

Influenced by these theoretical models, the empirical research on sexual offense pathways has also recognized the important role of disinhibitors. However, offense pathways not only link the presence of various disinhibitors to the commission of a sexual crime, but they also link *specific* disinhibitors to *specific* offense pathways. Following the work of Ward et al. (2006) who identified the positive and negative affect pathways among child molesters, Proulx and colleagues expanded the number of disinhibitors that could influence the offending process of rapists and child molesters (Proulx, Perreault, & Ouimet, 1999; Proulx, St-Yves, Guay, & Ouimet, 1999). With regard to child molesters, offenders who were classified under the homosexual/non-familiar pathway (i.e., plan their crime, target a male victim from a dysfunctional background, commit non-intrusive sexual acts on the victim) were more likely to report the presence of pro-pedophilic cognitive distortions, consumption of pornography, and the presence of negative affects (i.e., anxiety, depression, loneliness, or boredom) prior to the crime in comparison to the other two pathways – namely, the heterosexual/non-familiar and the heterosexual/familiar (Proulx, Perreault et al., 1999). As for rapists, Proulx and colleagues found that offenders from the "anger" pathway reported more consumption of alcohol prior to the crime as compared to offenders from the "sadistic" and "opportunistic" pathways, whereas sex offenders from the sadistic and anger pathways were more likely to report an affect of anger prior to the crime as compared to offenders from the opportunistic pathway (Proulx, St-Yves et al., 1999).

More recently, Proulx and Beauregard (2014) revisited the offense pathways of sexual aggressors of women that also included SHOs. Their offense pathways take into account personality, general and sexual lifestyle, and pre-crime factors. Proulx and Beauregard obtained similar findings to the studies from 1999, identifying the same three pathways. However, the newly identified pathways considered the importance of the context/situation and the scripts used by sexual aggressors of women. For instance, offenders following the sadistic pathway often experience deviant sexual fantasies in the hours prior to the crime as well as using drugs and alcohol. They are the least likely of the three pathways to commit the crime at night but these offenders are the most prone to committing their crime with an accomplice. Offenders from the sadistic pathway report feeling angry prior to the crime. They also report marital problems, idleness, and

low self-esteem, as well as conflicts with women and society in general prior to the crime. Although offenders following the angry pathway are similar in some respects to those who follow the sadistic pathway (e.g., tend to consume drugs and alcohol prior to the crime, as well as experience feelings of anger), offenders following the angry pathway present some interesting differences. For instance, these offenders are more likely to commit their crimes at night against a victim who abuses drugs or alcohol. Prior to the crime, these offenders often report problems with compulsive work, separation from their partner, loneliness, and low self-esteem. Offenders following the opportunistic pathway report feelings of sexual arousal prior to the crime. Moreover, they tend to report generalized conflicts with both women and the system prior to the crime. As can be seen from these three pathways, contextual factors are important to consider. In certain contexts, these factors may help us to understand why some offenders kill their victim, while others do not. The inclusion of contextual factors provides a more comprehensive understanding of the victim and offender interaction. For instance, these factors contribute to our understanding of why under certain circumstances a victim will receive no injuries while under others the victim will be severely injured.

Theoretical and empirical studies have shown that disinhibitors are important in understanding the etiology of sexual aggression as well as the different offending pathways. However, it appears that, to date, the research has overlooked one potential and important aspect of the effect that disinhibitors have on sexual crime. Previous studies have investigated the individualistic effect of single disinhibitors on sexual crimes instead of examining how these factors can work in concert to shape sexual violence. The unifactorial approach continues despite research findings of sex offenders reporting the presence of multiple disinhibitors in the hours prior to their crimes. For instance, it is not unusual for a sex offender to use drugs, feel angry, and watch pornography in the time period immediately prior to a sexual assault. The research on the prior-to-crime activities of the violent sexual offender is not entirely consistent. For example, mixed findings have been observed in relation to the use of pornography as an offense facilitator prior to the commission of crime. Some studies have suggested that pornography has a cathartic effect whereas other studies have found an imitation effect (see Mancini, Reckdenwald, & Beauregard, 2012, for a review).

Alcohol and drug use

Alcohol and illegal drug use or abuse is frequently reported by convicted sex offenders as an explanation for their crime. There is, in effect, an admission of the disinhibiting effects of these two substances by the offenders themselves. Furthermore, the literature on sexual aggression supports the observation that drugs and alcohol may increase the likelihood of sexual aggression by increasing overall arousability (Seto & Barbaree, 1995). Depending on the sample of offenders studied, up to 50% of rapists reported having been intoxicated at the time of the crime (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski,

1987). However, experimental studies to test this conjecture have produced equivocal results. Although Briddell et al. (1978) found that the expectation of alcohol consumption increased sexual arousal in men, a more recent study found no effect for the expectation of alcohol consumption on arousal to rape (Barbaree, Marshall, Yates, & Lightfoot, 1983). A more recent study using a randomized factorial design with male college students who were exposed to an audiotape of a date rape found that participants who consumed, or expected to consume, alcohol, took significantly longer to determine that the man should refrain from attempting further sexual contact with his partner (Marx, Gross, & Adams, 1999).

Anger

Anger is another disinhibitory factor that has been shown to facilitate sexual aggression. Although several studies offer correlational findings as with drugs and alcohol (for instance, see typological studies such as Knight & Prentky, 1990; Proulx & Beauregard, 2009), only one study to our knowledge has used an experimental design. Yates, Barbaree, and Marshall (1984) monitored sexual arousal to descriptions of rape and consenting sex. Participants were divided into two groups. The "exercise-only" group were asked to pedal on a bicycle as fast as they could for one minute, after which their pattern of sexual arousal (to rape cues and consenting sex) was tested with phallometric assessment. In the "anger" condition participants were asked to perform the same task, but after the experimenter told them the distance covered during one minute, a female member of the research team made a disparaging remark directed toward the subject concerning his performance. The participants were then immediately tested in the phallometric laboratory. Findings indicated that participants from the "anger" condition presented responses to rape cues that were equally as strong as those to consenting cues, indicating a lack of discriminatory response to stimuli.

Pornography

Consumption of pornographic materials has been linked to risk for sexual aggression (for reviews, see Malamuth, Addison, & Koss, 2000; Marshall, 2000). However, similar to the disparity in findings regarding drugs and alcohol, opposing views exist as to the real impact that pornography has on inciting sexual aggression. On the one hand, scholars have theorized that pornographic exposure fuels sexually aggressive attitudes toward certain groups. Sexual offenders, for example, may draw upon pornography as a "training manual" for abusing women (for a recent review, see Hald, Malamuth, & Yuen, 2010). This is in line with what can be called the "imitation" effect of pornography (e.g., Kingston, Fedoroff, Firestone, Curry, & Bradford, 2008), whereby offenders recreate scenes from pornographic media. On the other hand, some research supports null or even "cathartic" effects of pornography use whereby exposure may aid in the release of sexual aggression, in turn, reducing the likelihood of offending (e.g., Neutze, Seto, Schaefer, Mundt, & Beier, 2011; Wortley &

Smallbone, 2006). Another line of research has specifically examined the relationship between pornography and the level of violence exhibited in a sexual crime. For instance, Mancini et al. (2012) found that the consumption of pornography just prior to crime commission had a "cathartic" effect, such that the use of pornography was correlated with reduced victim injury.

In terms of experimental studies examining the link between pornography and sexual aggression, Malamuth and colleagues demonstrated that when exposing a group to sexually explicit material (i.e., a movie, verbal description of an interaction in which the female is described as becoming sexually aroused, slides with audio content), men were more likely to show a greater acceptance of interpersonal violence (Malamuth & Check, 1981), to endorse rape myths that view women as enjoying rape (Malamuth & Check, 1985), and to generate more violent sexual fantasies than do men not exposed to such materials (Malamuth, 1981). Marshall, Seidman, and Barbaree (1991) presented male undergraduate students with short videotaped sequences depicting mutually consenting sex, rape, or a nonsexual scene. Results indicated that participants who had been pre-exposed to rape scenes showed reduced discrimination between rape and mutually consenting stimuli as compared to participants who had been pre-exposed to consenting or neutral stimuli. These findings lead to the conclusion that previous exposure to rape themes disinhibits men's arousal to rape cues.

Context leading to sexual homicide

Previous studies have examined different contextual characteristics that have led to sexual homicide. We have identified 18 studies that included at least some aspect of the context/situation of the crime (see Table 4.1). Of the four studies that reported on the presence of an accomplice, three indicated that approximately one fourth of the sexual homicides sampled were committed by more than one perpetrator (Abrahams et al., 2008; Beauregard & Proulx, 2007; Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen, Lindberg, Salenius, & Weizmann-Henelius, 2009), while the other study indicated a much smaller number (Oliver, Beech, Fisher, & Beckett, 2007). Seven studies reported on whether the offender was employed or not prior to committing the crime (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002, 2007; Beauregard, Stone, Proulx, & Michaud, 2008; Briken, Habermann, Berner, & Hill, 2006; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009; Milsom, Beech, & Webster, 2003; Stefanska, Carter, Higgs, Bishopp, & Beech, 2015). With the exception of one study (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002), studies found that a little more than 20% of SHOs were unemployed at the time of their offense. The unemployment rate among Beauregard and Proulx's (2002) sample was far less at 6.1%. What appears to be very consistent from one study to the other is the use of drugs and/or alcohol in the hours prior to offending. Only a minority of studies (three studies out of 18, i.e., Abrahams et al., 2008; Milsom et al., 2003; Smith, Basile, & Karch, 2011) did not report on this particular situational component of the crime. Sexual murderers tend to consume alcohol prior to the crime with the percentages ranging between 30% (Darjee & Baron, 2013) and 88.2%

Table 4.1 Summary of findings on the contextual characteristics of sexual homicide

Study	*Types of offenders*[1]	*Contextual characteristics of sexual homicide*
Abrahams et al. (2008)	561 SHO 2876 NSM	Crime committed at home (10.3%) | urban public/recreational space (24.5%) | rural public space (30.9%) | work (19.5%) | offender unemployed (17.6%) | more than one perpetrator (24.2%) | other crime involved (23.8%) | theft involved (27.8%)
Beauregard & Proulx (2007)	10 SHO	Employed during crime (33.3%) | victim under the influence of drugs/alcohol during crime (44.4%) | victim living alone (50.0%) | lost job prior to crime (11.1%) | financial difficulties prior to crime (40.0%) | split from partner prior to crime (22.2%) | marital problems prior to crime (11.1%) | interpersonal conflict with victim prior to crime (33.3%) | alcohol prior to crime (80.0%) | drugs prior to crime (50.0%) | pornography prior to crime (10.0%) | deviant sexual fantasies prior to crime (20.0%) | more than one perpetrator (30.0%) | high probability of being apprehended (30.0%)
Beauregard & Proulx (2002)	36 SHO	Anger before crime (63.3%) | calm before crime (10.0%) | positive affect before crime (23.3%) | alcohol before crime (82.4%) | drugs before crime (51.5%) | prescription drugs before crime (9.1%) | pornography before crime (0.0%) | strip club before crime (7.7%) | deviant sexual fantasies involving victim prior to crime (11.4%) | deviant sexual fantasies involving person other than victim prior to crime (33.3%) | problems of compulsive work prior to crime (6.1%) | loss of job prior to crime (6.1%) | loneliness problems prior to crime (12.1%) | separation problems prior to crime (12.1%) | conjugal difficulties prior to crime (9.1%) | familial difficulties prior to crime (3.0%) | perceived rejection prior to crime (52.0%) | other relational problems prior to crime (6.1%)
Beauregard et al. (2008)	77 SHO	Alcohol prior to crime (73.3%) | drugs prior to crime (45.3%) | pornography prior to crime (5.3%) | deviant sexual fantasies involving victim prior to crime (18.7%) | victim under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs prior to crime (33.8%) | unemployed prior to crime (52.7%)
Briken et al. (2006)	161 SHO	Unemployed prior to crime (20.5%) | alcohol prior to crime (43.5%)
Darjee & Baron (2013)	47 SHO 53 NHSO	Crime outside (34.0%) | crime committed at victim residence (34.0%) | crime committed at offender residence (17.0%) | crime committed at other inside location (15.0%) | alcohol prior to crime (30.0%) | alcohol and drugs prior to crime (30.0%)
Langevin et al. (1988)	13 SHO 13 NHSO 13 NSM	Crime committed in the victim's residence (39.0%) | crime committed on the street (15.0%) | crime committed elsewhere (46.0%) | affect of sex and anger prior to crime (69.0%) | alcohol prior to crime (64.0%) | drugs prior to crime (31.0%) | intoxicated prior to crime (25.0%)

Langevin (2003)	33 SHO 80 SA 23 S 611 NHSO	Pornography prior to crime (3.0%) | alcohol prior to crime (54.6%) | intoxicated prior to crime (33.3%) | drugs used prior to crime (48.5%) | drug intoxication prior to crime (33.3%)
Folino (2000)	16 SHO	Alcohol intoxication prior to crime (75.0%) | anger prior to crime (12.5%) | interpersonal conflict prior to crime (12.5%)
Grubin (1994)	21 SHO 121 NHSO	Bottles temper (38.0%) | alcohol prior to crime (86.0%) | loss of self-esteem prior to crime (34.0%) | anger prior to crime (50.0%) | sexual arousal prior to crime (14.3%)
Häkkänen-Nyholm et al. (2009)	18 SHO 615 NSM	More than one perpetrator (27.8%) | alcohol prior to crime (88.2%) | unemployed prior to crime (50.0%)
Koch et al. (2011)	166 SHO 56 NHSO	Alcohol prior to crime (63.2%) | substance use prior to crime (7.9%)
Mieczkowski & Beauregard (2010)	83 SHO 533 NHSO	Drugs prior to crime (43.4%) | pornography prior to crime (6.0%) | high probability of apprehension (44.6%) | crime committed at night (69.9%)
Milsom et al. (2003)	19 SHO 16 NHSO	Unemployed prior to crime (42.0%)
Nicole & Proulx (2007)	40 SHO 101 NHSO	Anger prior to crime (52.9%) | alcohol prior to crime (84.2%)
Oliver et al. (2007)	58 SHO 112 NHSO	Alcohol and/or taken illicit substances prior to crime (77.0%) | more than one perpetrator (7.0%)
Smith et al. (2011)	285 SHO	Crime committed in a house (69.8%) | crime committed on a street/road, sidewalk, alley, parking lot, garage (6.9%) | crime committed in a school (1.8%) | crime committed in a natural area (5.6%) | crime committed in a hotel/motel (1.8%) | crime committed in another location (11.6%)
Stefanska et al. (2015)	129 SHO	Intoxication prior to crime (47.3%) | unemployed prior to crime (28.0%)

Note
1 SHO = sexual homicide offender; NHSO = non-homicidal sex offender; NSM = nonsexual murderer; SA = sexual aggressive; S = sadist.

(Häkkänen-Nyholm et al., 2009). They also, to a lesser extent, use drugs prior to committing their offense, with percentages varying between 7.9% (Koch, Berner, Hill, & Briken, 2011) and 51.5% (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). In addition to the alcohol–drug disinhibitors, some SHOs will also peruse pornographic materials in the hours leading to the offense. Our analysis of the literature identified five studies that included the variable of looking at pornography prior to offending (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002, 2007; Beauregard et al., 2008; Langevin, 2003; Mieczkowski & Beauregard, 2010); however, the percentage of SHOs who reported watching pornography prior to their crimes remains relatively low, ranging from 3% to 10%. Similarly, three studies have indicated that between 11.4% and 33.3% of SHOs reported having deviant sexual fantasies prior to committing the crime (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002, 2007; Beauregard et al., 2008).

The offender's affective state in the hours preceding the crime is another important situational factor that has been examined in studies on sexual homicide. According to our review, four studies have identified that SHOs reported experiencing feelings of anger prior to committing their crime, ranging between 12.5% (Folino, 2000) and 63.3% (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). Three other studies reported that SHOs experienced positive affect, such as sexual arousal, prior to the crime. The frequency of positive affect among offenders ranged from 14.3% to 69.0%. In addition to emotional affect, some studies also examined the presence of personal conflict in the hours prior to the homicide. SHOs often report having experienced specific difficulties in the hours leading to the crime. This had led researchers to suggest that personal conflicts may facilitate crime commission by creating an affective state that lowers one's inhibitions and encourages acting on impulse. The personal conflict becomes a triggering event for the homicide. Conflicts may include separation from one's partner, marital and/or financial difficulties, interpersonal conflict or disagreement with the victim, loneliness, and/or perceived rejection or injustice. These conflicts differ in their frequencies, ranging from 6.1% to 52.0% (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002, 2007; Folino, 2000; Grubin, 1994).

Another important contextual element is the crime location. Sexual homicides occur in both indoor and outdoor locations. They can essentially be committed anywhere that a victim and offender come into contact in the absence of protective guardians. Routine activities theory suggests that the geography of an offense will be influenced by the offender's everyday routine. An offender is likely to commit their offense in a location that is familiar to them, within their normative activity space. This is true of both the opportunistic and the predatory offender. The opportunistic offender will happen upon a suitable victim in the performance of everyday tasks within the normative activity space, whereas the predatory offender will often select hunting locations that are familiar so as to ensure that he can attack his victim without interruption and make good his escape while avoiding apprehension.

Interestingly, some SHOs specifically choose the victim's residence to commit their crime. Among the four studies that have examined the crime locations associated with sexual homicide, it appears that between 10.3% (Abrahams

et al., 2008) and 69.8% (Smith et al., 2011) of SHOs choose to commit their crime in the victim's home. However, a significant proportion of SHOs (ranging between 5.6% and 34.0%) prefer to commit the crime outside, in a public location or elsewhere, such as at a workplace (ranging between 15.0% and 46.0%). It is also of interest that between 30.0% and 44.6% of SHOs commit their crime in a location where the probability of apprehension is high (e.g., probability of being seen by a witness or a passer-by; Beauregard & Proulx, 2007; Mieczkowski & Beauregard, 2010). This would suggest that the impulse to act is greater than the need to avoid apprehension.

To summarize, the existing literature supports the notion that it is imperative to consider contextual factors as these factors play an important role in shaping the offense. SHOs sometimes commit their crime with an accomplice. They are often unemployed and consume alcohol and, to a lesser extent, drugs, prior to the crime. A small number report watching pornography prior to the crime, but a larger proportion admit to having deviant sexual fantasies involving the victim (or not) in the hours or days prior to crime commission. Although most SHOs report feelings of anger prior to offending, some report positive affective states, such as sexual arousal. It appears that many SHOs experience personal conflicts and difficulties in the hours preceding the crime. Finally, although most sexual homicides are committed outside, there is a significant group of offenders that choose to offend in the victim's residence.

Although informative, these research findings only offer a partial picture of the importance of contextual/situational factors in sexual homicide. The results reported in Table 4.1 allow for an examination of the prevalence of each of the factors reported. However, there is no indication whether these factors are specifically and differentially significant in cases of sexual homicide in comparison to nonfatal sexual crimes (e.g., rapists, incest offenders, child molesters) or nonsexual homicides. As mentioned in Chapter 1, only a few studies conducted thus far have attempted to make such comparisons. Here we have identified 11 studies that have used such comparisons and that have also examined contextual/situational factors. Abrahams et al. (2008) found that non-rape homicides were more likely to be committed in urban, rural, and public areas as compared to suspected-rape homicides. Moreover, there was a higher likelihood of having more than one perpetrator and having theft, or other crime, involved in cases of non-rape homicide as compared to suspected-rape homicide. The study by Darjee and Baron (2013) only demonstrated that SHOs were more likely to consume alcohol prior to offending than were rapists. Langevin, Ben-Aron, Wright, Marchese, and Handy (1988), however, showed that anger, as well as a combination of sex and anger prior to the crime, were more prevalent for SHOs as compared to nonsexual murderers and sexual aggressors. In his subsequent study, Langevin (2003) not only showed that SHOs were more likely to use drugs and alcohol prior to offending, but that they were also more likely to be considered drunk and intoxicated as compared to sadists, sexual aggressors, and NHSOs. However, neither group presented differences as to their alcohol consumption prior to the crime nor their employment status.

Häkkänen-Nyholm et al. (2009) showed that SHOs were more likely to commit the crime with at least one accomplice as compared to nonsexual murderers. In the study by Koch et al. (2011), the findings revealed that SHOs were more likely than NHSOs to use alcohol prior to the crime, but less likely to use drugs. This is the opposite of what Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2010) found in their study; SHOs were more likely to use drugs prior to the crime as compared to NHSOs. However, Mieczkowski and Beauregard's findings also revealed that SHOs, in comparison to NHSOs, were more likely to commit their crime at night, to take risks and commit their offense when the probability of apprehension was high, but they were less likely than NHSOs to have watched pornography in the hours prior to the crime. Finally, Nicole and Proulx (2007) showed that SHOs were more likely to report pre-crime anger as well as consumption of alcohol prior to the crime as compared to NHSOs.

The comparative analyses discussed above demonstrate that among the contextual characteristics associated with sexual homicide, very few of these factors are significantly more prevalent among SHOs. In an effort to provide a more comprehensive assessment of the differences in the contextual/situational offense characteristics between groups we offer a comparison of SHOs, NHSOs, and violent NHSOs along these factors.

Findings

Table 4.2 presents the differences between NHSOs, violent NHSOs and SHOs in relation to the presence of certain contextual/situational factors prior to the crime. As can be seen in Table 4.2, many differences exist suggesting that the context leading to sexual homicide differs from that leading to a violent or a nonviolent sexual offense. Looking at the NHSOs, it is interesting to note that, as previously remarked, these offenders present a greater preoccupation with sexuality. Their criminal careers are characterized by a predominance of sexual crimes (see Chapter 3), and we notice that the situation leading to the crime is also typical of sexual crimes. As such, NHSOs tend to report more problems with the frequency and/or nature of their sexual relationships in the hours prior to the crime. Moreover, NHSOs are more likely to target a victim who is in bed compared to the violent NHSO and the SHO. Also, NHSOs are more likely to commit their crime during the day as compared to the violent NHSO and the SHO. This suggests that perhaps NHSOs' choice of when and where to attack their victim is particularly influenced by the victim's routine activities.

The violent NHSO does not share the same sexual preoccupation as the NHSO in the hours prior to the crime. Instead of sexual preoccupations, the violent NHSO reports more conflict than the two other groups of sex offenders. Violent NHSOs are more likely to have separated from their partner and to report relationship problems in the hours prior to the crime than the other two groups. Moreover, although not significant when examining the three groups of offenders, violent NHSOs are nonetheless more likely to report specific conflict with their partner in the hours prior to the crime compared to SHOs. Furthermore, violent NHSOs are

Table 4.2 Differences between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs in their situation prior to the crime

Situational factors	*NHSOs (N = 387)*	*Violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*SHOs (N = 85)*
Offender was employed	41.6	37.5	44.7
Occupational problems 48 hrs prior***[a]	9.8	7.6	22.4
Loneliness 48 hrs prior	20.9	13.2	21.2
Split from partner 48 hrs prior*	7.2	14.6	9.4
Relationship problems 48 hrs prior**[a]	18.6	27.8	10.6
Problems of frequency/nature of sexual relationships 48 hrs prior***	26.1	17.4	9.4
Poor body self-image 48 hrs prior[a]	11.6	9.0	17.6
Low self-esteem 48 hrs prior	27.9	27.8	36.5
Specific conflict with partner 48 hrs prior[a]	13.7	17.4	8.2
Generalized conflict with women 48 hrs prior***	11.4	24.3	31.8
Generalized conflict with the system 48 hrs prior†	9.0	16.0	12.9
Victim in bed during the crime†	26.1	25.0	14.1
Crime committed during the day***[a]	61.2	41.7	31.8
More than one perpetrator involved***	4.4	12.5	14.1
High probability of apprehension†	35.1	43.8	44.7
Victim intoxicated during crime***[a]	8.5	18.8	32.9
Victim was living alone***[a]	8.0	22.9	34.1

Notes
† $p<0.10$;
* $p<0.05$;
** $p<0.01$;
*** $p<0.001$;
a the difference between violent NHSO and SHO is significant.

more likely to report a generalized conflict with society in the hours prior to the crime compared to the other two groups of sex offenders under investigation.

Distinctive contextual factors that contribute to the offense path of SHOs are also found. Although there is no difference between the three groups concerning employment prior to the crime, SHOs are more likely to report occupational problems in the hours prior to the crime as compared to the other two groups. Most often, these occupational problems are problems of boredom. Also, compared to violent NHSOs who report generalized conflicts with the system, SHOs are more likely to report generalized conflicts with women in the hours prior to the crime. Note, however, that the difference between the violent NHSOs and the SHOs is not significant. SHOs are more likely to commit their crime with at least another offender when the risks of apprehension are high compared to the other two groups of sex offenders. Once again, however, the differences between SHOs and the violent NHSOs are not significant. Finally, SHOs are more likely to have targeted an intoxicated victim who was living alone at the time of the crime compared to the violent NHSOs and NHSOs.

Table 4.3 presents the differences between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs as to the disinhibitors involved prior to the crime. Similar to what has

Table 4.3 Differences between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs in the disinhibitors prior to the crime

Disinhibitors	*NHSOs (N = 387)*	*Violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*SHOs (N = 85)*
Alcohol prior to crime***	34.4	61.1	71.8
Drugs prior to crime***	21.4	36.8	43.5
Alcohol + drugs prior to crime***	41.9	68.1	75.3
Pornography prior to crime**	16.0	8.3	5.9
Deviant sexual fantasies involving the victim prior to crime***	28.2	14.6	16.5
Deviant sexual fantasies excluding the victim prior to crime	21.7	18.1	27.1
Positive affect prior to crime*	38.5	25.7	31.8
Pornography + deviant fantasies + positive affect prior to crime**	59.4	45.1	45.9

Notes
* $p < 0.05$;
** $p < 0.01$;
*** $p < 0.001$.

been observed previously, NHSOs show a greater preoccupation with sexuality than the other two groups of sex offenders studied. As such, NHSOs are more likely to report having engaged in the viewing of pornography prior to the crime, having entertained deviant sexual fantasies involving the victim in the hours prior to the crime, and reporting a positive affect (typically sexual arousal) in the hours prior to the crime, as compared to the violent NHSO and the SHO. Moreover, the NHSOs are more likely to report a *combination* of pornography use, deviant sexual fantasies, and a positive affect prior to the crime compared to the other two groups of sex offenders. On the opposite side of the spectrum, we have the SHOs who are more likely to have used alcohol, drugs, or a combination of drugs and alcohol prior to the crime, as compared to the violent NHSOs and NHSOs. Of note is the lack of significant differences between SHOs and violent NHSOs. These groups are similar in terms of their use of disinhibitors. Our findings suggest that no disinhibitors are specifically associated with the violent NHSOs.

Another important contextual aspect of the crime is geography, that is, the location(s) where the offender will come into contact with, and attack, the victim, and in the case of sexual homicide, dump the body. As this information is not included in the prison sample, we are presenting the location information from our police sample only. When examining the three stages of the crime – i.e., encounter, attack, and body dump – it is clear that the majority of offenders chose a location characterized by ease of access. As can be seen in Table 4.4, 34.5% of SHOs come into contact with the victim in an outdoor location (e.g., parking lot, on the street), 42% choose the same type of location for the attack, while 73.7% decide to dump the body at an outdoor location. The opposite trend is observed for SHOs who choose an inside public location such as a business or an entertainment location. Hence, 28.9% of SHOs encounter the victim in an

Table 4.4 Context characteristics for SHOs from police sample (solved and unsolved cases)

Types of crime	*Mean SHOs (N = 350)*
Offender got in contact with victim at her residence	21.4
Offender got in contact with victim at outdoor location	34.5
Offender got in contact with victim at transportation-related location	12.9
Offender got in contact with victim inside public location (e.g., business, entertainment)	28.9
Offender committed the crime at victim residence	21.4
Offender committed the crime at outdoor location	42.0
Offender committed the crime at transportation-related location	7.1
Offender committed the crime inside public location (e.g., business, entertainment)	11.2
Victim's body was dumped at her residence	20.3
Victim's body was dumped at outdoor location	73.7
Victim's body was dumped at transportation-related location	5.4
Victim's body was dumped at inside public location (e.g., business, entertainment)	9.8

inside public location, 11.2% choose to attack the victim in this same type of location, while only 9.8% dump the body at an indoor public location. This is not really surprising considering the risky nature of a public location. Probably one of the most interesting findings is the fact that one out of five SHOs come into contact with, attack, and dump the victim's body in the victim's residence. This may suggest a specific script that SHOs use in order to commit their crime, and this should be explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

It is not only the contextual situation of the offender preceding the crime that is of interest, but also that of the victim. Victimology provides invaluable information in developing a comprehensive understanding of the context of the crime in sexual homicide. As with Table 4.4, this information is not available for our prison sample. However, considering the size of our police sample, we think it is worth including the information based on the single sample. As can be seen in Table 4.5, 28.8% of the victims were at home involved in domestic activities

Table 4.5 Victims' routine activities prior to sexual homicide from police sample (solved and unsolved cases)

Victim's routine activities	*Mean SHOs (N = 350)*
Victim was at home	28.8
Victim was out on the street (e.g., commuting, hitchhiking, jogging)	42.5
Victim was with friends	31.4
Victim was working	2.6
Victim was involved in prostitution	8.3
Victim was involved in sport/recreational activities	5.5
Victim was shopping	0.9

just prior to the crime. However, the majority of sexual homicide victims were either out on the street (42.5%; e.g., commuting between two locations, hitchhiking) or with friends (31.4%). The other victims were either working (2.6%), shopping (0.9%), involved in sport/recreational activities (5.5%), or involved in prostitution activities (8.3%).

Situational aspects of sexual homicide

In the current chapter we explored different aspects of the context surrounding sexual crimes, with specific attention paid to sexual homicide. Among all the factors examined, we had a series of situational aspects that more often occurred in the hours – more specifically 48 hours – prior to the crime. Interestingly, except for some occupational problems and a generalized conflict with women, SHOs do not report many situational difficulties in the hours leading to the crime. Actually, none of the three groups of sex offenders present a clear pattern of situational difficulties prior to the crime. Although the violent NHSOs report relationship problems, partner separation, and a generalized conflict with the system in the hours prior to the crime, which is characteristic of antisocial individuals, the NHSOs are mainly affected by problems regarding the frequency and nature of their sexual relationships. This is in line with what has been observed thus far, namely that these offenders present a greater preoccupation with sexuality.

The findings nonetheless show that sexual homicides are often committed in a specific context, independent of the offender. Sexual homicides are sometimes committed with at least one accomplice, on a victim intoxicated and living alone, and often when the probabilities of apprehension are high. Although this does not correspond to the majority of sexual homicides committed, this may suggest risk factors that could potentially increase the severity of sexual crimes. For instance, despite the fact that most sexual crimes are committed by single offenders, the findings suggest that if more than one perpetrator is involved in a sexual crime, this could contribute to the increase in the level of violence involved in the attack, from serious physical injuries to the death of the victim. This is similar to what Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2010) found when comparing SHOs to NHSOs using a criminal event perspective. Looking at the influence of the victim, situation, and crime characteristics, their findings revealed that the situation (e.g., use of drugs, pornography prior to crime) had a very limited impact on the lethal outcome. Instead, they found that it was in the context of the crime itself – and to a lesser extent – with certain victim characteristics, that it was possible to better understand those sexual assaults that resulted in fatalities.

Victim's residence as a dangerous location

The findings presented in the current chapter show that the majority of SHOs kill their victims in the victim's residence or at an outdoor location (see also Grubin,

1994; Langevin et al., 1988). These two locations account for more than 50% of all attack sites. The inclusion of information on the encounter and body disposal sites in the current study allows for an examination of crime scene patterns. Although the overall pattern between the contact and the attack scenes seems to exhibit stability (i.e., approximately 21% victim residence and between 34% and 42% outdoor location for both scene types), clearly the majority of sexual murderers decide to switch locations for the purpose of disposing of the body when the victim is not targeted within her residence (Leclerc, Wortley, & Smallbone, 2010). Hence, although the choice of an outdoor location is between 34% and 42% for the contact and attack scenes, it almost doubles for the body disposal scene.

The fact that one out of five victims of sexual homicide is targeted, attacked, and disposed of in her own residence challenges the commonly held belief that women are safe in their homes and at greater risk when outside of the home. As suggested by Warr (1988), the victim's residence should be regarded as a major locus of sexual crimes. Sexual crimes where the offender gains access to victims through the use of a *home-intrusion* technique (Warr; see also Beauregard, Proulx et al., 2007) – i.e., breaking and entering – resemble a hybrid offense, that is, a violent crime with the opportunity structure of a property crime. Hence, the same characteristics that make a dwelling attractive to a burglar (e.g., easy access, easy escape, clear view inside the home) are also likely to make it attractive to sex offenders. This carries practical implications for the investigation of sexual homicide cases as Schlesinger and Revitch (1999) found, there is a 77% chance that the offender has a history of sexual burglary when the victim is killed in her residence (see also Davies, Wittebrood, & Jackson, 1997).

The role of disinhibitors in sexual homicide

The findings presented in this chapter clearly show a distinct pattern for SHOs when it comes to disinhibitors. SHOs are more likely to use drugs, alcohol, or both just prior to the crime as compared to the other two groups of sex offenders. As mentioned previously, alcohol and illegal drug use is frequently reported by sex offenders who admit a disinhibiting effect of these two substances. However, previous research has not explained why the consumption of these two substances would increase the risk of homicide during a sexual assault. Part of the answer could be that, as suggested by Seto and Barbaree (1995), drugs and alcohol may increase the likelihood of sexual aggression by increasing overall arousability. It is possible that because these offenders are under the influence of alcohol, drugs, or both, they become increasingly aroused or hyper-aroused not only sexually but in a more general physiological sense. This could result in a more extreme reaction to any perceived slights or noncompliance. For instance, if the victim says something that angers the offender just prior to the sexual assault, the offender may act out more violently due to the hyper-arousal. The lack of inhibition that occurs with the consumption of alcohol and illegal substances may also account for the increased likelihood of a fatality. The offender

may exhibit less control over his physical behavior and be more willing to act out violent fantasies. Moreover, victim resistance may also lead to the offender using a greater level of violence, especially if the offender is intoxicated. However, it is also interesting to note that in the study by Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2010), alcohol was not significantly related to a lethal outcome during a sexual assault. The use of drugs was related to an increased likelihood of killing the victim during the sexual assault, but as previously mentioned, the effect was very small.

Although the findings from previous studies may appear to conflict with what we observe here, it is not the case. We believe that the best explanation for our findings can be found in the study by Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2012). In this study, the authors found that the simple additive effect of the disinhibitors does not seem to occur – i.e., the more disinhibitors, the more violent the assault. Actually, the study showed that the percentage of cases in which all disinhibitors are absent is substantially greater than the percentage in which all disinhibitors are present. More importantly, the study showed that the prevalence rates of the offender's consumption of alcohol, drugs, and pornography – considered alone – were lowest for lethal offenses. The combination of alcohol and drug use, however, was substantially more prevalent in lethal offenses. The authors, thus, suggested that the combination of drugs and alcohol appear to be a deadly mix.

In addition, what our findings seem to suggest is that different disinhibitors – or combinations of disinhibitors – will have varied effects on different groups of sex offenders. The use of drugs, alcohol, or the combination of both is associated with sexual homicide. However, our findings show that using pornography, having deviant sexual fantasies involving the victim, and a positive affect (namely sexual arousal) prior to the crime – and the combination of the three – is more likely in cases of NHSOs. This is in line with what we observed thus far in our analyses of developmental and criminal career factors. Factors related to sexuality are often more prevalent in the group of NHSOs. Although it is not possible to verify this with the data available to us, we can hypothesize that the different patterns observed between NHSOs and SHOs reflect differences in motivation. Nevertheless, the findings reported here seem consistent with the cathartic effect of pornography reported by Mancini et al. (2012) – sexual preoccupations just prior to the crime are related to lower victim physical injury.

Implications

This chapter addressed the question of whether there was a specific context leading to sexual homicide. Our findings show that although the presence of disinhibitors may contribute to the decision to kill the victim during a sexual assault, only certain disinhibitors are related to this decision. SHOs are more likely to experience occupational problems prior to the crime, report a generalized conflict with women, and use drugs, alcohol, or a combination of both in the hours leading to the offense. Moreover, these offenders are more likely to target a victim living alone, who is intoxicated, sometimes with the presence of

an accomplice, and when the probability of apprehension is high (see Table 4.6). Interestingly, this specific context leading to sexual homicide is almost identical to the context of the crime committed by Richard, as presented in the case study at the beginning of the chapter. Although the offender did not use any drugs prior to the crime and acted alone, he was heavily intoxicated by alcohol and reported having a serious grievance against women in general, and against sex trade workers specifically. He was unemployed and targeted a woman who was living alone and who was also intoxicated at the time of the offense.

Identifying the contextual and situational factors that create an environment conducive to sexual homicide is an important step in understanding the complexities of this crime. However, the nexus between this information and practical implications for investigation and treatment is not readily apparent. Often times, the context in which the crime occurs is not something over which the offender or victim exhibits complete control. The context of the crime is usually something that is not observable by would-be guardians. Thus the context cannot often be changed or manipulated to prevent harm. Nevertheless, some important implications can be inferred. For instance, the current findings may help clinicians working in corrections identify the specific contexts that have led a sex offender to kill his victim in the past and use this information to develop relapse prevention plans. It is important for those treating sex offenders to know that those who use a combination of drugs and alcohol are more likely to kill their victims. On the other hand, offenders who exhibit strong preoccupations with sexuality (e.g., use of pornography, deviant sexual fantasies) in the hours leading

Table 4.6 Summary of distinguishing contextual characteristics for NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs

NHSOs	*Violent NHSOs*	*SHOs*
Problems of frequency/nature of sexual relationships prior to crime	Separation from partner prior to crime	Occupational problems prior to crime
Victim in bed during the crime	Relationship problems prior to crime	Generalized conflict with women prior to crime
Crime committed during the day	Generalized conflict with the system prior to crime	More than one perpetrator involved
Pornography prior to crime		High probability of apprehension
Deviant sexual fantasies involving the victim prior to crime		Victim intoxicated during crime
Positive affect prior to crime		Victim was living alone
Combination of pornography, deviant sexual fantasies, and positive affect prior to crime		Alcohol prior to crime
		Drugs prior to crime
		Combination of alcohol and drugs prior to crime

up to the offense are less likely to exhibit severe levels of violence. This information allows the treatment intervention to be better tailored to the offender, and it may even suggest important situational crime prevention measures that the offender can put in place in order to prevent a relapse.

Probably the other important implication of these findings is the fact that despite most victims being targeted when they are outside on the street, a significant proportion of sexual homicide victims are attacked within their own residence. As mentioned previously, this is contrary to the commonly held belief that women are particularly safe in their own residence. Our findings indicate that some offenders intentionally target women in their own home, suggesting that there might be some environmental factors that make these targets very attractive for offenders. As suggested by Warr (1988), "the home should be regarded as a major locus, and perhaps the major locus, of rape" (p. 286). Sexual assault investigators should inform women that some sex offenders are "environmentally aware" and will be attracted by any cues on the outside of a building that give away specific information regarding those who live inside (e.g., name-plates that inform an offender of a single female occupant). Therefore, prevention strategies should focus on target hardening by informing women of the importance of securing their windows, of the potential dangers of leaving only the screen door closed during hot summer nights, and of the type of cues to which offenders will be attuned, such as any evidence that a woman is living alone (Beauregard, Proulx et al., 2007).

In conclusion, the examination of the specific context of the crime may help the different actors of the criminal justice system identify those offenders who could potentially be at risk of committing a sexual homicide. Clearly, our findings show once again that factors related to sexuality are less important when trying to predict those offenders who will end up killing their victims. Instead, the use of drugs and alcohol are more important, especially if other situational factors related to the crime are also present (e.g., conflict with women, victim intoxicated). These findings demonstrate that it is important to look at the context to better understand the processes involved in sexual offenses and the path that leads some offenders to go beyond the sexual acts and use lethal violence. Our findings also suggest that the context of the crime needs to be considered in conjunction with the other factors involved in sexual homicide. It is the interplay of various factors – offender, victim, offense, and context that determine the offense outcome.

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5 How far do sexual murderers travel to commit their crime?[1]

Case study

Barry has been convicted of three sexual homicides. At the time of his murders, he was married with two children and he was the owner of a company that specialized in pipe cleaning. His company was located in the eastern part of Montreal while he was living in a suburb outside of Montreal. Prior to his first murder, Barry was engaged in an extramarital affair with a receptionist working at his company. After a few weeks, the woman decided to end the affair. Barry was very angry and decided to fire her. The day of the murder, he contacted the victim under the pretext of hiring her back. He indicated that she needed to meet with him for this purpose. The woman was living with her parents and her three children on the west side of Montreal. She left the house, telling her parents that she had a date. Her family was not aware of her affair with her boss. It was a Saturday and the business was closed. When the victim arrived at the office, she quickly realized that she was going to be alone with the offender. Although during the interview the offender did not remember exactly what was said between the two, he remembered that he tried to convince her to continue the affair. The victim was not interested but before she had the time to explain, the offender took her to a garage within the building. He grabbed her from behind and cut her throat. The offender undressed her and inserted a knife in her rectum. It is not clear if the victim was dead at the time the knife was inserted. Afterward, he placed the victim in his company truck and took her to a wooded area near his residence. He dismembered the body and buried the head separately. He then decided to burn all the other body parts. He left the body disposal scene and cleaned his truck and garage.

The offender did not recidivate for two years. Due to his business, he was often on the road driving long distances. The day of the second murder, he was driving in a small town 65 km north of Montreal. According to the offender, the victim was playing outside with her dog. The victim was unemployed and she was living with her husband (no children) who was working at the University of Montreal. The victim's normal routine was that she was alone during the daytime. The offender was driving when he noticed the victim. He stopped and asked the victim how to get out of the town. He also took the opportunity to ask

for a glass of water and the victim let him inside. Immediately after being permitted into the home, the offender tied up the victim with a rope taken from the kitchen (wrists behind her back, and ankles). The offender used the .22 caliber rifle that he was carrying in his truck and shot the victim in the back of the head. Moreover, the offender cut her nipples and as with the first victim, he inserted a knife into her rectum. The offender also placed one of the nipples into the mouth of the victim. When leaving the scene the offender took the rope he had used to restrain the victim as well as his rifle. At around 5:30 p.m., the victim's husband came back from work and found his wife face down on the floor, naked from the waist down. The victim's husband turned the victim over with the intention of doing CPR. When he observed her injuries, he called the police.

Almost 10 months later, the offender committed his third and final sexual homicide. The day prior to the murder, the offender called the victim to inquire about a house that she had listed for sale. He had seen the house for sale while driving around in another small town, about 30 km west of Montreal. The victim gave him some details about the house but asked him to call back during the evening when her husband would be available. The offender did not call back. Instead, the next morning at around 10 a.m., the offender came to visit the house. The victim let the offender in and he proceeded to feign interest in the house by pretending to take measurements. The victim's husband called while the offender was there and even spoke to the offender, answering his questions. The offender then told the victim that he was going get his camera to take some photographs. A few minutes later, the victim's mother called. The victim told her mother that she would be there at 1 p.m. to pick up her son, explaining that she needed to wait for a man who was visiting the house to leave. When Barry came back to the house, he had his ax with him. He hit the victim on the head with the ax and the victim collapsed to the floor. Although she was bleeding heavily, this blow did not cause her death. Barry tied her ankles with an electric wire from a hair-dryer and he tied her hands behind her back with another electric wire from a curling iron. He used her bra to gag her. After the victim was restrained, the offender pulled down her pants and underwear and pulled her sweater up over her face. He took a broomstick and inserted it into her rectum. The broomstick caused internal bleeding, which resulted in the death of the victim. Before the victim died, the offender stole her credit and debit cards and asked for the PINs. He then left the crime scene and stopped to withdraw some money with the stolen cards at a small convenience store close to his residence. At 4:30 p.m., after the victim did not show up to pick up her son, the victim's mother came to her house to check on her. Once in the house, she discovered the body of her daughter and she called the police. When the police arrived at the scene, the victim's body was lying face down on the kitchen floor. Due to a security camera at the ATM machine from the convenience store, the police were able to identify the offender. Upon arrest, he confessed to the three murders and told the police where he had buried the first victim.

Introduction

The geographic mobility of criminals is a topic that has been the subject of considerable scrutiny. Informed by different theoretical models or principles, studies have shown that in general, criminals tend not to travel long distances when committing their crimes – the journey to crime. However, what constitutes this journey to crime? In the majority of studies, the journey to crime represents the distance traveled by the offender from his home base to the crime location. Although informative, this information is incomplete, especially in cases of homicide. During the commission of a homicide the offender may potentially travel to facilitate contact with the victim, to commit the crime, and/or to dispose of the body. This journey to murder may vary from one offender to the next. Some murderers may commit their crime without travel whereas others may be willing to travel longer distances either to commit the crime or to dispose of the victim's body. Moreover, various factors may influence the distance that murderers travel to commit their offenses. Considering this, the current chapter examines the journey to murder by describing the different distances traveled by sexual murderers and comparing travelers – i.e., those who change location at least once during the criminal event – and non-travelers in terms of a series of variables found to be correlated to spatial behavior.

Journey to crime – research on sexual crimes

Most environmental criminology studies on the journey to crime show that offenders travel a longer distance to commit property offenses compared to interpersonal crimes of violence (e.g., Baldwin & Bottoms, 1976; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981; Lebeau, 1987a; Pyle, 1974; Repetto, 1974). These differences were hypothesized by Rhodes and Conly (1981) to be due to the motivation behind the crime, such that "situationally induced crimes, like rape, occur closer to home, while offenses involving more planning (burglary and robbery) result in more travel" (p. 178).

In an extensive review of 20 studies examining the crime trips of sex offenders, Beauregard, Proulx, and Rossmo (2005) found that the majority of these offenders commit their crimes relatively close to their home base. The average distance traveled by different types of sex offenders between their home base and the crime location was a little more than 3.2 km (range from no distance traveled – when the crime is committed at home) to 38.6 km.

When looking specifically at sexual homicide, studies report additional measures of distance that can be important for the criminal investigation. In the study by Aitken et al. (1994) on sexual murderers of children, they found that 91.6% of offenders were traveling less than 3.2 km to commit their crime. In the study by Canter and Hodge (1997) on serial murderers, the average distance traveled by the offender to commit the crime was 40 km and 9 km to dump the body. Moreover, their findings showed that 25% of offenders traveled less than 5 km whereas 50% traveled less than 15 km. Godwin and Canter (1997) showed that

the average distance from the offender's home base to the victim encounter site was shorter (2.3 km) than the distance from the offender's home base to the body disposal site (23 km). In the study by Shaw (1998) in the UK, results showed that sexual murderers traveled on average 3.8 km to commit their crime while traveling 3.5 km to dump the body. In addition, Shaw's findings revealed that in 25% of cases, the offender committed the sexual homicide in his own residence and that 85% of offenders traveled less than 9.5 km. Lundrigan and Canter (2001) compared US and UK serial killers and found that the median and average distances from US offenders' home base to crime location were almost double that for the UK offenders (15 km and 40 km, respectively in the US, and 9 km and 18 km in the UK, respectively). In the study by Safarik et al. (2000) on sexual murderers of elderly women, results revealed that on average offenders were traveling 0.67 km and that 56% of them were living within six blocks of the victim, with 30% living on the same block. Findings from Snook, Cullen, Mokros, and Harbort (2005) showed a similar pattern for German serial killers: the median and average distances from the offender's home base to body recovery location were 15 km and 49 km, respectively. In their study of Finnish homicides, Häkkänen, Hurme, and Liukkonen (2007) examined different distances associated with the homicides committed in rural areas. They found that the median and mean distances between crime scene and body recovery location were 12.9 km and 28.7 km respectively, whereas the median and mean distances between the offender's home base and the crime scene were 3.9 km and 16.8 km respectively. Also of interest was the distance between the offender's home base and the body recovery location with a median distance of 18.9 km and a mean distance of 41.1 km. Despite the fact that these homicides were perpetrated in rural areas, Häkkänen et al. found that the distances between the murder scene and the body recovery location as well as between the offender's home base and the body recovery location were less than 50 km for 83.3% and 77.5% of the sample respectively. With regard to sexual homicide of children, Hanfland, Keppel, and Weis (1997) showed that the distance from the body recovery site to the murder scene was less than 59 m in 72% of the cases and that in 37% of the cases, the body was recovered less than 2.4 km from the victim's residence. Finally, Nethery (2004) found that among Canadian cases, the distance between the victim's residence and the body recovery location was shorter for child victims (about 10 km) than for adults (about 30 km), and the distance between the victim's and the offender's residence was, in 62% of the cases, shorter than 6 km.

Correlates of sex offenders' spatial behaviors

To explain the differences in crime trips, researchers have examined the influence of certain characteristics of the offenders. The underlying principle of the relationship between offender characteristics and criminal mobility is that these characteristics influence the cognitive map of individuals (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981). As such, studies have shown that offenders who are older (Davies & Dale, 1995; Warren et al., 1998; however not Rossmo, Davies, &

Patrick, 2004), male (Hodge, 1998), Caucasian (Canter & Gregory, 1994; Warren et al.; however not Rossmo et al.), presenting with deviant sexual fantasies and/or sadism (Davies & Dale; Dietz, Hazelwood, & Warren, 1990), and presenting with psychopathic personality (Cooke, 1998; Hunter, 2004) tend to travel further to commit their crimes.

Other studies have attempted to better understand the journey to crime of sex offenders by examining their modus operandi. Early research by Lebeau (1987a, 1987b, 1987c) showed that sex offenders traveled the shortest mean distance to assault their victims when they illegally entered the victim's residence, suggesting that offenders travel shorter distances when using a method linked to crimes against property. Moreover, his findings showed that serial rapists were the most mobile, which could be explained by the fact that serial offenders use the same space repeatedly and pattern themselves geographically, however, after a number of rapes, they tend to backtrack and commit rapes close to the sites of previous attacks (Lebeau, 1985, 1992).

Other studies have found that sex offenders who offended during the weekend, committed their crimes outdoors (Canter & Gregory, 1994), targeted victims from a specific area (e.g., prostitutes from a red-light district), committed sophisticated property offenses during a sexual assault, spent large amounts of time roaming and using public transportation, and who were familiar with numerous neighborhoods (previous habitation, locations of significant people, current or past workplace locations, or even holiday sites), traveled longer distances to commit their crimes (Davies & Dale, 1995). Also, sex offenders who exhibited signs of ritual, brought and used their own bindings (Warren et al., 1998, p. 56), and who used an increased level of violence (Ouimet & Proulx, 1994) tended to travel farther.

Alternatives to the journey to crime measure

The studies on the journey to crime of sex offenders and its correlates are of value and may inform criminal investigation and our understanding of offender spatial behavior. However, the use of journey to crime as the sole measure of criminal mobility presents several limitations (Beauregard & Businа, 2013). First, studies examining journey to crime have all used the home location of the offender as the starting point of the crime trip, neglecting to consider, for instance, that a crime trip might have originated from the offender's workplace or other significant or frequented location (e.g., Bernasco, 2010). Second, journey to crime research suggests that the entire criminal event takes place in the same location. Although this may be the case for property crimes such as burglary, the reality is often different for crimes involving a mobile human victim (Beauregard, Rebocho, & Rossmo, 2010). Third, research on criminal mobility seems to suggest that the concept of mobility can and should only be measured in terms of distance traveled. However, the measure of distance traveled represents only one dimension of the mobility concept – that is, the movements or the mobility performances (Canzler, Kaufmann, & Kesselring, 2008).

These limitations have driven some researchers to suggest alternative or complementary measures of criminal mobility. Some authors identified typologies of geographic behavior. Two types of geographic behavior were common to these typologies: the geographically mobile and the geographically stable offender. In Table 5.1, the different types of offenders are presented according to their classification and are regrouped as to their geographic mobility or stability. It should be noted that most of these typologies have been constructed from analyses of serial murderers.

In their *organized/disorganized* typology of sexual murderers, Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988) briefly discussed the spatial behavior associated with each type of offender. They suggest that the *disorganized* murderer is likely to remain close to home while the *organized* sexual murderer will travel a longer distance. Derived from their criminal investigative analysis experience and research, Hazelwood and Warren (2000) suggested a typology that can assist in identifying and organizing observations regarding different parameters of a sex offender's criminal behavior, including his spatial mobility. The *impulsive* sex offender is generally the least successful at evading identification and apprehension. His fantasies are simplistic and concrete. The *impulsive* sex offender's personality is often characterized by psychopathic traits and he tends to perceive that anything in his environment is there for the taking. Pre-offense factors may include consumption of alcohol and an approach method that lacks complex ruses or attempts at deceptive disguises (Hazelwood & Warren). His criminal behavior is designed to obtain and to control his victim, but with little verbalization. The level of force used is frequently excessive, and he acts out his underlying motivation of anger. His criminal career is polymorphic. The *impulsive* sex offender travels a shorter distance to offend and commits rapes over a smaller area, reflecting less specific victim selection criteria and unsophisticated attempts to prevent recognition and identification. The *ritualistic* sex offender is less common, but he is the most difficult to identify and apprehend. This type of sex offender is characterized by some as withdrawn and isolated, or as charming and gregarious by others. He invests a great amount of time in his deviant sexual fantasies, which are multidimensional and complex. The *ritualistic* offender acts

Table 5.1 Spatial typologies of sex offenders according to their geographic mobility or stability

Source	*Geographically mobile*	*Geographically stable*
Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas (1988)	Organized	Disorganized
Hazelwood & Warren (2000)	Ritualistic	Impulsive
Egger (1990)	Megamobile	Megastat
Holmes & De Burger (1985, 1988)	Geographically transient	Geographically stable
Hickey (1991)	Traveling or mobile	Local and place-specific
Newton (1992)	Nomadic	Territorial and stationary
Canter & Larkin (1993)	Commuter	Marauder
Rossmo (1997, 2000)	Poacher	Hunter, troller, and trapper

out his sexual fantasies with inanimate objects (dolls, clothing, pictures), paid partners, or with consensual partners. He possesses theme-oriented pornography, which complements his underlying fantasy that is the basis for how his crimes are committed. The *ritualistic* sex offender may have no criminal history prior to arrest. If he does have a criminal record, it will mostly consist of offenses of a sexual nature. Because of the ritual aspect of his crimes, this type of offender tends to travel longer distances.

Holmes and De Burger (1985, 1988) developed their classification through analysis of materials (court transcripts, interview data, clinical reports, and biographical accounts) pertinent to 110 known serial murderers. They proposed a typology that distinguishes between concentrated and dispersed murders. Serial murderers are geographically *stable*, geographically *transient*, or *mixed* (a combination of stable and transient). The geographically *stable* killer usually kills within the area of his residence. These murderers also dispose of bodies in the same or nearby areas. Usually, they are individuals employed in the community, well-known, respected, and with little or no overt indications of their homicidal tendencies. For the geographically *stable* murderer, very often the motive to kill is sexual in nature, and they may target a selected group of victims (Holmes & De Burger, 1988). Usually, these murderers are White males, aged 18 to 34, who operate in a geographic area comprising persons of their own race. They are of average to above-average intelligence, over half of them having some type of higher education. Their victims, who are most often strangers or loosely affiliated, are usually transported from the crime scene to a disposal site and the murder is carefully planned with the method, location, and dump site chosen before abduction is attempted. In contrast, the geographically *transient* killer travels continually throughout his criminal career, from one area to another, not so much to find victims but to better avoid apprehension (Holmes & De Burger, 1988). These murderers are White males, aged 25 to 54, with average to above-average intelligence. Only a small number have a higher education. Many *transient* killers work odd jobs and are usually single or divorced. The crime phase is likely to be organized and planned carefully. The victims are usually strangers but possess certain specific traits. These murderers kill for different reasons, ranging from the thrill to the desire to have absolute power over their victims. After the murders, the *transient* killers are not likely to engage in necrophilia or in decapitating the victims' bodies, but in some cases, cannibalism is present. Although this typology is an interesting one, the distinction between transient and stable killers suffers from a lack of precision in that there is no attempt to measure the distances traveled or the size of area for each group (Lundrigan & Canter, 2001). Also, the characteristics (other than geographic) associated with the two types have been found solely on the basis of a study of 20 cases of serial murderers. Finally, these characteristics are sometimes contrary to what has been found in previous studies and there is no attempt to explain the discrepancies.

Hickey's (1991) typology is based on a historical review in which he identified 117 cases of serial murderers in the United States and 47 others from foreign

countries. Hickey's geographic typology identifies three different types of serial murderers: the *traveling* or *mobile*, the *local*, and the *place-specific*. The *traveling* or *mobile* killer is almost exclusively a male who kills at random or seeks out a specific type of victim while traveling through the United States. This type of murderer will approach his victim in a friendly or helpful fashion and takes considerable precaution against being caught (Egger, 1998). The *local* murderer usually remains within a certain urban area and will target a specific type of victim, such as prostitutes. Finally, the *place-specific* murderer can be male or female, and usually operates in specific places such as nursing homes, hospitals, or even private homes. Their motivation is often financial gain, mercy killing, or hatred of a particular group of people, but may also be sexual and/or violence based (Egger, 1998). According to Lundrigan and Canter (2001), the classification elaborated by Hickey is of real value, but neglected to take into account the possible role of a geographic base (e.g., home or workplace), even for the offenders who cover great distances. As with the typology of Holmes and De Burger (1988), Hickey's classification lacks precision in that no distance ranges are proposed to differentiate the three groups.

Newton (1992) identified a three-part typology of serial killers similar to Hickey's, based on the analysis of 357 cases (301 from the US and 56 from foreign countries). The *territorial* killer stakes out a defined area (a city, or a particular neighborhood) and rarely deviates from the selected game preserve. *Nomadic* killers travel widely in their search for victims, drifting aimlessly from one jurisdiction to another. Finally, the *stationary* killer commits his crimes at home or at work (clinics, hospitals, nursing homes). This murderer may be active for years, being adept of covering his tracks. Self-protection and victim accessibility dominate his choice of murder sites.

Taking a different approach, Canter and Larkin (1993) examined the spatial activity of 45 British male serial sex offenders who had committed at least two assaults. This study sought to test two hypothetical models regarding geographic mobility of sex offenders – the *commuter* and the *marauder* – suggesting that the selection of targets is highly dependent on the physical environment. The *commuter* model proposes that the offender will travel out from his base (home) to a different area to commit his offenses.

> Central to this hypothesis is that although there will be a domain in which the crimes are committed and this domain will have some distinct relationship to where the offender lives, there will be no clear relationship between size or location of the criminal domain and the distance it is from any given offender's home. The *commuter* model suggests that there is little or no overlap between these two areas and that the offender moves to a district which is outside his home range to offend. This is not to suggest that the criminal range is not familiar to the offender, but that it is at an appreciable distance from the area in which he habitually operates as a non-offender.
>
> (Canter & Larkin, p. 65)

The *marauder* model asserts that by using the two most distant crimes in a series as the diameter of a circle, the offender's base (home) will be found within this circle. In this model, the rapist uses his home as a base from which to commit his crimes. The further the distance between the crimes, the further is the distance that the offender is traveling from his home base or activity nodes. "The marauder hypothesis suggests that there is a large or total overlap of the home range and criminal range areas. The offender operates from a base (home) definitely located within the boundaries of his safe area for criminal activity" (Canter & Larkin, p. 65). Their study found support for the *marauder* model, with 87% of their sample traveling from their home base to the surrounding region to commit their sex offenses. Alston (1994) identified some limits associated with the *marauder* and *commuter* models proposed by Canter and Larkin. The problems with the circle hypothesis are that: (1) it fails to deal with offenders who live in the midst of their crime series; (2) it fails to deal with longer distance; (3) it fails if the offender attacks a victim really close to his home base; (4) it does not suggest how the researcher might incorporate other activity nodes; and (5) it does not control for crimes occurring in a specific geographical area such as a prostitution stroll (Alston, pp. 66–68).

According to Rossmo, the "hunting method affects the spatial distribution of offense sites and any effort to predict offender residence from crime locations must consider this influence" (Rossmo, 2000, p. 139). Thus, Rossmo developed a hunting typology (which represents the search and attack processes engaged in by the offender) relevant to the identification of spatial patterns of serial predators, which is based on geography of crime theory, empirical data, and investigative experience. As police do not know all sites related to a crime, the hunting typology is concerned specifically with offender behavior related to victim encounter sites or last known locations, and body dump sites or victim release sites. There is a greater probability that police will be aware of these sites following a crime. Rossmo (1997) proposed that the hunting process of offenders include the search for a suitable victim and the method of attack; the first determines the selection of victim encounter sites, and the latter, disposal sites. Rossmo identified four victim search methods: (1) *hunter*, (2) *poacher*, (3) *troller* and (4) *trapper*. The crimes of the *hunter* are generally committed within his city of residence. This method is most often used by predators. The offenders set out from their home base, and search for suitable victims in the area within their awareness space. The *hunter* is similar to the *marauder* model of Canter and Larkin (1993) discussed earlier. The *poacher* will commit his crimes by traveling outside of his home city, or by operating from an activity node other than his home base. The *poacher* is similar to the *commuter* model of Canter and Larkin. The *troller* is an opportunistic offender who encounters his victims through routine activities. His crimes are often spontaneous, although sometimes, this type of offender may have fantasized or planned his offense in advance so that he is ready when an opportunity presents itself. Finally, the *trapper* has an occupation or a position where potential victims come to him, or he can entice suitable victims into his home or a location he controls by means of subterfuge (e.g., placing want ads, taking in boarders) (Rossmo, 2000).

Rossmo suggests three different types of attack methods: (1) *raptor*: this type of offender is characterized by attacking almost immediately upon encountering his victims. This is the most frequently used method for predators; (2) *stalker*: the *stalker* will follow, watch his victim, and will wait for an opportune moment to attack. The attack, murder, and victim release sites will thus be strongly influenced by the victim's activity space; (3) *ambusher*: the attacks of the *ambusher* are committed in a location where the offender has a great deal of control, such as his residence or workplace. This offender sometimes hides the bodies of the victims, most often on his property. Rossmo points out that "while victim encounter sites in such cases may provide sufficient spatial information for analysis, many ambushers select marginalized individuals whose disappearances are rarely linked, even when missing person reports are made to the police" (for example, the case of Robert Pickton, in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, who was convicted for multiple murders of sex trade workers) (Rossmo, 2000, pp. 141–142).

In reviewing these typologies that take into account the spatial behavior of sex offenders, Beauregard et al. (2005) identified two main types of criminal mobility. The *geographically mobile* offender is generally older, of above-average intelligence, socially competent, and with no criminal career or with one that reflects sexually related offenses. His offenses are planned and sophisticated, and a great amount of time is invested in the pursuit of his fantasies. The *geographically mobile* offender tends to target a stranger victim and he takes considerable precautions against detection. The crime scene reflects overall control with no weapon or evidence found. This offender is mobile, operating outside his home range or even his home city. He may transport the victim's body to hide it and may travel throughout his criminal career to better avoid apprehension. The *geographically stable* offender is younger, socially immature, of an average intelligence, and possesses psychopathic personality traits. He usually lives alone and has a criminal career indicating his antisocial nature. His offenses are spontaneous and he most often encounters his victims, who are usually known, during his routine activities. His crimes are unsophisticated and exhibit excessive force. The crime scene is most often random and sloppy, with the weapon or other physical evidence present. The *geographically stable* offender commits his crimes over a smaller geographic area and tends to live and/or work near the crime scene. In most cases, the victim's body will be left at the death scene.

Two other studies have suggested a different approach than typologies to examine the criminal mobility of sex offenders and its correlates. Leclerc, Wortley, and Smallbone (2010) conceptualized geographic mobility as the use of multiple locations for the purpose of repetitive sexual contact with the same victim. Specifically, the authors set out to examine whether offending differences existed between child molesters who used multiple locations for sexual contact and those who used a single location for the entire crime-commission process. Overall, the results demonstrate that mobile offenders are more likely to isolate their victims, use violence, involve the victim in several sexual episodes,

abuse the victim for over a one-year period, and make the victim participate in and perform sexual acts during sexual episodes. In a similar study, Beauregard and Busina (2013) investigated the criminal mobility of serial sex offenders. Instead of looking at criminal mobility as a dichotomous outcome as in Leclerc et al. (2010), Beauregard and Busina conceptualized criminal mobility as the number of changes of location within the criminal event, i.e., encounter, attack, crime, and victim release locations. Using negative binomial regression, they found that events which involved child or adolescent victims, when the offender did not use pornography prior to the crime, and where victim resistance was observed, exhibited more criminal mobility. Moreover, crimes in which the victim was selected, the victim was alone when approached by the offender, and the assault was characterized by sexual penetration and a lack of premeditation exhibited more criminal mobility. The authors suggested that criminal mobility is a goal-oriented action taken by serial sex offenders in order to successfully complete their crime and to avoid detection and apprehension.

Although the empirical research on the journey to crime of criminals in general and of sex offenders in particular all seem to indicate that most crimes are committed close to home, only a few studies have specifically examined the journey to crime in cases of sexual homicide. As these crimes often involve a stranger victim, one of the aims of the current study is to investigate whether travel patterns during sexual homicides are similar to those of other criminals. While most studies have conceptualized criminal mobility as a measure of distance, the "journey to murder" may also be examined categorically. Therefore, a second aim of this chapter is to compare the offenders who travel during the crime – i.e., change location at least once during the criminal event[2] – to those offenders who commit the crime all at the same location, in order to identify the correlates of this specific behavior.

Findings

Distances traveled

Measurements were obtained of the distance(s) traveled by the offender for each distance measure. Two distance calculations were established, an "as the crow flies measurement" as well as a common route distance. Table 5.2 provides descriptive data regarding the distances traveled. As illustrated in Table 5.2,

Table 5.2 Distances to crime for sexual homicide

Distance (in km)	*N*	*M (SD)*	*Range*	*Median*
Initial contact to offense scene	160	4.13 (11.49)	0–111.0	0.00
Offense scene to body disposal	199	4.81 (14.88)	0–136.2	0.00
Offender residence to initial contact	121	29.68 (121.37)	0–890.0	1.29
Offender residence to body disposal	122	25.14 (98.26)	0–890.0	1.80

generally offenders do not travel significant intra-crime distances. On average, offenders travel no more than 4–5 km between crime scenes. Offenders may travel further from their residence to the initial contact scene or choose body disposal sites further from home. On average, they travel between 25 km and 30 km from their residence to these two locations. However, there is significant standard deviation about the mean. The findings suggest that at least some offenders are willing to travel long distances to either encounter a victim or dispose of a body – the range of distances being 0–890 km. The median suggests that the majority of offenders choose crime locations that are close to home.

Travelers vs. non-travelers

Approximately half of the cases in the sample ($N = 89$, 49.4%) involved an offender who traveled during the commission of his offense. A number of victim characteristics are associated with the offender's status as a traveler or non-traveler. Offenders are more likely to travel when their victim is a child, when targeting a sex trade worker, when targeting a victim who is walking or jogging at initial contact, when encountering a victim in a bar or when targeting a victim who is operating as a sex trade worker at the time of initial contact. Inversely, an offender is less likely to travel when targeting a victim who is over 40 years of age, when targeting a male victim, or when the victim is engaged in a domestic activity at the time of initial contact.

A few offender characteristics are also associated with traveler status. An offender's usual mode of transportation is associated with traveler status in the expected direction. Offenders who normally drive are more likely to travel during the commission of their offenses. While criminal history is generally not associated with traveler status, offenders who have prior sexual offense convictions are more likely to be travelers. Offenders who were either alcohol or drug impaired at the time of the offense are less likely to travel during crime commission.

Few modus operandi behaviors are associated with an offender's traveler status. Not surprisingly, the use of a vehicle is associated with intra-crime travel. Offenders who target strangers are more likely to be travelers while offenders who offend against familial targets are more likely to be non-travelers. Offenders whom investigators believe specifically targeted their victim are less likely to have traveled in the commission of their offense than those offenders who randomly selected a victim or made a selection based on opportunity. As expected, leaving the victim's body at the crime scene is associated with a lack of travel during the commission of the sexual homicide. Table 5.3 summarizes the findings as to the travel status of our SHOs.

Distance patterns in sexual homicide.

Despite our focus on the correlates of sexual murderers' criminal mobility (i.e., traveler versus non-traveler), the current study also analyzed the different

Table 5.3 Characteristics associated with traveler and non-traveler SHOs

Travelers	*Non-travelers*
Victim characteristics	
Victim is a child	Victim is over 40 years of age
Victim is a sex trade worker	Victim is a male
Victim is walking or jogging at initial contact	Victim is engaged in domestic activity at the time of initial contact
Victim encountered in a bar	
Victim working as a sex trade worker at the time of initial contact	
Offender characteristics	
Offender normally drives	Offender either alcohol or drug impaired at the time of the crime
Offender has previous sexual offense convictions	
Modus operandi characteristics	
Use of a vehicle	Targeting familial targets
Targeting strangers	Specifically target the victim
Randomly select a victim	Leaving victim's body at crime scene
Select a victim based on opportunity	

distances that these criminals travel to commit their crimes. Contrary to most criminals, sex offenders, specifically sexual murderers, travel farther from home to encounter their victim. Sexual murderers travel on average close to 30 km to encounter a victim whereas the majority of sex offenders keep this distance under 4 km (see Beauregard et al., 2005). Similarly, sexual murderers are willing to travel on average 25 km from their residence in order to dump the body after the murder. Although the median (1.29 km for distance to initial contact and 1.80 km for distance to body disposal) suggests that most of these offenders do not travel far from home, it also suggests that although not common, some sexual murderers are willing to travel considerable distances from their home to either encounter a victim or dump the body. In fact, the range for these distances is up to 890 km. These results are congruent with what Davies and Dale (1995) observed among stranger rapists. Their findings showed that even if most rapists travel less than 8 km to commit their assaults, some of the rapists will travel longer distances (between 16 and 160 km, or even more). According to the authors, rapists who commit sophisticated property offenses during a sexual assault, who spend large amounts of time roaming and using public transportation, and who are familiar with numerous neighborhoods (previous habitation, locations of significant people, current or past workplace locations, or even holiday sites), travel longer distances to commit their crimes (Davies and Dale, 1995). Similarly, Bernasco (2010) found that past residences – especially if the offender lived there for a long time and only moved away recently – could influence the distance an offender is willing to travel. Moreover, Rossmo (2006) identified factors that could explain why some offenders (the *poacher* or *commuter* offenders) travel longer distances to commit their crime. One such factor

is consistent with sexual murderers from the current study, that is, that some offenders target specific but rare victim types, or victims from a particular area (e.g., prostitutes from a red-light district).

A comparison of the current findings to distances traveled by sexual/serial murderers in other studies presents some interesting patterns and differences. For instance, sexual murderers from our sample traveled a shorter distance from their residence to the initial contact scene compared to the serial murderers studied by Snook et al. (2005) and Lundrigan and Canter (2001) but traveled farther than the homicide offenders from Häkkänen et al. (2007). Also of interest is the fact that sexual murderers included in our study traveled a much shorter distance than the murderers studied by Häkkänen et al. (2007) from the offense scene to the body disposal location but traveled farther than the sexual murderers of children investigated by Hanfland et al. (1997). Considering the fact that offenders transporting a dead body are subject to time, distance, speed, weather, geographical, and effort constraints (Häkkänen et al., 2007), it is not surprising that, in the current study, most offenders did not travel to dispose of the body, but rather left it at the murder site. Similarly, as most sexual homicides are committed by strangers, it is possible that, as suggested by Häkkänen et al. (2007), offenders see no rationale for making the effort to dump the body at a different location. Offenders with stranger victims may perceive the risk of moving the victim's body to be greater than that of being linked to the crime should they simply leave the body at the attack location.

Types of victims

Our findings indicate that some victim characteristics influence criminal mobility among sexual murderers. Similar to what Beauregard and Busina (2013) have observed with serial rapists, sexual murderers who targeted a child victim are more likely to travel during the commission of their crimes. According to Beauregard and Busina, one of the reasons why sex offenders will move the victim's body during the criminal event is that it is easy to accomplish. Felson (2002) proposed the notion of "target inertia" which refers to the physical traits or characteristics of a person that either enhance or detract from their suitability as a target. Adults are physically larger and stronger than children, and thus are better able to thwart an offender's efforts to move them to a different location in order to isolate them for sexual assault purposes. Findings consistent with this notion have also been observed in Beauregard and Field's (2008) research on body disposal patterns in which older victims were more likely to be left at the scene of the murder, whereas younger victims were more likely to be transported from the crime scene to a disposal site. The authors concluded that the reason behind these body disposal patterns is the size of the target. Younger victims, especially children, are easier to hide because they are smaller and easier to control.

There is another victim characteristic that appears to have considerable influence on the criminal mobility of sexual murderers. Targeting a sex trade worker has been shown to be related to a likelihood of traveling during a sexual

homicide. As mentioned previously, this finding is consistent with what Davies and Dale (1995) have found with stranger rapists. Moreover, this is in line with the behaviors of *poacher* offenders as suggested by Rossmo (2006). Offenders targeting a specific type of victim, such as sex trade workers, are more likely to travel farther from their home base as they can only access this specific type of victim in a certain area of a city or in certain neighborhoods. In addition, targeting sex trade workers increases the chance of intra-crime travel. It is not uncommon in crimes involving sex trade workers to see the offender encountering the victim at a specific location (e.g., prostitution stroll, busy street) and carrying out the offense at a different location (e.g., hotel room, dark alley, in a vehicle), most often isolated from potential witnesses or bystanders. The offender's intra-crime travel in such cases is facilitated by the victim's willingness to accompany the offender to a location different from the point of initial contact.

Beauregard and Busina (2013) have suggested that criminal mobility – the action of switching location during the criminal event – is a purposive behavior, a goal-oriented action to avoid detection and apprehension (Clarke & Cornish, 2001). From a rational choice perspective, traveling greater distances or moving to different locations during the criminal event may be regarded as a cost that is outweighed by an expected benefit (Morselli & Royer, 2008). Criminal mobility might serve the purpose of enhancing the odds of successfully completing the crime and avoiding detection – which constitutes the goal of the modus operandi (Hazelwood & Warren, 2000; Sutherland, 1947). This is consistent with our findings related to sexual murderers who specifically targeted sex trade workers. Studies have shown that in cases of sex trade worker sexual homicides, it took longer to recover the victim's body and offenders were more likely to avoid police detection (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014).

Prior sexual conviction as criminal experience?

Although a few significant differences were observed at the bivariate level between the travelers and non-travelers in terms of offender characteristics, only one was significant at the multivariate level. Findings show that sexual murderers who have prior sexual convictions are more likely to be travelers compared to offenders who do not have prior convictions for sexual crimes. This is congruent with the *geographically mobile* offender typology identified by Beauregard et al. (2005). According to the *geographically mobile* typology, offenders commit crimes that are planned and sophisticated, and with a great amount of time invested in the pursuit of their fantasies. Moreover, these offenders are generally older, of above-average intelligence, socially competent, and with a criminal career that reflects sexually related offenses. These offenders target a stranger victim and take considerable precautions to prevent being caught. This is interesting as it could suggest a level of criminal experience/sophistication on the part of the offender. Our findings suggest that having been convicted of a sexual crime influences an offender's decision to travel during the criminal event. It is possible that offenders who have a criminal past have a greater

awareness of the potential benefits of intra-crime travel. Such travel may afford them more time with the victim, allowing for the completion of additional sexual acts, while avoiding being interrupted – and ultimately apprehended. In addition, intra-crime travel may be necessary following the initial contact with the victim to reduce the likelihood of being identified and/or linked to the victim. This seems to be consistent with the findings of Leclerc et al. (2010) who found that mobile offenders are more likely to isolate their victims, use violence, involve the victim in several sexual episodes, abuse the victim for over a one-year period, and make the victim participate in and perform sexual acts during sexual episodes. Because of their prior sexual convictions, it is possible that these offenders have acquired criminal experience directly related to their criminal career and that traveling during the criminal event is one of many strategies that these offenders develop to avoid detection.

When to travel during the crime?

The current chapter was mainly concerned with the correlates of criminal mobility, i.e., whether sexual murderers travel or not during their crimes. However, the findings also underlined the question of when offenders are willing to travel during the commission of the crime. For instance, our results show that sexual murderers who left the body at the murder scene are less likely to be travelers at any point during the offense. More than half of the current sample decided not to move the body after the sexual homicide. The decision of whether to move the body after the crime may be seen as a double-edged sword, especially when considered from a rational choice perspective. Thus, there seems to be a trade-off when considering whether to move the body. On one hand, leaving the body at the crime scene is rational as it decreases the risk of being seen with the body, there is less time involved in the crime-commission process, and there is potentially less risk of transferring physical evidence between different locations. On the other hand, moving the victim's body may help the offender avoid being connected to the victim. It may also facilitate the concealing of the body and decrease the likelihood that the body will be recovered. Relatedly, Beauregard and Martineau (2014) found that the longer it takes to recover the victim's body, the more likely the case will remain unsolved. Moreover, another study linked the action of moving the victim's body in sexual homicide to a greater likelihood of delaying and avoiding police detection (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014).

Close to half of the current sample decided to travel during the commission of their crime, with half of this group deciding not to move the body. Thus, half of the travelers decided to travel after encountering the victim but not after the attack. Therefore, we can think of the decision to travel during the crime as having different purposes depending on *when* the offender decides to travel. These travel decisions create distinct offender mobility patterns. If the offender is more concerned about finding an isolated location to commit the crime, he may decide to travel to an offense location that is distinct from the site at which he encountered the victim (the *initially mobile offender*). However, if the main

concern is to delay or avoid detection, then the offender may choose to move the victim's body post-attack to a separate body disposal site (the *late stage mobile offender*). Finally, it is also possible that some offenders are concerned with both and will exhibit more criminal mobility, traveling both after victim encounter and to dispose of the victim's body (the *highly mobile offender*).

Implications

Contrary to the majority of criminals, sex offenders, in particular sexual murderers, travel a greater distance from their home base to both encounter and dispose of their victims. This was clearly illustrated by the case study of Barry who traveled extensively to find targets. Our findings suggest that this behavior could be related in part to the type of victim targeted. Although some studies have attempted to identify offender characteristics that could influence the journey to crime, it seems that victimology is more informative in understanding the distances traveled during the crime-commission process. Despite the usefulness of the different measures of distance traveled by the offenders, it is also equally important to look at the traveling patterns of offenders. In the current chapter, half of the sample of sexual murderers traveled during the commission of their crime. This finding, as well as the other findings observed in the study, may have practical implications for the investigation of these crimes. Investigators who are confronted with a sexual murder involving multiple crime scenes may be looking for a more sophisticated sexual offender, who has a history of sexual offending. When a sex trade worker goes missing, investigators should expect a minimum of two crime scenes and should employ a greater radius for their search and recovery efforts. On the contrary, when the victim has been engaged in domestic activities in and around their home at the time they were encountered by the offender, there is a greater likelihood that the offender lives nearby. Neighborhood canvassing may be particularly important in such cases.

It appears that in cases of sexual homicide of children, even if the child has been encountered/abducted close to home, search and rescue efforts should go beyond the immediate surroundings of the victim's residence. This will be even more important if it can be determined that the offender was driving a vehicle, as in the case study of Barry who was driving long distances as part of his work. Finally, as was also demonstrated by the studies from Davies and Dale (1995) as well as Häkkänen et al. (2007), investigators may need to consider "anchor points" which go beyond the offender's primary residence when applying geography to the prioritization of suspects. Additional anchor points may include places of employment, former residence, residence of friends and/or family, and educational institutions or frequented recreation sites (see also Bernasco, 2010). Investigators should continue to prioritize suspects based on closest proximity to known sites as the majority of offenders do not travel great distances from their home base. However, when close radius searches are not successful, wider searches that consider the additional anchor points of persons of interest may be fruitful. Broadened search patterns are necessary for the identification of body

disposal locations chosen by sexual murderers who are willing to travel greater distances (some over 100 km in this current study) to dump the victim's body.

Future studies should examine whether differences exist in the rational decision-making processes among offenders who travel short distances to commit their crimes and those offenders who are willing to travel long distances (e.g., 100 km or more). This is important to determine whether the decision to travel greater distances is a purposive behavior (e.g., to avoid police detection) or if it simply is a coincidence for certain offenders, meaning that as Häkkänen et al. (2007) found, these offenders end up traveling very long distances due to circumstance (e.g., temporarily visiting the geographic area).

Notes

1 The findings presented in this chapter are taken from Melissa Martineau & Eric Beauregard (2016) Journey to murder: Examining the correlates of criminal mobility in sexual homicide, *Police Practice and Research, 17*(1), 68–83. www.tandfonline.com.
2 For instance, an offender may encounter the victim at location X, attack her at location Y, and dump her body at location Z.

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6 Modus operandi and crime scene characteristics

Typical or unusual acts?

Case study

Curt has been convicted for first-degree murder as well as a series of sexual assaults. Prior to these convictions, he had committed various thefts and an offense against a young girl who was 12 years old at the time.

Curt was living in a small town in the eastern part of the province of Quebec. The day of the murder, he decided to take a trip to Montreal. Although the trip would take him approximately two hours by bus (he did not have a car), he wanted to go to a university bar that had a reputation of attracting a lot of beautiful women. After arriving in the downtown area of Montreal, Curt decided to do some shopping. He stopped by a sex shop where he purchased a large dildo, reportedly the size of a man's forearm. During the interview, he explained that he often used dildos in his sexual relationships because of his sexual dysfunction. Curt reported that he experienced premature ejaculation as well as erectile dysfunction. Curt mentioned that it was the first time that he had bought such a large dildo. It was almost too big to fit in his backpack.

After shopping, Curt left the downtown area to go to the bar. He explained that his original intent was to have sex with a woman – consensual or not. He arrived at the bar early and drank just one beer. Curt was not a big drinker but having one drink was enough to give him some courage. Later that evening, he saw the victim walk into the bar with two of her friends, a man and a woman. Curt explained that the minute he saw her he knew that he wanted her. He attempted to approach her while she was dancing with her friends. However, the victim ignored him and continued dancing. Curt returned to his seat at the bar and became angry. At that point, he knew that it was not going to be consensual sex.

Later that evening he saw the three friends leave the bar. He decided to follow them outside. They split up right outside the bar with the victim leaving alone. Curt decided to follow her and ambushed her on a deserted street. He grabbed her from behind and immediately started hitting her. However, the victim was very athletic so she put up a good fight and resisted his attack. Curt started to use more force, and in doing so, he took the victim to the ground where she hit her head on the sidewalk. He then proceeded to strangle her. After she lost

consciousness, Curt undressed her to have sex. However, he had already ejaculated during the attack so he could not penetrate her with his penis. Instead, he used the large dildo that he had bought earlier in the day. Because the dildo was so large, he had to push very hard to penetrate the victim, causing severe internal injuries. Curt also used a tree branch that he found at the scene to penetrate the victim. As a result, the victim suffered additional internal injuries, which eventually caused her death. Curt left the scene quickly thereafter, but not before taking the time to put the victim's clothing over her face. He left Montreal in the morning and hitchhiked back home. There were no eye witnesses to the crime. The only witness was a woman who was living in an apartment building located in front of where the crime took place. The woman heard screaming but assumed that it was only drunk students coming back from the bar so she did not bother looking outside her window.

A few months after the event, Curt returned to Montreal and committed a series of three sexual assaults. Although Curt denied having committed these sexual assaults, he was convicted of all three counts. It was during pretrial incarceration for the series of sexual assaults that he confessed the sexual homicide to another inmate. He was then charged and convicted for the murder.

Introduction

It is generally believed that sexual murderers are some of the most heinous of offenders, engaging in the most extreme violence and inflicting the most severe injuries upon their victims. Not only are these offenders responsible for the death of their victims, but they are known to sometimes engage in relatively bizarre antemortem, perimortem, or postmortem behaviors such as the insertion of foreign objects, picquerism, genital or other bodily mutilation, and/or body dismemberment. Are these behaviors representative of the modus operandi of SHOs or are they unusual behaviors exhibited by a minority of SHOs? In this chapter, the "typical behaviors," that is those behaviors commonly exhibited by SHOs during the commission of their crimes, are examined. Throughout this chapter, we address some myths about the typical behaviors of SHOs. The fact that some SHOs also adopt unusual behaviors with their victims suggests that sexual homicide is not a homogeneous phenomenon and that different types of SHOs exist. This chapter will also review the different types of SHOs identified thus far while addressing the debate as to how these offenders can best be classified.

Modus operandi

In our review of the literature, we identified a total of 15 empirical studies that report information on the modus operandi of SHOs (see Table 6.1). Probably the behavior most frequently associated with sexual homicide is death by strangulation/asphyxiation. As can be expected, most studies have observed a relatively high rate of this behavior – between 43% and 71% (Beauregard, Stone, Proulx, & Michaud, 2008; Darjee & Baron, 2013; Langevin, Ben-Aron, Wright,

Marchese, & Handy, 1988; Grubin, 1994; Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen, Lindberg, Salenius, & Weizmann-Henelius, 2009; Stefanska, Carter, Higgs, Bishopp, & Beech, 2015). However, findings suggest that, depending on the nature of the sample and the location where the study was conducted, this rate varies considerably. Hence, two studies report a much lower rate of death by strangulation. The study by Abrahams, Martin, Jewkes, Mathews, Vetten, and Lombard (2008) that took place in South Africa reports that only 6.6% of SHOs caused the death of the victim by strangulation, while Henry (2010) showed that only 16% of SHOs from Alaska killed by strangulation. On a similar note, SHOs have been known to mainly target stranger victims. Several studies confirm this finding as the rate of targeting a stranger victim varies between 40% and 80.6% (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002, 2007; Darjee & Baron, 2013; Langevin et al.; Oliver, Beech, Fisher, & Beckett, 2007; Stefanska et al., 2015). However, in two studies, the rate of stranger victimization is much lower; Henry (2010) reports a rate of 16% while Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen et al. (2009) report a rate of 16.7%. As in the case of strangulation, the discrepant findings regarding stranger victims suggest the importance of considering geographical context when reporting rate data. Such contextualization has often been overlooked in the research on sexual homicide (e.g., non-Western country).

Vaginal and anal penetration has also often been reported in studies on sexual homicide. Some studies report rates of vaginal penetration as high as 42.6% (e.g., Darjee & Baron, 2013), while others will simply refer to the commission of intrusive sexual acts (51.8%), which could of course include anal penetration (Mieczkowski & Beauregard, 2010). As for anal sex specifically, studies report rates varying between 19% (Salfati & Taylor, 2006) and 37.5% (Beauregard & Proulx, 2007).

Although previous studies have shown that a "hands-on" method of causing death (e.g., strangulation, asphyxiation) is preferred by SHOs, it seems that a weapon is still frequently used by these offenders. Although the rate of firearm use is relatively low (between 26% and 33.3%; Abrahams et al., 2008; Henry, 2010), other weapons have been used more frequently with rates higher than 50% being reported (Beauregard & Proulx, 2007; Beauregard et al., 2008; Darjee & Baron, 2013; Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen, 2009; Mieczkowski & Beauregard, 2010; Nicole & Proulx, 2007).

Sexual murderers have often been depicted as sex offenders who carefully plan their crime(s). There is considerable variation in the rates of premeditation across studies. For instance, Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2010) reported a lower rate of 27.7% while Beauregard and Proulx (2007) report a rate of 80% among SHOs of male victims specifically. This suggests that certain components of the modus operandi exhibited by SHOs may vary according to the nature of the sample; more specifically, the type of offender examined. The use of restraints has also been examined in different studies of sex offenders, more specifically in relation to sexual homicide. Approximately one out of four SHOs uses physical restraints with his victim (e.g., Beauregard & Proulx, 2002, 2007; Stefanska et al., 2015), although in their study, Salfati and Taylor (2006) report a

Table 6.1 Summary of findings on the modus operandi characteristics of sexual homicide

Study	*Types of offenders*[1]	*Contextual characteristics of sexual homicide*
Abrahams et al. (2008)	561 SHO 2876 NSM	Theft involved (27.8%) | death by firearm (33.3%) | death by sharp instrument (30.5%) | death by blunt force trauma (27.4%) | death by strangulation (6.6%) | death by asphyxiation (2.4%) | death by fire (2.2%) | death by drowning (0.3%) | presence of multiple injuries (41.8%) | fewer than 5 external injuries (62.2%) | fewer than 5 internal injuries (73.1%) | injuries on head/face (64.9%) | injuries on neck (32.5%) | injuries on thorax (60.2%) | injuries on abdomen/back (27.3%) | injuries on pelvis/buttocks (12.8%) | injuries on upper limbs (37.7%) | injuries on lower limbs (23.8%) | injuries on genital area (4.8%) | injuries on anal area (1.4%) | evidence of biting (0.2%)
Beauregard & Proulx (2007)	10 SHO	Premeditation (80.0%) | stranger victim (40.0%) | selection of victim (40.0%) | search for distinctive characteristics (20.0%) | accomplice (30.0%) | use of a weapon (80.0%) | use of physical restraints (30.0%) | use of physical violence (70.0%) | anal sex (37.5%) | mutilation (10.0%) | humiliation (20.0%) | crime lasts more than 30 minutes (50.0%) | victim's body moved/hidden (60.0%)
Beauregard & Proulx (2002)	36 SHO	Premeditation (38.9%) | stranger victim (80.6%) | victim selected (36.1%) | humiliation (41.7%) | mutilation (25.0%) | use of physical restraints (19.4%) | crime lasts more than 30 minutes (69.4%) | body left at crime scene (66.7%) | search for distinctive characteristics (31.3%) | premortem torture (20.6%) | postmortem torture (23.5%) | use of a weapon (47.1%) | offense committed during evening (63.9%) | body dismembered (8.8%) | victim's body left on her back (63.2%) | victim's body concealed (8.8%)
Beauregard et al. (2008)	77 SHO	Premeditation (31.6%) | crime committed at night (74.0%) | victim selected (40.0%) | use of a weapon (64.9%) | victim forced to perform sexual acts (12.7%) | humiliation (35.1%) | crime lasts more than an hour (49.4%) | torture (20.8%) | mutilation (20.8%) | victim left completely naked (48.1%) | death by strangulation (44.2%) | semen in victim's body cavities (31.2%) | victim's body is hidden (42.7%) | body dismembered (5.3%)
Darjee & Baron (2013)	47 SHO 53 NHSO	Stranger victim (60.0%) | victim targeted (32.0%) | con approach (30.0%) | surprise approach (36.0%) | blitz approach (34.0%) | death by strangulation/asphyxiation (43.0%) | death by blunt force trauma (30.0%) | death by sharp implement (28.0%) | use of a weapon (70.0%) | object insertion (12.8%) | genital mutilation (17.0%) | bizarre acts (8.5%) | biting (8.5%) | overkill (34.0%) | kept trophies (4.3%) | postmortem sexual acts (8.5%) | body dismemberment (8.5%) | vaginal intercourse (42.6%) | anal intercourse (31.9%) | fellatio (12.8%) | cunnilingus (4.3%) | digital penetration (38.3%) | masturbation (17.0%) | fondling (38.3%) | sucking breasts (14.9%) | ejaculation on victim (8.5%)

Langevin et al. (1988)	13 SHO 13 NHSO 13 NSM	Stranger victim (69.0%) | use of a knife (23.0%) | death by strangulation (71.0%) | beating (23.0%) | use of a blunt instrument (23.0%) | mutilation (54.0%)
Grubin (1994)	21 SHO 121 NHSO	Postmortem sexual acts (33.3%) | burglary (29.0%) | stalking victim on the street (29.0%) | planning of the crime (33.3%) | use of a weapon (38.0%) | death by strangulation (67.0%) | victim stabbed (10.0%) | extreme violence (95.2%)
Häkkänen-Nyholm et al. (2009)	18 SHO 615 NSM	Stranger victim (16.7%) | body left at the scene (61.1%) | sharp weapon used (77.8%) | death by strangulation/ asphyxiation (55.6%)
Henry (2010)	50 SHO	Stranger victim (6.0%) | body found outdoors (34.0%) | victim found naked (32.0%) | death by blunt force trauma (36.0%) | death by firearm (26.0%) | death by strangulation (16.0%) | injury to the face (78.3%) | injury to the chest (60.9%) | anogenital injury (58.7%) | postmortem cuts (4.0%)
Koch, Berner, Hill, & Briken (2011)	166 SHO 56 NHSO	Masturbation during offense (66.9%) | victim's body hidden (38.9%) | items taken from victim (33.1%)
Mieczkowski & Beauregard (2010)	83 SHO 533 NHSO	Crime committed at night (69.9%) | structured premeditation (27.7%) | use of a weapon (67.5%) | intrusive sexual acts (51.8%) | force victim to commit sexual acts (12.0%) | humiliation (18.1%) | crime lasts more than 30 minutes (65.1%)
Nicole & Proulx (2007)	40 SHO 101 NHSO	Use of a weapon (65.0%)
Oliver et al. (2007)	58 SHO 112 NHSO	Stranger victim (50.0%)
Salfati & Taylor (2006)	37 SHO 37 NHSO	Vaginal penetration (60.0%) | anal penetration (19.0%) | victim found naked (87.0%) | insertion of foreign objects (8.0%) | use of a weapon (14.0%) | theft (30.0%) | non-controlled violence (76.0%) | multiple wounds (73.0%) | ripping victim's clothing (11.0%) | use of bindings (8.0%) | use of blindfolds (5.0%) | forensic awareness (30.0%)
Stefanska et al. (2015)	129 SHO	Con approach (30.0%) | blitz attack approach (38.0%) | approach during a consensual situation (32.7%) | death by beating (22.0%) | death by stabbing (16.7%) | death by strangulation (50.0%) | use of restraints (26.0%) | biting (3.3%) | postmortem interference (35.3%) | overkill (24.7%)

Note
1 SHO = sexual homicide offender; NHSO = non-homicidal sex offender; NSM = nonsexual murderer; SA = sexual aggressive; S = sadist.

rate of only 8%. Interestingly, the method of approach does not seem to vary from one study to another. In fact, the most common strategies used to approach a victim (i.e., con, blitz, surprise) are used by approximately one third of offenders (e.g., Darjee & Baron, 2013; Grubin, 1994; Stefanska et al., 2015).

Unusual behaviors

In addition to the more traditional modus operandi behaviors examined above, other behaviors have often been associated with sexual homicide. However, when looking into these behaviors specifically, we notice that they are not typical. For instance, the insertion of foreign objects into the victim's body cavities is a behavior that has been sensationalized by popular media and therefore, may be expected in cases of sexual homicide. When examining the rates of this particular behavior, it becomes clear that it is not a behavior in which most SHOs engage. Although only documented in a few studies, the rates vary between 8% and 12.8% (Darjee & Baron, 2013; Salfati & Taylor, 2006). One possible reason why this behavior has only been investigated in a few studies is that its frequency is too low to be used in any statistical analyses; therefore, researchers omit the information altogether. There is another behavior that has also been featured in fictional tales that does seem to be a ritualistic behavior that is often adopted by SHOs: taking items belonging to the victim. This is an interesting behavior as it can serve two very distinct purposes. First, the taking of an item belonging to the victim may be done simply with the intent to steal from the victim. Second, and perhaps more interestingly, some offenders will take items belonging to the victim as a trophy or as a souvenir of their crime. Without an admission from the offender himself, it can be difficult to distinguish between these two purposes. However, when an offender takes items of little monetary value or that will serve little purpose for the offender, it is logical to assume that the item holds more of a sentimental value for the offender. Studies have shown that taking items belonging to the victim is observed in one third of the cases (Koch et al., 2011; Salfati & Taylor, 2006). The rate, 4.3%, is considerably lower when it was clear that the object taken represented a trophy for the offender (Darjee & Baron, 2013).

Although certain behaviors, such as mutilation and/or dismemberment of the victim's body, have come to be associated with sexual homicide, studies show that they are not typical elements of the modus operandi of SHOs. The rate of mutilation varies between 17% (when specifically referring to genitalia mutilation) and 25% (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002; Beauregard et al., 2008), although one study reported a rate as high as 54% (Langevin et al., 1988). This discrepancy could reflect the size and nature of the sample of SHOs used in the Langevin et al. (1988) study. Even more unusual is the action of dismembering the victim's body. Across studies where this information is reported, the rate varies from 5.3% (Beauregard et al., 2008) to 8.8% (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). Finally, popular media portrayals of sexual homicide and a small number of true cases that resulted in significant media coverage have overemphasized the

occurrence of necrophilia, or other forms of postmortem sexual activity with the victim. Interestingly, the rate of postmortem activity varies between 4% (postmortem cuts; Henry, 2010) and 35.3% (postmortem interference; Stefanska et al., 2015). Once again, in studies where the researchers did not have access to the offenders, this information becomes difficult to differentiate. This could explain why rates vary so much from one study to the next.

Table 6.1 presents all the other modus operandi characteristics that we were able to retrieve from published empirical studies on sexual homicide. Different studies have focused on different characteristics, which make it difficult to compare findings across studies. However, the findings analyzed thus far seem to suggest that the modus operandi of SHOs varies and that it is important to consider the nature of the sample (e.g., size, types of offenders) as well as the country where the study took place. When considering studies conducted in non-Western countries, it seems that the context may influence some components of the crime strategies used by sex offenders (e.g., how victims are approached, types of body disposal).

Comparing SHOs to NHSOs

To gain a better understanding of the modus operandi specific to SHOs, a comparison can be made between SHOs and NHSOs or nonsexual homicide offenders. Among the 15 studies that report empirical findings on the modus operandi of SHOs, 10 included such a control group. In the study by Abrahams et al. (2008), findings revealed that SHOs were less likely to take items from the victim and to kill with a firearm as compared to non-rape homicide offenders. However, SHOs were more likely to kill by strangulation (or asphyxiation) and to cause multiple injuries than the non-rape homicide offenders. Langevin et al. (1988) showed a similar pattern with SHOs being more likely to kill using strangulation in comparison to nonsexual murderers (see also Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen et al., 2009). Moreover, the study showed that SHOs were more likely to target strangers than nonsexual murderers. In the study by Häkkänen-Nyholm, Repo-Tiihonen et al., cases of sexual homicide were more likely to involve multiple offenders (i.e., an accomplice) as compared to the nonsexual homicides.

When comparing SHOs to a control group of NHSOs, studies have also found some interesting distinctions. Darjee and Baron (2013) found that SHOs were more likely to use a weapon during the crime, while the study by Koch et al. (2011) showed that SHOs were more likely to target stranger victims than were NHSOs. Similarly, Nicole and Proulx (2007) showed that SHOs were more likely to target strangers and use a weapon, as compared to NHSOs. The study by Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2010) found that SHOs were more likely to commit the crime at night, use a weapon, and spend more than 30 minutes with the victim as compared to NHSOs. However, NHSOs were more likely to commit intrusive sexual acts and force the victim to commit sexual acts on them than were the SHOs. Finally, Salfati and Taylor (2006) found that SHOs were

more likely to use a weapon, engage in non-controlled violence, inflict multiple wounds on the victim, as well as commit anal and object penetration.

Typologies of SHOs

Research on sex offenders and sexual violence has often distinguished sexual murderers, placing them in a separate category from other sexual offenders. This segregation of the sexual murderer likely occurs due to the ineptness of the most common types (i.e., sexual aggressors of women and child molesters) to describe this type of offender. Sexual murderers are thought to be a distinct group. However, sexual murderers are not a homogeneous group. Some studies have examined samples of sexual murderers and identified subtypes.

One of the most widely cited typologies of SHOs is that of the organized/disorganized. This typology was developed at the FBI Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) in large part through the work of Ressler and his colleagues (Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988; Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman, & D'Agostino, 1986; Ressler, Burgess, Hartman, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986). These researchers interviewed convicted sexual murderers in order to learn about modus operandi, crime scene characteristics, and methods employed to escape detection. This classification grew out of a study of 36 sexual murderers who collectively were responsible for 118 victims. The main characteristics of the two types are presented in Table 6.2.

Following the FBI typology, other classifications were suggested in order to overcome some of the identified limitations. When examining these typological studies, four main types of sexual murderers are revealed, with each study describing between two and four types. Of these four main types of sexual murderers, two are consistently reported in the various studies: angry and sadistic (see Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). The third main type is the sexual murderer who kills to eliminate witnesses or escape justice, known variously as the "sexually triggered – aggressive control murderer" (Clarke & Carter, 1999), "rape murderer" (Kocsis, 1999), "motivation to sexually offend murderer" (Beech, Robertson, & Clarke, 2001), "execution" (Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004), or "destroy evidence" (Malmquist, 2007). Finally, some studies include the fourth type, which is a residual category ("other"). Table 6.3 presents a summary of the types of sexual murderers found within each study.

Despite variations in the labels used from study to study, sadistic and angry murderers present a number of consistent characteristics. Looking at the context of the crime, the sadistic sexual homicide is often informed by very elaborate and overwhelming fantasies, which play an important role in the planning of the crime. These offenders "hunt" for their prey, and they use surveillance to select a specific victim who matches certain criteria. These offenders often use alcohol before committing the crime and usually kill following a blow to their self-esteem, or a situational stressor. With respect to the angry sexual homicide, the context is usually characterized by the absence of planning on behalf of the

Table 6.2 Summary of characteristics of the organized/disorganized sexual murderer

Organized	*Disorganized*
Victim a targeted stranger	Victim known
Victim is single	Victim of opportunity
Victim is living alone	Variance in victim choice (age, gender)
Victim is employed	Victim from same geographical area as offender
Victim is an adult female and/or adolescent male	Spontaneous offense
Offense planned	Depersonalizes victim
Personalizes victim	Minimal conversation
Controlled conversation	Sudden violence to victim
Demands submissive victim	Crime scene random and sloppy
Crime scene reflects overall control	Minimal use of restraints
Restraints used	Sexual acts committed most often postmortem or when victim unconscious
Aggressive acts prior to death	Weapon of opportunity
Sexual acts committed	Asphyxia
Weapon brought to crime scene	Strangulation
Asphyxia	Blunt force
Mutilation of sexual organs	Use of a pointed sharp instrument
Semen left in body orifices or on body	Mutilation and overkill
Con approach	Semen left in the victim's wounds or on clothing
Precipitating situational stress	Ambush, blitz style of attack
Body hidden	Body left in view
Weapon/evidence absent	Body left at death scene
Transports victim or body	Does not follow crime in the media
Follows crime in the media	Does not change job
May change job	Does not leave town
May leave town	Sexual acts after death
Use of a vehicle	Evidence/weapon often present at the crime scene
Keeps trophies or souvenirs	
Returns to the crime scene	
May interject himself into the investigation	

offender, but a desire to kill, which often comes from some rage that is displaced toward the victim. The victim is usually one of opportunity, often identified during the offender's daily activities and from a location familiar to both the victim and offender. Before the crime, the angry murderers report suicidal ideations, depressive moods, and feelings of anger (Beauregard, Proulx, & St-Yves, 2007).

As to the modus operandi utilized by these offenders, the sadistic murderers often use a con, such as manipulation, to approach an unknown victim. These offenders may use a vehicle during the crime and they often select an isolated crime scene, which is chosen in advance and is far from their home base. Their whole modus operandi reflects sadistic fantasies: the use of torture instruments or a rape-kit, tying up and gagging the victim, engaging in prolonged and ritualized torture (e.g., mutilations to genitals). The sexual acts committed (i.e., fellatio; vaginal and anal penetration) may be recorded, as well as the murder that is often accomplished by strangulation. The sadistic sexual homicide also

Table 6.3 Types of SHOs corresponding to the angry, sadistic, and witness-elimination types

Typology	*Angry*	*Sadistic*	*Witness-elimination*	*Other*
Revitch & Schlesinger (1981)	Cathatymic	Compulsive	Not applicable	Not applicable
Ressler et al. (1988)	Disorganized	Organized	Not applicable	Mixed
Keppel & Walter (1999)	Angry-Retaliatory	Angry-Excitation	Not applicable	Power-assertive; power-reassurance
Clarke & Carter (1999)	Anger dyscontrol	Sexually motivated	Aggressive control	Neuropsychological dysfunction
Kocsis (1999)	Fury	Predator/ perversion	Rape	Not applicable
Meloy (2000)	Cathatymic	Compulsive	Not applicable	Not applicable
Beech et al. (2001)	Grievance motivation	Prior intent to kill	Motivation to sexually offend	Not applicable
Beauregard & Proulx (2002)	Angry	Sadistic	Not applicable	Not applicable
Canter et al. (2004)	Mutilation; plunder	Sexual control	Execution	Not applicable
Malmquist (2007)	Rape	Lust (sadistic)	Destroy evidence	Not applicable
Sewall, Krupp, & Lalumiere (2013)	Competitively disadvantaged	Sadistic	Not applicable	Psychopathic

includes some unusual acts such as the insertion of objects into body cavities, dismemberment, and the retention of trophies or souvenirs belonging to the victim.

The angry sexual homicide, on the other hand, is characterized by the explosive and violent attack of a known victim who is usually older than the offender. The offender accesses the crime scene on foot, a location that is familiar to him and is usually outdoors. There is a minimal use of restraints, but a weapon found at the crime scene may be used during the crime, even if death is usually caused by strangulation, just as in the sadistic sexual homicide. The homicide is often provoked by the victim's words or actions, resulting in humiliation and extreme violence (e.g., blows directed toward the victim's face, overkill). Sexual assault of the victim is possible (especially postmortem sexual acts), although no semen is found at the crime scene (Beauregard et al., 2007).

Finally, following the murder, sadistic sexual murderers may decide to move the victim's body to hide it or to delay or prevent recovery. These offenders may decide to move to a different city or change jobs after the crime, while others may volunteer to help during the investigation. Some sadistic sexual murderers may show some interest in the media coverage of the crime, but their behavior remains relatively stable following each crime. They usually show no remorse and even get some pleasure from describing the horror of their acts. On the other hand, the angry sexual murderer usually leaves the victim's body on her back and in plain view at the crime scene. Contrary to the sadistic offender, the angry sexual murderer shows no interest in media coverage of the crime, and he often reports a feeling of relief after the murder (Beauregard et al., 2007).

Although sadistic and angry sexual homicide can at times be difficult to distinguish due to similar levels of violence and common cause of death, i.e., strangulation, there exist significant differences in the context, modus operandi, and post-offense behaviors. As mentioned previously, a third type of sexual homicide offender has been identified in several studies: sexual murderers who kill the victim to eliminate any witnesses. These offenders sexually assault their victim as their primary intent; the murder is strictly instrumental. This type of murderer seldom has long-term emotional relationships, and his victims are usually younger than 30 years of age, and unknown to him. The sexual assault is characterized by penetration of the victim, with some sadistic elements. The murder may or may not be premeditated and is panicky or cold-blooded, depending on the murderer's criminal experience. Usually, the victim's wounds are restricted to a single site on the body, and the victim is found lying on her back. Often, the crime is committed, and the victim's corpse found, at the site at which first contact between the murderer and the victim occurred (Beauregard et al., 2007).

The different typologies of sexual murderers reviewed here clearly show that this type of crime is heterogeneous. Despite the fact that these typologies suffer from several limitations (see Beauregard et al., 2007 for an extensive review of limitations), the one that is probably the most important for the purpose of this chapter is the fact that most of the typological studies comprise a wide spectrum of sexual murderers (serial and non-serial murderers, sexual murderers of women, men, children), completely ignoring the specific characteristics of each group.

For instance, when looking specifically at sexual homicide against men, the context of the crime and patterns of offending appear somewhat different from sexual homicide of adult women. Modeling after the typology presented by Geberth (1996), Beauregard and Proulx (2007) derived a typology based on observations of sexual homicide involving male victims. Beauregard and Proulx identified three types of sexual murderers who target males. Offenders corresponding to the *avenger* type are usually involved in prostitution activities and the consumption of drugs and alcohol is an important lifestyle feature of these murderers. They have previous convictions for property crimes as well as violent crime, and most of them have experienced psychological, physical, and/or sexual

abuse during childhood. The sexual activity requested by the client of the *avenger* type working in the sex trade, or an event which occurs during or after the sexual exchange, may trigger a memory of past abuse and unleash rage in the offender. This displaced rage leads to the homicide. The context of the *avenger* type is similar to the "interpersonal violence-oriented disputes and assaults" type found by Geberth. The offender is avenging himself directly on his partner for all of the grievances (past or present) for which he feels he has been a victim. The homicide is preceded by anger and it is committed by strangulation or by using a weapon of opportunity (e.g., kitchen knife, a pillow, phone cord). The *sexual predator*, on the other hand, is mainly motivated by deviant sexual fantasies, as is Geberth's typology of the "lust murderer." This offender typically presents with a criminal history that includes sexual crimes, especially against male children or adolescents. The sexual homicide is premeditated, with the criminal event most often commencing with the abduction/confinement of the victim. Sadistic acts (mutilations, sodomy, and torture) aimed to humiliate the victim are often performed.

Finally, the *nonsexual predator* is not motivated by anger or by deviant sexual fantasies. The homicide is not planned, but is more accidental or instrumental. The principal motivation for the crime is financial gain, as in the "robbery/homicide of homosexuals" type described by Geberth (1996). In most of the cases, this type of sexual homicide can be described as a robbery that degenerated into the death of the victim because of his resistance. Predation is related to the choice of victim; often, this offender uses the availability and the homosexual orientation of the victim to seduce him and bring him to an isolated area (usually the victim's residence) where he will be able to commit his crime without interference. The victim is chosen for his vulnerability and easy access. The murderer may act alone or with the help of an accomplice, and he may use a weapon he has brought to, or one that is found at, the crime scene. Violence is instrumental in that its purpose is to facilitate the commission of the robbery or to overcome the victim's resistance. Usually, the victim is not sexually assaulted, but sexual contact may occur between the offender and the victim. Sexual acts are used as a means of manipulating and controlling the victim. Often, these offenders have a diverse criminal career with an emphasis on property crimes (Beauregard & Proulx, 2007).

In summary, this section shows that although sexual murderers are often considered as a distinct group, there is much heterogeneity in sexual homicide. In fact, different offending patterns exist, which are influenced by the offender's motivation and victim type (i.e., woman, child, adult male). The findings of some of the studies reviewed indicate that some sexual encounters result in the death of the victim, but that the decision to kill is sometimes made "after the fact." The murder may be an afterthought; a means of covering up the sexual offense and eliminating the only witness. Thus, these offenders kill the victim even though their original intention was to commit only a sexual assault. This suggests that some SHOs may not differ that significantly from NHSOs, and any differences that do exist only lie in the outcome of the sexual assault.

In the next section, we present a comparison between the modus operandi of SHOs, violent NHSOs, and NHSOs using our prison sample. This comparison is followed by a description of the modus operandi present in our sample stemming from police files. We then return to our prison sample to analyze the different dimensions involved in SHOs' modus operandi and based on these dimensions, we identify two scripts of sexual homicide. Finally, we use the sexual homicide cases from the police sample to revisit the organized/disorganized model proposed by the FBI, using two different methods.

Findings

A more comprehensive understanding of the modus operandi of SHOs is gained through a comparison with NHSOs and violent NHSOs. Table 6.4 presents the differences and similarities between groups across 16 variables related to modus operandi. First, it is noteworthy that of these 16 variables, 15 present a significant difference while the other one approaches significance. This clearly shows that the modus operandi is different, depending on the type of offender that is being examined. Our findings show that NHSOs are more likely to select a victim who is known as compared to SHOs. Similarly, the violent NHSO is more likely to select a known victim compared to the SHOs. The NHSOs are

Table 6.4 Differences between NHSOs, violent NHSOs, and SHOs on their modus operandi

	NHSOs (N = 387)	*Violent NHSOs (N = 144)*	*SHOs (N = 85)*
Offender selected a known victim***	89.9	72.9	54.1
Victim is a male***	22.7	7.6	20.0
Victim is from a criminogenic environment**	37.8	41.3	19.2
No planning*	28.7	42.4	34.1
Crime committed during the night***	38.8	58.3	69.4
High probability of apprehension†	35.1	43.8	45.9
Crime lasted more than 30 minutes***	16.3	51.4	64.7
Victim selected***	17.3	16.0	38.8
Coercive approach***	26.4	83.3	92.9
Weapon used***	8.8	43.8	67.1
Level of force more than necessary***	8.8	76.4	98.8
Coercive reaction from offender to victim resistance***	45.2	88.9	84.7
Intrusive sexual acts***	64.1	83.3	51.8
Victim forced to commit sexual acts***	65.6	56.9	12.9
Humiliation of victim***	9.8	56.3	20.0
Victim abandoned completely naked***	0.0	1.4	50.6

Notes
† $p<0.10$;
* $p<0.05$;
** $p<0.01$;
*** $p<0.001$.

more likely to force the victim to perform sexual acts on them as compared to SHOs. A similar pattern emerges once again, with violent NHSOs more closely resembling the NHSOs in this regard. These findings indicate that the two groups of non-homicidal sex offenders are very similar with respect to these two modus operandi variables.

On the other hand, Table 6.4 shows that SHOs are more likely to commit their crime at night, take more than 30 minutes to commit the crime, and use a coercive approach in comparison to NHSOs. These behaviors are also more likely among violent NHSOs, although somewhat less so than the SHOs. These findings suggest that although SHOs kill their victims, they share several similarities with the violent NHSOs in the way that they commit their crimes. However, SHOs are more likely to target a victim, use a weapon, use more force than necessary, and abandon the victim completely naked as compared to violent NHSOs and NHSOs. SHOs are only slightly more likely to commit their crime when the probability of apprehension is high as compared to the other two groups, but as mentioned already, this difference only approaches significance.

Interestingly, our findings also indicate that violent NHSOs distinguish themselves from the other two groups on a number of modus operandi variables. In fact, violent NHSOs are more likely than NHSOs to target victims from a criminogenic environment, commit their crime without any planning, and react with violence to victim resistance, with SHOs following close behind. However, violent NHSOs are more likely than the other two groups of sex offenders to commit intrusive sexual acts (i.e., penetration) and humiliate their victim. These findings support the existence of modus operandi profiles that are based on the categorization of sex offender. However, overlap between profiles exists as the groups share certain behavioral similarities.

Another strategy utilized to examine typical elements of modus operandi used in sexual homicide is to present a simple description of what typically occurs in most cases of sexual homicide in Canada. For this purpose, we rely on our representative sample of 350 cases of sexual homicide coming from police files.

Table 6.5 presents the modus operandi behaviors that were observed at the crime scenes of the sexual homicides. Only a minority of sexual murderers targeted a specific victim (18.9%), while the majority appeared to select their victims at random. Most sexual murderers used a con (e.g., befriended the victim, requested the victim's assistance, feigned an emergency) to approach their victim (40.6%). Only a minority of sexual murderers surprised (7.1%) their victims (e.g., attacked victim while victim was sleeping) or blitzed (12.3%) their victims (e.g., immediately overpowered their victims through violence). The violence suffered by victims of sexual homicide is diverse. Sexual murderers most frequently beat (47.1%) or strangled (41.7%) their victims. Approximately 22% of victims were stabbed. Offenders each cut and/or asphyxiated their victims in 12.9% of cases.[1] Forms of violence that occurred less frequently were stomping (5.4%), shooting with a firearm (4.6%), crushing (4.3%), drowning (4.1%), and burning (3.4%).

Table 6.5 Modus operandi characteristics for SHOs from police sample (solved and unsolved cases)

Modus operandi characteristics	*Mean SHOs (N = 350)*
Offender targeted the victim	18.9
Con approach	40.6
Surprise approach	7.1
Blitz approach	12.3
Beating	47.1
Stabbing	22.3
Cutting	12.9
Stomping	5.4
Crushing	4.3
Burning	3.4
Strangulation	41.7
Asphyxiation	12.9
Drowning	4.0
Gunshot	4.6
Any use of restraints	10.9
Any use of blindfolds or gags	7.1
Any use of weapon	60.6
Type of weapon used	
Knife	37.1
Firearm	7.6
Ax/hatchet	3.6
Bludgeoning	25.4
Ligature	20.3
Other	6.1
Foreign objects inserted into the victim	11.4
Mutilation of genitalia	5.4
Any bizarre acts	5.7
Offender bit the victim	7.4
Overkill	43.1
Offender took any items from victim/offense	37.7
Postmortem sexual activity	10.6
Dismemberment of the body	6.3
Vaginal intercourse	46.3
Anal intercourse	16.3
Fellatio	8.6
Cunnilingus	0.9
Penetration with fingers	3.1
Masturbation	1.7
Fondling	9.1
Sucking breasts	0.9
Ejaculation on victim	0.6
Inanimate object penetration	8.0
Vaginal fisting	0.9
Anal fisting	0.3
Urinating on victim	0.3
Defecating on victim	0.3

The offender used a weapon in 60.6% of cases. The most common type of weapon was a knife (37.1%), followed by a bludgeoning instrument (25.4%), and a ligature (20.3%). A firearm was the weapon of choice in only a few cases.

Only a few sexual murderers used restraints (10.9%) or blindfolds (7.1%) on the victim. As to the unusual acts observed at the crime scene, it is noteworthy that in 43.1% of the cases, evidence of overkill (i.e., the investigating officers believed that the offender used more force than was necessary to kill the victim) was noticed and that items were taken from the victim in 37.7% of the cases. Only a few sexual murderers mutilated the genitalia of the victim (5.4%), bit the victim (7.4%), or dismembered the victim's body (6.3%). Evidence of postmortem sexual activity was observed in 10.6% of cases.

Table 6.5 also presents the different types of sexual acts committed during the crime. In almost half of the cases (46.3%) vaginal penetration occurred. This is the most typical sexual act committed during sexual homicide. Some offenders committed anal penetration (16.3%), fellatio (8.6%), fondling (9.1%), or penetrated the victim with an inanimate object (8.0%). Less common forms of sexual activity, such as ejaculating on the victim, vaginal or anal fisting, and urinating or defecating on the victim, were observed in less than 1% of the cases.

The studies on typologies of SHOs have clearly shown that sexual homicide is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Instead, there exist different types of SHOs that can be distinguished based on some modus operandi behaviors. In order to examine the different types of sexual homicide, we analyzed only the cases of SHOs coming from the prison sample. However, instead of only subjecting the different modus operandi characteristics to a classification method, we conducted an analysis to investigate if different dimensions of modus operandi exist. The use of multiple correspondence analysis – a specialized statistical technique – allowed us to identify four specific dimensions of modus operandi. As can be seen in Figure 6.1, the most important dimension of sexual homicide is the "cognitive" dimension. This dimension includes variables related to the planning of the crime, victim selection, and deviant sexual fantasies in general, as well as those present prior to the crime. The second most important dimension is labeled "sexualized aggression." This dimension includes behaviors such as mutilation, postmortem sexual activities, insertion of foreign objects into body cavities, and the positioning of the victim's body after the murder. The third dimension concerns "disinhibition" and includes behaviors such as the use of alcohol, drugs, and pornography before the crime, as well as presenting a positive affect prior to the crime. Finally, the fourth dimension of sexual homicide modus operandi concerns "victimology." This dimension, which is the least important statistically, includes the selection of a male victim, aged 16 years or younger, and the crime is committed during the day using strangulation without humiliation.

Based on these four dimensions, we ran a second analysis to identify different types of SHOs. This analysis yielded a two-type classification. These two types represent two different scripts involved in sexual homicide. The first script – *sadistic* – describes an offender who presents deviant sexual fantasies, plans his crime, and selects a specific victim. SHOs using this script kidnap and torture

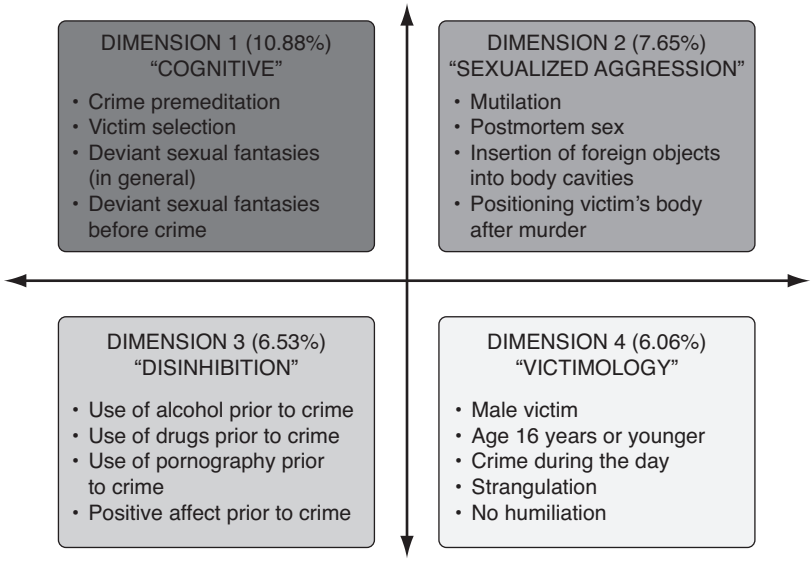

Figure 6.1 Four dimensions of sexual homicide.

their victim, and conceal the victim's body without any postmortem sexual activities. In the second script – *angry* – the offender does not present deviant sexual fantasies prior to the crime nor does he plan his crime. Moreover, the offender does not select a particular victim, nor does he kidnap or torture the victim. SHOs using the angry script will leave the body in view and may engage in postmortem sexual activities.

Going back to our police data involving 350 cases, we performed two different classification methods (latent class and two-step cluster analysis) on seven dimensions of the SHOs' modus operandi that we first identified (see Mjanes, 2015; Mjanes, Beauregard, & Martineau, under review). Moreover, we ran the same two classification methods on all of the results of the seven dimensions in an effort to find an overall classification of SHOs. The results obtained are interesting in light of the existing typologies previously cited, especially the organized/disorganized model. Our findings were almost identical despite using two different statistical techniques. Table 6.6 presents the results of the two types of sexual homicide offenders.

As can be seen from Table 6.6, our analyses identified two types of SHOs: the *cautious* (39.4%) and the *careless* (60.6%). *Cautious* offenders select victims from both the low- and high-vulnerability groups. However, when compared to the *careless* offenders, they tend to select more low-vulnerability victims, such as males, and older victims who are known to the offender. On the other hand, almost all of the *careless* cases involve victims who are considered high-risk – younger females who are more likely to be sex trade workers and strangers to

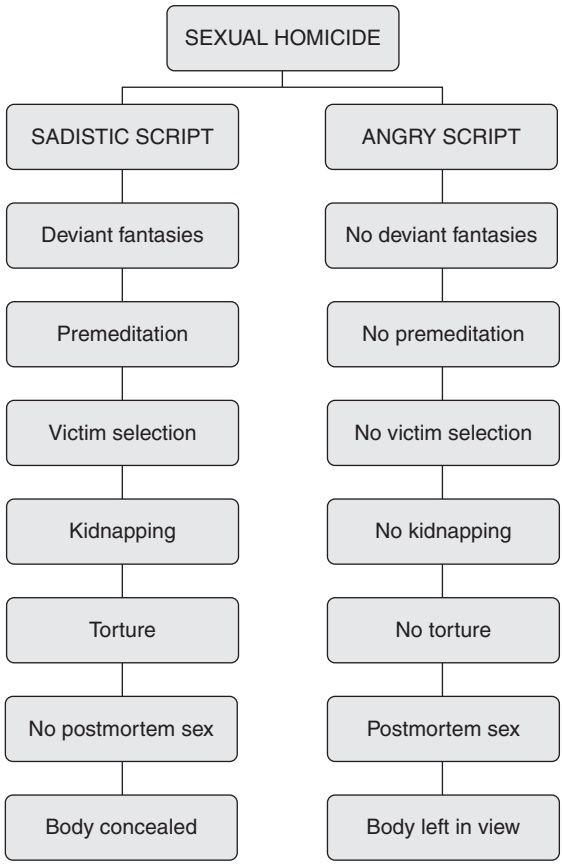

Figure 6.2 Two scripts of sexual homicide.

the offender. In terms of detection avoidance, over half of the *cautious* offenders attempt to clean up or destroy evidence from the crime scene. Conversely, only a small number of *careless* offenders make an effort to conceal forensic evidence, suggesting that most of these offenders are not concerned with avoiding detection. When it comes to control, a small, but significantly higher, number of *cautious* offenders attempt to control the victim by using restraints or gags to keep the victim confined and quiet, while very few *careless* offenders make such attempts. As to the approach, even if the majority of offenders in both groups use a con approach to gain access to the victim, the *careless* SHOs are significantly more likely to use this manipulative strategy than the *cautious* SHOs. The *cautious* SHOs, on the other hand, are more likely to blitz the victim. During the crime itself, *cautious* SHOs are more likely to penetrate the victim with an inanimate or foreign object versus having intercourse with the victim. This behavior may be tied to the *cautious* offender's detection avoidance strategies

Table 6.6 Characteristics of two types of SHOs

	Cautious (39.4%)	*Careless (60.6%)*
Victimology		
Low vulnerability	40.1	4.3
High vulnerability	59.9	95.7
Detection avoidance		
Yes	54.7	9.5
No	45.3	90.5
Control		
Yes	11.7	5.7
No	88.3	94.3
Offender approach		
Con	75.9	84.4
Target/blitz	24.1	15.6
Sexual acts		
Inanimate objects	87.6	52.6
Intercourse	12.4	47.4
Type of violence		
Beat/strangle	50.4	10.4
Stab	49.6	89.6
Postmortem activities		
Item-taking	86.1	86.7
Harm	13.9	13.3

and awareness of forensic evidence. Not engaging in vaginal or anal intercourse with the victim likely ensures that the offender's semen will not be left at the crime scene. Just over half of the *careless* offenders penetrate the victim with a foreign object, while nearly as many offenders commit vaginal or anal penetration of the victim, and they are further identified by the presence of semen at the crime scene. When examining the type of violence used, the majority of *careless* SHOs are likely to stab and cut the victim, while *cautious* sexual murderers, on the other hand, are more likely to beat and strangle the victims. As to the postmortem activities, similar rates are observed for both groups of SHOs.

Killing does not involve a different modus operandi

When analyzing our three groups of sex offenders – the SHOs, the violent NHSOs, and the NHSOs – we realized that just because SHOs kill their victims does not necessarily mean that they use a different modus operandi from those sex offenders who do not kill their victims. For instance, SHOs and violent NHSOs are very similar in terms of not planning the crime, committing the crime at night, when the probability of apprehension is high, using a coercive approach, and reacting coercively to the victim's resistance. However, there are

some behaviors that could explain why some sex offenders kill the victim instead of only inflicting serious physical injuries. On one hand, it seems that offenders who use a weapon, select a victim, and use more force than necessary to commit the crime (i.e., expressive violence) are more likely to kill the victim. On the other hand, sex offenders who commit intrusive sexual acts (i.e., penetration), force the victim to commit sexual acts during the crime, and humiliate the victim are less likely to kill the victim. Moreover, the choice of the type of victim seems to make a difference in the outcome of the sexual crime. Violent NHSOs are more likely to target a known victim as well as victims from a criminogenic environment as compared to SHOs. Interestingly, these offenders are very similar to the NHSOs in terms of their choice of victim. However, SHOs are more likely to target a male victim (although most SHOs usually target female victims), which is very similar to the NHSOs.

These findings could suggest at least two interpretations. First, some behaviors, such as the use of a weapon, could increase the risk of a lethal outcome in a sexual assault independent of the offender's original intention in committing the crime. In other words, it is possible that some sex offenders displayed a weapon during the sexual assault but did not intend to use it to kill the victim. Instead, the weapon was brought only as a means to control the victim. However, circumstances during the crime (e.g., victim resistance) made the offender use the weapon resulting in the death of the victim.

Second, it is also plausible that the few differences observed in the modus operandi of the three different types of sexual offenders reflect, in fact, different motivations. For instance, the group of NHSOs is the least coercive and it seems that most of their actions are geared toward having sexual contact with the victims. Thus, not only do they select a known victim, often a male who is vulnerable (i.e., from a criminogenic environment), but they will also penetrate and force the victim to commit sexual acts on them. Similarly, the two types of violent sex offenders – the SHOs and the violent NHSOs – may share some similarities, but they also present different motivations. If the offender selects a vulnerable victim, commits intrusive sexual acts, and humiliates the victim, he is less likely to kill the victim. This could suggest a motivation of revenge. However, if the offender purposefully selected a victim and is in possession of a weapon, this could suggest that the intent was to kill the victim, whether as part of his fantasies or to serve the purpose of eliminating a potential witness (e.g., Beech et al., 2001; Malmquist, 2007).

Offender motivation in the commission of sexual crime can be very hard to determine. Most of the time, researchers and investigators have no way of knowing what truly motivated the offender. Offenders rarely share their original motivation for the crime. Often offenders do not want to share this information, and in some cases they may lack insight with respect to what has motivated them. This is why it is often more productive to focus on the behavioral manifestations of the motivation that could represent risk factors. In the case of sexual homicide, it is clear that sex offenders who use a weapon are at a greater risk of committing a sexual homicide. However, if the use of a weapon is such a risk

factor for sexual homicide, why is it that the most frequently observed cause of death in cases of sexual homicide is strangulation?

Modus operandi: typical or unusual?

Many studies have found strangulation to be the most common method of inflicting death in cases of sexual homicide (Carter & Hollin, 2010; Chan & Heide, 2008; Van Patten & Delhauer, 2007). Other methods commonly employed include stabbing and beating (Roberts & Grossman, 1993). Firearms are rarely used by sexual murderers (Grubin, 1994; Roberts & Grossman). Compared to nonsexual homicide offenders, sexual murderers are more likely to use personal and close contact weapons than firearms (Chan & Heide, 2008). However, what is often overlooked with regard to the choice of weapon by SHOs is the factors associated with such a decision. One factor is practicality. The victim's vulnerability (i.e., potential physical resistance) and environmental concerns (i.e., potential situational or external interference with the assault) play a vital role in the offender's choice of weapon. For instance, personal weapons are frequently used by SHOs, especially in cases involving child and elderly victims who are more physically vulnerable (Beauregard et al., 2008; Safarik, Jarvis, & Nussbaum, 2002). Personal (e.g., strangulation) and edged (e.g., stabbing) weapons are commonly seen in the sexual killing of adult females (Chan & Heide, 2009). Objects or tools other than personal weapons are typically utilized by SHOs in killing adult males (Beauregard & Proulx, 2007). Moreover, the choice of weapon can be influenced by the offender's motivation (e.g., sadistic gratification, avoiding detection; see Greenall, 2012; Kerr, Beech, & Murphy, 2013). SHOs who kill to avoid detection are more likely to complete their offense with as little extraneous activity as possible and exert only the amount of violence required to kill their victim (Balemba, Beauregard, & Martineau, 2014).

Another factor that may influence the weapon choice in sexual homicide is the offender's age and body build. Depending on the offenders' physical strength and their victim's physical vulnerability, contact and personal weapons, as well as firearms, are commonly used in sexual homicides committed by juveniles (Myers, 2002; Myers & Chan, 2012; Myers, Eggleston, & Smoak, 2003). Interestingly, recent studies by Chan and Frei (2013) and Chan, Frei, and Myers (2013) on weapons used by female sexual murderers found that firearms are their weapon of choice. Using the US Supplementary Homicide Reports, Chan and Beauregard (2016) showed that the majority of sexual murderers use a weapon (e.g., edged weapons, contact weapons, and firearms) to kill their victims and that the choice is in part influenced by victim characteristics. When examining our current findings from the police sample, it is noteworthy that although strangulation is the method of choice to kill the victim, more than half of the SHOs used a weapon during the commission of the crime. Compared to nonsexual homicide, firearms are rarely used in sexual homicide. Although some sexual murderers may use a weapon to control the victim during the crime or to mutilate him/her, in most cases the weapon is not used to inflict fatal wounds. This was

evidenced in our findings indicating that a knife was commonly used during the crime even when cause of death was strangulation.

Contrary to the sensationalized portrayal of the sexual murderer blitzing an unsuspecting victim, many sexual murderers utilize a con to make contact with their victims. In our findings presented in Table 6.5, two out of every five offenders used a con[2] or a ruse to approach their victim, which contradicts the image of the introverted socially inapt offender as depicted in previous studies (e.g., Grubin, 1994).

Previous studies have also indicated that sexual murderers may engage in unusual or bizarre behaviors toward their victim or at the crime scene (e.g., Ressler et al., 1988, 1986, 1986). Unusual acts were present among our sample, but they were very infrequent. For instance, genitalia mutilation, biting, dismemberment, and necrophilia occur in less than 11% of cases. Although these behaviors provide important behavioral and investigative information when present, they occur too rarely to be used in the identification and construction of sexual murderer typologies (Canter et al., 2004). One behavior, however, that has been reported in previous studies as being rare and unusual but does appear with greater frequency in our study is overkill. Overkill is defined as inflicting more grievous bodily harm upon the victim than is necessary to cause death (Geberth, 1996). Overkill needs to be distinguished from "underkill" – that is the offender was not effective in his killing method and therefore had to inflict a large number of wounds before finally killing the victim. Overkill was reported by investigators as being present in 43% of the cases of sexual homicide included in the current study. Overkill was considered to be present if the victim's body exhibited more trauma than was necessary to end the victim's life. For example, overkill would be considered present in a case where an offender fatally stabs the victim and then goes on to slit the victim's throat. Given the frequency of overkill within the current sample, it may be possible to include this behavior in the development of new offender typologies or validate existing typologies for which overkill helps distinguish types.

Typologies: same types, different labels?

Typologies of SHOs based on their modus operandi have shown that sexual homicide is not homogeneous. Different types of SHOs exist and have been identified through different studies using different samples. However, despite these typologies having different labels as shown in Table 6.3, most types fall under two main categories; three if we consider witness-elimination as a specific type of SHO. As suggested by Beauregard and Proulx (2002), SHOs should be classified as either "sadistic"[3] or "angry." Although it can be argued that theoretically there are an infinite number of ways to commit a sexual homicide, the results from different studies suggest that in fact, two main "scripts" (Beauregard et al., 2007) are being used by SHOs. Following the 2002 study by Beauregard and Proulx, we analyzed a larger sample of SHOs and identified scripts of sexual homicide based on the dimensions associated with this crime

(as presented in Figure 6.1). The two scripts identified are similar to the sadistic and angry types identified by Beauregard and Proulx (2002).

This idea of a dichotomous typology of sexual homicide is not new. The study by the FBI that led to the publication of the organized/disorganized model of sexual homicide has definitely influenced the way we look at the modus operandi of sexual homicide today. However, since its publication, the typology has been widely criticized – both theoretically and methodologically (see Beauregard et al., 2007). Although it is true that the organized/disorganized typology suffers from serious limitations, we believe that it still has a lot of value and that it would be a mistake to reject this model. For instance, our findings are in sharp contrast to those of Sewall et al. (2013) and Canter et al. (2004) regarding the organized/disorganized typology (Mjanes, 2015). Sewall and colleagues (2013) identified a typology with four types, adding that the evidence to support an organized/disorganized distinction is weak, at best. Similarly, Canter and colleagues concluded that there is no empirical evidence to support the FBI model, as no separation could be made between organized and disorganized offenders (Mjanes).

Failing to replicate the FBI findings does not necessarily mean that the idea of a dichotomy – organized/disorganized – is not a valid one. Over the years, we have conducted various studies that examined the modus operandi of SHOs using a typological perspective. Each time, our findings revealed two types of SHOs that were given labels that did not include the organized/disorganized terminology. But beyond the existence of two main types of SHOs, what was most striking in our previous studies is the resemblance of our two types with the ones from the FBI. Considering the number of studies that have identified two types similar to the organized/disorganized model, this should give us some confidence in the general pattern of modus operandi of SHOs. However, more research is required. More work is needed to identify the offender characteristics that are associated with the typologies. It is important to remember that the organized/disorganized model, in addition to the modus operandi, also suggested offender characteristics associated with the two profiles. Most existing typologies of sexual homicide, however, have not considered offender characteristics, or only in a limited way at best. This could be because such relationships between offender characteristics and modus operandi do not exist, and/or that the modus operandi used by SHOs is mostly influenced by the context of the crime and the choice of victim. This is a question that requires further investigation.

Implications

The study of the modus operandi of SHOs is important as our findings suggest that what we have come to know about this crime may have been distorted over the years. Whether it be due to a few very popular studies with extreme cases (i.e., sadists) or because of the nature of the samples (i.e., clinical versus law enforcement), the characteristics of sexual homicides may be different from what we originally thought, and definitely different from what has been reported by

the media. Many of the behaviors that have been used to distinguish sexual murderers from other sex offenders are rare, presenting in only a small number of cases. Moreover, SHOs and violent NHSOs present several similarities with respect to their modus operandi. This suggests that only a few behaviors can explain the lethal outcome in sexual crimes. It further suggests that it may be the circumstance of the crime that leads to a lethal outcome as opposed to the desire or intention of the offender. This latter suggestion ties back to the case study presented at the beginning of the chapter. Curt's pre-crime behavior suggested that his primary intent was to have (violent) sex with the victim, as indicated by his purchase of the large dildo, and not to murder her. It is unclear whether Curt recognized that his behavior would likely cause the death of the victim. The insertion of the tree branch found at the scene into the victim was likely driven by sexual curiosity rather than a desire to inflict fatal injury.

A better understanding of the modus operandi of sexual homicide offenders is important. Recognizing the similarities and differences between offender types has important implications for practitioners. For instance, SHOs have often been described as attacking a victim by surprise or by using a blitz approach. Our findings suggest that while this does sometimes occur, SHOs are also very capable of using a con to approach their victim. This finding is important for the investigation of these cases as it suggests that in almost half of the cases, sexual murderers possess the necessary social skills to approach their victims under false pretenses. This contradicts the image of the introverted socially inapt offender as depicted in previous studies (e.g., Grubin, 1994), which could help in profiling these cases. Moreover, our findings have shown that some behaviors – often depicted as typical in sexual homicide cases – are very infrequent. For instance, genitalia mutilation, biting, dismemberment, and necrophilia occur in less than 11% of cases. Although these behaviors may prove useful in profiling and in case linkage (see Stein, Schlesinger, & Pinizotto, 2010 for necrophilia and Häkkänen-Nyholm, Weizmann-Henelius, Salenius, Lindberg, & Repo-Tiihonen, 2009 for mutilation), they occur too rarely to be used in the identification and construction of sexual murderer typologies (Canter et al., 2004). Also, clinicians working on these cases should not expect to find these types of behaviors when assessing a SHO. These behaviors are only committed by a minority of offenders (e.g., sadists) and are not representative of the typical modus operandi of SHOs.

Another finding that could have important implications for criminal justice practitioners is the distinction between the different uses of a weapon during a sexual homicide and the cause of death. SHOs have often been portrayed as preferring hands-on methods to kill the victim. Although this finding is reflected in several studies, this does not mean that SHOs do not use weapons. In fact, our findings show that 60% of SHOs use a weapon during the commission of their crime even if the weapon is not used for the purpose of causing death. Also, our findings show that despite strangulation being the most common method of killing the victim, sex offenders who use a weapon during the crime are more likely to kill the victim, as illustrated by the case study of Curt presented at the

beginning of the chapter. Therefore, we believe it is important to pay careful attention to this behavior when working with sex offenders in general. Although this is not usually represented in risk assessment tools, the different actors involved in the investigation and/or assessment of these cases should always explore whether or not a weapon was used. The presence of a weapon in the commission of a sexual crime could represent a "red flag" that the offender could eventually commit a crime that has a lethal outcome.

The work on sexual homicide typologies may have significant implications for the field. The fact that several studies using different samples consistently identify two similar types of SHOs suggests that these types are not artificial and that they do exist. However, it is time that we start using scientifically based classification systems, rather than utilizing typologies that have been developed from personal experience or theoretical constructs (Mjanes, 2015). More importantly, the information in this study may also be useful to law enforcement personnel in their investigations of sexual homicide cases. Police and forensic investigators may be able to use crime scene variables and victimology information to determine if the crime scene is indicative of a "sadistic" or "angry" offender, as a typology that is based on observable crime factors can aid experts in the development and application of criminal profiling (Beauregard et al., 2007). As noted by Balemba et al. (2014), knowing whether a crime was likely committed by a sadistic or angry offender will not influence the amount of investigative effort required. However, this information may allow law enforcement to tailor their investigation to prioritize certain investigative techniques (e.g., evidence-collection strategies) and avenues that are more likely to be fruitful based on the offender type. Based on the results of the current study, if investigators were to come across a crime scene that appeared to be committed by a *cautious* (versus *careless*) offender they may be able to then deduce the offender's profile characteristics. In such a case, law enforcement may focus their search on suspects who are socially and intellectually competent, and who display control and stability in other areas of their lives. Using criminal profiling strategies may narrow the suspect pool, resulting in a more efficient and effective use of investigative resources. This may help to improve the clearance rates of cases of sexual homicide.

It is important to note, however, the limitations of offender typologies. While typologies can be used to guide investigative efforts, each case must be carefully considered based on the unique set of factors it presents. One can easily see how Canadian sexual murderers Clifford Olson, Robert Pickton, and Paul Bernardo fit into the sadistic offender type. While these offenders share certain qualities, these three murderers could not be more different. Clifford Olson was sophisticated enough to employ a con approach to make contact with his teenage victims. His crimes suggest a level of planning as well as experimentation (Olson inflicted injury upon his victims often just to see what would happen). Robert Pickton often used others to lure his victims on his behalf. He was an odd man who targeted high-risk victims (sex trade workers who were addicted to drugs). Paul Bernardo, on the other hand, was a socially adept offender, who progressed

from sexual assaults to sexual murders. He was educated and deemed to be charming. Indeed, many thought Bernardo and his wife and accomplice Karla Homolka were the ideal couple. Contrast these offenders with Russell Williams. Williams does not fit so easily into an offender type. Like the sadistic offender, he engaged in deviant sexual fantasy, targeted specific victims, planned his crimes, and in the case of Jessica Lloyd he kidnapped and concealed his victim. However, Williams is not a sadistic offender, and this is evident through his interactions with his victims and the fact that he did not film his second murder.

Finally, our findings suggest that law enforcement personnel should not place too much weight on the postmortem activities of sexual murderers. These events, including mutilation, dismemberment, and necrophilia, occur so rarely that they may not contribute much to the development of an offender profile. More focus should be placed on detection avoidance strategies, indications that the offender attempted to control or restrain the victim, as well as the type of violence in which he engaged.

Notes

1 Sexual murderers used multiple types of violence in some cases. That is why percentages add up to more than 100%.
2 The approach used by the offender to initiate contact with the victim was determined by the investigator through interviews with offenders and/or witnesses or through crime scene reconstruction.
3 It is important to distinguish sadism from anger-based violence. A sadistic offender derives pleasure from inflicting pain and controlling his victim. The sadist wants to dominate the victim and will engage in behaviors that cause intense pain (torture) and humiliate the victim. The angry offender, on the other hand, may be interested in the sexual component of the assault. Their anger may stem from external circumstances that they take out on their victim. They may feel inadequate and sexual assault is the means by which they obtain the sexual experiences they desire.

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7 Sex trade workers

Choice of victim or victim of choice?

Case study

Rob killed two sex trade workers from the downtown area of a major city in the province of Quebec. During our interview with the offender, he reported that his childhood was a relatively happy one with absolutely no physical, psychological, or sexual violence. He was the sixth child of a family of seven. He described his father as a good man who was working hard for his family but who was not very affectionate or was not keen on demonstrating his affection toward his children. His mother was described as a leader and she was very active in her community. It is only during adolescence that he started to adopt behaviors of daydreaming, social isolation, and chronic lying, but more importantly, this is when his angry temperament emerged.

Despite his disciplinary problems, Rob completed high school with good grades. He moved from one job to the next, mainly due to his inability to control his anger. Rob had difficulty accepting criticism because from his perspective, he always knew what to do and how to do it best. After a short first intimate relationship, he started to adopt a party lifestyle characterized by the use of alcohol and drugs, going out to clubs, and having sex with sex trade workers. It was during this time that Rob fell in love with a co-worker at the hospital where he worked. In order to be at the same "level" as the young woman, he decided to start studying to become a nurse. However, all of his hopes were crushed when he learned that this woman had fallen in love with another man, a doctor. This resulted in a major blow to his self-esteem. Before committing his first homicide, Rob indicated that he had become more isolated and that he had felt rejected by others. At that time, he had a very low self-esteem and his grievances against women only got worse. He perceived that, "the woman is an object which needs to be controlled in order to provide me with pleasure."

On the night of the first murder, Rob met with a sex trade worker on the street and negotiated a price for services. They took a taxi at approximately 2 a.m. to go to a hotel. Rob had used drugs and alcohol. According to Rob, the sex trade worker was very pretty but during the taxi ride, she apparently made a comment to the taxi driver to the effect that the offender was an "easy client." Rob perceived this comment as a personal attack and became very angry. Immediately

after entering the hotel room, he grabbed the victim from behind and killed her by strangulation. When he realized that the victim was no longer breathing, he put her on her back, completely undressed her, and decided to have sex with her dead body. He masturbated to reach climax and when he was calm again, he left the crime scene without attracting attention.

Almost two weeks later Rob contacted another sex trade worker that he knew (he had previously frequented that sex trade worker on several occasions). According to Rob, he had absolutely no intent to kill at this time. As this sex trade worker was working from her home, she told him to meet her at her place. Rob arrived a little early and when he knocked at the door, she told him to "wait" as she was finishing with another client. Rob explained during the interview that he did not like this situation at all because the sex trade worker had power over him. He explained: "I was angry that she was treating me as just another client." According to him, she did not see that he was not like all of the others. Therefore, in a similar state of rage as he experienced during the first murder, he entered the sex trade worker's residence after the other client left, strangled the victim, and had sex with her dead body. When he was finished, he left the crime scene, leaving the body as it was.

Introduction

> I picked prostitutes as my victims because I hate most prostitutes and did not want to pay them for sex. I also picked prostitutes as victims because they were easy to pick up without being noticed. I knew they would not be reported missing. I picked prostitutes because I thought I could kill as many of them as I wanted without getting caught.
>
> (*State of Washington v. Gary Leon Ridgway*, 2003, p. 7 as cited in Guillén, 2007)

It is widely acknowledged that murders of sex trade workers are extremely difficult to investigate due to the lack of public interest, lack of credible witnesses, and the unwillingness by most sex trade workers and their clients to talk to the police (Salfati, James, & Ferguson, 2008). Moreover, the offenders who kill sex trade workers often dump the bodies of their victims outside the central cities in which they met. This results in a multijurisdictional investigation increasing the complexity of the case through the involvement of more than one police service. In addition, sex trade workers are known to be highly mobile, often living transient lifestyles, and are less likely to inform their family or friends when they move to a different city or state/province. As a result, their disappearance is less likely to be immediately noticed and reported to the police, delaying investigations and increasing the likelihood of lost or destroyed evidence (Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007). When sex trade workers disappear they are often what Quinet (2007) refers to as the "missing missing." Finally, the modus operandi and offense behaviors adopted by SHOs of sex trade workers (e.g., moving the bodies from the original crime scene, leaving victims outside and exposed to the

elements, hiding victims' bodies; Salfati et al., 2008) can delay victim discovery and hamper forensic analysis. Another challenge that may arise during the investigation of such cases is the likelihood of more than one sample of DNA being found on the body (Quinet, 2011).

Given these challenges, it is not unusual for the homicides of sex trade workers to take longer to solve, or worse, to remain unsolved (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014, 2016). The Home Office in the UK reported that of the 886 cases of all homicides reported between April 2001 and March 2002, only 10% went unsolved as compared to 69% of the sex trade worker homicides recorded since 1990 ($N=53$; Home Office, 2003). Salfati et al. (2008) observed that 46% of sex trade worker homicides were unsolved, whereas Brewer et al. (2006) observed that the time to arrest for sex trade worker homicides was longer than one year for 41% of all cases, and longer than five years for 17% of cases. Furthermore, Quinet (2011) has demonstrated that SHOs of sex trade workers have a greater average number of victims than do SHOs of non-sex trade workers. In addition, SHOs who target sex trade workers tend to have longer criminal careers, killing for longer periods. Quinet (2011) demonstrated that even though the number of serial murder cases has declined, when a case occurs, victims are increasingly likely to be female sex trade workers. Therefore, as suggested by Salfati et al. (2008) it is crucial to identify factors that could potentially be used to help solve cases of sex trade worker homicide, particularly those factors that can be derived from the crime scene. If sex trade worker homicides are in fact different from other types of murder, this information could be used as risk factors or "red flags" in the investigation of these crimes and furthermore it could be used to link particular behaviors or sets of behaviors to certain types of individuals (Salfati et al., 2008).

Violence against sex trade workers

Violence against sex trade workers has been extensively discussed in the literature. In a study by Kinnell (2002), findings showed that 82% of sex trade worker-related incidents involved violence, with 37% of incidents involving sexual assault specifically. In a large survey conducted in five countries, Farley, Baral, Kireman, and Sezgin (1998) found that 73% and 62% of sex trade workers experienced a physical and/or a sexual assault, respectively. Similarly, Farley and Barkan (1998) found in their study of 130 sex trade workers in San Francisco that 82% and 68% experienced a physical or a sexual assault, respectively. Interestingly, though, Silbert and Pines (1982) demonstrated in their study that 72% of sexual assaults were unrelated to sex trade work; however, when the women were identified as sex trade workers, the sexual assaults were usually more brutal and resulted in more injuries.

Some studies have documented the different strategies used by sex trade workers to protect themselves during their interactions with their clients. For instance, O'Neill and Barbaret (2000) mention that as a rule, sex trade workers will choose areas to solicit clients on well-lit streets with some pedestrian and/or

vehicular traffic. However, it was also documented (see Lowman, 2000) that sex trade workers are often forced to leave these "safer" areas to avoid the police and groups who are opposed to the sex trade, and as such, they find themselves in more deserted areas that pose a greater risk (Safe Project, 2000). Another strategy used by sex trade workers is client assessment. During the negotiation of the business contract the sex trade worker will form an opinion regarding the potential risk posed by the client (Sanders, 2001). This first conversation with the client will also allow the sex trade worker to assess his level of cooperation. Other authors have described a similar screening process. For instance, McKeganey and Barnard (1996) described how sex trade workers make a decision whether to accept or reject the client based on physical appearance and body language. They first decide whether the client looks safe or not based on minimal clues such as the condition of the car he is driving or his age (sex trade workers are less likely to do business with men who are less than 30 years of age).

Despite the use of different strategies by sex trade workers, research shows that they are still overrepresented as victims of violence. Not only are sex trade workers frequently victims of violence but they are also more likely to end up as victims of *lethal* violence. Research shows that sex trade workers have the highest homicide victimization rate of any group of women (Brewer et al., 2006). As illustrated by Lowman (2000), during the period of 1992 to 1995, it was reported that six police officers were killed in the line of duty compared to zero correctional officers, 18 taxi drivers, and 39 sex trade workers. Moreover, it was estimated that within a cohort of sex trade workers identified by police and through health department surveillance in Colorado Springs, Colorado, from 1967 to 1999, the crude mortality rate was 391 per 100,000, compared to 1.9 for the general population (Potterat et al., 2004). In Canada, homicide has been identified as the leading cause of death among sex trade workers. It has been estimated that sex trade workers are between 60 and 120 times more likely to be murdered than non-sex trade workers (Lowman & Fraser, 1996). In the US, estimates indicate that sex trade workers are 18 times more likely to be murdered (Potterat et al., 2004), whereas in the UK, estimates suggest that sex trade workers are 12 times more likely to be murdered (Ward, Day, & Weber, 1999). According to an interesting analysis conducted by Brewer et al., the frequency of sex trade worker homicide steadily increased in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It has been hypothesized that there is a link between this increase and the rise in the use of crack cocaine. Research has shown that violence against sex trade workers is more frequent than violence against individuals working in more traditional occupations; particularly those that take place in an indoor venue. Furthermore, it has been found that clients are most often the offenders (Kinnell, 1993). According to Brewer et al., serial murderers who were also clients killed more than one third of murdered sex trade workers, whom for the most part, were working on the street when murdered.

The role of the environment

Because of their work environment, sex trade workers are especially vulnerable to attack. First, regardless of whether sex trade workers work the streets alone or with others, the nature of the services being provided are generally private and thus the sex trade worker finds herself alone with the client (Salfati et al., 2008). Moreover, as described by Kinnell (2006), this exchange typically takes place in an isolated location such as a dark alley, in a vehicle, in a park, in an industrial area, or even the client's residence where it is less likely that anyone will be present to intervene. Despite an increased use in the Internet to market services and facilitate solicitation (Beckham & Prohaska, 2012), research has shown that the majority of sex trade workers continue to solicit on the streets. This practice is considerably more risky than those who find other means to solicit clients (Church, Henderson, Barnard, & Hart, 2001; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004). These isolated locations make the sex trade worker a vulnerable target for violence, including robbery, as she is likely to carry on her person the money she made over the course of the evening. More often than not, sex trade workers are doing their business with complete strangers (McKeganey & Barnard, 1996), which increases the chance of encountering a violent individual or one with previous convictions for sexual crimes. Another risk factor for sex trade workers is the nature of the interaction between the worker and the client. The client may reveal certain vulnerabilities during the interaction, including sexual dysfunction. This places the sex trade worker in a position of perceived power in that they can humiliate the client, who may be particularly psychologically vulnerable. This creates a dangerous situation for these women (Brody, Potterat, Muth, & Woodhouse, 2005). Finally, men select sex trade workers due to the fact that they are less likely to be reported missing (Quinet, 2011) and because they perceive them as vulnerable and available (Egger, 1998). Many sex trade workers are reluctant to seek medical care or contact the police when they are victimized – probably in part due to the secrecy and illegal nature of their work – which makes them ideal victim choices for any potential offender (Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007). As mentioned by Bell, Busch, Hotaling, and Monto (2002), "Prostituted women … are among the few women in society who voluntarily get into cars with unfamiliar men, and as a result, they are prime targets of serial killers" (p. 1094).

Why sex trade workers?

Salfati et al. (2008) raised an important question related to the rationale behind the decision to specifically target sex trade workers: do offenders target sex trade workers solely because of their occupation (i.e., based on a hatred toward sex trade workers), or is the murder of sex trade workers a crime of opportunity (i.e., the availability of vulnerable victims in an environment lacking protection)? We concur with Salfati and colleagues that it is crucial to:

> identify the psychological reason behind any of these differences, notably in terms of whether it is this ease of availability and increased opportunity that

> makes prostitutes more prone to attack than non-prostitute women, or whether it is because of the type of woman that they are. In other words, are prostitutes attacked "just because they are there" or are they targeted specifically because they are prostitutes?
>
> (Salfati et al., 2008, p. 506)

Based on the quote taken from Gary Ridgeway's confession that was presented at the beginning of the chapter, it would appear that offenders select sex trade workers for both of these reasons.

Nonetheless, Salfati et al. (2008) attempted to answer this question, in part, by comparing 46 cases of sex trade worker homicides to 59 nonsexual homicides and 17 sexual homicide cases from the UK. Their findings showed that offenders who target sex trade workers present with different background characteristics from the sex trade worker client population in general, as well as from the offenders of sexual and nonsexual homicides. Specifically, those who murder sex trade workers have significantly more previous convictions for sexual crimes compared to nonsexual offenders and SHOs (although not significant for SHOs). According to Salfati et al. this suggests that murderers of sex trade workers tend to have a criminal career consistent with expressive offenders, as detailed in general homicide literature. Thus, offenders who target sex trade workers are more aggressive than nonsexual homicide offenders. These offenders are generally more violent, displaying aggressive behavior in a variety of contexts. This may be due in part to a decreased ability to control their emotions, a low level of tolerance and a disposition toward an anger response. Moreover, Salfati et al. found that murderers of sex trade workers are, not surprisingly, more likely to target strangers.

In their examination of crime scene behaviors, Salfati et al. (2008) found that murderers of sex trade workers are more likely than SHOs and nonsexual homicide offenders to transport the victim away from the original crime scene after the murder, leave the body outside, and conceal the victim's body. These behaviors suggest a certain level of forensic awareness (i.e., attempt to cover up the crime and delay the investigation). Moreover, the findings show that in sex trade worker homicide cases, victims are more likely to be found completely naked as compared to the other two groups of homicide offenders. Salfati et al. hypothesized that completely undressing the victim was probably not done with her consent – i.e., as part of the service – as this is outside of the norm of most sex trade workers' working habits (e.g., Ferguson, 2002). Sex trade worker homicides are also more likely to be characterized by property being stolen from the victim, whether done opportunistically or with the clear intention of robbing the victim. Overall, Salfati et al. concluded that sex trade worker homicides are more similar to sexual homicides than nonsexual homicides in terms of their crime scene behaviors. Specifically, findings demonstrated 12 significant differences out of 21 for the nonsexual cases, as opposed to five significant differences for the sexual cases.

To gain a better understanding of offenders who target sex trade workers and identify some of their specific characteristics, we adopted a similar approach in

this chapter to that used by Salfati et al. (2008). First, we start by comparing the characteristics of violent sexual crime (cases of serious victim injury requiring hospitalization, and victim death) between marginalized and non-marginalized victims. Rather than restricting our inquiries to "sex trade workers" or persons who were involved in the sex trade at the time of the attack, we include all victims who can be considered to be marginalized (e.g., homeless), or whom Egger (1998) refers to as the "less dead." Second, using our sample of sexual homicide cases from police sources, we analyze the differences between the sexual homicide of sex trade workers and non-sex trade workers. Finally, we specifically analyze the sexual homicide cases of sex trade workers and identify different pathways that lead to homicide.

Findings

Figure 7.1 presents a simple analysis of the percentage of marginalized victims targeted by the three specific types of sex offenders. As can be seen, marginalized victims are more likely to be targeted by violent NHSOs (43%) compared to NHSOs (19%) and SHOs (38%).

However, the difference between violent NHSOs and SHOs is not significant, suggesting that these two groups of sex offenders target the same proportion of marginalized victims. Therefore, we decided to examine these two groups of sex offenders (i.e., violent NHSOs and SHOs) together in order to investigate the differences as to the crime they commit. As this group represents a special category of victim, it is important to determine whether offenders use the same strategies when attacking sex trade workers as they do when attacking other types of victims.

Table 7.1 presents the differences in violent sexual crimes between sex offenders who target marginalized victims and those who target non-marginalized

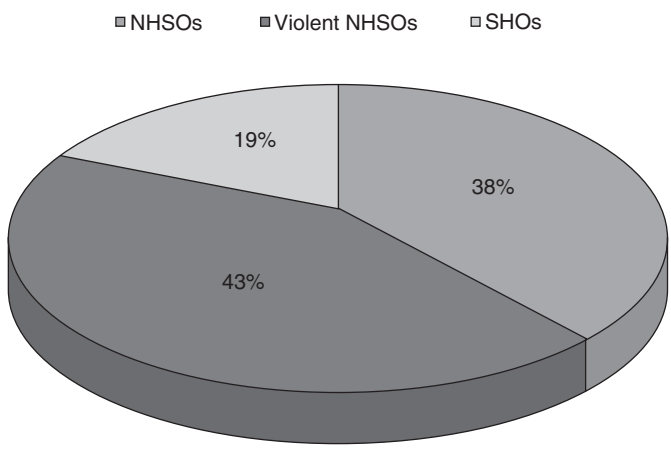

Figure 7.1 Percentage of marginalized victims targeted by offender types.

Table 7.1 Differences between non-marginalized and marginalized victims of violent sexual crimes

	Non-marginalized (N = 156)	*Marginalized (N = 73)*
Offender is a complete stranger	37.2	27.4
Structured premeditation of the crime	28.8	23.3
Crime committed during the day*	24.4	8.2
Crime lasts more than 15 minutes	73.1	75.3
Offender selected victim non-randomly*	28.2	16.4
Coercive approach to commit the crime	85.9	89.0
Weapon used*	57.7	41.1
Level of force is more than necessary†	82.1	90.4
Coercive reaction from offender to victim resistance**	82.7	97.3
Intrusive sexual acts committed†	67.9	79.5
Victim forced to commit sexual acts***	33.3	56.2
Humiliation of the victim***	34.0	61.6
Victim's body hidden*	72.4	86.3
Victim's body on her back†	21.8	12.3
Victim completely naked*	23.1	12.3
Premortem torture*	64.7	79.5
Postmortem torture**	62.8	80.8
Body dismemberment	4.2	6.7
Victim died of strangulation*	21.8	8.2
Semen found	5.1	1.4
Postmortem sexual activities**	64.7	83.6
Objects left in victim's body cavities***	59.0	80.8

Notes
† $p<0.10$;
* $p<0.05$;
** $p<0.01$;
*** $p<0.001$.

victims. Our findings suggest that sex offenders who target marginalized victims use different strategies when attacking these victims than when they target non-marginalized victims. Sex offenders are more likely to use excessive force, to react to victim resistance with physical force, to commit intrusive sexual acts (i.e., penetration), and to force the victim to perform sexual acts when attacking a marginalized victim, compared to a non-marginalized victim. Moreover, sex offenders who target marginalized victims are more likely to humiliate the victim, to inflict pre- and postmortem torture on the victim, to leave objects in the victim's body cavities, to hide the victim's body (if the victim is killed), as well as engage in postmortem sexual activities with the victim's body as compared to non-marginalized victims. However, our findings also show that sex offenders who target non-marginalized victims are more likely than sex offenders who target marginalized victims to commit the crime during the day, select and target a specific victim, use a weapon, kill the victim by strangulation, and leave the victim's body lying on their back, completely naked.

Although interesting, these findings are not specific to SHOs. Therefore, the following analyses were performed on the police data of the 350 cases of sexual homicide. Moreover, the analyses presented here are specifically conducted on sex trade workers. It is noteworthy that among the 350 cases of sexual homicide, 62 were committed against a sex trade worker (17.7%).

Table 7.2 presents the differences between the sexual homicides of sex trade workers (STWs) and non-sex trade workers (NSTWs) with respect to the use of forensic awareness (FA) strategies. As can be seen, SHOs who target STWs do not use more forensic precautions than SHOs who target NSTWs. In fact, the SHOs who target a different type of victim from STWs are more likely to use precautions of acting upon the victim and/or the environment (approaching significance). Acting upon the victim/environment includes strategies such as threatening the victim not to report, disabling the lighting, the telephones, security system, and/or the victim's vehicle, administrating a drug to the victim, tying up the victim, blocking access in and out of doors or windows, and killing the victim for the purpose of eliminating the witness (see Beauregard & Martineau, 2013). SHOs who target STWs take some precautions during the crime in order to avoid detection but their primary concern appears to be body disposal. Thus, SHOs who target STWs are more likely to dispose of the victim's body (i.e., conceal the body) and move the body after the murder, compared to SHOs who do not target STWs.

Table 7.3 presents the differences between the sexual homicide of STWs and NSTWs with respect to victim characteristics. Evident from the table is the fact that SHOs who target NSTWs are more likely to target male victims as compared to those who target STWs. In fact, in our sample, none of the victims of sexual homicide were male sex trade workers. When SHOs target STWs, the victims are more likely known for abusing drugs and alcohol as compared to NSTWs. No difference is observed concerning the tendency of the victim to socialize and party.

Table 7.2 Differences between sex trade workers (STWs) and non-sex trade workers (NSTWs) sexual homicide on forensic awareness (FA)

	STWs (N = 62)	*NSTWs (N = 288)*
FA – removing/destroying evidence	27.4	31.3
FA – acting upon victim/environment†	4.8	12.8
FA – protection of identity	1.6	4.9
FA – staging the crime scene	0.0	1.0
FA – other precaution	11.3	12.2
FA – any forensic awareness strategies used	40.3	46.9
Disposing of victim's body†	17.7	9.7
Any semen located	21.0	29.2
Body moved***	64.5	27.4

Notes
† $p < 0.10$;
*** $p < 0.001$.

Table 7.3 Differences between sex trade workers (STWs) and non-sex trade workers (NSTWs) sexual homicide on victimology

	STWs (N = 62)	*NSTWs (N = 288)*
Victim is a male***	0.0	12.5
Victim abuses alcohol*	51.6	35.1
Victim abuses drugs***	72.6	15.6
Victim likes to socialize/party	32.3	31.9

Notes
* $p<0.05$;
*** $p<0.001$.

Table 7.4 presents the differences between the sexual homicide of STWs and NSTWs in relation to crime locations. Not surprisingly, SHOs who target STWs are more likely to make contact with the victim outdoors and to dispose of the victim's body outdoors as compared to NSTWs. Although SHOs who target NSTWs are more likely than those who target STWs to get in contact with the victim and commit the offense at a completely deserted crime scene, they are also more likely to select risky locations. In fact, SHOs who target NSTWs are more likely to initially contact the victim in a location where there is potential for someone to see and/or overhear what is happening. Similarly, they are likely to dispose of the victim's body in a location where there is potential for someone

Table 7.4 Differences between sex trade workers (STWs) and non-sex trade workers (NSTWs) sexual homicide on crime locations

	STWs (N = 62)	*NSTWs (N = 288)*
Contact scene – scene was deserted**	3.2	16.7
Contact scene – potential to see what was happening	37.1	43.1
Contact scene – potential to hear what was happening**	29.0	46.9
Contact scene – victim residence***	0.0	26.0
Contact scene – outdoors*	40.3	27.8
Offense scene – scene was deserted**	21.0	38.5
Offense scene – potential to see what was happening**	9.7	24.3
Offense scene – potential to hear what was happening**	11.3	29.9
Offense scene – victim residence***	1.6	25.7
Offense scene – outdoors**	21.0	39.6
Body recovery scene – scene was deserted	59.7	50.3
Body recovery scene – potential to see what was happening	19.4	24.0
Body recovery scene – potential to hear what was happening*	14.5	27.8
Body recovery scene – victim residence***	1.6	24.3
Body recovery scene – outdoors***	83.9	56.6

Notes
* $p<0.05$;
** $p<0.01$;
*** $p<0.001$.

to overhear their activities. SHOs who target NSTWs are also more likely to get in contact with the victim, commit the crime, and leave the victim's body at the victim's residence as compared to SHOs who target STWs. However, SHOs who target NSTWs are also more likely than the SHOs who target STWs to commit the crime outdoors.

Table 7.5 presents the differences between the sexual homicide of STWs and NSTWs across various modus operandi characteristics. The findings clearly indicate that offenders who perpetrate the sexual homicide of STWs do not employ unique strategies when victimizing this type of individual. In fact, the only modus operandi characteristics that significantly distinguish the STWs from the NSTWs are the commission of unusual/bizarre acts, taking items belonging to the victim, and fully removing all of the victim's clothing, which are all more likely for the SHOs who target STWs. However, SHOs targeting NSTWs are more likely to target a specific victim, use a surprise or blitz approach, beat and bite the victim, as well as commit postmortem sexual acts as compared to SHOs who target STWs. Despite the use of similar modus operandi, the SHO who targets STWs is better at avoiding detection.

Table 7.5 Differences between sex trade workers (STWs) and non-sex trade workers (NSTWs) sexual homicide on modus operandi

	STWs (N = 62)	*NSTWs (N = 288)*
Victim targeted*	8.1	21.2
Offender used a con approach	45.2	39.6
Offender used a surprise approach**	0.0	8.7
Offender used a blitz approach**	1.6	14.6
Offender beat the victim†	37.1	49.3
Offender stabbed the victim	19.4	22.9
Offender cut the victim	11.3	13.2
Offender strangled the victim	45.2	41.0
Offender asphyxiated the victim	9.7	13.5
Offender committed any unusual/bizarre acts*	11.3	4.5
Offender bit the victim*	1.6	8.7
Offender inserted foreign object(s) into victim's body cavities	8.1	12.2
Offender committed overkill	37.1	44.4
Offender used restraints	6.5	11.8
Offender used blindfolds/gags	6.5	7.3
Offender took items from victim*	48.4	35.4
Offender fully removed victim's clothing**	46.8	28.1
Offender committed postmortem sexual acts*	3.2	12.2
Offender dismembered victim's body	9.7	5.6
Offender used a knife	14.5	21.5
Offender avoided police detection***	62.9	21.2

Notes
† $p<0.10$;
* $p<0.05$;
** $p<0.01$;
*** $p<0.001$.

Table 7.6 presents the differences between the sexual homicide of STWs and NSTWs on the various sexual acts committed. The only sexual act that distinguishes between the two groups is fondling, which is more prevalent in cases involving NSTWs. Surprisingly, there is no difference in the prevalence of vaginal and anal intercourse based on victim type.

These findings are interesting and allow for a better understanding of the different dynamics involved in the sexual homicide of STWs. However, considering all STWs as one group can be misleading as there can be different pathways involved in the sexual homicide of a STW. In order to investigate this issue further, we adopt a different strategy. Complementary to the comparative analyses just performed, we have decided to take a more in-depth look at the cases of sexual homicide of STWs specifically. Following the offending pathway approach adopted by Proulx, Beauregard, Lussier, and Leclerc (2014), we conduct classification analyses on four of the five categories of variables examined, namely forensic awareness, victimology, crime locations, and modus operandi. Due to the lack of significant findings and theoretical interest in the sexual acts committed, classification analyses were not performed on these variables. Table 7.7 presents the findings of the classification analyses.

As can be seen in Table 7.7, when looking specifically at forensic awareness in cases of STW sexual homicide, three different profiles emerge. The first profile – *multiple FA strategies* – includes individuals who are very likely to use at least one forensic awareness strategy and dispose of the victim's body (i.e., conceal it). Moreover, almost half of them are likely to move the victim's body, while in a third of the cases semen may still be found at the crime scene. The second profile – *DNA focused* – mainly includes individuals who are doing everything they can to ensure that no semen is left at the crime scene. The third profile – *moving evidence* – includes perpetrators who focus on moving the body while leaving semen at the crime scene.

Table 7.6 Differences between sex trade workers (STWs) and non-sex trade workers (NSTWs) sexual homicide on sexual acts committed

	STWs (N = 62)	*NSTWs (N = 288)*
Vaginal intercourse	37.1	48.3
Anal intercourse	9.7	17.7
Fellatio	4.8	9.4
Cunnilingus	0.0	1.0
Digital penetration	0.0	3.8
Masturbation	0.0	2.1
Fondling**	0.0	11.1
Ejaculation on victim	1.6	0.3
Inanimate object insertion	4.8	8.7
Mutilation of genitalia	6.5	5.2

Note
** $p < 0.01$.

Table 7.7 Profiles of forensic awareness (FA), victimology, crime locations, and modus operandi characteristics in sex trade worker sexual homicide

Forensic awareness	*Multiple FA strategies (N = 18)*	*DNA focused (N = 19)*	*Moving evidence (N = 25)*
Disposing of victim's body	72.7	27.3	0.0
Body moved	45.0	0.0	55.0
Any FA strategies used	72.0	28.0	0.0
Semen located	30.8	0.0	69.2
Victimology	*Drug-loner (N = 26)*	*Alcohol/drug-loner (N = 16)*	*Alcohol/drug-social (N = 20)*
Victim abuses alcohol	0.0	50.0	50.0
Victim abuses drugs	33.3	35.6	31.1
Victim likes to socialize/party	0.0	0.0	100.0
Crime locations	*Outdoor to indoor (N = 19)*	*Risky contact (N = 16)*	*Completely safe (N = 27)*
Contact scene – potential to see what was happening	30.4	69.6	0.0
Contact scene – potential to hear what was happening	11.1	88.9	0.0
Contact scene – outdoors	64.0	36.0	0.0
Offense scene – scene was deserted	46.2	53.8	0.0
Offense scene – outdoors	53.8	46.2	0.0
Body recovery scene – scene was deserted	21.6	37.8	40.5
Body recovery scene – outdoors	28.8	26.9	44.2

Modus operandi	*Manipulative (N = 27)*	*Sadistic (N = 35)*
Offender used a con approach	96.4	3.6
Offender fully removed victim's clothing	34.5	65.5
Offender beat the victim	65.2	34.8
Offender stabbed the victim	58.3	41.7
Offender committed unusual/bizarre acts	14.3	85.7
Offender inserted foreign object(s) into victim's body cavities	40.0	60.0
Offender strangled the victim	64.3	35.7
Offender committed overkill	43.5	56.5
Offender took items from victim	43.3	56.7
Offender avoided detection	15.4	84.6

With respect to victimology, three distinct profiles emerge from the data once again. The first profile – *drug-loner* – mainly includes victims who are known to use drugs and spend considerable time by themselves. The second profile – *alcohol/drug-loner* – includes victims who abuse drugs and alcohol, and engage in minimal social interaction. Finally, the third profile – *alcohol/drug-social* – includes victims who abuse drugs and alcohol, but also like to socialize and party.

The analyses performed on the crime locations also allow for the identification of three distinct profiles. The first profile – *outdoor to indoor* – includes SHOs who generally initially contact and attack their victim outdoors, but then dispose of the body indoors. The second profile is labeled *risky contact* and includes SHOs who tend to contact their victims at locations where there is great potential for others to hear and/or see what is happening. The third profile – *completely safe* – includes SHOs who make efforts to minimize their risk and dump the body at an outdoor deserted location.

Finally, our analyses identify two distinct profiles of modus operandi. The first profile – *manipulative* – includes SHOs who typically use a con approach but also beat, stab, and strangle the victim. The other profile – *sadistic* – is more elaborate and includes SHOs who take the time to fully remove the victim's clothing, commit unusual acts, insert foreign objects into the victim's body cavities, take items from the victim, and engage in excessive violence or overkill. It is these *sadistic* SHOs who are more likely to avoid police detection.

To integrate the above analyses and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the offending pathways of STW sexual homicide, a classification analysis is performed using all of the profiles identified and described above. This analysis allows us to identify three distinct pathways in the sexual homicide of STWs (Table 7.8). In the first pathway, SHOs are mainly concerned with getting rid of DNA and *moving evidence*. They target a victim who is likely a *drug-loner* and use either a *risky contact* or an *outdoor to indoor* type of location. Their main strategy to commit the crime is manipulation. The second pathway is also characterized by the use of a *manipulative* modus operandi but

Table 7.8 Profiles of sex trade worker sexual homicide

	Profile 1 (N = 24)	*Profile 2 (N = 18)*	*Profile 3 (N = 20)*
Forensic awareness	DNA focused (57.9) Moving evidence (52.0)	Multiple FA strategies (100.0)	DNA focused (42.1) Moving evidence (48.0)
Victimology	Drug-loner (46.2)	Alcohol/drug-social (40.0)	Drug-loner (38.5)
Crime locations	Outdoor to indoor (73.7) Risky contact (62.5)	Risky contact (37.5)	Completely safe (74.1)
Modus operandi	Manipulative (55.6)	Manipulative (40.7)	Sadistic (54.3)

the setting is somewhat different. SHOs from this pathway target a victim who abuses drugs and alcohol and who is social, and the offenders are more likely to do this at a *risky location*. As to their forensic awareness, these SHOs typically use *multiple FA strategies*. Finally, the third pathway is similar to the first pathway in that these offenders are mainly concerned with removing DNA and *moving evidence*, as well as targeting a victim who is a *drug-loner*. However, these SHOs select a *completely safe* location to commit their crime and adopt a *sadistic* modus operandi.

The marginalized victim as a specific type of victim

Our findings clearly indicate that there are significant important differences in the behaviors of offenders when targeting a marginalized victim versus a non-marginalized victim. First, the tendency to target a marginalized victim differs among the different types of sexual offenders, such that violent NHSOs are most likely to target marginalized victims, followed by SHOs. Only 19% of the NHSOs chose to sexually assault a marginalized victim as compared to 38% of SHOs and 43% of violent NHSOs. Quinet (2011) demonstrated that SHOs of sex trade workers have a greater average number of victims than do SHOs of non-sex trade workers, and tend to kill over longer periods of time. Considering these findings, we expected to find that SHOs would more often target marginalized victims as compared to the other two groups of sex offenders who do not kill their victims. Our finding suggests that, as has been shown in previous chapters thus far, the lethal outcome is not always an important factor that distinguishes sex offenders, and that we should operationalize the level of violence as being on a continuum instead of a dichotomy (i.e., death or not).

Nevertheless, this finding alone does not resolve the question raised by Salfati et al. (2008) as to whether sex trade workers are selected for their availability or because of their profession and what they represent. Our findings seem to suggest that sexual assaults of marginalized victims are more violent (i.e., serious physical injuries resulting in hospitalization and/or death). This is congruent with Silbert and Pines' (1982) findings that showed that even if 72% of sexual assaults were unrelated to sex trade worker activities, when the women were identified as sex trade workers, the sexual assaults were usually more brutal and resulted in more injuries.

We cannot say for sure whether it is the violent offender who searches specifically for the marginalized victim who is highly vulnerable and available, or if it is the encounter between this offender and the marginalized victim that results in more violence. However, we believe our findings seem to suggest the former. The fact that the violent NHSOs and the SHOs are more likely to target marginalized victims seems to indicate that they choose this specific type of victim. This is even more plausible given the several significant findings obtained that differentiate the sex crimes committed against marginalized and non-marginalized victims. Recall that offenders who target marginalized victims tend to commit sexual attacks that are more violent (i.e., use more violence than

necessary, react aggressively to victim resistance), sexually based (i.e., intrusive sexual acts, force the victim to commit sexual acts), unusual (i.e., pre- and post-mortem torture, leaving objects in body cavities), and involve humiliation. All of these characteristics associated with the sexual attacks of marginalized victims are very similar to the acts associated with the sadistic offender (e.g., Proulx, Blais, & Beauregard, 2006). All of these acts are used to identify sadistic sex offenders in different sadism scales (see Myers, Beauregard, & Menard, 2013; Nitschke, Osterheider, & Mokros, 2009). Although these offenders do not necessarily need to kill the victim, it seems that they need a specific type of victim to fulfill their deviant fantasies and their offending process script (Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc, & Allaire, 2007).

This is further evidenced by the findings obtained with our police sample of sexual homicide cases. Overall, when comparing sexual homicides of sex trade workers with non-sex trade workers, it is obvious that both types of sexual homicide present more similarities than differences. However, the significant differences observed suggest that SHOs who target sex trade workers do so for a specific reason or with a specific motivation. For instance, although previous studies have shown that SHOs are not necessarily forensically aware (see Balemba, Beauregard, & Martineau, 2014; Beauregard & Martineau, 2014, 2016), our findings show that those who target sex trade workers are more aware than those who do not target sex trade workers. In fact, SHOs of sex trade workers are more concerned about disposing of the victim's body (i.e., concealing it) and moving the body after the crime compared to the SHOs who do not target sex trade workers. This is similar to what Salfati et al. (2008) found in their study. In their comparison of sex trade worker homicide cases to those of sexual homicide and nonsexual homicide, Salfati and colleagues found that sex trade worker homicide offenders are more likely, compared to the other two groups, to transport the victim away from the original crime scene after the murder, leave the body outside, and conceal the body of the victim. This suggests that offenders are concerned with attempting to cover up the crime and delaying the investigation. This forensic awareness displayed at the crime scene suggests that these crimes are not impulsive and do not result from a lack of self-control during the encounter between the offender and the victim.

Nevertheless, just because SHOs do not mainly target sex trade workers because they are available and vulnerable does not mean that sex trade workers do not find themselves in such a situation when targeted by SHOs. Our findings demonstrate that SHOs do target victims who are under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. This probably facilitates the commission of the crime on the offender's part, as intoxicated victims will be less capable of resisting or defending themselves. This is also exemplified by the fact that SHOs choose to attack, commit the crime, and dump the body of the victim all at low risk locations (i.e., where they are less likely to be seen or heard).

Specific crime scene behavior versus general modus operandi

When observing the modus operandi of SHOs, we found that SHOs of sex trade workers generally do not seem to present a different modus operandi from those offenders who do not target sex trade workers. However, as noticed with the sexual attacks of marginalized victims, the sexual homicides of sex trade workers present some specificity concerning the crime scene behavior. For instance, although both types of homicide will present similar types of approaches and causes of death, SHOs of sex trade workers are more likely to commit unusual and/or bizarre acts, to take items from the victim, and to fully remove the victim's clothing, as illustrated in the case study presented at the beginning of the chapter. Although the act of robbery is typical of cases involving sex trade workers (they tend to carry cash on them; see Salfati et al., 2008), the fact that the victims are found fully naked is not. Salfati et al. (2008) also found that in cases of sex trade worker homicides, victims are more likely to be found completely naked as compared to the other two groups of homicides. It was further hypothesized by Salfati et al. (2008) that undressing completely was probably not done with the consent of the victim – i.e., as part of the service – as this incidence is much higher than what is normally found in surveys of sex trade workers' working habits (e.g., Ferguson, 2002). This specific behavior may be part of the offender's deviant fantasies or it may also be a strategy to remove some of the forensic evidence at the crime scene (e.g., victim's clothing with semen or blood on it). In any case, this behavior is more frequent with sex trade worker homicides and it is not a typical habit of sex trade workers' services. This can be indicative, once again, of the real motivation of the offender.

The other aspect of the modus operandi worth discussing is the fact that sexual homicides of sex trade workers are more likely to remain unsolved as compared to sexual homicides of non-sex trade workers. Although important to note, it is not surprising. As was discussed at the beginning of the chapter, investigations of sexual homicide of sex trade workers are plagued with difficulties. Witnesses are not willing to cooperate with the police, missing persons reports are not completed in a timely fashion, if at all, and victims are moving home without informing friends and relatives. Moreover, when the body is found, it is not unusual to find several DNA profiles, which adds to the already existing difficulties surrounding the investigation of these crimes. Whatever the reason,

> there is no scientific evidence that police devote less time to the investigation of prostitute homicides. Case management differences are more likely a result of a lack of information about prostitute victims (e.g., no missing persons report) which in and of itself may facilitate longer killing periods and higher numbers of victims for offenders who target prostitutes and other transient populations.
>
> (Quinet, 2011, p. 81)

Contrary to those who argue that the police expend less effort to investigate cases involving sex trade workers – what has been referred to as "victim preferencing"

(see Riedel, 2008) – we believe that the characteristics of the offense itself (e.g., weapon use, accessibility of witnesses) are most important in determining the solvability of the crime. According to this "solvability" perspective (Riedel), the police are fully engaged and committed to clear every homicide, although they may not be able to do so due to external situational factors (e.g., characteristics of the offense may influence the outcome of the investigation, such that homicides where witnesses are available are more likely to be solved). It has been observed that with many sex trade worker homicides, investigators are faced with the issues of the timeliness of reporting and the lack of cooperation that they receive when investigating these crimes. Moreover, sometimes sex trade workers are killed due to their involvement in drugs more so than their involvement in prostitution. Some sex trade workers may owe drug debts, which may contribute to their victimization.

A third perspective to explain why these SHOs are better at avoiding police detection – the modus operandi perspective – suggests that criminals avoid police detection because they make specific choices that will allow them to go unnoticed (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014). This perspective focuses on the actions of the criminal as opposed to the failure of the criminal justice system to solve the crime. The perspective indicates that criminals may target a specific type of victim (e.g., sex trade worker) and adopt specific behaviors with the explicit aim of hindering any subsequent police investigation and increasing the likelihood of avoiding detection. Criminals make conscious decisions and *choose* to act a certain way (e.g., forensic awareness strategies such as moving the victim's body, concealing the victim's body) in an attempt to evade police detection.

Pathways of sexual homicide of sex trade workers

Sexual homicides of sex trade workers have been examined and described as a group, and in doing so it suggests that these homicides are all similar. We do not share this perspective. In fact, our findings have allowed us to identify three groups – or more precisely, three pathways – leading to the sexual homicide of sex trade workers. Interestingly, these three pathways present different areas of focus by the offenders. For instance, in the first pathway, although the offender selects a *risky location* to get in contact with the victim, he makes sure to target a victim under the influence of drugs who is all by herself. Moreover, the offender goes from an outdoor location to an indoor location to commit the crime, using a *manipulative* script (i.e., using a con approach, beating, stabbing, and strangling the victim). The second pathway is similar, but instead of targeting a victim who is alone, the offender targets one who is more "social." Although this pathway seems more risky, all of the offenders use multiple forensic awareness strategies, which suggests that they knew what they were doing before encountering the victim. The third pathway is very different in that the offender clearly employs a *sadistic* script to commit the crime that is characterized by fully removing the victim's clothing, committing unusual and/or bizarre

acts, inserting foreign objects into body cavities, overkill, and taking items from the victim. These offenders are primarily concerned with ensuring no DNA evidence is left at the crime scene, moving the victim's body, and making sure that the crime locations are low risk in terms of being interrupted or detected.

Previous studies have not examined the pathways of sex trade worker homicides. We believe that the identification of these pathways – and more specifically the two scripts – can be very useful in furthering our understanding of this type of sexual homicide. As an example, these different pathways suggest that sex trade worker homicides are heterogeneous and that the different behaviors involved in each pathway could be linked to different motivations or even different offender characteristics (e.g., personality). In order to be useful for criminal investigation, future studies should look into the possibility of linking the three pathways to some offender characteristics as was done by Proulx et al. (2014) in their study of the offending pathways of sexual aggressors.

Implications

Although it has been stated several times that sex trade worker homicides are among the most difficult to solve, our findings show that by describing these homicides and analyzing them we can actually improve our understanding of this specific type of sexual homicide. Moreover, we believe that our findings may have some implications for the investigation of these sexual homicides. As suggested by Brewer et al. (2006), sex trade workers represent a relatively small pool of women that can be easily identified when working, which, by extension, makes the identification of clients easily identifiable too. As most studies suggest that offenders who inflict violence on sex trade workers are mainly clients, it goes without saying that the first place to look for suspects when investigating sex trade worker homicides would be on a prostitution stroll.

> These facts suggest that ongoing proactive surveillance of diverse prostitution strolls (areas of street prostitution) and collection of DNA and other samples (e.g., vehicle carpet fibers, tire tread patterns, dental imprints) from both clients and prostitutes arrested for prostitution or interrogated in the field could help deter and solve prostitute and client homicides.
>
> (Brewer et al., 2006, p. 1107)

However, it is important to keep in mind that, as suggested by Salfati (2013), some offenders do not exhibit "client behavior" even though the victims are at work. Some offenders may approach the victims using a different ruse or strategy. Simply because the victim is a sex trade worker does not necessarily mean that the offender will utilize her occupation to facilitate contact.

Nonetheless, as the suspects of sexual homicide of sex trade workers are likely to be clients or former clients, as illustrated in the case study at the beginning of the chapter, one useful way to prioritize these suspects would be by looking into their criminal career. Our findings demonstrate that violent NHSOs

are more likely to target sex trade workers (or marginalized victims). Violent NHSOs are known for their extensive criminal career characterized by diversity, which specifically includes violent crimes (see Chapter 3). The investigation of sexual homicide of sex trade workers could start with offenders who have a history of violent crimes and who have also been arrested for, or convicted of, doing business with sex trade workers. Moreover, as suggested by Salfati (2013), offenders who target sex trade workers present previous convictions for sexual assaults against other women as well, "which suggests that violence against prostitutes may be considered as part of a continuum of violence against women more generally, and not just against prostitutes specifically" (p. 217).

Also, our findings clearly demonstrate that the environment in which the sex trade workers operate may contribute to their victimization. Their work environment puts them at considerable more risk as they work in locations where witnesses are less likely to be present or able to intervene if something goes wrong. This is why Quinet (2011) suggests that we should be careful when putting forward strategies for controlling or curbing sex trade work on the street. Quinet explains that these strategies may geographically and temporally displace sex trade workers into less-safe areas, thereby reducing the visibility of their transactions. This displacement may also result in more hurried transactions with less attention paid to potential risk factors. It becomes very important to maintain a good dialogue between the police and the sex trade worker community so that information about violent clients or missing sex trade workers can be reported.

In conclusion, it is important to keep in mind that studies on sex trade workers are limited by the fact that there is an unknown fraction of sex trade worker homicides that may not have been recorded in the data we study. Sometimes sex trade worker homicides are not recorded as such because, as Brewer et al. (2006) suggested, bodies are not found or are never identified due to decomposed remains. However, there is also the possibility that sex trade worker homicides are not classified as such because the victim is not identified as a sex trade worker. This is why we believe it is important not to limit ourselves to sex trade workers, but to look at marginalized victims more broadly. As we cannot say for sure that sex trade workers are targeted by offenders because of what they do, we need to consider the possibility that sex trade workers are attractive victims to some sex offenders because of what they are; that is, a vulnerable and available victim.

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8 Can sexual murderers avoid police detection?

Case study

David was the oldest of three children. During his childhood, his mother worked in a bar and often was not at home when the children were there. David's father was an alcoholic who was also physically and psychologically abusive toward his children and his wife. However, his father was not present for much of his childhood. During a dispute in a bar, he unintentionally caused the death of another man that resulted in a lengthy prison sentence. David had a problematic childhood. He had problems in school and often got into trouble. When older, he was unable to maintain a job. David started to isolate himself very early on in his life. He rapidly developed a fantasy world where he was omnipotent. He would use the actresses who he saw in movies to fill his fantasies. These fantasies were not only sexual in nature but were also very violent.

During the time that these fantasies started to develop, David was experiencing some interpersonal relationship difficulties with his girlfriend. This ultimately led to the decision to take a break from the relationship. During our interview with the offender, he explained that he was not confident that this break would have a positive outcome. Because of this, he decided to go out on a regular basis. David did not have a problem with alcohol but he admitted to smoking pot occasionally. His goal was to go out to bars or restaurants to pick up a girl who he would take back to his place in order to have sexual intercourse with her. The night of the first murder, he met the victim in the downtown area. She was heavily intoxicated so the offender thought that she would be perfect. He convinced her to come back to his place to have one last drink. The victim agreed. While at his place, David gave the victim a beer and put on some music. He started kissing and caressing the victim and managed to completely undress her, at which point he attempted to penetrate her. This is when the victim asked the offender to stop. She explained that she did not mind the kissing and fondling but she did not want to have sexual intercourse. She explained that she did not feel like it and that she felt guilty because she had a boyfriend. David said that he understood, but a few minutes later he made another attempt to penetrate the victim. This time, the victim pushed him and scratched him on the shoulder. David instantly became very angry, and in a state of fury, he started to strangle the victim. When the victim

was no longer moving, he used a hammer to hit the victim on the head and on her legs. He also bit the victim's breasts and arms, which, according to him, helped to release his rage. When he became calmer, he decided that he needed to get rid of the body. He decided to wrap the victim's body in bed sheets. However, he did not want to throw the body in the garbage. Instead, he put the body and all of the victim's clothes in a big box that he had in his apartment. He then sealed the box with tape and threw chocolate syrup, molasses, and flour on the box to stop people from trying to peek inside. The next day, the garbage truck came and picked up the box without anyone noticing anything.

David felt immense relief and believed that he had just committed the perfect murder. This is why, 11 days later, he decided to do it again. Similar to the first victim, the second victim rejected him when he made an attempt to have sex with her. This enraged him and so he did not hesitate for a second to kill her using strangulation. However, when it came to getting rid of the body, David no longer had a big box. Moreover, he explained during the interview that the second victim was much taller than the first so he had to find another way to dispose of her body. He decided to dismember the victim's body and place her body parts into different garbage bags. He separated the head, then the arms, and finally the legs. To make the bags look like they contained real garbage, David emptied his own garbage into each one. One day later, while playing hockey in the alley, some children accidently hit one of the bags. The children informed their parents of their discovery and the police were called. In one of the bags, the police found the victim's head along with some envelopes that had both the name and address of the offender written on them. During the police interview, David admitted to the murder and also confessed to the first murder.

Introduction

In British Columbia (Canada), Robert Pickton was convicted of the murders of six women but he is suspected of having killed 43 others – most of whom were sex trade workers. Pickton was specifically targeting sex trade workers from the Downtown Eastside area that is a neighborhood of Vancouver known for the presence of sex trade workers and drug addicts. He would approach the victims in this area and subsequently take them back to his residence that was approximately 32 km away. After killing the women, he fed some of the victims' remains to the pigs that he kept at his farm. Is it possible that the choice of a specific type of victim – sex trade workers – greatly contributed to his ability to avoid detection for so long? As a matter of fact, Chapter 7 has clearly shown that sex trade worker homicides are more difficult to solve by the police (Salfati, James, & Ferguson, 2008). But why is that the case?

One way to look at detection avoidance in homicide is to examine factors related to homicide clearance. These factors have traditionally been organized around two conflicting perspectives in the literature: the discretionary and the nondiscretionary. The discretionary perspective – or extralegal (Riedel, 2008) – suggests that factors related to the victim (e.g., age, gender, race) will influence

how vigorously and diligently the police will work to solve a crime (Black, 1976; Korosec, 2012). For instance, this "victim preferencing" could explain why the homicide of a poor Black woman – or a sex trade worker – would be less likely to be cleared by the police. Corsianos (2003) conducted a qualitative analysis of the decision-making process of police in their determination of whether a case is considered to be "high profile," and consequently attributed additional time and resources. Six factors were identified as being important in this determination: (1) status of the victim (e.g., socioeconomic status), (2) status of the accused (e.g., very affluent, related to an officer in the department), (3) role of the media, (4) desire by the police to conceal questionable or illegal police activity, (5) possible political bombshells (e.g., crime committed during a protest), and (6) the public's reaction and/or expectation of a case.

The nondiscretionary – or solvability (Riedel, 2008) – perspective suggests that it is the characteristics of the homicide (e.g., weapon use, availability of witnesses and/or forensic evidence) that are the most important in determining the solvability of the crime. According to this perspective, the police are fully engaged and committed to clearing every homicide, although they may not do so with the same willingness and effort as other offenses (Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Klinger, 1997).

In this chapter, we argue that there is a third perspective that has been neglected by previous studies that deserves equal attention. Criminals are capable of avoiding police detection because they make specific choices that will allow them to go unnoticed. For instance, rather than pointing an accusatory finger at the police or the criminal justice system for what they have done – or failed to do – during the investigation of a specific crime, we suggest that criminals may in fact target a specific type of victim (e.g., sex trade worker) and adopt specific behaviors in order to make it more difficult for the police to catch them. We argue that some criminals are capable of making conscious decisions and thus, *choose* to act in certain ways in order to elude police detection.

In order to understand how criminals are successful in avoiding detection, it is important to examine one specific source of information that stems from the research on homicide clearance rates. Homicide is the crime of choice for such research as no other crime is measured as precisely and as accurately as homicide (Walton, 2006). Although clearance rates are often used as a performance measure for the police, some of the factors related to clearances may actually further our understanding of the criminals' actions in their efforts to avoid detection.

Research on homicide clearance rates is sparse, but over the past decade, a growing number of studies have examined the different factors associated with homicide clearance. Although several factors are attributed to police practices, there are other interesting factors that fall within the control of the offender. Before examining these factors, it is important to operationalize the term "clearance" and consider some of the issues that impact this measure.

Homicide clearance: rates and measurement issues

Homicide cases essentially result in one of three possible outcomes: (1) the case is cleared by the arrest of a suspect following appropriate investigation, (2) the case is exceptionally cleared due to extraordinary circumstances (e.g., offender died at the scene), or (3) the case remains unsolved or uncleared (Jarvis & Regoeczi, 2009). According to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) program, a case can be reported as "cleared" if it results in either an arrest of the suspect or the suspect is charged and turned over to the court for prosecution (Hsu, 2007). In Canada, in order to be cleared, an accused person must be identified and there must be sufficient evidence for the police to lay or recommend a charge (Hotton Mahony & Turner, 2012). The homicide clearance rate is calculated by dividing the number of homicides solved in a given year by the number of homicides reported in that same year, multiplied by 100. Although this measure is often used for evaluating police investigative effectiveness, researchers have identified several issues with it. First, some have argued that this measure is inadequate for classifying a crime as cleared if it was reported in a previous year but solved in the current year (Hsu). Furthermore, according to Riedel (2008), clearances may not actually be counted as they occur but rather estimated at the end of the month. Thus, some have argued for a modified definition of clearance. For example, Wellford and Cronin (1999) proposed that the following be added: "the number of cases cleared *in a period of time* divided by the number of crimes reported to the police *in that same period*" (Greenwood, Chaiken, & Petersilia, 1977, p. 32). Second, Cordner (1989) has suggested that clearances are subject to police manipulability, as the police's discretion to designate a case as cleared and the time to record it varies. Poggio, Kennedy, Chaiken, and Carlson's (1985) report on the UCR mentioned that police officers may also vary in the way they record multiple clearances for single arrests and that some clearances can be recorded for crimes that were not reported. Third, this clearance rate measure fails to indicate the overall quality of clearance – meaning that some police departments will record additional clearances when an offender admits to committing another offense while others do not, and even others will fail to update their data if a case is charged but later dismissed (Greenwood et al.). Finally, this measure does not take into account the level of solvability of the crime as some homicides, such as felony homicides, are more difficult to solve than spousal homicides (Riedel & Jarvis, 1999). Considering all of these issues, an alternative measure has been used by researchers; that is, time from incident to clearance (Riedel, 2008).

Despite these flaws, homicide clearance rates are generally considered to be informative and they may help to identify changes in offenders' behavior. Since 1960, the homicide clearance rates have steadily declined from 92% to 61% in 2006 (Riedel, 2008). However, a closer look at these trends using the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR) has shown decreasing rates from 1984 to 2004, but increasing rates from 2004 to 2009 (Korosec, 2012). A similar increasing trend has also been observed in

Canada (Hotton Mahony & Turner, 2012). Despite these alarming numbers, surprisingly, not a lot of research has examined the cause(s) of these declining rates. To highlight the importance of these numbers, Skogan and Frydl (2005) stated: "Understanding the factors that influence clearance rates is more than just an intellectual game; it is a fundamental question in the study of the police" (p. 160). Moreover, as suggested previously, we believe that some of the factors influencing clearances are important for understanding criminals' ability to avoid police detection. Nonetheless, one thing is clear from these findings on homicide clearance rates: every year, some offenders avoid detection and get away with murder. Following the rarely interrupted decrease in homicide clearance rates, researchers have started to look into the factors that explain homicide solvability.

Factors related to homicide clearances

In our review of the literature on factors related to homicide clearances, it is clear that researchers have been largely influenced by the discretionary perspective, whereby certain victim characteristics have been their primary focus. There seems to be a general consensus among studies that cases of homicide involving younger victims tend to be solved sooner and more easily (Addington, 2006, 2008; Alderden & Lavery, 2007; Jiao, 2007; Korosec, 2012; Lee, 2005; Puckett & Lundman, 2003; Regoeczi, Kennedy, & Silverman, 2000; Regoeczi, Jarvis, & Riedel, 2008; Roberts, 2008; Roberts & Lyons, 2009; Trussler, 2010). Only two studies have found nonsignificant findings with regards to the age of the victim (Lee, 2005; Wellford & Cronin, 1999). Homicide cases involving older victims are generally cleared less frequently (Cardarelli & Cavanaugh, 1992; Riedel & Rinehart, 1996; Wilbanks, 1984; Wolfgang, 1958). Riedel (2008) suggests two possible hypotheses to explain this general finding. First, when a child is involved the police tend to be more sympathetic, and thus they invest more time and resources, and work harder, to solve the case. Second, children are usually in the company of other people who may have actually witnessed what happened and therefore they are able to provide information to the police. A third hypothesis suggested by Regoeczi et al. (2008) is that homicides of children are more likely to be committed by a family member.

A similar pattern emerged from the research that looks at gender. Several studies have shown that homicide cases involving females are cleared more easily (Addington, 2008; Alderden & Lavery, 2007; Korosec, 2012; Lee, 2005; Regoeczi et al., 2000, 2008; Roberts, 2007; Trussler, 2010). However, a significant number of studies have also found no relationship between gender and the solvability of the case (Addington, 2006; Puckett & Lundman, 2003; Riedel & Rinehart, 1996; Wellford & Cronin, 1999; Wolfgang, 1958).

In general, studies indicate that homicide cases involving Whites are more likely to be cleared (Addington, 2008; Alderden & Lavery, 2007; Cardarelli & Cavanaugh, 1992; Jiao, 2007; Korosec, 2012; Lee, 2005; Regoeczi et al., 2000, 2008). However, two studies found higher clearance rates for Blacks (Wilbanks,

1984; Wolfgang, 1958), and several others did not find a significant relationship at all between clearance rates and race (Addington, 2006; Puckett & Lundman, 2004; Riedel & Rinehart, 1996; Roberts, 2007; Wellford & Cronin, 1999). In their study on victim–offender dyads using NIBRS data, Roberts and Lyons (2009) found that homicides with non-White offenders are more likely to be cleared than incidents with White offenders, regardless of the victim's race. In a subsequent study, Roberts and Lyons (2011) further investigated the effect of race on homicide clearances, and they found that when using a trichotomous measure of race, homicides involving Hispanic victims had a lower clearance rate than those involving non-Hispanic White or non-Hispanic Black victims.

Studies looking at other victim characteristics have similarly found lower clearance rates for victims with a known prior record, suggesting that the police may be less attentive to such victims because of their prior involvement in criminal activities (Jiao, 2007; Litwin & Xu, 2007). However, other studies have found no relationship (Litwin, 2004; Wellford & Cronin, 1999) or have suggested that what is really important is not the mere presence or absence of a prior record, but the nature of the prior criminal history for both victims and offenders (Regoeczi & Jarvis, 2013).

Police practices

Greenwood (1970; Greenwood et al., 1977; Greenwood & Petersilia, 1975) has suggested that detectives actually do very little investigative work because most cases are cleared due to patrol officers who actually determine whether the necessary leads are present and conditions are favorable for an arrest (Riedel, 1999). However, Eck (1983) came to a different conclusion by suggesting that both patrol officers and detectives play a considerable role in crime clearances because they are the ones looking for witnesses, interviewing victims, and cultivating informants. What police work-related factors are associated with homicide clearance rates?

One of the factors examined in relation to homicide clearance rates, as well as police practices, is the workload of police officers. Borg and Parker (2001) as well as Korosec (2012) found that lower homicide rates predict higher homicide clearances. However, a few studies have also indicated the absence of significant relationships between the workload of police officers and clearance rates (Jiao, 2007; Keel, Jarvis, & Muirhead, 2009; Litwin & Xu, 2007; Pare, Felson, & Ouimet, 2007; Wong, 2010). Puckett and Lundman (2003) suggested that one of the reasons why both detective experience and workload are not related to clearance rates is because many homicides are "dunkers"; meaning that they clear themselves with little effort by detectives (e.g., a murderer who commits suicide, a street-level police officer who makes an on-scene arrest, or a murderer who turns himself in). Hsu (2007), for instance, found that when looking at a sample of police departments in 100 of the largest US cities, the homicide rate and the budget were not significantly related to homicide clearances. However, when she divided her sample into three groups – low, medium, and high clearance

rates – she found that the homicide rate was significantly associated with homicide clearances. Moreover, although her study indicated that the availability of more sworn police officers significantly improved homicide clearance rates, more sensitive analyses showed that it did not change anything in high clearance rate departments, but it actually decreased clearance rates in medium-clearance departments (Hsu). Similar findings were observed when examining the percentage of full-time sworn officers assigned to investigation. When analyzing the full sample, results demonstrated a positive effect, meaning that a higher percentage of sworn officers assigned to investigation increased the efficiency and yielded a higher homicide clearance rate. However, this significant relationship completely disappeared when analyzing the three subgroups of low, medium, and high clearance police departments (Hsu).

Another aspect of police work that has been found to be related to homicide clearance rates is the behavior of witnesses. Not surprisingly, studies have shown that when witnesses cooperate with the police this leads to higher homicide clearances (Greenwood et al., 1977; Litwin, 2004; Riedel, 1995; Riedel & Jarvis, 1999; Wellford & Cronin, 1999). However, Regoeczi and Jarvis (2013) found that the presence of witnesses at a homicide increased the likelihood of clearance, but this positive effect is largely limited to neighborhoods with low levels of social disorganization. To the contrary, Ousey and Lee's (2010) findings indicated that cities that have experienced deprivation in terms of income, employment, and education have experienced an increase in homicide clearances. By way of explanation, Ousey and Lee suggest that the increased clearance rate may have been produced by the use of intense and innovative policing strategies in these economically marginalized places. Another result congruent with social disorganization theory is the negative relationship between immigration and homicide clearance rates (that is as immigration has increased, homicide clearance rates have declined).

In their survey of 55 police departments, Keel et al. (2009) found that in addition to formal training of homicide detectives, the use of sophisticated analytical tools (e.g., blood spatter, statement analysis, criminal investigative analysis) is associated with higher clearance rates. However, they noticed that the marginal relationship observed with the use of sophisticated analytical tools could be because of, in part, the fact that such tools are not always necessary due to the nature and/or absence of physical evidence left at the crime scene (e.g., DNA). Moreover, their findings suggest that management is also an important factor in homicide clearances. "From an organizational perspective, oversight and management are necessary to ensure accountability; however, these study results suggest that micromanagement investigators and requiring constant case reviews have potentially negative returns to overall clearance rates" (Keel et al., p. 63).

In their study that examined the factors related to the solvability of homicide in Australia, Mouzos and Muller (2001) added a qualitative component where they asked homicide investigators about the factors they thought were important to solve this type of crime. In terms of internal organizational factors, the most important one mentioned by their 11 respondents was the availability of

sufficient resources (e.g., time to devote to the investigation, number of experienced detectives available to be assigned to all of the cases, overtime, support staff, analysts, cooperation, and effective communication). Another factor mentioned was the allocation of an experienced detective to a case as early as possible and the ability to attend the scene. In terms of crime scene factors, the necessity of having an experienced detective to rapidly secure the primary scene was seen as the most important factor. Thus, it facilitates the preservation and collection of evidence, it allows for the examination of the body at the scene, and it minimizes the potential threat of contamination by limiting the number of people who enter the crime scene. Other factors mentioned related to the crime scene were the need for forensic specialists to attend, the construction of a timeline for both the offender and the victim (and a comparison of where overlaps occurred), and the timely location and segregation of witnesses in order to prevent cross-contamination. Finally, the respondents mentioned some factors related to the witnesses to be very important as well. The most important, according to the homicide investigators, was the actual presence of witnesses. Other factors also mentioned were the victimology, questioning family and friends, and identifying eyewitnesses (Mouzos & Muller).

Wellford and Cronin (1999) conducted a very thorough study of 798 homicides (74% solved and 26% unsolved at the time of the study) that occurred in four large US cities during 1994 and 1995 (random sample of 200 homicides in three cities and 198 in the fourth city). These four cities were selected for their varying levels of homicide and total crime clearances. A total of 215 factors related to the characteristics of the case and its investigation were examined in relationship with whether the case was cleared or not. Among the 215 factors, 51 were significantly associated with the status of the case. Table 8.1 presents the 51 factors initially identified by Wellford and Cronin.

As can be seen from the table, factors related to police practices are very important when examining homicide clearance rates. To investigate these factors and how they relate to homicide solvability, Wellford and Cronin (1999) entered these 51 variables into a series of multivariate analyses. These analyses identified 15 variables that remained significant even after controlling for all of the other factors. These factors can be organized under two main categories: those within police control and those outside of police control.

Factors within police control. First, Wellford and Cronin (1999) have shown that the initial response to a homicide is crucial in order to increase the likelihood of clearance. As part of the initial response, they identified that when the first officer at the scene immediately notifies the homicide unit, medical examiner, and the crime lab, the chance of clearing the case is greater. Moreover, the likelihood of solving the homicide increases when the first responding officer properly secures the scene, attempts to locate witnesses, and when a detective arrives at the scene within 30 minutes. Detectives also contribute to increasing the probability of clearing homicides cases. Findings have shown that when three, four, or 11 detectives are assigned to a case, there is an increased likelihood of solving the case. Furthermore, when detectives describe the crime scene

Table 8.1 Factors related to a higher probability of homicide clearance, Wellford and Cronin (1999)

Categories	*Factors*
Victim and offender characteristics	Victim not a drug user or drug buyer Victim had no criminal record Offender Hispanic (rather than Black) Offender not identified as drug buyer
Weapon	Rifle, knife, or personal weapon (hands or feet) Weapon used identified by the police
Homicide circumstances	Drugs not involved Homicide not drug related Homicide occurred in private location Weather was not bad Crime scene not identified as drug market At least one witness Motivation is preemption for anticipated retaliatory attack Motivation is conflict over money or property (other than drugs) Motivation is self-defense Motivation is not punishment for informing
Police work/investigation	Number of assigned detectives (3, 4, or 11) to the case Less than 30 minutes to arrive at the scene Follow-up on witness information by detectives First officer at the scene notified homicide unit, medical examiner, crime lab Officer attempted to locate witnesses Crime scene was measured Weapon found at the scene Crime scene is a residence, bar, or club (rather than public area) Witnesses at crime scene who provided valuable information (i.e., circumstances of death, motivation for the crime, identification of the offender, identification of the victim, or the location of the offender) Neighborhood survey of the crime scene provided valuable information Neighbors of the victims were interviewed Friends of the victim were interviewed Computer checks conducted on suspects or a gun No computer check performed on the victim or witnesses Detectives present at postmortem examination Medical examiner collected specimen, recovered a projectile, or prepared a body chart Surveillance was used Informants provided valuable information Witnesses came forward on their own

(including measurements) in their notes, follow-up on all witness information, and attend the postmortem examination, the likelihood of solving the case increases. Other police responses associated with a greater likelihood of solving the case are conducting computer checks (using the local Criminal Justice Information System) on the suspect, gun, and any witnesses, interviewing friends, acquaintances, and neighbors of the victim, and having the witnesses provide valuable information about the circumstances of the death, the motivation of the crime, the identification of the suspect and/or the victim, and the whereabouts of the suspect. In addition, the analyses indicated that getting a body chart of the victim from the medical examiner, interviewing the medical examiner, and leveraging informants increases the likelihood of clearing the case.

Factors outside of police control. Other factors are important to consider when examining the causes of homicide clearances that are outside of police control. Thus, when the suspect is either Black or Hispanic and the homicide occurs in a private location (e.g., home) rather than a public location (e.g., on the street), the likelihood of clearing the case increases. Moreover, if witnesses observe the homicide, a weapon is identified, the homicide is not drug-related, but the victim is a member of a gang or drug organization, the chance of solving the case increases. Finally, when the homicide is motivated by either a conflict over money or property (other than drugs), an attempt to get money to buy drugs, or retaliation avoidance, there is an increased likelihood of solving the case. In summary, Wellford and Cronin's (1999) study shows that offender and victim characteristics play only a minor role in homicide clearances, and that police practices have a far greater impact.

Event characteristics

Another category of factors related to homicide clearance, that has generally been under-studied, is the characteristics of the crime. Some researchers, however, have started to examine characteristics of the event and have tried to explain how the choice of certain behaviors by the offender may make it more difficult for the police to clear the case. Studies have indicated that homicides committed in the home are more likely to be cleared (Addington, 2006; Alderden & Lavery, 2007; Litwin, 2004; Litwin & Xu, 2007; Mouzos & Muller, 2001; Trussler, 2010; Wellford & Cronin, 1999). This can be explained by the fact that homicides that occur in the home tend to involve people who are known to each other – or domestic-related incidents – that make them easier to solve and/or present a greater quantity and quality of evidence in areas protected from the elements (Regoeczi et al., 2008; Wellford & Cronin, 1999). In his analysis of Chicago-based data, Jiao (2007) found that homicides committed indoors (other than the home location) are more likely to be solved than homicides committed outdoors on the street. However, homicides committed in a vehicle or on public transportation are less likely to be solved than homicides committed outdoors. This last finding was also observed by Litwin and Xu using Chicago-based data,

but only for the period of 1976–1985 (not significant for the periods of 1966–1975 and 1986–1995). In another analysis of this Chicago data, Litwin demonstrated that homicides that occurred in taverns are approximately three times less likely to be solved by the police than homicides that occurred in other public locations. Although this may appear counterintuitive, Litwin suggested that this particular finding could be explained by the location of the bars being in neighborhoods where the witnesses are more likely to know each other, and thus be more reluctant to speak to the police. It could also be that some of these taverns were, in fact, gay bars, that may have resulted in police devaluing victims.

Moreover, Jiao's (2007) analysis, as well as the study by Roberts (2007), showed that when the offender uses drugs or alcohol, the crime is more likely to be solved as there tends to be key evidence that allows for a reconstruction of the homicide event (Jiao). However, Mouzos and Muller (2001) found that unsolved homicides in Australia are characterized by victims who did not use alcohol or drugs prior to the crime. In their study also using Chicago data, Alderden and Lavery (2007) found that the probability of solving a homicide decreases significantly (by 32%) when it is committed during late night hours (i.e., from 12 a.m. to 5:59 a.m.) as compared to those committed early in the morning and during the daytime (i.e., 6 a.m. to 4:59 p.m.).

Several studies indicate that homicides involving a weapon other than firearms (e.g., knives, personal contact) are related to increased clearances (Addington, 2006, 2008; Alderden & Lavery, 2007; Korosec, 2012; Litwin, 2004; Litwin & Xu, 2007; Lundman & Myers, 2012; Puckett & Lundman, 2003; Regoeczi et al., 2000, 2008; Roberts, 2007; Wolfgang, 1958). More specifically, Korosec (2012) found that homicides in which weapons were not found or identified are less likely to be cleared than homicides with an identified weapon. One possible reason that homicides involving weapons other than firearms are cleared more easily is that forensic evidence is more likely to be left at the scene (e.g., hair, fingerprints), which is contrary to homicides in which a firearm is used as this allows the offender to murder the victim at a greater distance (Litwin, 2004).

Homicides involving strangers are also less likely to be cleared (Jiao, 2007; Lee, 2005; Marché, 1994; Wolfgang, 1958). Research has shown that homicides involving family members are easier to clear (Riedel, 2008; Roberts, 2007) because not only do they tend to have more eyewitnesses than stranger homicides, but offenders are also more likely to confess to these crimes (Roberts, 2008). Riedel and Jarvis (1999) indicate that the decline in homicide clearances in the US between 1977 and 1995 coincides with a decrease in the proportion of family homicides.

Concomitant felonies such as rape-homicide and robbery-homicide have been shown to be more difficult to solve (Alderden & Lavery, 2007; Cardarelli & Cavanaugh, 1992; Lee, 2005; Litwin, 2004; Mouzos & Muller, 2001; Regoeczi et al., 2000; Riedel & Rinehart, 1996; Roberts, 2007; Wilbanks, 1984; Wolfgang, 1958). According to Litwin, three factors could explain why these cases of homicide are more difficult to clear: (1) they are committed in locations where

the presence of witnesses is unlikely, (2) they involve hit-and-run attacks, and (3) they are frequently perpetrated by strangers.

The extensive review of the literature on the factors related to homicide clearance rates shows how researchers have independently used the discretionary or nondiscretionary perspectives to approach this phenomenon. Curiously, all studies have neglected to consider the active role that the criminal may play in detection avoidance. In fact, previous research has conceptualized the factors related to homicide clearances as being totally outside of the offender's control. We disagree with this line of thinking and argue that some criminals do in fact make choices and employ modus operandi that reflect a level of forensic awareness and indicate a concerted effort to avoid police detection. Based on existing research on homicide clearance rates, the following is a list of the most consistently reported factors that an offender may manipulate in order to avoid police detection:

- targeting an elderly victim;
- targeting a male victim;
- targeting a non-White victim;
- targeting a stranger victim;
- targeting a victim with a criminal record (e.g., prostitute);
- targeting a victim who did not use drugs and/or alcohol;
- targeting a victim who is working at the time of the crime;
- avoiding drugs and/or alcohol consumption by the offender;
- avoiding leaving indicators of the possible motivation for the homicide (e.g., conflict over money, attempt to get money to buy drugs, to avoid retaliation);
- committing the homicide in a socially disorganized area;
- committing the homicide in a public location (e.g., on the street or taverns), outside the home, in a vehicle or on public transportation;
- committing the homicide during late night hours (e.g., 12 a.m. to 6 a.m.);
- weapon selection (firearms are better) and removal of the weapon from the scene;
- committing a homicide that is related to another crime (e.g., drug-related crime, robbery-homicide, sexual homicide);
- ensuring there are no witnesses present;
- leaving no forensic evidence to analyze.

These factors show how criminals can actually influence their risk of police detection by adopting – or avoiding – certain behavior(s) while committing a homicide. Moreover, the studies that have focused specifically on police practices have identified interesting factors that could actually contribute to the explanation of homicide solvability. Some of these factors can actually be related to the criminal's behavior at the crime scene. Thus, many factors that were significant in Wellford and Cronin's (1999) study are in fact related to the collection, analysis, and interpretation of forensic evidence left at the crime scene. As for

the public, it has been hypothesized that offenders are becoming more aware of the importance of forensic evidence in the criminal investigation and therefore they are adapting their modus operandi in order to avoid leaving (i.e., destroy or remove) such evidence.

Forensic awareness

Forensic awareness is a term that is most often used to describe a person's knowledge of forensic science and the practice of analyzing forensic evidence. More recently, this expression has been applied with greater frequency to offenders as well. Some offenders will adapt their modus operandi or take precautions before, during, or post crime commission to decrease their risk of apprehension. Arguably, this adaptation of crime strategy may be an indication of evolving criminal sophistication on the part of the offender. Offenders who adapt their modus operandi to thwart police investigative efforts may be said to be exhibiting investigative awareness (i.e., a knowledge or understanding of police investigative practice; Beauregard & Martineau, 2013). A related concept, coined in criminological research as "forensic awareness" (Davies, 1992), refers to an offender's knowledge or understanding of the importance of forensic evidence (e.g., DNA, fingerprints, dental impressions) in police investigations. In this context, forensic awareness could be defined as the taking of additional steps and adapting the modus operandi used in a crime to avoid leaving evidence, or to destroy/hide it, in order to ultimately avoid apprehension (Davies). Davies identified categories of behavior – involving steps taken to ensure personal safety – that is part of the modus operandi. These steps refer to:

1 avoiding interruption: gagging the victim (although relatively uncommon), targeting women who are alone, disconnecting the phone;
2 protecting identity: hiding one's face or avoiding being seen (e.g., blindfolding the victim, attacking after nightfall, disabling the lights, wearing a mask, using verbal instructions about where the victim should look), trying to leave neither fingerprints nor semen (e.g., using a condom, wiping semen or objects that have been used during the sexual assault), lying to mislead the investigation (e.g., lying about their name, concealing where the offender lives);
3 threatening or instilling fear in the victim: threatening to return and harm the victim, requesting to see pieces of identification (e.g., driver's license) so that the victim could be located at a later date;
4 steps taken to ensure safe departure: telling the victim not to move, telling the victim to count up to a certain number, threatening the victim not to look nor follow, tying up the victim.

There is a dearth of research on the level of forensic awareness offenders generally possess and the impact that this has on the crime process and investigation. Davies, Wittebrood, and Jackson (1997) found in their sample of 210 stranger

rapists that 15% of offenders wore gloves or tried not to leave fingerprints, 5% tried not to leave semen, 28% took steps to prevent their face from being seen, and 20% lied about their name and/or address. Moreover, Park, Schlesinger, Pinizzotto, and Davis (2008) found that serial sex offenders are more likely to exhibit forensic awareness than single sex offenders; however, the cleaning or removal of semen was not significant. Although 52.9% of serial sex offenders did remove semen from the scene of the crime, less than 40% exhibited overall signs of forensic awareness. This suggests that while some sex offenders are aware of the use of forensic science in criminal investigations and the potential of some forensic evidence to link them to the crime, they lack the knowledge or ability to take all necessary precautions. Surprisingly, despite some forensic awareness, prevention strategies are used only in a very limited way. This applies equally to homicide offenders.

In their study of 85 serial homicide cases committed by 17 offenders, Neimeyer, Pepper, and Salfati (2008) used the expression of "adaptive behavior" to describe the different strategies that would assist offenders in avoiding detection. For the full sample, they found that the frequencies of the adaptive behaviors were:

- 21.2% – remove ID
- 15.3% – forensic aware/removal
- 14.1% – body hidden/covered outside
- 12.9% – preparatory actions
- 11.8% – abduction at night
- 10.6% – staging
- 9.4% – forensic aware/avoidance
- 5.9% – victim transient
- 3.5% – arson
- 3.5% – cleaning the body

These numbers support the conjecture that despite more widespread awareness of forensic sciences, offenders' use of forensic awareness strategies or "adaptive behaviors" remains limited. However, when Neimeyer et al. (2008) stratified their sample into "adaptive" and "maladaptive" offenders, different findings emerged. In fact, the adaptive offenders reported the use of only four strategies, namely the removing of ID (53%), forensic aware/removal (41%), body hidden/covered outside (24%), and cleaning the body (6%). Similarly, Salfati and Haratsis (2001) examined 210 cases of solved and unsolved Greek homicide. Findings indicated that a lack of forensic awareness is significantly related to homicides being solved. The exception to this is the use of arson to destroy the crime scene or the body of the victim. Although this strategy is used only rarely (5% of all cases), there was no difference between solved (5%) and unsolved homicides (6%). This suggests that the use of arson to avoid detection is not a very fruitful strategy.

Brown and Keppel's (2012) study of child abduction murderers reports interesting findings as to the physical evidence destroyed by the offender at the crime

scene location. First, 47.3% of the murderers (347 cases) did not destroy any evidence at the crime scene. Physical evidence destroyed at the scene included clothing (6.9%), blood (4.7%), actual crime scene (4.4%), body or body parts (4.3%), other physical evidence (4.2%), other personal items (1.8%), murder weapon (1.0%), and bindings (0.5%). Whether physical evidence was destroyed was unknown in 21.1% of the cases. But what is even more interesting is the methods used by the offenders to destroy physical evidence. Although the method used was unknown in 21.6% of the cases, the most common strategies used to destroy physical evidence at the scene included cleaning or washing (7.8%), burning (3.4%), hiding or burying (3.8%), cutting up (0.9%), throwing away (2.7%), removing from scene (2.5%), and other disposal (2.1%). Other studies conducted by Keppel and colleagues (Brown & Keppel, 2007; Brown, Keppel, Weis, & Skeen, 2006; Hanfland, Keppel, & Weis, 1997) found that 24.2% of child abduction murderers discarded evidence after the murder. This discarded evidence was found along the roadway that the offender used for the murder, body disposal, and escape (36%), which was usually within 1.6 km of where the body was recovered (between 56.5% and 59% of cases).

Other studies focused on sexual crimes identified specific strategies related to forensic awareness. Davies and Dale (1995) examined stranger rapists and suggested that an offender traveling longer distances to commit a crime may be an indicator of forensic awareness. Moreover, in their study of sexual murderers, Beauregard and Field (2008) suggested that offenders who move the victim's body after the murder to delay detection and therefore make apprehension difficult show a higher degree of forensic awareness. Moving the body complicates the investigation by decontextualizing the crime and potentially decreasing the likelihood that the victim will be found, or if found, identified. This action may also indicate forensic awareness as the offender is removing a significant source of forensic evidence from the scene of the homicide.

It seems that two main hypotheses have been suggested to explain the formation of forensic awareness by offenders. First, the amount of publicity given to the importance of the evidence used to apprehend criminals – the so-called "*CSI* effect" – may be increasing offenders' recognition of the need to become forensically aware. Second, forensic awareness may be an indication that the offender has had previous encounters with the criminal justice system, and may be educated in the idea of evidentiary procedure, and therefore recognizes the need to remove evidence from the crime scene (Davies, 1992). This latter hypothesis seems to find support in two studies in particular. In the first study, Park et al. (2008) compared the behaviors of single and serial rapists and found that offenders with a more extensive criminal career are more likely to exhibit signs of forensic awareness. In the second study, Davies et al. (1997) examined the criminal antecedents of 210 cases of solved stranger sexual assaults and found that in cases of rape, offenders who destroy semen and who take fingerprint and sighting precautions are approximately two to four times more likely to have prior convictions for sexual offenses. On the other hand, if offenders do not take precautions when leaving the crime scene, they are more likely to be first-time

sexual offenders and may be under the influence of drugs at the time of the crime. Drug consumption likely significantly impairs an offender's mental capacity and thus their ability to employ important precautions when departing the crime scene (Davies et al., 1997).

In a study by Beauregard and Bouchard (2010) conducted on serial sex offenders, forensic awareness was considered to have occurred when a rape event exhibited at least one of the following actions by the offender: concealing his identity, wearing gloves, wiping semen, preventing his face from being seen, lying about his name, wearing a condom, not ejaculating in or on the victim, making the victim comb her pubic hair after the assault, and making the victim shower after the assault. Among the 222 rape events included in the study, offenders displayed some form of forensic awareness in 55.9% of them. Offenders were not necessarily consistent in their use of forensic awareness from one event to another. Preliminary analyses showed that for serial offenders, forensic awareness in their prior event was a mild predictor of forensic awareness in their current event. The most common specific strategies used by offenders had to do with protecting their identity (i.e., concealing their identity, preventing their faces from being seen, wearing gloves). This means that most of the DNA removal behaviors were scarcely found in this sample of rape events. For example, only 6.8% of offenders took precautions to remove DNA left at the crime scene by wiping semen, and condoms were worn in only four cases (1.8%).

This last finding alone raises some questions as to the sophistication of these offenders. On the one hand, this seems to suggest that offenders are forensically aware and that they try to protect their identity during the crime-commission process. On the other hand, in only a few rape events will offenders take precautions to destroy or clean up the one piece of evidence (i.e., DNA) that could undoubtedly link them to the victim or to previous crimes committed. This is also surprising considering the fact that offenders ejaculated at the scene in 63.5% of the rape events investigated by Beauregard and Bouchard (2010). One potential explanation could be that offenders are capable of forensic awareness in the early stages of the crime-commission process (e.g., planning not to be recognized by the victim, wearing gloves not to leave fingerprints), but become less careful after the actual rape. This seems to suggest that forensic awareness is situational and may vary according to the context of the crime-commission process.

Despite the literature offering two approaches to explain homicide clearances – discretionary and nondiscretionary – we suggest that there is a third approach that can explain why some homicides remain unsolved. This approach suggests that offenders adopt specific strategies in order to avoid police detection. Some of these strategies are part of the modus operandi of sexual murderers while others specifically relate to forensic awareness.

Findings

We have conducted a series of studies investigating the use of forensic awareness strategies in cases of sexual homicide (see Balemba, Beauregard, &

Martineau, 2014; Beauregard & Martineau, 2013, 2014). Using police data on 350 cases of sexual homicide, we have provided a description of some of the strategies used by sexual murderers to avoid police detection. As can be seen in Table 8.2, in more than half of the sexual murders, police could not identify the use of any forensic awareness strategies during the commission of the crime. However, 24.9% of offenders were found to use one strategy, 11.7% used two strategies, and a small group of offenders (9.1%) used three or more strategies during their crime. The most common strategy used is to destroy/remove evidence (30.6%); this includes wearing gloves, using a condom, setting fire to the scene, and cleaning the scene. This is followed by the offender acting upon the victim and/or the environment (11.4%). Such precautions include threatening the victim not to report, disabling the lighting, the telephones, security system, and/or the victim's vehicle, administrating a drug to the victim, tying up the victim, blocking access in and out of doors or windows, and killing the victim for the purpose of eliminating the witness. Other offenders simply disposed of the body (11.1%), while a minority attempted to protect their identity (4.3%) through the wearing of a mask, giving a false name, attempting to disguise or alter their appearance, and changing residence after the crime. Some offenders used "other" precautions (12%), which include using a scanner to ascertain police activities, using a device to alert them to anyone approaching, using a lookout or establishing a lookout location where the offender can observe the scene without being noticed, covering the victim's eyes, gagging the victim, and arranging an alibi. Staging of the crime scene was observed in only 0.9% of cases. Interestingly, semen was found at the scene in slightly more than one fourth of the cases, allowing for the possibility of DNA analysis. It is uncertain whether a lack of DNA evidence at the crime scene is the result of a conscious effort on the part of the offender to ensure that no forensic evidence is left behind, or is simply the result of the murderer experiencing a sexual dysfunction

Table 8.2 Characteristics of forensic awareness strategies exhibited in sexual homicide ($N=350$)

Precaution used by offender	
Destroying or removing evidence	30.6 (107)
Protecting his identity	4.3 (15)
Acting upon victim and/or the environment	11.4 (40)
Staging the crime scene	0.9 (3)
Disposing of victim's body	11.1 (39)
Other precaution	12.0 (42)
Number of forensic awareness strategies used	
0	54.3 (190)
1	24.9 (87)
2	11.7 (41)
3 or more	9.1 (32)
Any semen located	27.7 (97)
Body moved	34.0 (119)

during the crime (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman, & D'Agostino, 1986). Regardless, the absence of DNA, at least in some cases, could be indicative of a level of forensic awareness on the part of the offender. The offender moved the victim's body from the offense scene to a body disposal site in 34% of cases.

Taking additional steps and adapting the modus operandi to specifically hide evidence in order to ultimately avoid apprehension is not as common as we would have expected. Only one third of the offenders included in our sample of sexual murderers moved the victim's body after the murder. Moving the victim's body after the murder has been linked to an expressive crime scene, indicating an impulsive and personal aggression (Salfati, 2000; Santtila, Canter, Elfgren, & Häkkänen, 2001). Beauregard and Field (2008) found that sexual murderers who present with "organized" psychological characteristics are more likely to move the victim's body after the crime in comparison to offenders who present with "disorganized" characteristics. This is congruent with previous literature that has found that offenders who are impulsive, unstable, and excessively violent, and who lack organization in their crime scenes, are more apt to leave the body at the crime scene (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002; Ressler et al., 1986; Ressler, Burgess, Hartman, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988). This finding is also consistent with the organized offender in Ressler et al.'s (1988) model. According to these researchers, organized sexual murderers are in control during the crime, make sure not to leave evidence at the crime scene, and transport the victim's body to a different location to hide it. Therefore, transporting the victim's body to a different location may serve the purpose of both obscuring any potential connections between the offender and the body dump site and delaying the discovery of the body.

Surprisingly, more than half of the sample used no specific precautions to avoid detection during the crime. This information is useful for police investigators as it suggests that a substantial number of offenders are not particularly concerned about the evidence that they may leave behind or are not criminally sophisticated enough to take precautionary measures. However, for those offenders whose actions exhibited concern about forensic evidence, it is noteworthy that most of them used two or more precautions. The most common strategy is the destruction or removal of evidence. Sexual murderers will wear gloves, wear a condom, set a fire, or clean the scene following the murder.

One interesting question that has to date been more or less overlooked in relation to forensic awareness strategies is their use over time. In other words, are more offenders forensically aware today than they were back in the 1960s or 1970s? This question is particularly relevant, given the *CSI* effect hypothesis that suggests that "watching television shows, such as *CSI*, has influenced the general public's attitudes, expectations, and decision-making related to the use of scientific evidence in jury trials" (Baskin & Sommers, 2010, p. 97). The "*CSI* effect" takes its name from *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, a police television show that focuses on the use of forensic sciences to solve crimes. For those not familiar with this television drama, it first aired in 2000 and has been one of the top three television programs watched across America, with a reported 25

million viewers in the 2005/2006 season (Cole & Dioso-Villa, 2006–2007). Due to its great popularity, spin-offs were subsequently aired (i.e., *CSI Miami*, *CSI New York*), allowing crime drama of this type to be watched several times a week, and even several times a day. Empirical studies assessing the validity of the *CSI* effect have arrived at opposing conclusions (see Baskin & Sommers, 2010; Holmgren & Fordham, 2011; Kim, Barak, & Shelton, 2009; Maricopa County Attorney's Office, 2005; Podlas, 2005; Schweitzer & Saks, 2007; Smith, Patry, & Stinson, 2007; Stinson, Patry, & Smith, 2007; Tyler, 2006). One specific type of *CSI* effect suggested by Cole and Dioso-Villa – the *police chief's effect* – states that crime dramas such as *CSI* are in fact educational for criminals. Specifically, it is thought that these crime dramas provide offenders with new strategies to learn how to avoid police detection, as well as to increase the level of sophistication in the commission of their crime. According to this hypothesis, we should observe an increase in the use of forensic awareness strategies with the appearance of all these crime dramas. To examine this hypothesis, we have calculated the mean use of forensic awareness strategies for five-year periods from prior to 1960 to 2010 in cases of sexual homicide in Canada. Figure 8.1 demonstrates that prior to the 1960s, these strategies were totally absent from the offenders' repertoire (or were not detected by investigators). The use of detection avoidance strategies began to increase significantly

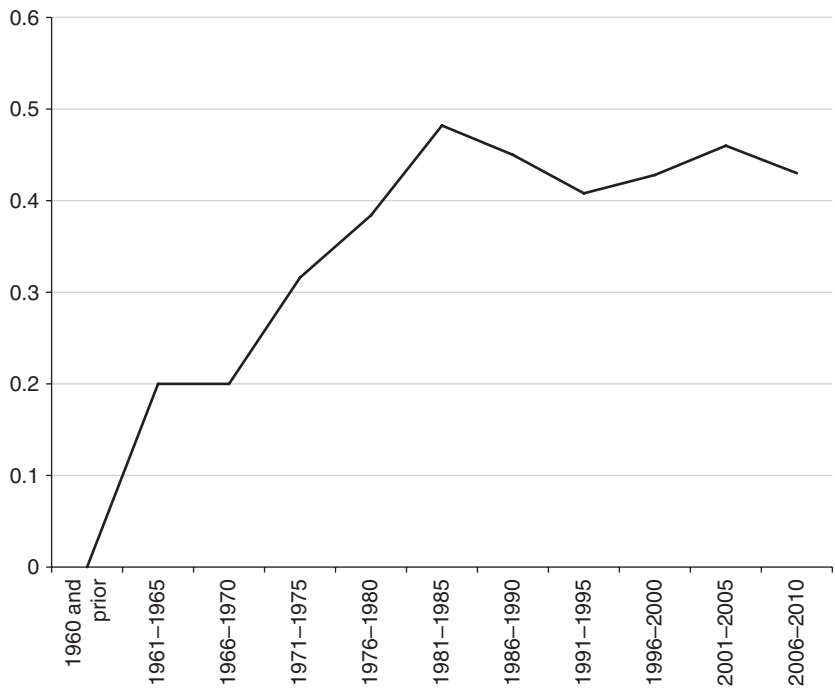

Figure 8.1 Mean use of forensic awareness strategies.

during the 1970s to reach a peak in the mid-1980s. Since then, the mean use of these strategies has remained relatively stable. Based on the current data, it is not possible to correlate an increase in the level of forensic awareness of sexual homicide offenders to the proliferation of televised crime dramas. As previously mentioned, most of these TV shows appeared after the year 2000. Another hypothesis that has been proposed to explain the increased use of forensic awareness strategies is that offenders who have been in contact with the criminal justice system develop forensic awareness through their experience in the system (see Davies et al., 1997). Thus, as offenders are convicted on the basis of forensic evidence (e.g., DNA, hair analysis), they may pass this information on to fellow inmates as a form of expert/specialist knowledge (Coupe & Blake, 2006). It is not possible to empirically test these two hypotheses based on our data. It is nonetheless interesting to see that there has been an increase in the use of forensic awareness strategies over the years, but that this trend has not experienced continuous increases as forensic crime scene analysis has gained popularly in mainstream media.

Of great interest is whether the use of forensic awareness strategies leads to the offender actually evading police detection. Perhaps the most obvious problem related to the study of detection avoidance strategies is that most of the research has been conducted on samples of convicted offenders, meaning that these offenders have been detected and apprehended by the police. To address this limitation, we analyzed our sample of sexual homicide cases in a recent study (see Balemba et al., 2014) by conducting separate analyses for the full sample (i.e., the 350 cases of sexual homicide) and for the unsolved cases only (i.e., 100 cases within the 350 that were still unsolved at the time that the information was entered into the national database). We examined various crime scene factors that are directly observable in order to identify latent classes of sexual homicide types (i.e., case status, vaginal intercourse, offender took items, anal intercourse, semen located, mutilation of the victim, inanimate object inserted, victim's body moved, beating, restraints, blindfolds or gags, and strangulation). We argued that a thematic approach is most compatible with this research due to the interrelatedness of many crime scene factors.

The first latent class analysis was performed on the full sample of sexual homicide cases and it produced a three-cluster solution. The first cluster within the sample is the *sloppy/reckless* offender. The most distinctive features of the homicides committed by this type of offender are that they are the most likely to be solved by law enforcement and the crime scenes are most likely to contain semen evidence. Relatedly, these sexual homicides are also most likely to involve vaginal intercourse. Furthermore, the majority of offenders who commit such crimes do not take items from the victim or scene, they are the least likely to inflict mutilation, and they do not beat nor strangle their victim. Overall, the *sloppy/reckless* sexual homicides appear to be those most easily solved by investigators due to the behavioral choices of the offender during crime commission. There appears to be either a lack of sufficient planning or a lack of concern for detection avoidance. The priority within this type of

offense seems to be sex – or, perhaps more precisely, the sexual component of the crime.

The second cluster that emerged from the full sample is the *violent/sadistic* class. Although almost as likely to be solved as those crimes in the *sloppy/reckless* category, this is not what is most distinctive about this group. Overall, these crimes are the most violent and they exhibit the highest frequency of torture tactics. Offenders who commit these types of crimes are the most likely to physically beat their victims and strangle them, and although not the majority, these crimes have the highest likelihood of involving mutilation of the victim. These sexual homicides are somewhat likely to involve vaginal intercourse and are the most likely to include the offender taking an item from the victim. Furthermore, semen is typically not left at the scene for investigators to find. Although offender behavior is not as reckless as in the first cluster, the focus does not appear to be on detection avoidance. Rather, the priority with this type of crime seems to be violence and torture. There seems to be a use of expressive, or simply excessive, amounts of violence within these offenses that is clearly not necessary to commit a sexual homicide. While committing these crimes, it appears that increasing the victim's level of pain, suffering, and injury prior to the culmination of murder is the goal, regardless of the motivation for doing so. Moreover, it is evident that these offenders were stealing personal tokens from their victim, a type of behavior associated with the most violent sexual sadists (Gratzer & Bradford, 1995). However, it may be because of such lapses in judgment as stealing victim trophies that leads these offenders to be apprehended by police. The majority of the behavior exhibited during these crimes is based upon a need to inflict pain, which could cloud the logical mind of these offenders. There exists the potential to leave a great deal more trace and biological evidence on or near the victim when there is more contact between the victim and offender.

The third and final cluster identified within the sample is the *forensically aware* offender group. Half of the crimes within this category remain unsolved, making the perpetrators of these offenses the least likely to be apprehended by law enforcement. Vaginal intercourse almost never transpires and, no doubt due to this particular behavioral pattern, semen is effectively never found at the scene. These crimes involve offenders who typically do not steal items and are the least likely to resort to physically beating, strangling, or mutilating their victims. Thus, these types of crimes involve offender behavior that is more focused on avoiding apprehension (whether intentionally for that purpose or not) and do not involve behaviors that typically supply investigators with DNA or trace evidence. The victim is murdered, but with what is best interpreted as a predominance of instrumental violence, and a corresponding lack of expressive hostility. The offender completes the crime with as little extraneous activity as possible.

Although this three-cluster offense model is informative about sexual homicides in general, there is potentially valuable information to be derived from a closer look at the cases that were not solved by police. The most prevalent

Table 8.3 Latent classes of sexual murderers for solved and unsolved cases

	Latent classes for the full sample – solved and unsolved cases			*Latent classes for the unsolved cases only*	
	Sloppy/ reckless (33.9%)	*Violent/ sadistic (33.2%)*	*Forensically aware (33.0%)*	*Forensically aware (60.7%)*	*Not forensically aware/lucky (39.3%)*
Case status	Solved	Solved	Unsolved	–	–
Vaginal intercourse	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Items taken	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Semen	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Mutilation	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Beating	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Strangulation	No	Yes	No	No	Yes

cluster in the unsolved sample, is the *forensically aware* class. The crimes in this category are most distinguished by the exceptionally low likelihood of vaginal intercourse and even lesser likelihood of semen being present at the scene. The offenders do not take items from the crime scene, do not mutilate their victims, and these sexual homicides do not involve physical beating nor do they involve strangulation of the victim. Thus, these crimes are overwhelmingly behaviorally controlled and do not involve offender behaviors that are likely to leave physical evidence to tie the offender to the crime.

The second cluster within the unsolved only sample is a very different type of crime. This group, the *lucky* class, involves behaviors that, realistically, should result in the offender's apprehension. These offenses are likely to involve vaginal penetration, and semen is likely to be left at the scene. The offenders often take souvenirs and are more likely than the *forensically aware* offender to mutilate their victims. These offenses are also less restrained with respect to violence; the victim is likely to be physically beaten as well as strangled. Overall, these offenses resemble those of either the *sloppy/reckless* or the *violent/sadistic* clusters from the full sample analyses and represent cases that should have been solved by police but, for whatever reason, were not solved early on. The question, then, is why are these particular cases so difficult for police to clear? These crimes are sloppy, unplanned, and unsophisticated, yet the offenders still manage to elude law enforcement, which is bizarre, given the police resources that are dedicated to murders (Klinger, 1997) and, particularly, sexual murders. The soundest explanation is to simply acknowledge that sometimes criminals have luck on their side. As mentioned by Rossmo (2009), "Not all crimes are solvable. In some circumstances, even solvable crimes are not cleared because of incompetence, misfeasance, nonfeasance, resource problems, or simple bad luck" (p. 3). It is possible that, in a case-by-case analysis, there would emerge some factor within each case that was especially detrimental to the investigation, such as the crime location presenting unforeseen difficulties, witnesses becoming uncooperative or lacking useful information, or

key biological evidence being too degraded for DNA extraction. It is also possible that these offenders are more likely to be unknown to the criminal justice system and therefore, DNA profiles at the scene cannot be compared to known samples. In such cases, perhaps the best one can hope is that the same offender will not be lucky twice.

These findings suggest that through examination of observable factors regarding the state of the victim and the incident location, police and forensic analysts could determine the type of offense, whether *sloppy/reckless*, *violent/sadistic*, or *forensically aware*. Once this information is known, more can be extrapolated about the case, as well as potentially what other evidence may be found at the crime scene. Although crime scene investigators will analyze any crime scene with the same focus and energy, the typology identified can be used to predict *what* type of evidence, if any, could be expected to be found at the crime scene, thus increasing efficiency and allowing prioritization of evidence collection and analysis. Despite its usefulness, this study does not speak to the efficacy of using forensic awareness strategies to avoid police detection. Therefore, we conducted an additional study to address this gap in the literature.

In this analysis, we attempt to examine whether the use of forensic awareness strategies increases the chance of avoiding police detection in cases of sexual homicide. According to Bouchard, Beauregard, and Kalacska (2013, p. 33),

> examining the outcome of criminal decision-making under a rational choice model is important because what makes a decision "rational" is also tied to results. Offenders may show much deliberation and thinking but still come up short – at least shorter than if they had made a "better decision". In other words, a rational choice approach should recognize that while most to all offenders show thinking and deliberation prior to offending, not all of them are as successful in their endeavors.

In our study, we examine the issue of avoiding police detection in sexual homicide from two different perspectives. In line with prior studies, the first dependent variable that we consider is the status of the case (0=*unsolved*; 1=*solved*) at the time that the case was entered into the database, which is approximately 45 days into the investigation. Remember that our sample includes 250 cases that are solved and 100 cases that are unsolved. Moreover, this study looks at a complementary measure that has not been considered before in the research on avoiding detection; that is, the number of days before body recovery (i.e., by subtracting the date the victim was last seen alive from the date the body was recovered). It took an average of 71 days to recover a body in cases of sexual homicide (SD=384.2; range=6.49). As to the forensic awareness strategies, the variables are divided into two groupings. The first group of variables constitutes the *specific precautions taken by the offender to avoid detection*. Those are specific forensic awareness strategies that can be identified in cases of sexual homicide. The second grouping of variables includes *modus operandi behavior indicative of forensic awareness*. Two variables look

specifically at evidence left at the crime scene: semen was found at the scene (27.7%) and availability of other biological evidence (24%), both presenting the possibility for DNA analysis. Three additional variables look specifically at actions performed upon the body: the offender moved the victim's body from the offense scene to a body disposal site (34%), the body was concealed (36%), and the body was dismembered (6.3%). Finally, to examine the level of risk taken by the sexual murderers while committing their crimes, risk scales are created (ranging from 0 to 2) for the contact, the offense, and the body recovery scenes (for more details, see Beauregard & Martineau, 2013). Although the risk taken by sexual murderers is on average close to 1 at the contact scene (SD = 0.9), the risk drops to 0.5, on average, at the offense and body recovery scenes.

Table 8.4 reports the findings of the logistic regression analysis on the case status (i.e., solved vs. unsolved) and of the negative binomial regression analysis on the number of days until body recovery. First, a look at the case status shows that when offenders leave no semen at the crime scene and their risk of detection is low, they are more likely to avoid police detection. However, the findings also indicate that taking any precautions to avoid detection is negatively related to the chance of avoiding detection and that leaving biological evidence (i.e., blood, hair, etc.) at the crime scene is related to the case remaining unsolved. This is in the opposite direction of the working hypothesis. Two possible explanations may be offered to make sense of these contradictory findings. First, these counterintuitive findings may be due to the nature of police data. Without access to the statements of victims, witnesses, or even the offender himself, information regarding the use of the forensic awareness strategies examined in this study may be limited, and as such, they may not reflect the true prevalence of the use of these strategies. Some forensic awareness strategies may be quite difficult to identify based upon careful study of the crime scene; therefore, police may be more aware of the use of forensic awareness strategies in solved cases. A second possibility is that the forensic awareness strategies that have been observed by police are not the most effective. It is possible that offenders who successfully avoid detection use alternative strategies not yet identified by law enforcement

Table 8.4 Summary findings of logistic regression analysis on the case outcome (solved vs. unsolved) and of negative binomial regression analysis on the number of days until body recovery

	Solved vs. unsolved	*Number of days until body recovery*
Any specific precaution taken	Negative	NS
Any semen located	Negative	Negative
Other biological evidence left to analyze	Positive	NS
Body moved	NS	NS
Body concealed	NS	Positive
Body dismembered	NS	NS
Scale of risk of detection – all scenes (0–6)	Negative	Negative

through interviews with offenders or through the study of crime scene evidence. The adoption of these more effective strategies and modus operandi (Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc, & Allaire, 2007) may be enabling offenders to continue evading police detection.

In the investigation of the number of days until body recovery, we notice that in cases where offenders leave semen at the crime scene or commit their crime when the risk of detection is high, the police are likely to recover the victim's body sooner. However, offenders who conceal the body after the murder are likely to delay the discovery of the victim's body. These latter findings indicate that the use of precautions to avoid detection is related to case status, but not to the number of days until body recovery. The specific precautions taken by the offender to avoid detection investigated in the current study (e.g., destroying/removing evidence, protecting identity, acting upon victim/environment) have no direct impact on finding the body (unless an offender uses arson to destroy evidence that could be found on the body). Our findings show instead that in order to delay body recovery in cases of sexual homicide, the best strategy is to conceal the body after the murder – a modus operandi behavior indicative of forensic awareness (Beauregard & Field, 2008). Sexual murderers who choose to conceal the victim's body post-murder are likely to see the number of days until body recovery increase. This does not necessarily mean that the police will never apprehend the offender. However, delaying body recovery increases the chance of forensic evidence being lost and decreases the likelihood of the offender being connected to the crime. For this reason, we purport that the *number of days until body recovery* is a more appropriate measure of detection avoidance than case status. The number of days until body recovery is not biased by administrative rules or timing of data entry (e.g., information about the case should be entered after a specific number of days into the investigation). Moreover, while the two measures are significantly correlated, they yield very different findings.

To continue investigating which behaviors are associated with a greater likelihood of avoiding detection in sexual homicide, another analysis is conducted but this time we focus on organized behaviors. This analysis tests whether organized behaviors among sexual murderers are related to their ability to delay (i.e., number of days until body recovery) and/or avoid (i.e., solved/unsolved case status) police detection, as suggested by the FBI model (Ressler et al., 1988). As can be seen in Table 8.5, although some behaviors seem to have the effect of delaying and avoiding police detection, the majority of organized behaviors do not. This suggests one of two things: that the adoption of certain organized behaviors by sexual murderers may not be motivated by a conscious intention to avoid police detection, or that offenders erroneously believe that certain behaviors will aid them in avoiding detection, when in fact, they will not.

The findings show that some organized behaviors have a similar effect on both delaying and avoiding detection. As such, when the offender has anal intercourse with the victim and uses a weapon, these behaviors are negatively related to the ability of the offender to delay and avoid detection. Similarly, when sexual

Table 8.5 Comparisons between the effects of organized behaviors on the two measures of delaying and avoiding detection

Organized behaviors	*Delaying detection*	*Avoiding detection*
Offender targeted the victim	Negative	NS
Offender used a con approach	NS	Negative
Offender used restraints	Negative	NS
Offender beat the victim	NS	NS
Offender had vaginal intercourse with victim	Positive	Negative
Offender had anal intercourse with victim	Negative	Negative
Offender used a weapon	Negative	Negative
Evidence of overkill	Positive	Negative
Offender took items from victim	NS	NS
Offender moved the victim's body	Negative	Positive
Offender concealed the victim's body	Positive	NS
Offender selected less risky locations – all scenes (1–6)	Positive	Positive

murderers select a less risky location to commit their crime, they are more likely to both delay and avoid detection. However, such a pattern is not found for most organized behaviors. Interestingly, as can be seen in Table 8.5, some organized behaviors adopted by sexual murderers have a positive effect on delaying detection but have a negative effect on avoiding detection and vice versa, although both measures of delaying and avoiding detection are positively correlated. Offenders who move the victim's body are more likely to avoid detection, but the victim's body is likely to be recovered faster. A similar pattern is observed with the presence of overkill and vaginal intercourse with the victim. Sexual murderers who show evidence of overkill are less likely to avoid detection, while at the same time, the adoption of this particular behavior is related to a greater number of days to recover the victim's body. Moreover, sexual murderers who have vaginal intercourse with the victim are less likely to avoid detection, while at the same time, this behavior is related to delaying detection.

In light of the literature on the organized sexual murderer, these findings are very informative. These findings seem to suggest that some organized behaviors constitute a "trade-off" for the offender. In other words, the adoption of a particular behavior by the sexual murderer may help him to delay detection but ultimately will not help him to avoid detection by police. Fortunately for the sexual murderers, only three organized behaviors had reverse effects on both measures.

Although from a rational choice perspective delaying and/or avoiding detection is crucial to the crime-commission process, the behaviors of sexual murderers are likely motivated by other factors as well. Organized behaviors, whether related or not to delaying and/or avoiding police detection, may contribute to an offender's deviant fantasies (e.g., Keeney & Heide, 1994; Myers, 2004; Ressler, Burgess, Douglas et al., 1986; Warren, Hazelwood, & Dietz, 1996). As such, some organized behaviors may represent behavioral manifestations associated with the actualization of the offenders' deviant sexual fantasies, which could

influence (arguably to a greater extent than the desire to avoid detection in some cases) an offender's decision-making process during the crime (e.g., Beauregard, Lussier, & Proulx, 2005; Chan & Frei, 2013; Chan & Heide, 2008; Chan, Myers, & Heide, 2010; Chan, Frei, & Myers, 2013; Meloy, 2000; Myers & Chan, 2012).

Overall, our findings are somewhat surprising. Of a total of 12 organized behaviors, only four are positively associated with the ability to delay detection, and only two are positively associated with an ability to avoid detection. This means that the great majority of organized behaviors identified by the FBI are actually associated with a failure to delay or avoid detection. Using a con approach, having vaginal and anal intercourse with the victim, using a weapon, and leaving evidence of overkill are all associated with the inability to avoid police detection. Although this might seem surprising based on the organized/disorganized model, these findings are congruent with the deterrent effect of forensic evidence (Beauregard & Bouchard, 2010). Thus, all of these behaviors have the potential to leave more evidence at the crime scene and therefore increase police detection. If the offender has vaginal and/or anal intercourse with the victim and exhibits overkill during the crime, it is likely that forensic evidence will be left in or on the victim (e.g., semen, fibers, hair). Moreover, the use of a weapon can be traced back to the offender (e.g., fingerprints) and the use of a con approach may have caused witnesses to notice the interactions between the offender and the victim when they were last seen. These behaviors, taken together, seem to suggest that a theme exists within the organized behaviors when it comes to examining detection avoidance. It is possible that the combination of these specific behaviors forms a theme related to the offender's fantasy, similar to what has been suggested by Prentky et al. (1989). This theme is not concerned with delaying or avoiding detection, but the behaviors are instead manifestations of fantasies in sexual murderers.

Implications

Although the media and certain advocate groups are sometimes quick to blame the police for not solving some crimes, the research suggests that police action is rarely to blame. Instead, empirical evidence shows that many homicides remain unsolved mainly due to their characteristics, meaning that it is the actions taken by the offenders who commit the crime that make it difficult to solve. For instance, some offenders will specifically target certain victims because they know only too well that cases involving these types of victims are harder to investigate as some of them may not have family waiting for them, or even friends who know about their whereabouts. Even if the police are fully committed to thoroughly investigating all of the crimes – especially all homicides – they sometimes lack critical leads or tips that will help them advance their investigation.

Nonetheless, we have shown in this chapter that looking at homicide clearance rates constitutes a productive avenue for better understanding why some offenders go undetected by the police. The factors that have been associated with

unsolved homicide may actually help to improve how we investigate this type of crime. In light of these findings, it may be that some police practices should be reviewed and modified. But to do this, it is important to pay careful attention to all unsolved homicides and to describe these homicides in order to understand why they were not solved by the police.

Despite the considerable advancements made in the field of forensic science, overall it does not appear that offenders have stayed abreast of these advancements and altered their behavior accordingly. Although offenders appear to be more aware of forensic evidence and the consequences this can have for them, they are still negligent when leaving a crime scene. Our findings show that approximately 50% of offenders proactively engaged in strategies to prevent their identification, but only a minority did something specific to get rid of forensic evidence such as DNA (e.g., semen, hair). For example, the serial sex offenders from the study by Beauregard and Bouchard (2010) who made sure to protect their identity (e.g., wearing a mask), failed to clean up semen after the sexual assault, thereby leaving their DNA profile at the crime scene. In cases of sexual homicide, offenders do not need to worry about protecting their identity from the victim who once deceased poses no threat to the offender. However, they are fully aware that the crime scene may contain elements that could potentially identify them, such as DNA. Despite this knowledge, most sexual murderers do not take proper precaution by cleaning up any potential sources of DNA. This is good news for law enforcement, as it seems that if more resources are devoted to forensic sciences and the analysis of forensic evidence, police may be able to apprehend these offenders faster. Despite the publicity given to forensic sciences – the *CSI* effect – offenders, especially sexual murderers, continue to leave important evidence behind that could be easily identified by forensic technicians at the crime scene. What seems to be important at this point is to continue to educate the police as to the importance of forensic evidence – even when no suspect is identified – and to provide them with the appropriate resources to have this evidence analyzed. As sexual murderers continue to make mistakes when committing their crimes, we need to take action and use the technology at our disposal to make sure that we catch them. Unfortunately, not all offenders will behave as in the case study of David and provide police with a trail of evidence leading straight back to him.

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9 Can body disposal pathways help the investigation of sexual homicide?

Ashley Hewitt, Eric Beauregard, and Melissa Martineau

Case study

Ted was the youngest in a family of five children. During the interview, he indicated that he had a good family life, with reasonably good parents. However, he described his parents as very affectionate but also overprotective. His father was in the military and was strict when it came to the children's education. At 12 years old, Ted lost his father. Ted indicated that his father died of asphyxiation but his description of the event suggested suicide. The offender explained that he preferred to believe what his mother told him regarding the death. With respect to his mother, Ted described her as very controlling. He was living with her up until the point of his arrest for murder. While living with his mother, she would dictate who Ted could see. She forbade him to bring friends into the home. She would also monitor the mileage on his car to ensure that Ted was returning home immediately after work. Ted, who is a smoker, would sneak cigarettes in order to avoid a conflict with his mother.

Ted did not have many significant interpersonal relationships. Developing and maintaining such relationships was hard for him due to his mother's constant interference. In addition, he lacked self-esteem and he did not think that women would be interested in him. Needless to say, Ted had minimal sexual experience. Ted indicated that he did not feel that he was really missing out; that it was not very important to him. He was not a drug user and consumed alcohol only occasionally, sometimes after work. Employment was the only area of his life where he could get some satisfaction. He was dedicated to work, performing mainly manual labor. Ted explained that for him, work was a means of escaping his mother's otherwise constant scrutiny.

The day of the murder, Ted finished working early and decided have a drink at a bar. He played video poker for a while and drank three or four beers, which was corroborated by the other customers present at the bar. The offender was talking to the waitress, whom he found attractive, but the conversation mainly centered on the ordering of drinks. The waitress was permitted to close the establishment once the majority of customers had left. Just before 1 a.m. she asked the three remaining customers to finish their drinks and leave. Two of the customers left while Ted hung back to use the bathroom. When he returned, the waitress

was waiting to let him out, unlocking the door to let him leave. However, just before leaving the bar, Ted explained that he felt an urge to attack the victim, that he wanted to have sex with her. He started to choke her from behind. He felt the victim cease breathing and he started to undress her. However, when he started to remove her panties, he noticed that the victim was menstruating. He immediately discontinued the assault. Instead, the offender decided to take all the money from the cash register and stage a robbery gone wrong. He took the keys from the victim, locked the bar, and left, leaving the victim unconscious where she fell. The next day, the police came to arrest Ted at his home. The victim died at the hospital the next day.

To illustrate a different approach to dealing with the victim's body, consider the case of John. John killed a young boy that he knew, after attempting to sexually molest him. John was involved in the hockey league in his community. He did not have children but he liked to spend time with them. The day of the murder, John called the victim, a 10-year-old boy who was playing on his team. He told the boy that he had been recruited to participate in a tournament and that he needed to see him right away. The victim rode his bike to the offender's residence. The offender let him inside and took him to his bedroom to discuss the tournament. The tournament was only a ruse to have the young boy come over so John could be alone with the victim. After a few minutes, John decided to touch the victim sexually. The little boy reacted violently and started to scream. John had not expected this reaction. John panicked and started to strangle the victim until he lost consciousness. John told us during the interview that he was not sure whether the victim was still alive. The one thing he was sure of was that he needed to get rid of the body as quickly as possible.

John rolled the victim's body in a big bed sheet. He put the body in the trunk of his truck along with the boy's bike. He drove to a wooded area that he was familiar with and decided to bury the body of the young boy. Afterward, he drove farther away and dropped the bike in a ditch. He came back home but it did not take long before the police came to his place to question him about the little boy's disappearance. After long hours of interrogation, John confessed and told the police where the body was located.

Introduction

Although most sexual murderer typologies highlight differences in the offenders' behavioral patterns and psychological characteristics, very few prove to be useful for the apprehension of an active, unknown offender. These types of investigations pose many different challenges for law enforcement officials ranging from pressure from the public, media, and law enforcement management to apprehend the unknown offender, to the frustration felt by the investigators themselves who cannot identify the suspect (Morton, Tillman, & Gaines, 2014). One aspect of the crime-commission process of sexual homicide that has value for investigations where there is no identifiable link between the victim and the offender is the manner of body disposal. Body disposal sites are usually the first

known locations to which law enforcement personnel will be exposed during their investigation. The disposal method and site chosen can reveal information about the nature of the crime, the criminal experience of the offender, and his relationship with the victim (Morton et al.). For instance, it has been demonstrated that sexual murderers who present organized psychological characteristics are more likely to move the victim's body after the homicide, whereas the body is more likely to be left at the crime scene when the victim is older and a conflict with the offender occurred prior to the crime (Beauregard & Field, 2008). Although efforts have been made to profile offender characteristics based on the manner in which they dispose of their victims' bodies, few studies have investigated the effect that different contextual factors have on the way in which offenders choose to leave their victims after the murder. For instance, what factors influence whether victims are transported from the murder scene to another site and their bodies concealed, while others are left exposed? Conversely, might it be possible for investigators to reconstruct what may have occurred during the crime based upon how the victim's body was left? The answers to such questions would undoubtedly have pragmatic implications for the active investigation of these violent crimes.

Body disposal patterns

Much of the extant research on body disposal patterns focuses on linking specific offender characteristics to the actions taken by the offender during the crime to dispose of the victim's body. Implicit within this approach is the assumption that offenders will commit their crimes in ways that reflect their background characteristics, in what is known as the *homology assumption* (see Alison, Bennell, Mokros, & Ormerod, 2002). For instance, several studies have highlighted that offenders who transport or hide the victim's body usually leave a crime scene reflective of expressive behaviors, which is indicative of an impulsive and personal aggression (e.g., Salfati, 2000, 2003; Salfati & Bateman, 2005; Salfati & Haratsis, 2001; Santtila, Canter, Elfgren, & Häkkänen, 2001). Conversely, those who cover the victim's body or leave it as is exhibit an instrumental crime scene, which suggests that there has been some degree of planning prior to the commission of the crime. Similarly, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) *organized/disorganized* dichotomy (see Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman, & D'Agostino, 1986) classifies offenders based on criteria that can be drawn from the crime scene, the victim, and forensic reports (Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004). According to this typology, *organized* sexual murderers are more likely to use a vehicle, transport their victims throughout the commission of the crime, utilize multiple crime scenes that are farther away from their homes, and conceal the victim's body. Conversely, *disorganized* sexual murderers are less likely to plan their crimes or use a vehicle to transport the victim, but they are more apt to leave and position the victim's body at the crime scene (Ressler et al.). In their extension of the *power-assertive*, *power-reassurance*, *anger-retaliatory*, and *anger-excitation* typologies (see Groth,

Burgess, & Holmstrom, 1977; Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987), Keppel and Walter (1999) found that *power-assertive* and *anger-excitation* rape-murderers differed in terms of their body disposal patterns. Those characterized by the *power-assertive* type (i.e., those who are heavy drug and alcohol users, have antisocial personalities, and who are sensitive to their masculinity characteristics) tend to leave the victim's body as it falls, but only if the crime takes place in the victim's home. If the attack takes place somewhere other than the victim's residence, however, the killing and disposal sites vary and the body is usually dumped (Keppel & Walter). The *anger-excitation* rape-murderer (who has characteristics similar to *sadistic* and *organized* offenders), however, transports the victim's body to a second location in order to conceal it (Keppel & Walter). Similar body disposal patterns have been found in other studies that have classified homicide offenders into distinct groups based on their crime scene behaviors (see Beauregard & Proulx, 2002; Beauregard, Proulx, & St-Yves, 2007; Gerard, Mormont, & Kocsis, 2007; Kocsis, Cooksey, & Irwin, 2002).

A similar line of research has emerged that has examined body disposal patterns in relation to geographic distances (e.g., Lundrigan & Canter, 2001a, 2001b), and some researchers have even attempted to predict offender characteristics based on the amount of distance traveled. Holmes and Holmes (1998) proposed two typologies of murderers based on the geographical elements of their crimes: those who are *geographically stable* and those who are *geographically transient*. *Geographically stable* offenders kill their victims and dispose of their bodies in areas that overlap with where they live and spend the majority of their time. This type of offender premeditates his crimes with the method, location, and dump site carefully chosen before abducting the victim (Holmes & De Burger, 1988). This offender often chooses dump sites that differ from the murder scenes, and the victims are usually left clothed and their remains discovered (Rossmo, 2000). These offenders are often young, socially immature, of average intelligence, and are characterized by psychopathic personality traits and thrill-seeking behaviors (Holmes & De Burger; Robbins, 1991). He usually lives alone and has a criminal career indicative of his antisocial nature. The *geographically transient* offender, however, travels extensively while committing his murders, often transporting the victim's body to hide it (Holmes & De Burger). The victims are usually left unclothed and their remains are not likely to be discovered (Rossmo). This type of offender is generally older, of above-average intelligence, and socially competent, with no criminal career or one with a history of sexually related offenses. Furthermore, they tend to be less organized and have shorter attention spans (Robbins), which often results in a lower level of education, marital breakdowns, and unstable employment. These typologies are helpful for narrowing down a specific type of individual once a suspect pool has already been developed. However, they may not be as beneficial in cases where a suspect pool does not yet exist. In such cases, investigators have only the evidence found at the body disposal site to initiate their investigation. A more comprehensive analysis of the crime is required to generate other investigative avenues, and possibly lead to the identification of potential suspects.

Body disposal patterns and investigative considerations

Practitioners have argued that typological research on homicide offenders has limited pragmatic value for law enforcement investigating murder cases (Morton et al., 2014). This is largely due to classifying offenders into predetermined categories, requiring investigators to both recognize and analyze subtle crime scene actions and behaviors. These behaviors may not be immediately apparent at the body disposal site, or even identifiable given that the victim is deceased (Morton et al.). Even when characteristics are identifiable at the crime scene, overlap exists between the features characterizing many of the typologies making it difficult for investigators to exclusively place an offender within a single typology (Morton et al.). Further complicating the utility of these criminal profiling typologies in active investigations is the fact that they have been the subject of severe criticism (Ainsworth, 2001). For example, it has been argued that the construction of many of the typologies has been based on the researchers' clinical experience or intuition, which often lacks scientific rigor, and thus the reliability and validity of these classifications has been questioned (Wilson & Alison, 2011). Furthermore, some of the typologies are based on very small samples of offenders, and the processes through which the researchers both gathered and analyzed the data have not been made transparent (see Canter, 1995; Canter et al., 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004; Turco, 1990). In light of these shortfalls, Morton and colleagues recognized the need to conduct a study that would provide law enforcement personnel with information about serial murder to aid their investigative efforts, but that would also take into consideration the information available to investigators during an investigation.

In cases of stranger homicide, Morton et al. (2014) note that an analysis of the crime scene is paramount as there is no immediately apparent connection between the victim and offender. Morton et al. argue that the investigation should take into consideration geography, type of victim, means of accessing the victim, use of weapons or manner of death, interactions with the victim, and body disposal location/manner. Morton and colleagues discuss how the manner of body disposal can provide clues as to the nature of the crime, and the relationship between the offender and victim. Body disposal patterns may also allude to the criminal experience of the offender. In their study of 480 cases of serial murder, Morton et al. identified four body disposal scenarios:

1 *transported-concealed*,
2 *transported-dumped*,
3 *left at crime scene-concealed*, and
4 *left as is*.

Cases characterized by the first scenario involve an offender who physically moves the victim from the murder site to a separate disposal site. The offender conceals the body or hides it from view to delay discovery of the victim's body, to destroy physical evidence, or to allow sufficient time to pass between the offender and victim's last observable contact. The second scenario involves cases where the

offender physically moves the victim from the murder site to a separate disposal site where he dumps the body, either alongside a road, or in another public area, with no attempt to conceal the victim. The offender committing the murder and disposing of the victim's body at the same location characterizes the third scenario. In this scenario the offender attempts to conceal the body or hide it from view for the same reasons mentioned above. The last scenario differs from the third only in that the offender does not attempt to hide or conceal the victim's body.

Using these four body disposal scenarios, Morton et al. (2014) described the offense characteristics (i.e., victimology and crime scene variables) that were specific to each pathway. Of particular relevance to the current chapter are those characteristics that were shown to be associated with serial *sexual* murders. In these cases, 52% of the victims were Caucasian and the majority were age 45 years or younger, with almost half being between the ages of 14 and 29. In half of the homicide cases, the relationship between the victim and the offender was customer/client (55.6%), followed by stranger or targeted stranger (30.4%), and then finally acquaintance (10.3%). The offenders most often gained access to their victims through known vice areas (43.2%) where they then employed a ruse/con approach the majority of the time (77.8%). Outdoor public areas (23.4%) and the offenders' residences (21.6%) were the most prevalent sexual assault locations, and in 63.2% of the cases, offenders drove their victims to the murder site. The most common murder sites included outdoor public areas (27.7%) and the offenders' residences (21.3%), while the most prevalent body disposal site was an outdoor public area (72.6%). Strangulation (51.6%) was the most common cause of death with evidence of sexual contact (49.5%) and the offender's use of bindings in 31.3% of these cases. Interestingly, the most common body disposal scenario involved the victim being *left as is* at the murder site (33.4%), followed by *transported-dumped* (31.9%), *transported-concealed* (24.6%), and *left at crime scene-concealed* (8.2%). Morton and colleagues also note that transportation of the victim was higher in sexually motivated murders than in any of the other types examined. Although these descriptive characteristics may be fruitful for investigators to piece together the context of the event once a body has been discovered, the validity and reliability of these findings needs to be tested within a more scientifically rigorous framework.

Using the work of Morton and colleagues (2014) as the springboard, the aim of the current chapter is twofold. Using data about the offender's decision to transport (or not) the victim from the murder scene, and subsequently conceal (or not) her body, we first hope to reproduce the four body disposal scenarios identified by Morton et al.: *transported-concealed*, *transported-dumped*, *left at crime scene-concealed*, and *left as is*. Second, taking the approach of Morton and colleagues one step further, we investigate a series of factors that represent the most important aspects of a sexual homicide investigation (i.e., geography, type of victim, means of accessing the victim, use of weapons or the victim's manner of death, and the offender's interactions with the victim). This approach may provide investigators with some insight into what occurred during the course of the crime, the criminal experience of the offender, and the relationship

between the offender and victim, which would in turn aid in the identification of possible suspects in active sexual homicide investigations.

Findings

Due to the exploratory nature of the present study, and to model the decision-making process suggested by Morton et al. (2014) we used a statistical technique known as chi-squared automatic interaction detection (CHAID). CHAID allows one to sift through a large number of potential independent variables and to identify those relationships and interactions that best describe and predict each of the dependent variables. This technique has been used in police-related studies, such as in the interrogation and spatiotemporal patterns of sexual offenders (see Balemba & Beauregard, 2013; Beauregard & Mieczkowski, 2011).

Exhaustive CHAID models predicting each of the three dependent variables for each element of the investigation (i.e., geography, type of victim, means of accessing the victim, use of weapons or manner of death, and interactions with the victim) are presented first. The first-split variable is the most significant predictor of the dependent variable in each model. Due to the dichotomous nature of the outcome variables, each model is displayed in a similar fashion whereby two pathways flow from each of the levels.

Geography

Transported versus not. The first exhaustive CHAID model predicts whether the offender transports the victim during the crime using geographic elements of the offense. As seen in Figure 9.1, the most important variable to determine transportation of the body is if the contact scene takes place in an entertainment location. If the offender and victim come into contact in an entertainment location, the victim is more likely to be transported (55.6%; $N=25$) during the crime, whereas the victim is not likely to be transported (69.2%; $N=211$) if it takes place in another type of location (e.g., water or business location). Looking specifically at those cases where the contact scene is not in an entertainment location, this intersects with the type of residence where the offense scene takes place such that if the murder takes place at the victim's residence, she is not likely to be transported (85.5%; $N=59$). For those offenses where the murder scene is not in the victim's residence, but in an outdoor location, the victim is also not likely to be transported (73.6%; $N=81$).

Transported only. The second exhaustive CHAID model for the geography aspect of the offense predicts the body disposal pathways for those victims who are transported during the crime only. As seen in Figure 9.2, only one variable – whether or not the offense scene takes place outdoors – is able to predict if the offender transports the victim and then dumps or conceals her body. More specifically, if the offense scene takes place in an outdoor location, the victim is more likely to be transported and her body concealed (70.3%; $N=26$). For those events where the offense scene does not take place in an outdoor location, the

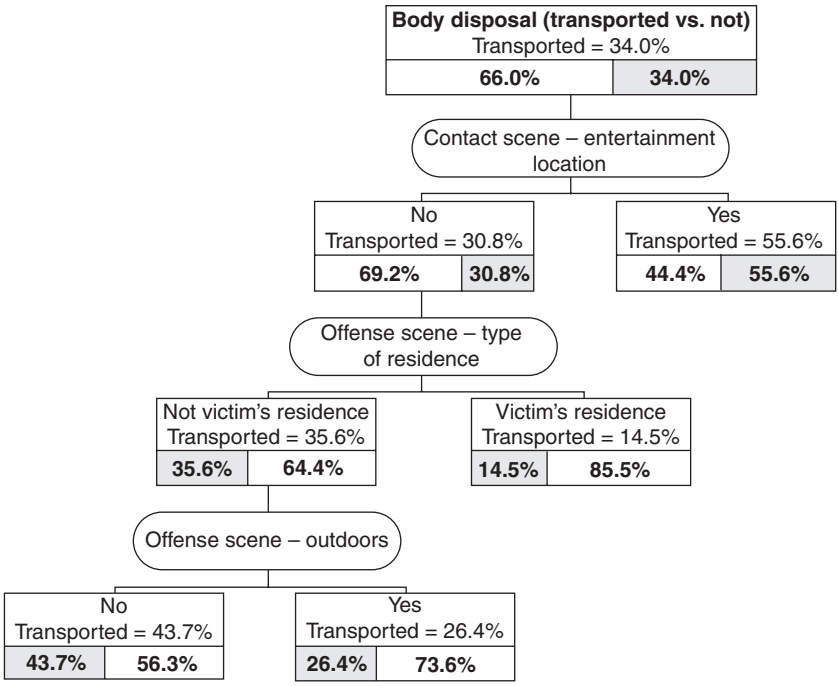

Figure 9.1 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of geography on whether or not the offender transported the victim during the crime.

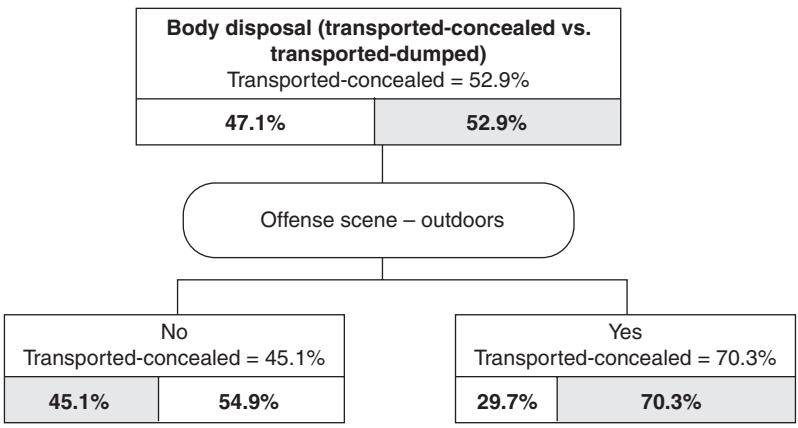

Figure 9.2 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of geography on whether or not the offender transported-concealed or transported-dumped the victim during the crime.

victim is more likely to be transported and then her body dumped by the offender (54.9%; *N*=45).

Not transported only. Figure 9.3 refers to the exhaustive CHAID model that uses geographic information to predict the body disposal pathways of those victims who are not transported during the crime. The first-split variable demonstrates that victims are more likely to be left at the crime scene and their bodies concealed if they encounter their offenders in a transportation-related location (62.1%; *N*=18). However, if the contact scene is not a transportation-related location, the victims' bodies are more likely to be left as is (77.7%; *N*=157). This first-split variable intersects with the type of neighborhood in which the offense takes place so that a victim's body is more likely to be left as is if the murder occurs in a residential neighborhood (88.6%; *N*=62). When both the offense and contact scenes take place in nonresidential areas, the victim's body is more likely to be left as is (76.0%; *N*=79), and this is seen as well for those offenses where the contact scene takes place in a residential area (57.1%; *N*=16).

Type of victim

Transported versus not. In terms of the effect that victim characteristics have on the transportation of the victim during the crime, Figure 9.4 demonstrates that

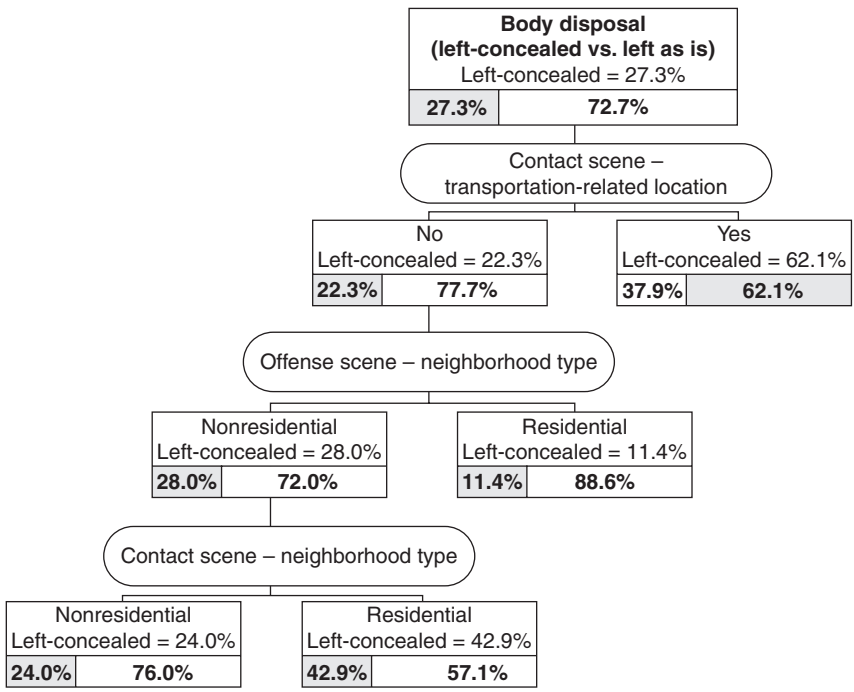

Figure 9.3 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of geography on whether or not the offender left-concealed the victim or left him/her as is during the crime.

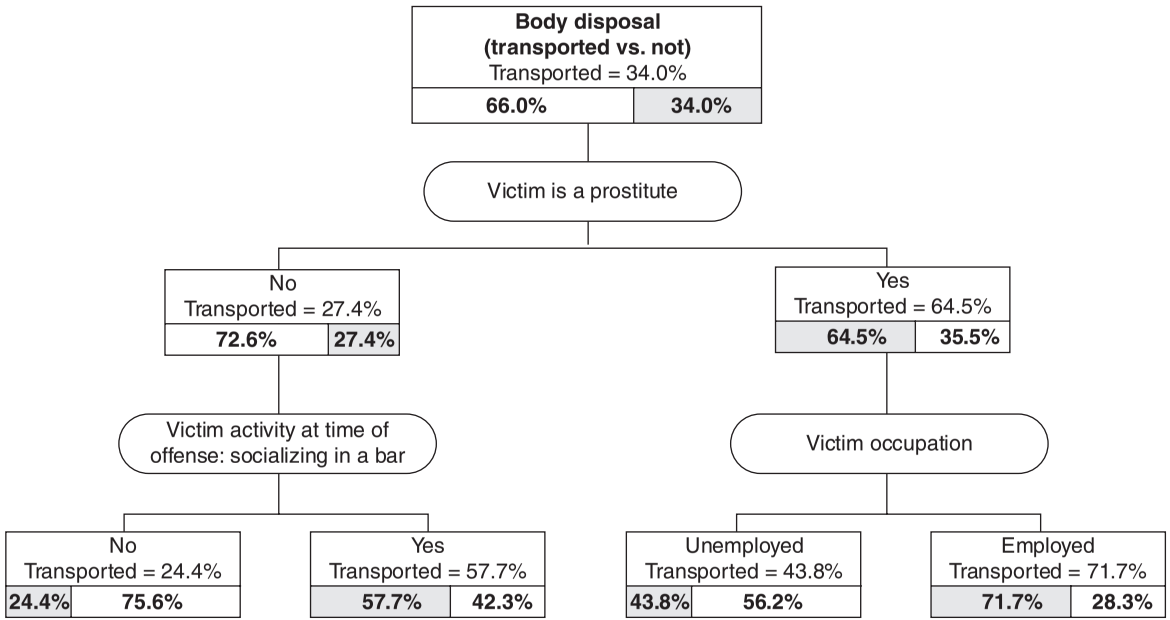

Figure 9.4 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of victim type on whether or not the offender transported the victim during the crime.

the most important discriminating variable is whether the victim is a prostitute. If the victim is a prostitute, she is more likely to be transported during the commission of the crime (64.5%; *N*=40), but if the victim is not a prostitute, she is not likely to be transported (72.6%; *N*=209). For those victims who are prostitutes, if they are employed at the time of the offense, they are more likely to be transported (71.7%; *N*=33), but if they are not employed, they are less likely to be transported (56.2%; *N*=9). Interestingly, if the victim is not a prostitute, this variable interacts with the victim's activity at the time of the offense. If the victim is socializing in a bar at the time of the crime, she is more likely to be transported during the commission of the crime (57.7%; *N*=15).

Transported only. As seen in Figure 9.5, the only differentiation between those victims who are transported and then dumped versus those who are transported and then concealed is whether the victim is targeted by the offender. If the victim is targeted, she is more likely to be transported and then the body concealed by the offender (73.9%; *N*=17). However, if there is no indication that the offender has targeted the victim, there is an almost even split between the victim being transported and her body dumped (52.1%; *N*=50), and being transported and her body then concealed (47.9%; *N*=46).

Not transported only. As shown in Figure 9.6, the victim's age is the first-split variable to differentiate between the body disposal pathways for those victims who are not transported during the crime. Older victims are more likely to be left as is (77.8%; *N*=151) as compared to younger victims whose bodies are more likely to be left at the scene and then concealed (54.1%; *N*=20). For those victims who are older, if they are a street person or homeless at the time, they are more likely to be left at the crime scene and their bodies concealed (56.2%; *N*=9). Lastly, for those older victims who are not street persons or homeless, but who are hitchhiking at the time of the offense, they are more likely to be left as is (56.2%; *N*=9).

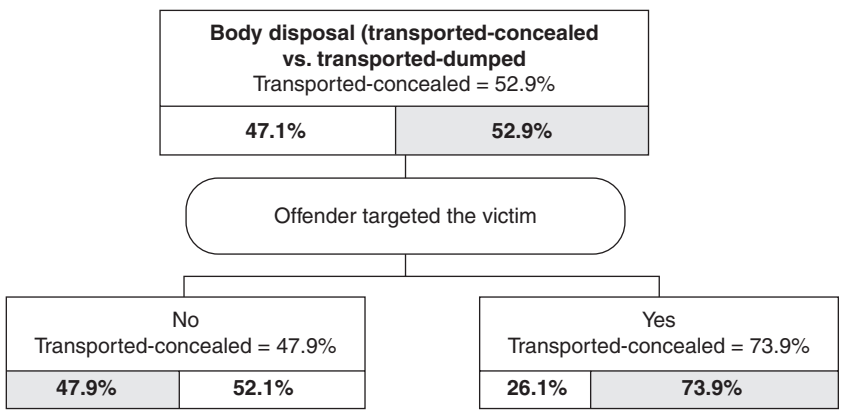

Figure 9.5 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of victim type on whether or not the offender transported-concealed or transported-dumped the victim during the crime.

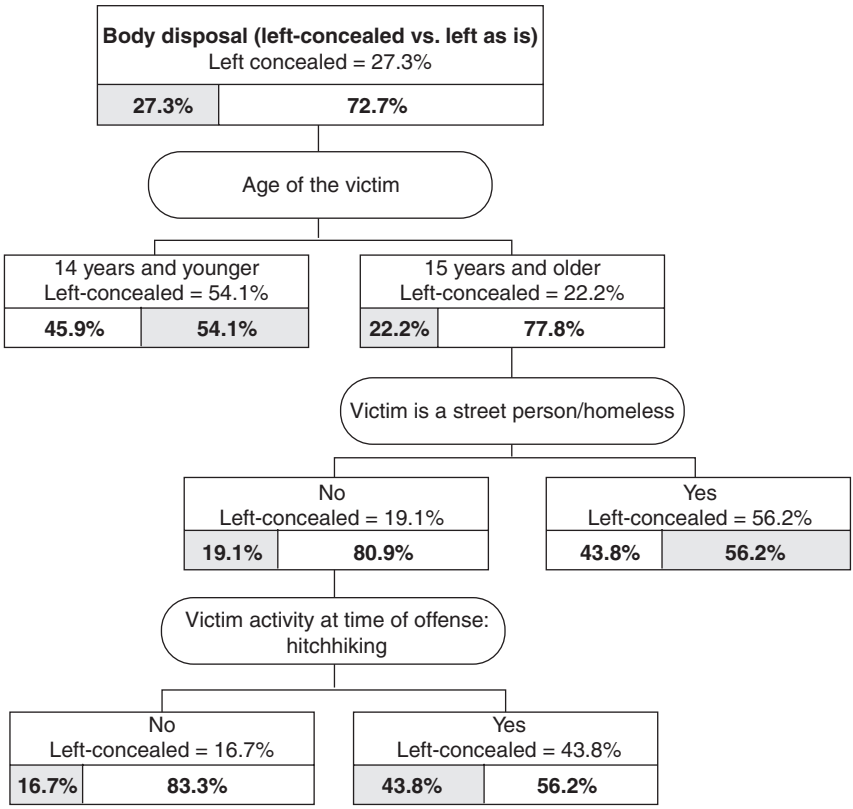

Figure 9.6 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of victim type on whether or not the offender left-concealed the victim or left him/her as is during the crime.

Means of accessing victims

Transported versus not. Figure 9.7 refers to results of the exhaustive CHAID analyses that use offenders' means of accessing victims as the independent variables. As shown by the decision-tree for whether or not the offender decides to transport the victim during the crime, the most significant variable is the offender's use of a blitz approach on the victim. If a blitz approach is used, the victim is not likely to be transported during the crime (81.4%; $N=35$). Similarly, if a blitz approach is not used, but the offender utilizes a surprise approach instead, the victim is not likely to be transported (84.0%; $N=21$).

Transported only. As seen in Figure 9.8, the tree's root node of whether the victim is transported and then dumped or transported and then concealed cannot be differentiated solely by the means that offenders use to access their victims.

Not transported only. Figure 9.9 also demonstrates that when analyzed independently of all other aspects of the offense, none of the variables that measure

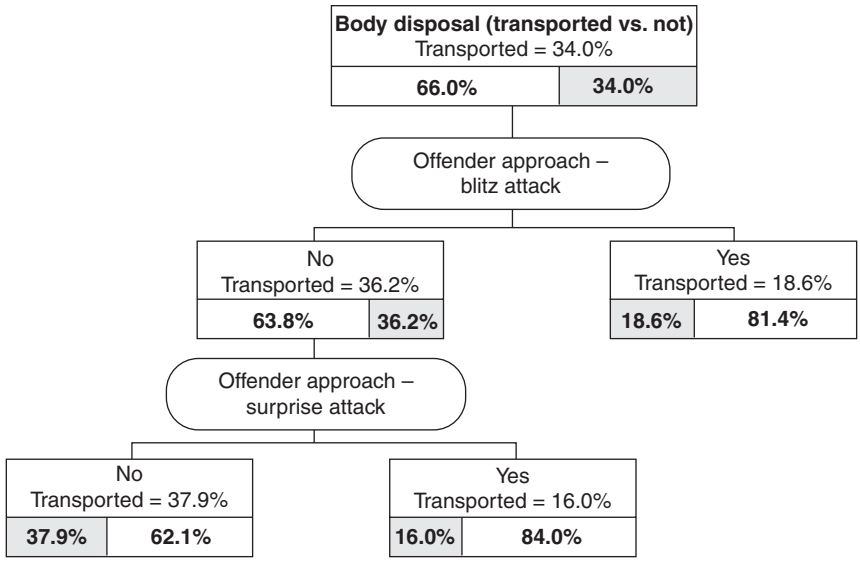

Figure 9.7 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of means of accessing victims on whether or not the offender transported the victim during the crime.

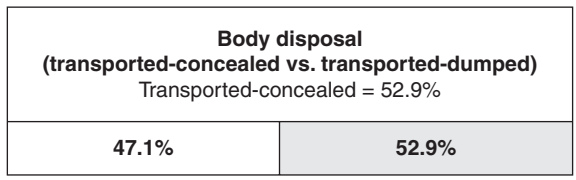

Figure 9.8 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of means of accessing victims on whether the offender transported-concealed or transported-dumped the victim during the crime.

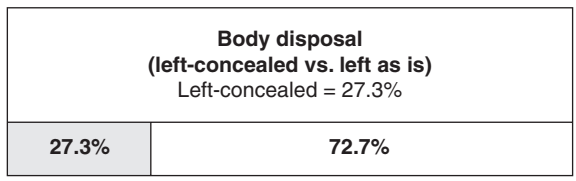

Figure 9.9 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effect of means of accessing victims on whether the offender left and then concealed the victim or left him/her as is during the crime.

the means by which offenders access their victims significantly predict the body disposal pathways of those victims who are not transported during the crime.

Use of weapons/manner of death

Transported versus not. The results of the exhaustive CHAID model that uses the offender's use of weapons and the victim's manner of death as independent variables to predict whether or not the victim is transported can be found in Figure 9.10. The first-split variable refers to the offender stabbing the victim during the commission of the crime. Findings show that for those victims who are not stabbed and there is evidence of overkill, they are less likely to be transported (82.1%; $N=46$).

Transported only. Referring to Figure 9.11, the only significant variable that differentiates between the body disposal pathways of those offenses where the victim is transported is whether the weapon is recovered. If the weapon is recovered, the victim is more likely to be transported and her body concealed (73.3%; $N=22$); however, if the weapon is not recovered, the victim is more likely to be transported and her body dumped (53.9%; $N=48$).

Not transported only. As seen in Figure 9.12, none of the variables used to measure the offender's use of weapons or the victim's manner of death significantly predict the body disposal pathways of those victims who are not transported during the commission of the crime.

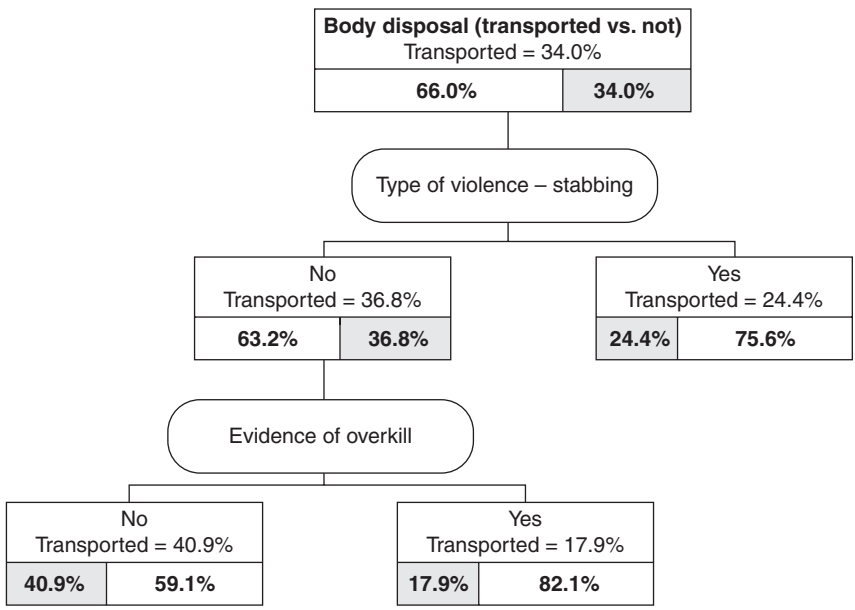

Figure 9.10 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of weapon use and manner of death on whether or not the offender transported the victim during the crime.

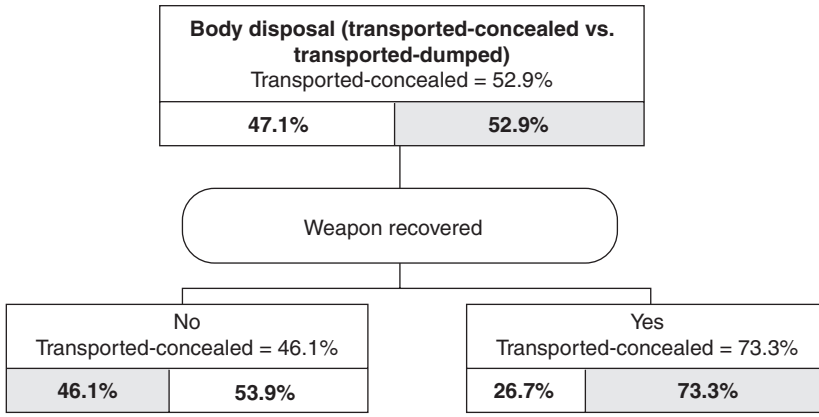

Figure 9.11 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of weapon use and manner of death on whether the offender transported-concealed or transported-dumped the victim during the crime.

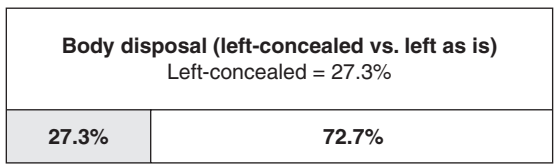

Figure 9.12 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of weapon use and manner of death on whether the offender left and then concealed the victim or left him/her as is during the crime.

Interactions with the victim

Transported versus not. Figure 9.13 displays the results of the exhaustive CHAID analyses where a series of variables measuring interactions with the victim first predict whether the victim is moved during the crime. The only differentiator of this outcome variable is whether the offender mutilates the victim's genitalia. If the victim's genitalia are mutilated, she is more likely to be transported during the crime (57.9%; $N=11$). Conversely, if the victim's genitalia are not mutilated, the victim is less likely to be transported during the crime (67.4%; $N=223$).

Transported only. The exhaustive CHAID decision-tree in Figure 9.14 demonstrates that the presence of forensic awareness on behalf of the offender is the most significant predictor of the type of body disposal pattern for those victims who are transported. Offenders who do not use any forensic awareness strategies throughout the crime-commission process are more likely to transport their victims and dump their bodies (59.6%; $N=34$). Conversely, offenders who

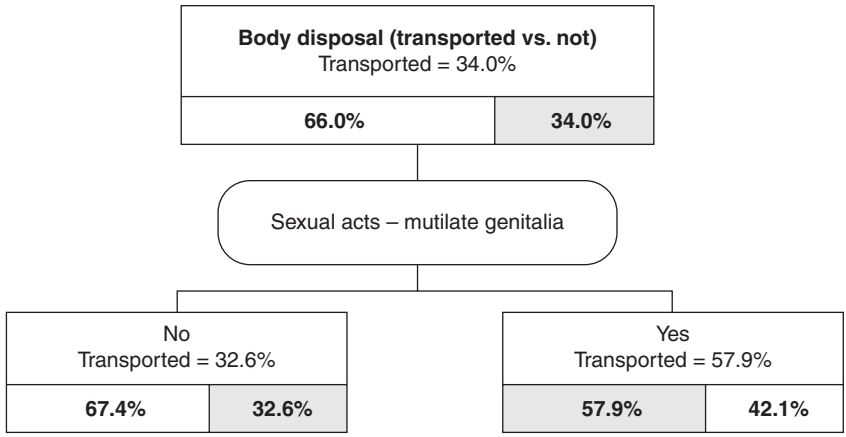

Figure 9.13 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of interactions with the victim on whether or not the offender transported the victim during the crime.

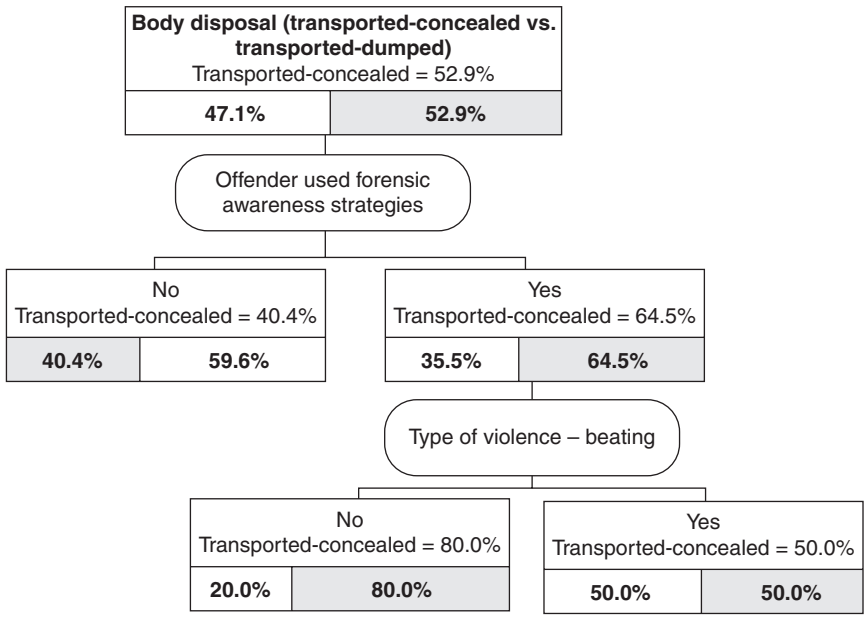

Figure 9.14 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of interactions with the victim on whether or not the offender transported-concealed or transported-dumped the victim during the crime.

do use forensic awareness strategies are more likely to transport their victims and then conceal their bodies (64.5%; $N=40$). Of those offenders who are forensically aware, if they beat the victim, they are equally as likely to transport and then dump her (50.0%; $N=16$) as they are to transport and then conceal the body (50.0%; $N=16$). Forensically aware offenders who do not beat the victim are more likely to transport and then conceal the body (80.0%; $N=24$).

Not transported only. The exhaustive CHAID model presented in Figure 9.15 shows that the only significant differentiator of body disposal patterns where the victim is not moved is whether the victim and offender engage in oral sex. If oral sex occurs during the commission of the crime, the victim's body is more likely to be left as is (52.4%; $N=11$).

Full exhaustive CHAID models

Using all of the independent variables from each of the five elements of the investigation simultaneously, exhaustive CHAID models are produced for each of the three dependent variables analyzed in this study.

Transported versus not. Referring to Figure 9.16, the first-split variable is whether the victim is a prostitute. Victims who are prostitutes are more likely to be transported during the crime (64.5%; $N=40$). Looking specifically at those victims who are prostitutes, if they are also strangulated and/or asphyxiated by the offender, they are more likely to be transported (83.3%; $N=25$). Looking specifically at those victims who are not prostitutes, if they are socializing in a bar at the time of the offense, they are more likely to be transported (57.7%; $N=15$).

Transported only. The exhaustive CHAID model in Figure 9.17 predicts the body disposal patterns of those victims who are transported only. The first-split variable in this model is whether the offender uses forensic awareness strategies during the crime. If the offender does not use forensic awareness strategies during the crime, the victim is more likely to be transported and her body

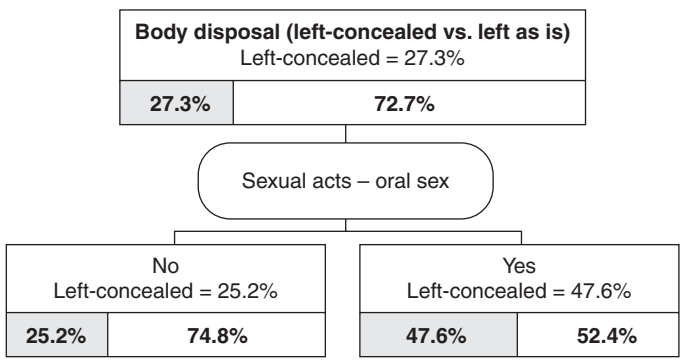

Figure 9.15 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of interactions with the victim on whether or not the offender left and then concealed the victim or left the victim as is during the crime.

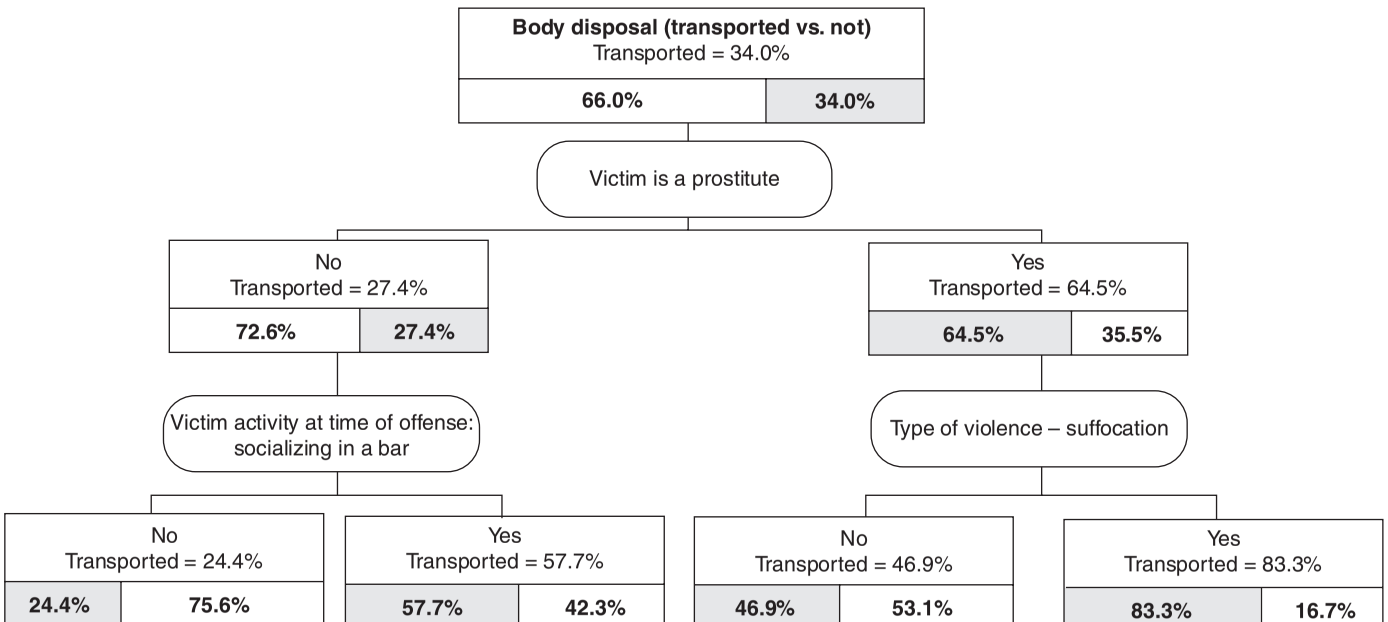

Figure 9.16 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of geography, victim type, the offender's means of accessing his victims, weapon use or manner of death, and interactions with the victim, on whether the victim was transported or not during the crime.

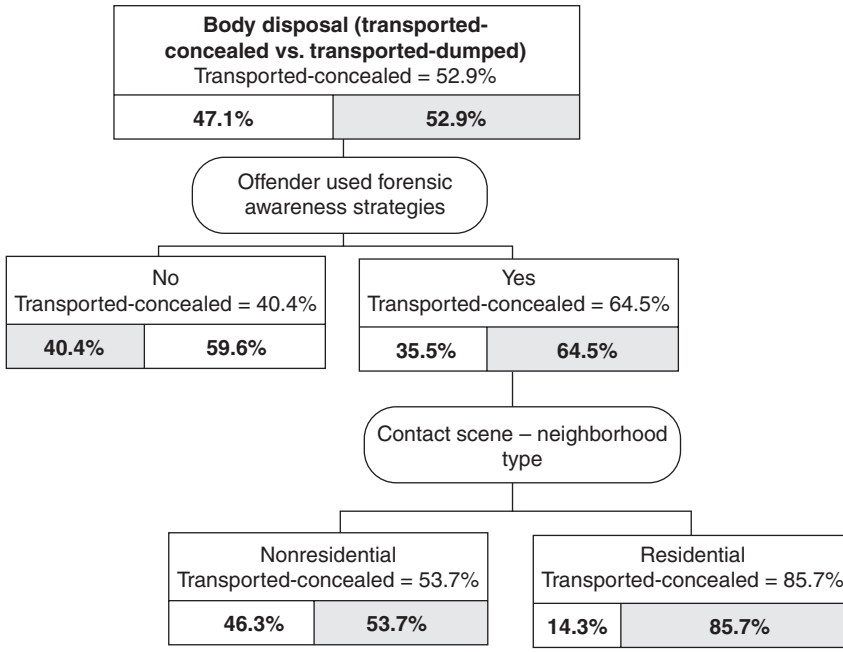

Figure 9.17 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of geography, victim type, the offender's means of accessing his victims, weapon use or manner of death, and interactions with the victim, on whether the victim was transported and then concealed, or transported and then dumped.

dumped (59.6%; $N=34$). If the offender does use forensic awareness strategies, the victim is more likely to be transported and her body concealed (64.5%; $N=40$). The offender's forensic awareness interacts with the neighborhood type of the contact scene such that forensically aware offenders who contact their victims in residential neighborhoods are more likely to transport their victims and conceal their bodies (85.7%; $N=18$).

Not transported only. Figure 9.18 displays the results of the exhaustive CHAID model that predicts the body disposal pathways of those victims who are not moved during the crime. The first-split variable is whether the contact scene takes place in a transportation-related location. If the contact scene between the offender and victim takes place in a transportation-related location, the victim is more likely to be left and her body concealed (62.1%; $N=18$). For those offenders who do not contact their victims in a transportation-related location, but commit the murder in a residential area, the victim's body is more likely to be left as is (88.6%; $N=62$). Figure 9.18 also shows that if the contact scene takes place somewhere other than a transportation-related location, the offense scene takes place in a residential area, and the victim is beaten by the offender, then she is more likely to be left as is (97.0%; $N=32$). Lastly, both the contact and

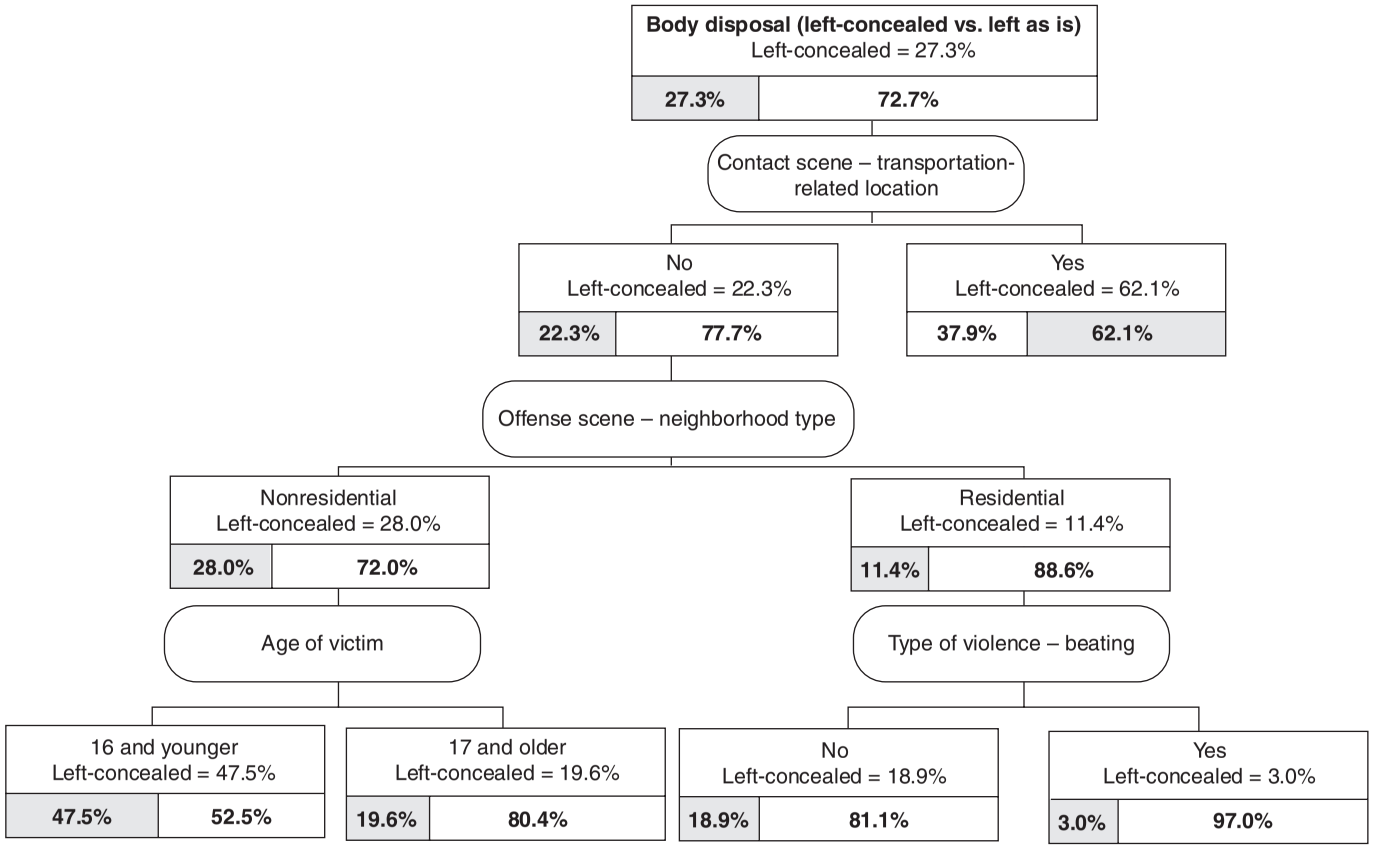

Figure 9.18 Exhaustive CHAID decision-tree of the effects of geography, victim type, the offender's means of accessing his victims, weapon use or manner of death, and interactions with the victim, on whether the victim was left and then concealed, or left as is.

offense scene variables interact with the victim's age such that if the contact scene is somewhere other than a transportation-related location, the offense scene is in a nonresidential area, and the victim is older, she is more likely to be left as is (80.4%; $N=74$). However, younger victims who follow this same pathway are almost as equally likely to be left as is (52.5%; $N=21$) as they are to be left and their bodies concealed (47.5%; $N=19$).

While much of the research on body disposal patterns of sexual murderers thus far has focused on the *homology assumption*, to the authors' knowledge, this is the first analysis to empirically test contextual factors predictive of whether the victim is *transported-concealed*, *transported-dumped*, *left-concealed*, or *left as is* after the murder takes place. The current findings support the previous work of Morton et al. (2014) who noted that aspects of the geography, type of victim, means of accessing victims, use of weapons or manner of death, and interactions with the victim are all important to consider in relation to body disposal location/manner. However, the importance of each of these factors varies depending on the body disposal pattern in question. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 9.1.

Victim transported (or not?)

At the most aggregate level, several factors are found to be related to whether or not the offender chooses to transport the victim throughout the commission of the crime. Victims characterized by transportation tend to be encountered in entertainment locations, such as a bar district, and tend to be sex trade workers who were working at the time of the crime. For those who were not sex trade workers, the victims tended to be socializing in a bar at the time of encounter. It has previously been recognized that sex trade work constitutes a significant risk factor for sexual homicide (Brewer et al., 2006). This is largely due to the high-risk situations in which women engaging in the sex trade find themselves (e.g., cheap motel/hotel room, secluded in the offender's vehicle), where potential guardianship or protection may be unlikely (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014). Given the locations in which these victims are frequently encountered by offenders (i.e., entertainment locations with many potential guardians nearby), it is in the offender's best interest to transport the victim from these sites to another location that is more isolated to commit the crime and successfully dispose of the victim's body. Conversely, in those events where the contact scene is not in an entertainment location and the murder scene is in either the victim's residence or an outdoor location, the offender is not likely to transport the body. This finding is not surprising given previous research that has found that many sexual homicide victims are encountered and/or murdered within their own residence (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999; Warren, Reboussin, & Hazelwood, 1995). In the FBI rape study, only 15% of the events involved transportation of the victim (Warren et al.). Approaching these findings from a rational choice framework (see Clarke & Cornish, 1985), if the murder scene takes place in the victim's residence, there may not be a need for the offender to transport the victim's body

Table 9.1 Summary of significant findings for the body disposal pathways characterized by transported, transported only, and not transported only

	Geography	*Type of victim*	*Means of accessing victims*	*Use of weapons/ manner of death*	*Interactions with the victim*	*Full models with all 5 elements*
Transported versus not						
Transported	Victim is more likely to be transported if contact scene is in an entertainment location.	Victim is more likely to be transported if she is a prostitute. Victim is more likely to be transported if she is a prostitute who is employed at the time of offense. Victim is more likely to be transported if she is not a prostitute but is socializing in a bar at the time of the crime.			Victim is more likely to be transported if the offender mutilates her genitalia.	Victims who are prostitutes are more likely to be transported. Victims who are prostitutes who are strangulated and/or asphyxiated by the offender are more likely to be transported. Victims who are not prostitutes but who are socializing in a bar at the time of the crime are more likely to be transported.

continued

Table 9.1 Continued

	Geography	*Type of victim*	*Means of accessing victims*	*Use of weapons/ manner of death*	*Interactions with the victim*	*Full models with all 5 elements*
Not transported	Victim is less likely to be transported if contact scene is not in an entertainment location. Victim is less likely to be transported if contact scene is not in an entertainment location but the murder scene is in victim's residence. Victim is less likely to be transported if contact scene is not in an entertainment location but the murder scene is in an outdoor location.	Victim is less likely to be transported if she is not a prostitute. Victim is less likely to be transported if she is a prostitute who is not employed at the time of offense.	Victim is less likely to be transported if a blitz approach is used. Victim is less likely to be transported if a surprise approach is used.	Victim is less likely to be transported if she is not stabbed. Victim is less likely to be transported if she is stabbed. Victim is less likely to be transported if she is not stabbed and there is evidence of overkill.	Victim is less likely to be transported if the offender does not mutilate her genitalia.	

Transported only					
Transported-concealed	Victim is more likely to be transported-concealed if offense scene is in an outdoor location.	Victim is more likely to be transported-concealed if the offender targets her.	Victim is more likely to be transported-concealed if the weapon is recovered.	Victim is more likely to be transported-concealed if the offender does use forensic awareness strategies. Victim is equally likely to be transported-concealed or transported-dumped if the offender is forensically aware and beats the victim. Victim is more likely to be transported-concealed if the offender is forensically aware and does not beat her.	Victim is more likely to be transported-concealed if the offender does use forensic awareness strategies. Victim is more likely to be transported-concealed if the offender is forensically aware and contacts the victim in a residential neighborhood.

continued

Table 9.1 Continued

	Geography	*Type of victim*	*Means of accessing victims*	*Use of weapons/ manner of death*	*Interactions with the victim*	*Full models with all 5 elements*
Transported-dumped	Victim is more likely to be transported-dumped if offense scene is not in an outdoor location.	Victim is (slightly) more likely to be transported-dumped if the offender does not specifically target her.		Victim is more likely to be transported-dumped if the weapon is not recovered.	Victim is more likely to be transported-dumped if the offender does not use forensic awareness strategies.	Victim is more likely to be transported-dumped if the offender does not use forensic awareness strategies.
Not transported only						
Left-concealed	Victim is more likely to be left-concealed if contact scene is in transportation-related location.	Younger victims are more likely to be left-concealed. Older victims who are street people or homeless are more likely to be left-concealed.				Victim is more likely to be left-concealed if the contact scene is in a transportation-related location.

Left as is	Victim is more likely to be left as is if contact scene is not in transportation-related location. Victim is more likely to be left as is if contact scene is not a transportation-related location and murder scene is in a residential neighborhood. Victim is more likely to be left as is when both the offense and contact scenes are in nonresidential areas. Victim is more likely to be left as is when the offense scene is in a nonresidential neighborhood and the contact scene is in a residential area.	Older victims are more likely to be left as is. Older victims who are not street persons or homeless, but who are hitchhiking at the time of the crime, are more likely to be left as is.		Victim is more likely to be left as is if she and the offender engage in oral sex.	Victim is more likely to be left as is if the contact scene is somewhere other than a transportation-related location but the murder scene is in a residential area. If the contact scene takes place somewhere other than a transportation-related location, the offense scene takes place in a residential area, and the victim is beaten by the offender, she is more likely to be left as is. If the contact scene is somewhere other than a transportation-related location, the offense scene is in a nonresidential area, and the victim is older, she is more likely to be left as is. If the contact scene is somewhere other than a transportation-related location, the offense scene is in a nonresidential area, and the victim is younger, they are more likely to be left as is.

to a separate site to hide it or delay detection, especially if he has no connection with the location (e.g., stranger home invasion). This same argument could be extended to those events where the murder scene is located in an outdoor location. In fact, it may actually be beneficial to leave the victim's body at the outdoor murder location, as bodies that are left outside are susceptible to the impact of weather, which erodes useful evidence (Geberth, 1990).

Victim transported (body dumped or concealed?)

Looking at those events where the victim was transported only, it was found that the victim's body is more likely to be concealed if the offender uses forensic awareness strategies during the commission of the crime. This is not particularly surprising as it has previously been shown that concealing the victim's body after the murder – a modus operandi strategy indicative of forensic awareness (Beauregard & Field, 2008) – is the best strategy to use to delay body recovery in cases of sexual homicide (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014). Not only does this strategy delay the number of days until police or others discover the body, but it also allows for potential evidence that could link the offender to the crime scene to erode (Beauregard & Martineau). The erosion of potential evidence may be exacerbated even further if the offense scene takes place in an outdoor location, which was found to be a predictor of the *transported-concealed* pathway in the current study, as offenders may consider that in addition to concealing the body, trace evidence may deteriorate even quicker due to weather conditions (e.g., rain, wind, heat, and snow; Fox & Levin, 1994) or animal scavenging (Rossmo, 2000). It was also found that the offender is more likely to transport and then conceal the victim's body if they are specifically targeted, as in the case of John presented at the beginning of the chapter. Beauregard and Martineau have previously discussed how some offenders may choose to target particular types of victims due to their lifestyle habits (e.g., sex trade workers) that may decrease the likelihood that others would immediately notice them missing, thereby influencing the amount of time that it takes to discover the victim's body. Lastly, findings indicate that the victim is more likely to be *transported-dumped* if the weapon is not recovered. At first this might seem counterintuitive. Taking the weapon from the scene of the crime is a behavior that may be exhibited by offenders concerned with scientific evidence. Whereas dumping, rather than concealing, the victim's body, is not. It may simply be that these sexual murderers used more personal weapons (e.g., asphyxiation and beating) rather than edged (e.g., knives) or contact weapons (e.g., blunt objects) to commit the murder. In other words, weapons are not likely to be recovered in cases where offenders primarily use personal weapons (i.e., their hands); the most commonly used method of killing in sexual homicides (see Chan & Heide, 2008). Similar findings were reported by Morton and colleagues (2014) in that strangulation was the leading cause of death (51.6%) in their sample of sexual murders, with more instances of offenders transporting their victims with this type of crime in comparison to other types of murders,

and there was a higher incidence of offenders dumping, rather than concealing, their victims' bodies.

Victim not transported (body left as is or left-concealed?)

In regard to those victims who are not transported, the findings from the current chapter demonstrate that younger victims are more likely to be left at the offense scene and their bodies concealed as compared to older victims who are more likely to be *left as is*. This pathway is particularly likely for older victims who are not street persons or homeless, but who are hitchhiking at the time of the crime. Two hypotheses may explain these findings. The physical size of the victim is the focus of the first hypothesis. It has previously been noted that the inertia of the victim (see Felson, 2002) may factor into the offender's decision-making as to whether he can successfully transport the victim between the different stages of a criminal event (see Hewitt & Beauregard, 2015, for more detail). This was illustrated in the case study of John presented at the beginning of the chapter. Although not discussed specifically by Felson, the physical size of the victim may play a role in the offender's decision of whether to conceal the victim's body as well. For instance, younger victims tend to weigh less, have smaller bodies, and be easier to conceal in graves, thus making them very difficult to find. As Rossmo (2000) stated, "the body of a child 4 feet in height requires only about one-third the volume of a 6-foot-tall adult" (pp. 32–33). Indeed, similar results on child murder have been reported in the United Kingdom such that in cases where the victim was not transported, concealment appeared to be intended in 46% of these cases (Burton, 1998; Copson, 1993). Similarly, in the United States, Hanfland, Keppel, and Weis (1997) found that concealment of the corpse was more likely in child abduction murders (52%) than in murder generally (14%). The second hypothesis concerns the nature of the relationship between the victim and the offender. A victim who is encountered while hitchhiking is unlikely to have a previous relationship with their offender, and therefore it may not be necessary to conceal the body in this instance since investigators may have a difficult time connecting the offender to the crime scene. For instance, Barrett (1990) speculated that murderers who leave their victims' bodies unconcealed may be more transient in nature and unconcerned if police discover the remains, suggesting that there is some degree of confidence that they will remain anonymous throughout the course of the investigation.

It was additionally found that geographic elements related to the offense strongly influence concealment of the body in cases where the victim is not transported. Specifically, victims are more likely to be *left-concealed* if the contact scene takes place in a transportation-related location, whereas victims are more likely to be *left as is* if the contact scene is *not* a transportation-related location, but the murder scene is in a residential neighborhood, as in the case study of Ted. One explanation for why offenders may leave a body as is following the murder is that the offender had already taken or lured the victim to a

secluded location in order to commit the murder. For example, the offender and victim met in a bar. They then traveled to one of their residences and the sexual murder occurred. Because of the private nature of a residence, coupled with the lack of connection between the offender and the crime scene in cases where the offense scene is in the victim's home, the offender may not deem it necessary to conceal the victim's body to avoid discovery or delay detection. This same logic may explain why victims are more likely to be *left as is* when the contact scene is in a residential area, but the offense scene is in a nonresidential neighborhood. In such cases, it is likely that offenders are transporting the victim from a highly guarded area (see Cohen & Felson, 1979) to one that is less so (e.g., remote or rural area) such that additional transportation or concealment of the body is unnecessary.

Implications

Building upon the work done by Morton and colleagues (2014), the current chapter found that different contextual factors are significantly related to the different body disposal pathways identified. This indicates that there are particular contexts that lead offenders to dispose of their victims' bodies in certain ways. Specifically, it was found that the way in which the victim was disposed of after the sexual homicide reveals information about the geography of the crime, victimology, the offender's means of accessing the victim, use of weapons or manner of death, and the types of interactions between the offender and victim during the course of the offense. This information not only provides investigators with some clue as to what may have occurred during crime commission, but it may also help in the search for potential suspects. For instance, knowing the environmental characteristics of the encounter/offense location may provide investigators with a starting point in order to search for additional clues. Prior research has found that violent offenders not only have short journeys to crime (e.g., Canter & Gregory, 1994; Canter & Larkin, 1993; Lebeau, 1987a, 1987b; Lundrigan & Canter, 2001a, 2001b; Warren et al., 1995), but also travel short distances between contact, crime, and body disposal scenes (see Rossmo, 2000). This was well illustrated by the case study of Ted presented at the beginning of the chapter. Therefore, law enforcement officials could canvas transportation-related and residential areas that are near the body recovery site for additional evidence and/or witnesses. Similarly, in cases where a suspect pool has already been identified, investigators may wish to prioritize those who have some connection with, or were known to frequent, the types of areas identified by these models.

The aim of this chapter was to provide police investigators with information as to the circumstances of sexual homicides that resulted in the victim's body being disposed of in a particular way. The next logical step would be for future researchers to examine offender characteristics associated with each pathway to potentially aid in profiling efforts. Future researchers should also aim to conduct qualitative studies with these offenders to improve our understanding of the

decision-making behind their choice to dispose of their victims' bodies in particular ways. Lastly, it would be of interest to test other contextual factors that would theoretically influence the body disposal pattern chosen by the offender. For example, the level of guardianship present at the offense scene may be an important factor in deciding to move the victim to a separate location to dispose of the body. Similarly, this same factor may also influence whether the offender had sufficient time or ability to conceal the victim at the disposal site or simply leave the body as is. Additional factors such as time of the day, day of the week, and even weather conditions present at the time of body disposal should be examined to determine the influence that they have on the type of pathway chosen.

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Conclusion

Can we predict sexual homicide?

The lack of a standard definition of sexual homicide has complicated the study of this phenomenon. Indeed, the lack of standard criteria for classification has resulted in past studies including a diverse range of cases, some of which arguably are not truly sexual homicides. For instance, Folino (2000) suggested that killing after a sexual act when the intention of the kill is to destroy evidence or eliminate the witness should not be considered as a sexual homicide, as this constitutes a "false positive." Similarly, Grubin (1994) stated that it is important to distinguish between homicides that are sexually motivated and homicides associated with sexual activity (e.g., elimination of a potential witness after a rape, overcoming victim resistance during a rape, accidently killing the victim during a rape, or participating in a rape-homicide with accomplices). Others have gone even farther by suggesting that it is crucial to identify the "true" SHO (Higgs, Carter, Stefanska, & Glorney, 2015; Stefanska, Carter, Higgs, Bishopp, & Beech, 2015). To this end, studies have compared SHOs who had previous convictions for rape/attempted rape with SHOs without such convictions, and SHOs who committed acts of postmortem sexual interference with NHSOs.

While this quest for the "true" SHO is interesting at a theoretical level, we do not believe it is a productive one. SHOs are identified mainly based on their actions at the crime scene, not based on their motivation. The motivational aspect of these offenders is very hard to identify and, sometimes, understand. It is preferable to focus on what we can actually observe at the crime scene as suggested by the sexual homicide definition of the FBI. Such a strategy allows us to identify different types of SHOs. This approach is likely more realistic than is this idea that only one real type of SHO exists. Research suggests that there is no such thing as the "true" SHO, rather, there is a diverse population of persons who share the common experience of having committed a fatal sexual assault.

Is the SHO a unique type of sex offender?

If we are going to predict sexual homicide we need to be able to answer the following question: is the SHO a unique type of sex offender? The existing literature suggests that there are at least two perspectives that may be useful in explaining sexual homicide or lethal outcomes in sexually violent crimes

(Beauregard & Mieczkowski, 2012; Felson & Messner, 1996). According to the first perspective, homicide and other acts of criminal violence are representative of the same type of behavior and involve the same processes, differing only in the outcome (Doerner & Speir, 1986; Harries, 1990). Consequently, based on such a perspective, one would expect no distinct patterns of behavior when examining sexual assaults that result in either physical injury (i.e., violent NHSOs) or the death of the victim (i.e., SHOs). The alternative perspective suggests that there are distinct factors that differentiate those who kill from those who do not. According to this perspective, some homicide offenders are motivated and have the intention to kill the victim. Therefore, the lethal outcome is not incidental nor is it due to situational factors (Beauregard & Mieczkowski, 2012; Felson & Messner, 1996).

Healey, Beauregard, Beech, and Vettor (2016) examined a sample of sexual assaults that resulted in either the victim sustaining physical injuries or in the victim's death. The aim of the study was to explore the two hypotheses using a typological approach (i.e., latent class analysis) with crime scene indicators. If the "different outcome" hypothesis is correct, then the researchers would not be able to identify the fatal from nonfatal cases based on crime scene behavior. The types that would emerge would be based on crime scene behaviors that were shared among SHOs and NHSOs. As such, one would expect SHOs to be randomly distributed across the different types. On the other hand, if the second hypothesis is correct – the SHO as a distinct type of offender – different types of sexual offenders who are easily distinguishable based on their crime scene behavior should be expected. Furthermore, the classification approach should identify at least one type of sexual offender who exhibits a different behavioral profile and kills his victims. Strangely enough, the findings of Healey and colleagues provided support for both hypotheses. A group of offenders exhibiting a specific behavioral pattern and who in almost every case killed their victims was identified. This group demonstrated their intent to kill through their choice of offending behavior. Two additional groups of sex offenders were identified with intragroup inconsistencies in lethality level, suggesting that these cases could result in homicide when certain situational factors were present. For instance, the *predatory* offender intends to kill his victim, has a plan, and carries out his plan in a sexually violent manner. The *sadistic* offender, on the other hand, takes pleasure in the violence that he inflicts on his victims and although he shares many of the *predatory* offenders' traits, there is little evidence that he had intended on killing his victim. However, in some cases, the high level of violence inflicted on the victim and the pleasure gained from it may result in the accidental death of the victim.

These findings suggest that the task of predicting sexual homicide is not as easy as predicting, for instance, recidivism. Sexual homicide, in addition to being a hybrid offense – between sexual assault and homicide – is committed by offenders whose intention it is to kill their victim and by offenders who have no such intention. Even those offenders, who inflict serious physical injuries upon their victims (violent NHSOs), engaging in severe levels of violence, may not

intend a fatal outcome. As demonstrated in the preceding chapters, sexual homicide can be an intentional act of murder, but it can just as likely be a sexual assault gone wrong.

Predicting the SHO?

In 2007, Proulx, Beauregard, Cusson, and Nicole published a book on sexual homicide that mainly investigated the differences between SHOs and NHSOs. One of their main conclusions was that SHOs and NHSOs present more similarities than differences. This conclusion was echoed in other studies as well (e.g., Darjee & Baron, 2013; Oliver, Beech, Fisher, & Beckett, 2007). These comparative studies were very helpful in understanding the offending process of the SHO as well as some of the factors that could be associated with a lethal outcome in a sexual assault. However, we now believe that most of these studies have only provided us with a partial understanding. By comparing SHOs to a group of NHSOs (including those who were both violent and nonviolent), potentially important differences were lost due to having two very diverse groups of sex offenders in the same category. The findings presented in this book have clearly shown that violent NHSOs are very different from nonviolent NHSOs. Overall, the different analyses conducted show that the NHSO fits the image of a "traditional" sex offender who is mainly preoccupied with sex, whereas the violent NHSO fits the general description of the antisocial offender who is characterized by a diverse criminal career and a high proclivity for violence. But where does the SHO fit into all of this?

In the study by Healey et al. (2016), the authors made the decision to limit their sample to only SHOs and violent NHSOs. The authors felt that it was important to include similar cases where violence was expressive and where offenders inflicted physical injuries that went beyond forced sex (e.g., beating of the victim or any other physical injury beyond defensive wounds experienced by the victim). Although this appeared to be a good decision in light of the main objective of this study, once again we believe that such an approach does not provide the full picture. The various findings presented in this book show that SHOs share characteristics with both groups – NHSOs and violent NHSOs. The SHO appears to be a hybrid type of offender who resembles a typical sex offender in some respects while resembling the antisocial offender in others. In other words, SHOs are a combination of deviant sexuality and antisociality.

Based on the findings presented throughout this book, SHOs are characterized by a disturbed profile of developmental factors. Their childhood is characterized by sexual contact with adults and other forms of victimization (e.g., physical violence and incest). Early exposure to pornographic movies/magazines, places of adult entertainment (e.g., strip clubs), and the sex trade is not uncommon. Moreover, they tend to suffer from social isolation, nightmares, poor self-image, and phobias. As a child, the SHO developed an angry temperament and adopted antisocial behaviors such as chronic lying, rebellious/reckless behaviors, cruelty against animals, and truancy.

In addition to this disturbed developmental profile, the SHOs studied in this book present with deviant sexual fantasies that are accompanied by paraphilias and personality disorders. These deviant sexual fantasies likely play a multifaceted role. For some offenders, fantasy was a mechanism of planning, a blueprint for their offense. For others, fantasy provided the stimulus for arousal and emotional regulation. SHOs present with paraphilic behavior both as juveniles and adults, as well as a personality characterized by borderline and schizoid disorders. The motivation for their crimes could be either sexual and/or violent.

SHOs also present with distinctive criminal career characteristics. Not surprisingly, the SHOs are more likely to have prior convictions for sexual homicide. However, they are also characterized by an early age of onset for sexual crimes and they tend to have prior convictions for violent crimes, especially for armed robberies.

Moreover, it appears that sexual homicide is more likely to occur within specific contexts. SHOs more often report occupational problems as well as generalized conflict with women prior to their crimes. They may commit the crime when a co-offender is present, when the probability of apprehension is high, with a victim who is living alone and/or a victim who is intoxicated during the crime. The offenders are also likely to consume alcohol, drugs, or a combination of the two prior to their crime. As for their modus operandi, SHOs are more likely to commit their crimes at night, select the victim, use a weapon as well as a coercive approach, and spend more than 30 minutes with the victim. These offenders are more likely to use a level of force that is more than necessary and leave the victim completely exposed.

We believe these findings are somewhat congruent with the theoretical models of sexual homicide proposed thus far. However, the current findings go beyond what has been suggested previously. As we have already mentioned in Chapter 1, despite their best efforts to identify and integrate the important factors leading to sexual homicide, the motivational model from the FBI, the trauma-control model from Hickey (1997), as well as the integrated paraphilic model from Arrigo and Purcell (2001), lack empirical validation. Although each of the models suggested what appear to be important factors leading to sexual homicide, none of these models have been sufficiently subjected to empirical scrutiny, either individually or in combination. Furthermore, these models identified broad factors that could potentially encompass several specific measures. This lack of specificity in the respective models makes empirical validation more challenging.

Our aim was not to propose a new model of sexual homicide. Not yet. Even if we have identified what we believe to be important factors associated with sexual homicide, it is important to explore how these different factors interact and if they can sufficiently and comprehensively explain this complicated crime type. At this time, our aim was to contribute to the current understanding of sexual homicide by subjecting those factors that have been associated with this crime to empirical testing. In addition we introduced two control groups: NHSOs and violent NHSOs to allow for comprehensive comparison and a

greater understanding of group similarities and differences. Through comprehensive comparative analyses, we can better explain what may lead a violent sex offender to kill.

With each chapter, we attempted to provide practitioners with some implications of our findings. Law enforcement personnel and clinicians working on cases of sexual homicide may use these findings to help guide their respective interventions. Moreover, we believe that our findings have challenged some common myths about SHOs and earlier findings on sexual homicide that were often based on small and/or biased samples. It is important to correct the misconceptions about sexual homicide in order to adequately intervene and investigate these cases. SHOs represent not only a challenge for the police but also for clinicians who work with these individuals. This is why our next step will be to begin working on a new risk assessment tool specifically for sexual homicide. Most existing risk assessment tools have been developed to predict recidivism for sex offenders or risk of future violence. However, it is important to explore the potential to use risk factors to predict the likelihood that a sex offender will not only recidivate, but escalate to lethal violence. Although the current results are insufficient to create such a tool, it is crucial that researchers in the field come together to develop a risk assessment method that could be used by clinicians and the police when trying to predict whether the offender is at risk of committing a murder.

So we return to the question with which we began. Can we predict sexual homicide? Unfortunately, our findings do not provide us with a definitive answer to this question. However, our findings do suggest that the first step is to distinguish sex offenders who are violent from those who are not. Clearly these two groups present important differences that need to be taken into account when trying to understand offending patterns and proper intervention and treatment. With a focus on violent sex offenders, we can identify the general trajectory that leads a sex offender to kill. A comprehensive review of factors starting with characteristics of childhood and including but not limited to sexual proclivities, criminal history, and modus operandi is required. We have now shown that within the group of violent sex offenders, some will go on to kill and some will not. Although these two groups share several similarities, they also present important differences. We hope that these findings will help to further our understanding of sexual homicide – all types of sexual homicide – and help to prevent its occurrence.

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