

When Homicide Isn't Enough: Sexual Murderers Who Steal from Their Victims

by
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Abstract

Using a sample of 762 sexual homicide cases from the Sexual Homicide International Database (SHleLD), the current study examines the crime-commission process of the pre-crime, crime, and post-crime phases of sexual homicide offenders (SHOs) who engaged in theft during a sexual homicide. Furthermore, this study seeks to determine if a specific type of SHO engages in this behaviour over others. Results from the sequential logistic regression and conjunctive analysis indicate that victims who were 16 years or older, were strangers to the SHO, and were sex workers were more likely to be victims of theft. Additionally, results show that the presence of sadism made it more likely SHOs would engage in theft from the victim and/or crime scene. Findings suggest there is a group of SHOs who engage in theft not for monetary purposes but due to the paraphilia of the offender.

Keywords: sexual homicide; crime-commission process; theft; sadism; souvenirs; trophies

Dedication

To everyone who cheered me on throughout this journey and believed in me even when I doubted myself. I did it!

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

Sexual homicide investigations pose unique challenges to police, who hold the weight of public pressure to solve these cases in a timely manner. North American crime statistics have shown sexual homicide to be steadily declining since the 1990s (James & Proulx, 2014); however, it remains a top concern of the public (Roberts & Grossman, 1993). The brutality of this crime, with its sexual elements and seemingly random attack, demonstrates why such fear exists in society (Beauregard & Martineau, 2017). Until recently, much of what we know about sexual homicide and sexual homicide offenders (SHOs) was based on clinical interviews made up of small convenience samples or through police interviews with SHOs (Beauregard & Martineau, 2017; Ressler et al., 1988). Lack of investigative experience due to the low occurrence of sexual homicide illustrates the vast investigative challenges to these cases.

Investigators lack the experience to understand all the dynamics applicable at these crime scenes. Sexual homicide crime scenes are behaviourally rich as oftentimes, with a close enough analysis, the crime scene will be reflective of the characteristics of the perpetrator (Beauregard & Martineau, 2017; Ressler et al., 1988). Investigators are posed with challenges as sexual homicide cases are distinct from other types of violent crime, yet each case is vastly different from another (Beauregard & Martineau, 2017). SHOs have been shown to differ in their modus operandi and ritualistic behaviours, making each case seem unique (Beauregard & Martineau, 2017; Schlesinger et al., 2010). This can cause police to investigate cases separately when the same perpetrator committed them. This exhausts resources that could have been used elsewhere and prolongs the investigation for both cases. The various dynamics displayed at a sexual homicide crime scene would initially appear as unusual and random to a first-time detective of sexual homicide (Beauregard & Martineau, 2017). However, upon further examination, the crime scene characteristics provide investigators with immense information about the offender and their motives.

These examples demonstrate some of the complexities of sexual homicide investigations. However, because the crime scene is so behaviourally rich, this is where

investigators can begin to understand the perpetrator by focusing on specific behaviours. Ritualistic behaviours might seem unordinary or too unique to focus much attention on, as these are behaviours that can easily go unnoticed - such as theft. However, investigators may be missing an essential piece of these investigations in which these unusual and ritualistic behaviours can significantly assist the investigation. Suppose SHOs engage in ritualistic behaviours such as theft from the victim or crime scene. In that case, it may be committed for a reason that investigators can use to substantiate their evidence in support of the investigation. SHOs may still have the items they stole in their possession, which could be obtained through a search warrant. Additionally, because SHOs display characteristics of sexual deviancy, there is a possibility that theft in these cases is committed for a psychological need and not for monetary purposes. Therefore, investigators must consider the psychological aspects driving this behaviour and incorporate it into their interrogation tactics.

These are all questions this thesis seeks to address. Using the crime-commission process, we will analyze the pre-crime, crime, and post-crime of SHOs who took items from the victim or crime scene. Previous literature has suggested that sadistic SHOs take souvenirs and trophies from their crimes, yet empirical literature is limited. This study aims to fill the gap within the literature on the behaviour of theft in sexual homicide to provide investigators with consistent and reliable information to develop investigative techniques for these offenders and their crimes.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Offenders who commit crimes of a sexual nature are commonly depicted as irrational and impulsive individuals with low self-control (Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007). This is demonstrated through the statement, “The more the offences are compelling and without logic, the more likely they are sexually motivated” (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999, p. 228). However, the empirical literature on sexual violence has continuously identified that sexual offenders are not irrational individuals but those who use their rationality to make decisions and produce actions suitable to their criminal interests (e.g., Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007; Beauregard, Rossmo, & Proulx, 2007; Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc, et al., 2007; Chopin et al., 2020; Chopin & Beauregard, 2023b).

2.1. Rational Choice Theory

In criminology, the rational choice perspective is a theoretical framework that seeks to understand criminal behaviour through the decision-making process of those who engage in crime (Cornish, 1993). The theory is not interested in what motivates criminal behaviour but in how crime is committed and the decisions made throughout that process (Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Cornish, 1993). Rational choice theory believes that criminal behaviour is a choice, as an offender's decision on whether to engage in crime is influenced by the effort that would be required, the rewards received from engaging in the crime, and the costs associated with such actions (Cornish, 1993). This cost-benefit analysis can be understood as instrumental behaviours as they are only for the benefit of the criminal himself to achieve his goals. Rational choice theory emphasizes the immediate situation as an essential factor because crime is a dynamic process that can change drastically depending on situational factors (Cornish, 1994). Therefore, rational choice theory employs a crime-specific focus because each offence will encompass specific situational factors that affect decision-making. Criminals learn to improve and modify their behaviours to be more successful in the commission of their crimes, demonstrating the rationale they hold (Cornish, 1994).

2.2. Crime-Commission Process

Sexual offenders can be understood through a rational choice framework as they perceive crime as the most effective way to achieve their goals (e.g., materialist items, money, sexual gratification, control; Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007). The decision-making process of sexual offenders can be assessed at various stages during the commission of the crime. Douglas et al. (2006) defined the modus operandi as all the decisions and actions an offender performs during the criminal event to successfully commit the crime. Similar in some ways to the modus operandi, the crime-commission process involves three phases: (1) The Pre-Crime Phase, (2) The Crime Phase, and (3) The Post-Crime Phase. The pre-crime phase involves all forms of offence planning, such as the offender's premeditation and choice of which victim to target (Chopin & Beauregard, 2022; Reale et al., 2022a). The crime phase involves various behaviours and strategies an offender will engage in to successfully commit the crime (Beauregard et al., 2020; Healey et al., 2012). An example of a crime phase behaviour is an offender's decision regarding the type of weapon they will use to gain control over the victim successfully. For instance, Beauregard and Leclerc (2007) found sex offenders more often used a gun to gain control of the victim when the victim was further away. Whereas when the victim was close to the sexual offender, using a knife to gain control over the victim was more common. Lastly, the post-crime phase involves behaviours offenders enact to delay or avoid police detection and apprehension (Davies, 1992). Actions such as wearing gloves to avoid leaving fingerprints, wearing a condom to conceal DNA identification, cleaning up the crime scene, and moving the victim's body to another location have all been identified as forensic awareness strategies (e.g., Beauregard & Martineau, 2014; Davies, 1992; Georgoulis et al., 2023). Each phase of this process demonstrates the rationality of the offender as the crime commission encompasses various decisions made by the offender to increase the benefits of committing the crime and limiting the costs of being detected by the police (Beauregard, Rossmo, & Proulx, 2007; Chopin & Beauregard, 2023a).

Studies from Beauregard and Leclerc (2007) and Reale et al. (2022a) used the crime-commission process to analyze offender behaviour in different sexual crimes. These two studies demonstrate how analyzing the crime-commission process gives researchers a more complex understanding of offender decision-making through their

behaviours during the commission of their crimes. Beauregard and Leclerc (2007) used a rational choice framework to analyze the crime-commission process of sex offenders. The authors wanted to assess sex offender decision-making throughout the three phases of the crime-commission process while considering various situational factors. The findings showed that sex offenders are rational actors throughout their crimes, making decisions around planning the crime, engaging in various crime strategies, and post-crime behaviours to avoid or delay police detection (Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007). The sex offenders of this study used various offence strategies depending on situational factors. For example, if the victim fought back, causing the offender to have to overcome their resistance, it was more likely that the offender used a weapon, restraints, and more force than necessary. However, if the offender did not have to overcome victim resistance, then the offender did not engage in using force (Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007). The study by Reale et al. (2022a) looked at criminal expertise in sexual burglary offenders and sexual robbery offenders. The study hypothesized that sexual burglary would have a more “expert” crime-commission process than sexual robbery. This was based on burglary without a sexual component being identified in previous literature as a more advanced crime when compared to a street robbery, which has been labelled as impulsive with more novice offenders. As expected, the results showed that sexual burglary offenders engaged in a higher level of expertise than sexual robbery offenders, which was most prominent in the crime and post-crime phases. Sexual burglars' expertise was demonstrated in the crime phase through barricading doors, turning off security alarms, and ensuring the victim could not identify the offender. In the post-crime phase, expertise was shown through sexual burglar offenders' engaging in detection avoidance strategies such as destroying or removing evidence at greater rates than sexual robbery offenders to avoid apprehension (Real et al., 2022a). Such findings demonstrate how the crime-commission process is a valuable tool for researchers. Dividing the offence into three phases offers a detailed examination of the behaviours exhibited by offenders. This approach grants researchers a more in-depth insight into the decision-making process and reasoning behind the actions of sexual offenders.

2.3. Scripts

To further support that sexual offenders act rationally, we will examine the concept of the crime script. The crime script first originated in cognitive sciences (see

Abelson, 1976, 1981; Schank & Abelson, 1977) and was introduced to criminology by Cornish (1994). Crime scripts are grounded in rational choice theory as they show a detailed picture highlighting each step an offender took while committing a particular crime. Through the crime script, researchers can understand how offenders make decisions as behavioural routines tell specific characteristics about the offender and their modus operandi (Cornish, 1994). Cornish (1994) uses the “restaurant script” as an example demonstrating a sequence of actions taken when going to a restaurant: enter; wait to be seated; get the menu; order; eat; get the check; pay; and exit. However, an individual's script will change depending on which restaurant one visits (i.e., fast-food vs. seated dine-in). A fast-food restaurant script would look different: enter; look at the menu on a big screen; order; pay; receive the food; and exit. The concept has considerable support in criminology as Dehghanniri & Borrión (2021) conducted a systematic review of studies published between January 1, 1994, and December 31, 2018, that have applied Cornish's (1994) script-theoretic approach. It was found that crime scripts have been successfully applied to various forms of crime and criminal behaviour within the literature (e.g., cybercrime, fraud, robbery and theft offences, drug offences, sexual offences, violent crime, and environmental crime). The study by Leclerc et al. (2011) used crime script analysis on child sexual offenders to identify the various manipulation and coercive tactics they used throughout the crime commission to gain the trust and cooperation of child victims to sexually assault them. Chopin et al. (2023) identified four different crime scripts used by solo female sex offenders: daytime indoor, coercive outdoor, coercive indoor, and nighttime indoor scripts. The findings from this study demonstrate the importance of the situational context and the offender and victim characteristics in determining which script would be used by female sex offenders. Importantly, Cornish (1994) highlights that the concept of crime scripts – that is, breaking down the crime-commission process into multiple small steps - can identify where situational prevention measures should be applied to prevent future crimes from occurring.

2.4. Theft and Sexual Crimes

Also proposed by rational choice theory was the CRAVED model, which was delegated for property crimes. Clarke (1999) highlighted how the majority of theft occurs to a small number of products. The CRAVED model is an acronym highlighting attributes

that make certain items more attractive to thieves. Such items are called “hot products” by Clarke (1999) and are described as concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable, and disposable. The author’s review of commonly stolen items highlighted two critical conclusions that apply to all forms of theft. One, whether the theft was a residential burglary, a robbery, or shoplifting, thieves are specific in the items they choose to steal. Using the example of residential burglaries, Clarke (1999) describes jewellery, videos, cash, stereos, and televisions as being consistently taken by thieves. Meanwhile, shoplifting is dependent on the store the thief is in. Two, there is consistency in the products stolen regardless of the thieves setting. Cash is most commonly stolen; however, when cash is unavailable, thieves target items with a high monetary value, such as vehicle parts, electronics, tools, jewellery, and fashion items such as designer bags or shoes (Clarke, 1999). Harris et al. (2013) claimed burglary offences to be incomplete on their own, as it is through burglary that offenders have access to commit further crimes (e.g., theft or sexual assault).

Further, studies have found sexual offenders to generally have a criminal history of non-sexual crimes before an official recorded sexual crime occurs (Harris et al., 2013; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). The literature has addressed a connection between burglary and sexual offending, highlighting burglary as a precursor that serves as the initial step in the progression toward a sexual criminal career (e.g., DeLisi & Scherer, 2006; Harris et al., 2013; Horning et al., 2010; Pedneault et al., 2012; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). This is further supported by DeLisi and Walters (2011) when they said, “To the modal criminal offender, burglary is the pathway to access property; to others, it is the gateway to the goals of kidnapping, rape, and murder” (p. 151). Although the most common reason for burglary is monetary profit, a subgroup of offenders commits burglary for sexual reasons (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). This is why it is crucial to not classify all burglaries as property crimes (Harris et al., 2013; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999).

The literature highlights three distinct types of sexual burglary and delves into the motivations behind each of them. In the first type, the offender is seen to be motivated by both sexual desires and material gain (Harris et al., 2013; Pedneault et al., 2012; Scully & Marolla, 1985). The study by Harris et al. (2013) classified this type of burglary as *the combination burglary/rape* (CBR). Items stolen from the sexual burglars in this study aligned with Clarke’s (1999) CRAVED model. In 87% of the CBRs, money was

stolen, and in 24.1% of the CBRs, jewellery and other personal valuables were stolen. When a sexual offence is committed in this type of burglary, the sexual assault has been classified as a bonus to the burglary (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Felson, 2006; Pedneault et al., 2015). This is because the primary motivation for the crime is typically seen as material gain through breaking and entering. The classic scenario explained through the literature is an offender who commits burglary of a residence they thought to be unoccupied; however, to the offender's surprise, a female occupant is home alone (Pedneault et al., 2012; Pedneault et al., 2015; Scully & Marolla, 1985). Out of opportunity, the offender rapes the female and then steals valuable items.

The second type of sexual burglary discussed within the literature is solely sexually motivated, as material theft either does not occur or occurs infrequently (Harris et al., 2013; Pedneault et al., 2012). The offender's primary goal in committing burglary is to gain access to victims to sexually offend (Harris et al., 2013; Pedneault et al., 2012; Pedneault et al., 2015; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). In the study by Pedneault et al. (2012), the researchers identified three types of sexual burglary. They classified this form of sexual burglary as the *sexually orientated burglar*. Furthermore, through analyzing the crime-commission process, Pedneault et al. (2015) used a rational choice framework to dismiss the hypothesis that sexual burglary was a crime of opportunity where the sexual assault was a bonus to the theft. By analyzing the crime-commission process, the researchers identified sexual burglary offenders to differ in their techniques from non-sexual burglary offenders. Sexual burglars disproportionately targeted residences between 12 am and 3 am, a time unsuitable for non-sexual burglars as it is most likely that the home would be occupied during the nighttime (Pedneault et al., 2015). In only 7.6% of cases was an adult male home, demonstrating the offender's selection of female victims who are home alone and easily controlled when targeted while asleep. Lastly, sexual burglars were more likely to bring a weapon with them as though they expected to run into someone (Pedneault et al., 2015).

The third form of sexual burglary involves no sexual offence against the victim or material gain to the offender. Instead, this form of burglary occurs to fulfill the sexual fantasies of the offender (Brankley et al., 2014; Harris et al., 2013; Pedneault et al., 2012; Pedneault et al., 2015; Salfati, 2000; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). The study by Schlesinger and Revitch (1999) looked at sexual burglaries motivated by voyeurism (i.e., breaking and entering in hopes of watching women getting undressed or showering) and

fetishism (i.e., breaking and entering to steal items that are sexually arousing to the offender). The former is less noticeable, as voyeuristic burglars use peeping tactics as they look around bedrooms and snoop through drawers (Brankley et al., 2014; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). The famous case of Albert DeSalvo, known as the Boston Strangler, was notorious for his voyeuristic burglaries. In the book *Confessions of the Boston Strangler*, DeSalvo speaks on his experiences of voyeurism, “I looked for things but I did not know what I was looking for... A lot of times, when I was in a place, I stood in the bedroom doorway and looked at a woman in bed asleep... but I didn’t have the guts to do something to her “ (p. 62, as cited in Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). Schlesinger and Revitch (1999) also found voyeuristic offenders in their study engaging in petty theft, such as taking toothpaste, as a rationale to support why they were there in the first place. Voyeurism has also been found to escalate to more severe forms of sexual offending (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). The case of the Boston Stranger demonstrates the relation between voyeurism and more serious sexual crimes as, over 18 months, DeSalvo killed 13 women in which he was engaging in voyeurism before and during these crimes (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999).

Further, fetish burglaries have been identified in the literature as those who commit breaking and entering to steal fetish items (i.e., women's lingerie, shoes, purses, and clothing) which is due to the offender's paraphilic disorder of fetishism (Brankley et al., 2014; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999; Warren et al., 2013). In addition to voyeurism, studies have identified a link between fetish theft and an escalation to more severe sexual and violent offending, with some offenders committing sexual homicide (Brankley et al., 2014; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999; Warren et al., 2013). For example, Schlesinger and Revitch (1999) found that over a third of serial SHOs in their sample had prior convictions for burglary. Specifically, offenders who stole fetishistic objects were found to escalate in their fetishistic behaviour (i.e., steal more fetish items), with some offenders escalating to sexual assault and, in some cases, sexual homicide of the female who lived at the residence. Such escalation in offending can be understood through the paraphilia of the offender as *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013) defines paraphilias as “disorders that involve intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours along with at least one of the following: (1) non-human objects; (2) the

suffering or humiliation of oneself or one's partner; or (3) children or other non-consenting persons that occur over a period of at least six months" (pp. 522–523).

The study by Brankley et al. (2014) assessed the paraphilias of 44-year-old Russel Williams, a former colonel of the Canadian Air Forces. Williams committed 82 sexual burglaries (i.e., voyeuristic and fetishistic), which escalated to sadistic sexual homicide between 2007-2009. Arrigo and Purcell (2001) highlighted the mechanisms behind paraphilic behaviour, describing it as a cyclic and self-reinforcing process. The process involves an interplay between the paraphilic stimuli, fantasy, and orgasm, often amplified by facilitators such as drugs or pornography (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Brankley et al. (2014) noted that escalation in paraphilic behaviour occurs when the offender becomes desensitized to the stimuli requiring a more substantial unique stimulus to produce the same outcome (i.e., orgasm). Arrigo and Purcell (2001) highlighted that when the offender's fantasy world grows in sexual deviance, this coincides with an increase in the intensity and frequency of the paraphilic behaviour. The actions inflicted on real victims directly mirror the offender's fantasy world pre-crime (MacCulloch et al., 1983; Schlesinger et al., 2010; Warren et al., 2013).

2.5. Souvenirs and Trophies

Sexual homicide differs starkly from non-sexual homicide as the former includes sexual dynamics usually perpetuated through the offenders' elaborate fantasy lives (Schlesinger et al., 2010; Warren et al., 2013). Studies have found SHOs to engage in keeping personal items from their victims, and this behaviour is not for monetary reasons but to serve the offender psychologically (e.g., Dietz et al., 1990; Holmes & Holmes, 2009; Ressler et al., 1988; Schlesinger et al., 2010; Warren et al., 2013). Items taken from the victim and crime scene by SHOs post-crime have been identified as souvenirs and trophies (e.g., Holmes & Holmes, 2009; Ressler et al., 1988). Often used interchangeably within the literature, it is essential to note that souvenirs and trophies are distinguished from each other by FBI profilers. This is done by identifying the meaning of the item to the offender (Ressler et al., 1988). Souvenirs are recognized to have a sentimental value associated with them and are kept by the offender as an item to remember the murder (Holmes & Holmes, 2009; Ressler et al., 1988). Holmes and Holmes (2009) described the rationale of SHOs who take a souvenir as the same as someone who collects souvenirs throughout a vacation. For the SHO, the souvenir is not

only a reminder of the murder itself but the events that occurred throughout the sexual assault and killing of the victim (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). Through investigations and clinical interviews with SHOs, Ressler et al. (1988) found that items taken as souvenirs were commonly fetishistic to the SHO. In their study, female lingerie was commonly taken; however, the researchers highlight that these items can also be less recognizable. In one case of sexual homicide, the offender's souvenirs were multiple victims' feet stored in the freezer with high-heeled shoes on. Souvenirs demonstrate to the SHO that they were able to act out their fantasies onto a real victim. Now that the SHO has items in their possession, these souvenirs act as a catalyst for perpetuating further fantasies (Ressler et al., 1988).

Trophies are identified as items that SHOs associate success with, as the trophy is a prize from the murder (Holmes & Holmes, 2009; Ressler et al., 1988;). Ressler and colleagues (1988) used the analogy of game hunters who mount the heads of animals to illustrate the significance of trophies for SHOs. Like the game hunter, SHOs keep trophies from their victims as a visual reward of domination over the victim and "proof of his skill" (Ressler et al., 1988, p. 64). Holmes and Holmes (2009) gave the example of body parts being trophies as they are personal and have value. Holmes and Holmes (2009) differentiated souvenirs and trophies by demonstrating that trophies are more than a memory of the murder and the thrill they gave the offender, but a visual reward that is also sexually arousing. However, Ressler et al. (1988) claimed that souvenirs are sexually stimulating for the offender, not trophies. Ressler et al. (1988) emphasized trophies as symbolic of the offender's skill and control over the victim and did not mention them to have a sexual element. The study by Dietz et al. (1990) further claimed that the SHO keeps personal items as trophies symbolizing the "conquest" of the offender over the victim or as physical items that allow the offender to be in a reverie state with his sexual fantasies. Using the research by Dietz et al. (1990), we can see that both motivations (i.e., conquest and sexual arousal) appear as to why a SHO would take an item from the victim, which is classified as a trophy. There exists an interplay of the trophy as this item can be (a) symbolic of the offender's conquest over the victim, (b) sexually arousing to the offender, or (c) give both the satisfaction of conquest and sexual arousal to the offender. It makes sense that this would be the case, as this behaviour begins with the offenders' sexual fantasies. The fantasy world of SHOs revolves around

themes of power and violence, as these individuals find sexual arousal in exerting control over another human being.

2.6. Examples of Items Taken

Studies have found personal items commonly taken by SHOs are jewellery, such as rings and watches; articles of clothing, with women's lingerie being the most common; shoes; photographs of the victims, ranging from victim ID cards to pre- and post-photographs of the murder; and body parts, such as the victim's feet, breasts, and blood (e.g., Dietz et al., 1990; Holmes & Holmes, 2009; Ressler et al., 1988; Warren et al., 2013). This is in alignment with Clarke's (1999) CRAVED model, as although Clarke (1999) referenced "hot products" in cases of non-sexual theft, there seems to be a theme of specific "hot products" which could be applied in cases of sexual homicide. Items taken in sexual homicide cases could also be classified as concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable, and disposable to the SHO. However, rather than being taken for material and monetary gain, SHOs who steal from their victim seem to fulfill psychological desires. Studies have shown that, for some SHOs, sexual homicide is not satisfying enough. It is the addition of unnecessary behaviours such as theft (i.e., souvenirs and trophies) and various forms of documentation (i.e., journaling about or taking photographs and videos of the sexual homicide) that are necessary for the completion and satisfaction of their sexual crimes (Schlesinger et al., 2010; Warren et al., 2013). Schlesinger et al. (2010) examined ritualistic and signature behaviours in SHOs in which theft in the form of souvenirs and trophies was found to be a ritualistic behaviour, as well as photo documentation of victims pre- and post-sexual homicide. The study found SHOs to be heterogeneous in their ritualistic behaviours, as only 13.5% of the sample engaged in the same ritualistic behaviour with every victim. This finding is in accordance with Holmes and Holmes (2009), who highlighted that SHOs that do take souvenirs from their victims may not engage in this behaviour after every sexual homicide.

Accordingly, Warren et al. (2013) found a pattern among sadistic SHOs, necrophiliac murderers, rapists, incestuous child molesters, and extra-familial child molesters in which these offenders possessed a sexually stimulating collection filled with various personal items from victims (i.e., lingerie, jewellery, driver's licenses, and body parts) and documentation (i.e., recordings such as video recording, audio recording, and

photographs, sketches, journal entries, and writing stories) of their sexual crimes. This research examined five distinct groups of sexual offenders who used their collection like a library catalogue that allowed them to relive their experiences vicariously. The collection also served to perfect behaviours for future sexual offences and to create pornography for personal consumption or sharing with others (Warren et al., 2013). Collections were found to be specific to the offenders in this study; however, the overall significance behind these collections was similar across this group. Warren et al. (2013) identified the items in the collection to keep the offender linked to their victims and kept the crimes alive to the offender. Through the collection, the offender feels a sense of power through the continued victimization of their victims, even after death. The authors highlight that although the preservation of such crimes leaves them with incriminating evidence in their possession, the collection is a part of these offenders' crime commissions. The psychological importance to the offender is demonstrated, as without the collection, the crimes are not only unsatisfactory but are incomplete and could be forgotten about (Warren et al., 2013).

2.7. Sadism

Although the empirical literature is extremely limited on theft occurring in cases of sexual homicide, studies have identified an association between theft in sexual homicide and the presence of sexual sadism (e.g., Chopin & Beauregard, 2023a; Dietz et al., 1990; Gratzler & Bradford, 1995; Marshall & Hucker, 2006; Myers et al., 2019; Reale et al., 2017). Sadism is a clinical diagnosis as its definition is found in the DSM-5 as "recurrent and intense sexual arousal from the physical or psychological suffering of another person, as manifested by fantasies, urges, or behaviours" (APA, 2013, p. 694). Further, the DSM-5 states that to be diagnosed, the offender must experience these symptoms for at least six months and have acted on these fantasies, urges, and behaviours on a non-consenting individual. Through the literature, we can see that clinicians and researchers have a generally agreed-upon concept of sexual sadism through the characteristics of (i) some form of violent or humiliating behaviour (Abel, 1989; Groth & Birnbaum, 1978; Knight et al., 1994), (ii) the victim's reaction to this behaviour (e.g. being frightened, scared, or being in pain) (Marshall & Kennedy, 2003), or (iii) the resulting feeling of power and control as a result of the violence inflicted (Dietz et al., 1990; Grubin, 1994; MacCulloch et al., 1983).

Studies have argued that the clinical diagnosis of sadism through using the DSM has shortcomings due to the diagnosis relying on the presence of an offender's deviant sexual fantasies (Healey et al., 2013; Marshall & Kennedy, 2003). To know if the offender is experiencing deviant sexual fantasies, clinicians must rely on the offender themselves to speak on it; however, it is unlikely the offender would talk to others about their fantasy world (Marshall et al., 1999; Warren et al., 2013). Because of this, diagnostic tools have been developed that do not rely on the information given by the offender but focus on crime scene behaviours to determine the presence of sadism. Of interest to this research study is that the scales developed all include an item specifically for the behaviour of taking souvenirs and trophies from the victim.

Marshall & Hucker (2006) developed the first scale on sadism, which included 17 items related to sexually sadistic behaviours. The behavioural criteria could be identified through investigative reports regarding the crime scene, police reports, and victim statements. Additionally, The Sexual Sadism Scale (SeSaS) is an 11-item scale which uses forensic file-based information to assess sexual sadism in sexual homicide cases in which one item on this scale includes "taking trophies" (Stefanska et al., 2019). The Sexual Homicide Crime Scene Rating Scale for Sexual Sadism (SADSEX-SH) was developed by Myers et al. (2019) and is the most recent scale for the detection of sexual sadism in sexual homicide specifically. The scale includes eight items detected exclusively from crime scene evidence (sexual domination of the victim through the use of bondage, asphyxia, blindfolding, a knife, etc.; physical or psychological torture of the victim; victim forced to verbally or physically engage in sexually degrading, humiliating behaviour; gratuitous violence, excessive injury, biting, cutting, or other acts of physical cruelty inflicted on the victim; anal or oral sex forced upon the victim; use of an inanimate object(s) to sexually penetrate the victim; sexual mutilation of the victim; souvenirs or trophies taken from the victim) and uses a cut-off score of 6 (i.e., not present or unknown = 0, possibly present/some evidence = 1, present = 2). The SADSEX-SH scale is unique as through the analysis of the crime scene, investigators can be informed at the first stage of the investigation regarding the presence of sexual sadism in possible suspects (Myers et al., 2019). Through scales such as these, we see support amongst the literature that has identified sadistic SHOs to engage in theft from their victims by taking souvenirs and trophies.

Dietz et al. (1990) published a study on SHOs diagnosed with sadism. The study found 53% of the offenders to have documented their sexual crime at least once through either video recording, audio recording, photographs, writings, or drawings. Moreover, 43% of the sadistic SHOs engaged in theft from the victim - keeping personal items such as lingerie, shoes, jewellery, wallets, and driver's licenses. These were found hidden in the offender's possession, among other mementos, which Warren et al. (2013) would deem the offender's collection. Chopin and Beauregard's (2023a) study granted further support through their findings of four distinct behavioural patterns sadistic SHOs engage in during sexual homicide. The study demonstrated that sadism can manifest differently in sexual homicide, which is identifiable through the offender's behaviours during the crime. One of these distinct behaviour patterns was identifiable through taking souvenirs and trophies from victims, which the researchers labelled this group of SHOs as *the collectors*. Chopin and Beauregard (2023a) noted findings similar to Schlesinger et al. (2010) by identifying souvenirs and trophies as ritualistic behaviour for SHOs.

Moreover, most of the research on sadistic sexual homicide has focused on adult victims, with minimal knowledge about child victims of sadistic sexual homicide. In another study by Chopin and Beauregard (2022), the researchers found sadistic SHOs of children to display different behaviours than non-sadistic SHOs of children. The most distinguished acts were the level of sexual domination used against child victims paired with gratuitous violence, penetration (anal and/or vaginal), and the taking of souvenirs and trophies.

Chapter 3. The Current Study

Most people have heard the terms 'souvenirs,' 'trophies,' and 'mementos,' discussed in books and movies on the true crimes of serial killers and sexual murderers. They create eerie feelings, a behaviour most commonly thought by the general public to be associated with only those who have a diseased mind. Despite this behaviour being discussed through mainstream ideas, the empirical literature remains limited on what is known and understood about it and the offenders who engage in it. Limited research has delved into the phenomenon of theft in sexual homicide. The inception of this research was pioneered by FBI investigators and psychiatrists, as through investigations and clinical interviews with SHOs, this behaviour was discovered. Having its roots in investigative and clinical research, these studies were produced decades ago. (Dietz et al., 1990; Ressler et al., 1988; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). The most recent is Warren et al. (2013), bringing this topic back to the literature by analyzing the cases of high-profile sexual offenders over the past 40 years. These studies are still highly influential and guide the current research study.

The current study aims to bring back the research of these pioneers to the current literature while also addressing the gaps within the literature to inform investigative practices and awareness of theft in sexual homicide. To our knowledge, no study to date focuses entirely on the behaviour of theft in sexual homicide cases. Using a rational choice framework, the first aim of this study is to analyze the crime-commission process of SHOs who took items from the victim or crime scene. We believe SHOs who engage in theft will show a different crime commission process than SHOs who do not engage in theft. Our second aim looks at the presence of sadism to determine if SHOs who are sadistic are more likely to take items from their victims. Theft occurring during a sexual homicide can easily go unnoticed. Nevertheless, the discovery of these items has the potential to transform a dormant case into a solved one. Understanding this behaviour is crucial to the advancement of sexual homicide investigations.

Chapter 4. Methods

4.1. Sample

The sample in this study comes from the Sexual Homicide International Database (SHleLD). The database consists of 762 solved and unsolved cases of extrafamilial (stranger or acquaintance offenders) sexual homicides that occurred between 1948 – 2017 in France and Canada. The data consists of victim and crime scene characteristics, offender behaviours such as their modus operandi, as well as various forms of violence and sexual acts perpetrated against the victim (Chopin & Beauregard, 2019). The mean victim age was 30.77 years old ($SD = 18.11$), with most victims being female (86.2%) and Caucasian (70.6%). The data comes from the reports of various actors involved throughout the investigation (police detectives, forensic experts, psychologists, coroners, etc.) imputed by specially trained crime analysts whose expertise is in extrafamilial violent crimes. For cases to be included in the current study, they had to meet the FBI's definition of sexual homicide, proposed by Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988), which states sexual homicide must include 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, (f) evidence of substitute sexual activity, and (g) interest, or sadistic fantasy. In order to avoid potential false positives in sexual homicide cases, the current study considered only cases that presented at least two of these criteria.

4.2. Measures

The dependent variable in the current study is the action of taking items (0 = no; 1 = yes) or not from the victim of sexual homicide and is the result of two variables merged together. The first variable, 'items taken,' includes any physical item that was taken from the victim by the SHO and for which crime scene investigators could identify as stolen. The second variable is 'took a souvenir.' Taking a souvenir from the victim of sexual homicide has been identified in the literature to be a behaviour sexual murderers engage in that is symbolic to the offender, as it represents a physical reminder of the

murder (Holmes & Holmes, 2009; Ressler et al., 1988;). In the sample, 298 cases (39.1%) included theft, while 464 (60.9%) did not indicate any signs of theft (Table 1).

The independent variables were chosen based on previous studies which examined the behaviours of SHOs through their crime-commission process (i.e., pre-crime, crime, and post-crime phases; Chan et al., 2015; Reale et al., 2022a; Reale et al., 2022b).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for the Crime-Commission Process and Dependent Variable Items Taken

Variables	Percentage	Frequency (n = 762)
<i>Pre-Crime Phase</i>		
Victim 16 years or older	85.2	649
Victim targeted	29.0	221
Victim was a stranger	42.4	323
Victim was a female	86.2	657
Offender used con approach	51.8	395
Offender brought weapon	33.2	253
Victim was a sex worker	11.2	85
Victim was hitchhiking	4.7	36
Victim was homeless	7.7	59
Victim lived alone	17.5	133
Victim was sleeping	7.7	59
Victim was jogging	23.2	177
Victim under the influence	32.8	250
<i>Crime Phase</i>		
Weapon used	57.9	441
Restraints used	17.8	136
Violence: Asphyxiation	42.9	327
Violence: beating	44.2	337
Violence: stabbing	21.0	160
Sex acts: penetration	57.3	437
<i>Post-Crime Phase</i>		
Weapon not recovered	19.0	145
Post-mortem sex	15.2	116
Victim's body moved	30.3	231
<i>Other</i>		
Offender is sadistic	28.6	218
Items taken	39.1	298

Drawing upon previous research, 22 variables were used to examine the crime-commission process to determine if SHOs who steal items from the victim have a different crime-commission process than SHOs who do not steal items from the victim. All variables were coded dichotomously (0 = no; 1 = yes).

Pre-Crime Phase: The pre-crime phase variables have been identified in the literature as those which demonstrate planning and preparation for violent and sexual crimes against persons (Chopin & Beauregard, 2022; Reale et al., 2022a; Reale et al., 2022b). These include (1) Victim was 16 years old or older (0 = 15 and younger; 1 = 16 and older)¹, (2) Victim targeted, (3) Victim was a stranger, (4) Victim was a female, (5) Offender used a con approach, (6) Offender brought a weapon, (7) Victim was a sex worker, (8) Victim was hitchhiking, (9) Victim was homeless, (10) Victim lived alone, (11) Victim was sleeping, (12) Victim was jogging, and (13) Victim was under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol.

Crime Phase: The crime phase variables have been demonstrated in the literature as those which are related to successful behaviours in violent and sexual offending (Beauregard et al., 2020; Chopin et al., 2019; Healey et al., 2013; Reale et al., 2022a). These include (14) Weapon used, (15) Restraints used, (16) Violence: asphyxiation (i.e., asphyxiation and strangulation cases), (17) Violence: beating, (18) Violence: stabbing, (19) Sex acts: vaginal and/or anal penetration (all dichotomized as 0 = no, 1 = yes).

Post-Crime Phase: The post-crime phase variables were chosen based on behaviours offenders engage in after the completion of a violent and sexual crime. These include (20) Weapon not recovered, (21) Post-mortem sex, and (22) Victim's body moved. SHOs have been identified in the literature as engaging in precautionary behaviours, known as forensic awareness strategies (Davies, 1992), which allow offenders to decrease and/or delay the risk of police apprehension. Removal of the murder weapon (Brown & Keppel, 2012) and the victim's body moved from the crime scene to a disposal site (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014; Reale & Beauregard, 2019;

¹ The variable victim age was dichotomized to have all the variables within the analyses be a binary outcome, as this has been seen within other sexual victimization research (Beauregard et al., 2020; Chan & Beauregard, 2016; Chopin et al., 2019).

Georgoulis et al., 2023) have been identified as some forensic awareness strategies offenders will use.

Sadism: Lastly, one separate variable was used in the analyses outside the crime-commission process. Because previous literature (e.g., Dietz et al., 1990; Marshall & Hucker, 2006; Myers et al., 2019; Ressler et al., 1988; Warren et al., 2013) has identified sadistic sexual murderers to steal souvenirs and/or trophies from their victims, it was important to include the variable of (23) Sadism in order to control for this specific type of offender in our analyses.

4.3. Analytical Strategy

The analytical process involved four phases. The first phase was running descriptive statistics to explore the variables that make up the three stages of the crime-commission process and the additional variable sadism. The second phase included the bivariate analyses of chi-square tests. The bivariate analyses aimed to examine significant associations between the dependent variable (items taken) and each independent variable. The third phase involved a four-block sequential binary logistic regression. For the variables to be included in the multivariate analyses, they had to be significant ($p < .05$) at the bivariate level. Multicollinearity was tested for, and all values met the accepted thresholds of the variance inflation factor (VIF) below 5 and tolerance below .20 (Garson, 2016). VIF values ranged between 1.04 – 1.25, and the lowest tolerance value was .80, meeting the assumption (Garson, 2016). Models 1 – 3 are looking at the crime-commission process in which SHOs' behaviours and decision-making can be closely analyzed. Specifically, Model 1 includes the pre-crime behaviours of offence planning and victim targeting; Model 2 adds the crime phase behaviours SHOs engage in to successfully commit the murder, and Model 3 adds the post-crime behaviours SHOs exhibit to delay the risk of police detection and apprehension. The addition of model four looks at the presence of sadism to determine if SHOs who are sadistic are more likely to take items from their victims – as suggested by the literature – but also to examine whether the other variables of the crime-commission process remain significant once sadism is included. The predictive power of the models was assessed using Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) analysis to calculate the Area under the Curve (AUC). This step provides additional confirmation that the logistic regression

analyses adequately predict the outcome variable of items taken in sexual homicide cases.

The fourth phase wanted to further explore the multivariate relationships found in the logistic regression by using conjunctive analysis of case configurations proposed by Miethé, Hart, and Regoeczi (2008). The technique works by using a set of binary categorical variables and assembling a matrix of all the possible combinations, including the assignment of odds or probabilities associated with each combination. The combinations are organized in a table (i.e., see Table 4.) in which interactive relationships between the variables can be qualitatively analyzed to understand further which variables and combinations are more likely to cause the outcome variable (i.e., items taken). Conjunctive analyses have been used in previous research on violent crime, such as the various outcomes of hostage and barricade incidents (Beauregard & Michaud, 2015) and lethal outcomes in sexual homicide (Chopin & Beauregard, 2019). The appeal of this technique comes from being able to see the same outcome generated by multiple different multivariate combinations – through this, a saturated model is possible, and three different cause-effect relationships can be demonstrated: (i) the determination of the smallest number of all factors that appear to be related to the outcome state; (ii) the potential identification of some set of necessary conditions (i.e., elements that appear in every case of the outcome state); or (iii) the potential identification of some set of sufficient conditions (i.e., elements that, if present, result in the outcome state).

A limitation of conjunctive analysis is how quickly the number of combinations can grow, as for a binary variable, for example, the number of theoretical combinations is 2^n , where n equals the number of variables within the matrix. A matrix with more than six variables can become unmanageable quickly. Therefore, this study limited the analyses to the four significant variables found in model four of the multivariate analyses (i.e., victim 16 years or older, the victim was a stranger, the victim was a sex worker, and the offender is sadistic). The calculation for the odds ratio was done as an index of the relative likelihood of each combination. For example, an odds ratio greater than 1 consists of combinations in which items would be the most likely to be taken from the victim and/or crime scene of a sexual homicide. Whereas an odds ratio less than 1 consists of combinations that reduce the likelihood of items being taken in such context.

Chapter 5. Results

Table 3 presents the findings of the bivariate analyses comparing sexual homicide cases with or without theft throughout the crime-commission process and in addition to the presence of sadism. The pre-crime phase showed five variables significantly associated with theft in sexual homicide cases. Victims who were 16 years or older were significantly associated with items being taken ($\chi^2 (1) = 27.70, p = <.001, \phi = .191$). It was more likely that items were taken when the victim was 16 years or older. It was also more likely that items were taken when the victim was a stranger ($\chi^2 (1) = 21.24, p = <.001, \phi = .167$) to the SHO and a sex worker ($\chi^2 (1) = 10.53, p = .001, \phi = .118$). However, if the victim was targeted by the SHO ($\chi^2 (1) = 4.13, p = .042, \phi = -.074$) and hitchhiking ($\chi^2 (1) = 4.52, p = .033, \phi = -.077$), it was less likely items were taken from the victim. As for the crime phase, SHOs who used a weapon ($\chi^2 (1) = 4.14, p = .042, \phi = .074$), restraints ($\chi^2 (1) = 7.17, p = .007, \phi = .097$), and asphyxiation ($\chi^2 (1) = 5.84, p = .016, \phi = .088$) were more likely to take items from the victim and/or crime scene. The post-crime phase identified that in cases where the weapon was not recovered ($\chi^2 (1) = 10.70, p = .001, \phi = .118$), it was more likely that SHOs engaged in theft. Lastly, in sexual homicide cases where items were taken, it is more likely that the offender was sadistic ($\chi^2 (1) = 131.25, p = <.001, \phi = .415$) than when items were not taken from the victim.

Table 2. Bivariate Analyses for Items Taken Against Crime-Commission Process Variables and Sadism

Variables	Items taken (n = 298)	Items not taken (n = 464)	χ^2 , ϕ
<i>Pre-Crime Phase</i>			
Victim 16 years or older	93.6 (279)	79.7 (370)	$\chi^2(1) = 27.70, \phi = .191^{***}$
Victim targeted	24.8 (74)	31.7 (147)	$\chi^2(1) = 4.13, \phi = -.074^*$
Victim was a stranger	52.7 (157)	35.8 (166)	$\chi^2(1) = 21.24, \phi = .167^{***}$
Victim was a female	85.9 (256)	86.4 (401)	$\chi^2(1) = .041, \phi = -.007$
Offender used a con approach	49.3 (147)	53.4 (248)	$\chi^2(1) = 1.23, \phi = -.040$
Offender brought a weapon	36.6 (109)	31.0 (144)	$\chi^2(1) = 2.51, \phi = .057$
Victim was a sex worker	15.8 (47)	8.2 (38)	$\chi^2(1) = 10.53, \phi = .118^{***}$
Victim was hitchhiking	2.7 (8)	6.0 (28)	$\chi^2(1) = 4.52, \phi = -.077^*$
Victim was homeless	8.4 (25)	7.3 (34)	$\chi^2(1) = .286, \phi = .019$
Victim lived alone	15.1 (45)	19.0 (88)	$\chi^2(1) = 1.88, \phi = -.050$
Victim was sleeping	8.7 (26)	7.1 (33)	$\chi^2(1) = .660, \phi = .029$
Victim was jogging	22.8 (68)	23.5 (109)	$\chi^2(1) = .046, \phi = -.008$
Victim under the influence	33.6 (100)	32.3 (105)	$\chi^2(1) = .124, \phi = .013$
<i>Crime Phase</i>			
Weapon used	62.4 (186)	55.0 (255)	$\chi^2(1) = 4.14, \phi = .074^*$
Restraints used	22.5 (67)	14.9 (69)	$\chi^2(1) = 7.17, \phi = .097^{**}$
Violence: asphyxiation	48.3 (144)	39.4 (183)	$\chi^2(1) = 5.84, \phi = .088^*$
Violence: beating	46.0 (137)	43.1 (200)	$\chi^2(1) = .606, \phi = .028$
Violence: stabbing	20.5 (61)	21.3 (99)	$\chi^2(1) = .082, \phi = -.010$
Sex acts: penetration	58.7 (175)	56.5 (262)	$\chi^2(1) = .379, \phi = .022$
<i>Post-Crime Phase</i>			
Weapon not recovered	24.8 (74)	15.3 (71)	$\chi^2(1) = 10.70, \phi = .118^{***}$
Post-mortem sex	13.8 (41)	16.2 (75)	$\chi^2(1) = .814, \phi = -.033$
Victim's body moved	27.9 (83)	31.9 (148)	$\chi^2(1) = 1.41, \phi = -.043$

Other

Offender is sadistic

52.0 (155)

13.6 (63)

$\chi^2(1) = 131.25, \phi = .415^{***}$

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2 presents the results of the sequential logistic regression examining if theft occurred after a sexual homicide. Model 1 includes the pre-crime characteristics and has a Nagelkerke R² of 0.12. The findings demonstrate that victims 16 years or older (OR = 3.71, $p < .001$), who were strangers to the offender (OR = 2.19, $p < .001$), and who were sex workers (OR = 1.92, $p = .007$) were respectively 3.71, 2.19, and 1.92 times more likely to have items taken from them. The model's classification accuracy was 64.8% and reported a ROC-AUC value of .67 ($p < .001$), which is considered poor model accuracy (Figure 1; Garson, 2016). Model 2, adding the crime phase characteristics, reports a Nagelkerke R² of 0.15 and a classification accuracy of 67.1%. The pre-crime characteristics in Model 1 remained significant and in the expected direction in Model 2. If the victim was 16 years or older (OR = 4.18, $p < .001$), if the victim was a stranger (OR = 2.16, $p < .001$), and if the victim was a sex worker (OR = 2.09, $p = .003$) it was 4.18, 2.16, and 2.09 times more likely items were taken, respectfully. Additionally, if a weapon (OR = 1.51, $p = .013$) or restraints (OR = 1.86, $p = .003$) were used, the SHO was respectively 1.51 times and 1.86 times more likely to take items from the scene and/or victim. Lastly, if strangulation occurred (OR = 1.60, $p = .004$), it was 1.60 times more likely that items were taken. Model 2 improves in predicting items being taken with a ROC-AUC value of .70 ($p < .001$) (Garson, 2016).

Model 3 sees the addition of the post-crime characteristic and has a Nagelkerke R² of 0.17. With this addition, the classification accuracy improved to 69.4%. As seen in the previous models, the pre-crime characteristics in Model 1 and Model 2 remained significant and in the expected direction in Model 3. If the victim was 16 years or older (OR = 4.30, $p < .001$), if the victim was a stranger (OR = 2.16, $p < .001$), and if the victim was a sex worker (OR 2.07, $p = .003$) it was 4.30, 2.16, and 2.07 times more likely items were taken from the scene and/or victim, respectfully. Interestingly, the use of a weapon was not significant in Model 3; however, if restraints were used (OR 1.91, $p = .002$) and/or asphyxiation occurred (OR = 1.59, $p = .005$), the SHO was respectfully 1.91 and 1.59 times more likely to take items from the scene and/or victim. Lastly, if the weapon was not recovered (OR = 1.73, $p = .012$), it was 1.73 times more likely that items were taken. Model 3 improves slightly in predicting items being taken with a ROC-AUC value of .71 ($p < .001$) (Garson, 2016). Model four sees the addition of sadism and has a Nagelkerke R² of 0.32. With this introduction, the classification accuracy further improved to 73.1%. Findings show that in cases where the victim was 16 years or older

(OR = 4.29, $p < .001$), was a stranger to the SHO (OR = 2.23, $p < .001$), and was a sex worker (OR = 2.48, $p < .001$) were respectfully 4.29, 2.23, and 2.48 times more likely to also be victims of theft. It is interesting to note that model four did not identify any crime or post-crime variables to be significant; however, the offender being sadistic was found to be significant. Therefore, if the offender was sadistic (OR = 6.89, $p < .001$), it was 6.89 times more likely that items were taken. The ROC-AUC value is .79, which shows the model adequately predicts items taken from the victim and/or crime scene (Figure 1; Garson, 2016).

Table 3. Sequential Logistic Regression Predicting Items Being Taken.

Variables	Model 1 OR (95% CI)	Model 2 OR (95% CI)	Model 3 OR (95% CI)	Model 4 OR (95% CI)
<i>Pre-Crime Phase</i>				
Victim 16 years or older	3.71 (2.19, 6.30)***	4.18 (2.43, 7.19)***	4.30 (2.49, 7.43)***	4.29 (2.38, 7.75)***
Victim was targeted	.854 (.604, 1.21)	.768 (.535, 1.10)	.817 (.567, 1.78)	.827 (.557, 1.23)
Victim was a stranger	2.19 (1.61, 2.99)***	2.16 (1.57, 2.96)***	2.16 (1.57, 2.96)***	2.23 (1.58, 3.14)***
Victim was a sex worker	1.92 (1.20, 3.08)**	2.09 (1.29, 3.39)**	2.07 (1.28, 3.25)**	2.48 (1.47, 4.19)***
Victim was hitchhiking	.448 (.196, 1.02)	.481 (.207, 1.11)	.473 (.204, 1.10)	.400 (.160, 1.000)
<i>Crime Phase</i>				
Weapon used		1.51 (1.09, 2.09)*	1.27 (.896, 1.81)	.984 (.674, 1.44)
Restraints used		1.86 (1.23, 2.82)**	1.91 (1.26, 2.91)**	1.42 (.894, 2.25)
Violence asphyxiation		1.60 (1.56, 2.21)**	1.59 (1.15, 2.20)**	1.27 (.889, 1.80)
<i>Post-Crime Phase</i>				
Weapon not recovered			1.73 (1.13, 2.66)*	1.17 (.723, 1.88)
<i>Other</i>				
Offender is sadistic				6.89 (4.65, 10.21)***
Constant	0.14	0.08	0.07	0.06
χ^2	68.41***	92.19***	98.60***	202.01***
Nagelkerke R ²	0.12	0.15	0.17	0.32
Overall % predicted	64.8	67.1	69.4	73.1

Note: OR = odds ratio

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

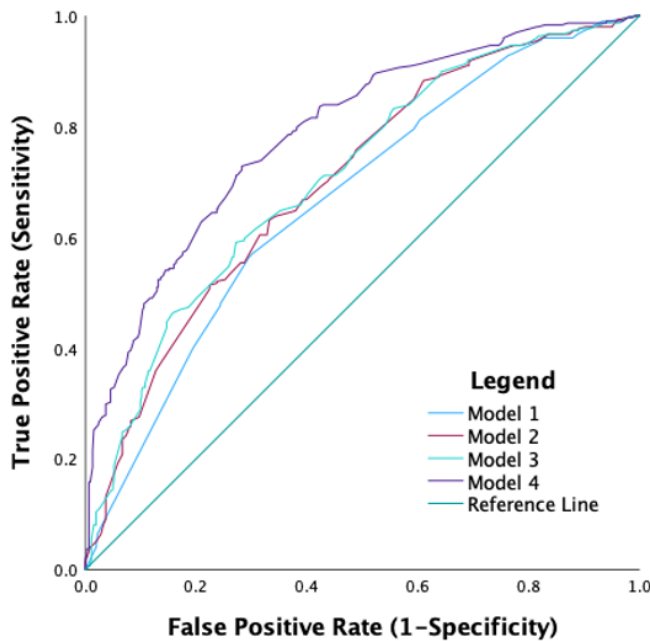


Figure 1. ROC-AUC for All Models with Items Taken

Table 4 presents the matrix produced by the conjunctive analysis of the significant variables found in model four of the logistic regression and the likelihood of items being taken after a sexual homicide. It appears that combination no 1 (OR = 20.25) has the highest likelihood of theft occurring. This suggests that when the victim was 16 years or older, the victim and offender were strangers, the victim was a sex worker, and the offender was sadistic, items being taken from the victim and/or crime scene are more than 20 times more likely to occur. The second highest likelihood of theft occurring is combination no 3 (OR = 9.20), which describes a sexual homicide where the victim was 16 years or older, the victim and offender were strangers, the victim was not a sex worker, and the offender was sadistic. When a sexual homicide presents these characteristics, it is approximately nine times more likely that items will be taken from the victim and/or crime scene. Moreover, of the ten combinations presenting an odds ratio higher than 1 (nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 14, and 15), seven present the victim being 16 years or older (nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7), six demonstrate the presence of sadism (nos 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, and 15), while half present the victim and offender having a stranger relationship (nos 1, 2, 3, 4, and 11) and the victim being a sex worker (nos, 1, 2, 5, 6,

and 14). Interestingly, taking a further look at the six combinations with the presence of sadism (nos 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, and 15), four present the victim being 16 years or older (nos 1, 3, 5, and 7), half present the victim and offender having a stranger relationship (nos 1, 3, and 11), while four present the victim not being a sex worker (nos 3, 7, 11, and 15). Additionally, the results show certain combinations which are less likely to result in items being taken from the victim and/or crime scene (nos 8, 12, and 16). All three combinations present the victim as not being a sex worker and with no presence of sadism. However, two combinations (nos 12 and 16) present the victim as under the age of 16, and two combinations (nos 8 and 16) present the offender as having known the victim. Interestingly, our findings also show some combinations that never occurred (i.e., those with zero in cells), suggesting that SHOs never adopted these combinations when committing their crimes. All three combinations (nos 9, 10, and 13) present the victim as being younger than 16 and sex workers. Two present the victim and offender having a stranger relationship (nos 9 and 10), and another two present the SHO being sadistic (nos 9 and 13).

Table 4. Conjunctive Analysis of Independent Variables and the Outcome Variable Items Taken (N = 762)

Age	Victim was stranger	Victim was a sex worker	Sadism	Items taken (%) n = 298	Items not taken (%) n = 464	Odds ratio	Combo no
16 or more	Yes	Yes	Yes	13 (92.9)	1 (7.1)	20.25**	1
			No	7 (43.8)	9 (56.3)	1.21*	2
	No	No	Yes	65 (85.5)	11 (14.5)	9.20***	3
			No	64 (39.5)	98 (60.5)	1.02*	4
		Yes	Yes	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	4.67**	5
			No	20 (44.4)	25 (55.6)	1.25*	6
		No	Yes	59 (62.1)	36 (37.9)	2.42***	7
			No	45 (19.3)	188 (80.7)	0.37***	8
Less than 16	Yes	Yes	Yes	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)		9
			No	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)		10
	No	No	Yes	6 (40.0)	9 (60.0)	1.04*	11
			No	2 (5.0)	38 (95.0)	0.08***	12
	No	Yes	Yes	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)		13
			No	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	1.56*	14
		No	Yes	6 (60.0)	4 (40.0)	2.34	15
			No	4 (8.7)	42 (91.3)	0.15***	16

Note: * p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001

Chapter 6. Discussion

6.1. Pre-Crime Phase: The Importance of Victimology

Victims who were 16 years and older were more likely to have items taken from them than victims younger than 16. This is likely due to older victims owning more things, which puts them at a higher risk of theft. The CRAVED model further supports this finding as Clarke (1999) proposed the concept of “hot products,” which are considered the most common items thieves target. These items are concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable, and disposable. Cash is most commonly stolen; however, thieves target items of high monetary value in the absence of cash. These include vehicle parts, electronics, tools, jewellery, and fashion items such as designer bags or shoes (Clarke, 1999). These are items that young children are unlikely to possess, therefore not making them victims of theft in sexual homicide. It is those who are older who have these “hot products” that make them the primary target for theft, even in sexual homicide.

The findings show that theft was more prevalent when the victim was a stranger. The sexual homicide literature has identified the prevalence of stranger victims to be much higher in sexual homicide (Beauregard & Martineau, 2013), which also explains why these cases are the most difficult for police to solve (Reale et al., 2022a). The study by Dietz et al. (1990) found SHOs to target stranger victims as it reduces the possibility of them being linked to the victim. Therefore, the benefits are perceived as outweighing the costs, creating conditions conducive to additional victimization, such as theft in this case.

Additionally, the results echo findings in the sadism literature, as sadistic SHOs are known to target stranger victims (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002; Chan et al., 2015; Dietz et al., 1990; Beauregard et al., 2007; Ressler et al., 1988). The FBI uses the term *organized offender*, which is characterized by sadism in which the victim is a targeted stranger (Ressler et al., 1988). Similarly, Chopin and Beauregard (2023a) identified four different classes of the manifestation of sadism in sexual homicide. One of the classes was distinguished by torture and sexual mutilation, in which the sadists selected a victim who was a stranger. In another study, Beauregard and Proulx (2002) conducted semi-structured interviews with non-serial SHOs of women, in which the researchers identified

two types of offenders— sadistic and angry. Sadistic SHOs were found to premeditate their crime, select a stranger victim, torture victims, and mutilate the victim. In contrast, angry SHOs were found to have no premeditation with their crimes, select a circumstantial victim, and experience feelings of anger before committing the sexual homicide. Sadistic SHOs in this study reported feeling calm in the pre-crime phase as they experienced positive emotions such as happiness and sexual arousal. These emotions likely arise from the excitement of the hunt and are associated with deviant sexual fantasies (Beauregard et al., 2007). The angry/sadistic profiles of sexual homicide were further tested by Chai et al. (2021), who also identified similar profile types. The researcher's *methodical* class was representative of the sadistic profile identified earlier (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). Characteristics found in the *methodical* class were the SHO engaging in premeditation, the selection of stranger victims, and the mutilation of the victim's body. The studies mentioned demonstrate the broad literature that has examined the selection of stranger victims to be a characteristic of sadistic SHOs.

The findings show that if the victim was a sex worker, they were more likely to have items taken from them. Individuals engaged in sex work face a heightened vulnerability to victimization (Quinet, 2011; Salfati & Sorochinski, 2021). Further, in comparison to the general population, sex workers face the greatest risk of being victim of a homicide (Brewer et al., 2006). This is due to the setting in which sex work occurs, as sex workers meet clients in hotel rooms, cars, or homes, where often, this is the first time the sex worker can begin screening the client. In these instances, the sex worker is in a private space with a client and no one else around. This private setting allows for a wide array of offences, such as robbery, sexual assault, and homicide, to occur (Brewer et al., 2006; Chan, 2021).

Quinet (2011) discussed the common perception of sex workers as invisible people, subjected to mistreatment and abuse while often lacking support, both socially and financially, from the broader community. Victims who were involved in the sex trade often receive less public empathy, and many people hold hatred towards them (Quinet, 2011). The stigma attached to sex work has marginalized this group within society, rendering them susceptible to being targeted by offenders, often without adequate attention if they go missing (Paquette et al., 2022; Salfati et al., 2008). In their descriptive study of sexual homicide in Canada, Beauregard and Martineau (2013) noted sex

workers to be highly mobile, which decreases the likelihood they stay in touch to inform family and friends when they are moving to another city or province. In cases where these women go missing, it remains unnoticed for longer. Quinet (2007) referred to sex workers in these cases as “missing missing” as they are missing persons who were never reported as missing. This has a direct impact on the investigation process being delayed and contributes to the underestimation of the actual numbers of serial murder victims (Quinet, 2007; 2011). This is exemplified by the case of Robert Pickton in British Columbia, who was found guilty of murdering six sex trade workers and suspected of being responsible for killing an additional 43 victims from the Downtown East Side. Additionally, such perceptions were illustrated by Gary Leon Ridgway (known as the Green River Killer), an American serial killer who was found guilty of murdering 48 women, all of whom were sex trade workers. During his sentencing, Ridgway stated,

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)

The cases of Robert Pickton and Gary Ridgway demonstrate offenders who specifically targeted sex workers. The preference for sex worker victims is demonstrated through accessibility and opportunity (Beauregard & Martineau, 2016; Salfati, 2008; Quinet, 2007;2011). Sex workers are readily available victims for offenders, and the negative societal perceptions of the sex trade provide an opportunity for offenders to target this group without immediate attention when they go missing.

The current study provides further evidence of the vulnerability of sex workers in sexual homicide cases. Although not sexual homicide, Salfati et al. (2008) found similar findings in their descriptive study on sex worker homicides. The property of victims was found to be stolen in 14 of 27 sex worker homicide cases. Rational choice theory suggests that offenders make decisions following a cost-benefit analysis (Clarke & Cornish, 1986). The findings of this study are in accordance with Salfati et al. (2008) and what rational choice would theorize, as it is likely the victim had large amounts of money on them as payment for sex work is often in cash. In these cases, the SHO is already in a private space with the victim and sees the opportunity to steal items from the victim.

Whether targeted for these items or noticed when exiting the crime scene, the benefits outweighed the costs.

Also worth noting is that previous literature has also found sadistic SHOs target sex workers. The study by Beauregard and Martineau (2016) identified three pathways which lead to the sexual homicide of sex workers. In all three pathways, the sex worker is specifically selected as the victim; however, the SHOs focus for committing the crime varies. One of these pathways is characterized by sadism through crime scene actions such as unusual and/or bizarre acts, fully removing the victim's clothing, foreign objection insertion into body cavities, overkill, and taking items from the victim (Beauregard & Martineau, 2016). Such characteristics have been noted on various scales that assess the presence of sadism in SHOs (Marshall & Hucker, 2006; Myers et al., 2019; Stefanska et al., 2019). The results of our conjunctive analysis also reflect similar findings as the combination which had the highest likelihood of theft occurring in sexual homicide included the victim being 16 years or older, the victim and offender being strangers, the victim being a sex worker, and the offender being sadistic. This combination increased the likelihood of theft occurring by more than 20 times. In cases where a sadistic SHO steals from a sex worker, it is less likely that it is an instrumental crime and has more to do with deviant sexual fantasy.

Interestingly, hitchhikers were not victims of theft in sexual homicide cases. Hitchhikers present similar vulnerabilities to sex workers as they enter a private space (i.e., vehicle) with a SHO; however, they do not become victims of theft. Engaging in hitchhiking is often due to a lack of financial means for other transportation, suggesting they did not have anything to steal. This aligns with the CRAVED model, as offenders engaging in instrumental theft seek items with inherent value that can serve to benefit them (Clarke, 1999). In addition to non-significant variables, is the variable victim was targeted. Although this variable did not come up statistically significant, we believe this is due to the other pre-crime phase variables having an effect. Victim age, the victim was a stranger, and the victim was a sex worker are all characteristics that require the SHO to target the victim. We believe these variables have absorbed the effect, making the victim-targeted variable not significant anymore.

6.2. Crime and Post-Crime Phase

As one of the first to develop an empirical typology for SHOs, the FBI identified the organized/disorganized offender profiles using the background characteristics of the offender (e.g., familial structure, intelligence, childhood upbringing) and crime scene behaviours (Ressler et al., 1988). By assessing the SHOs behaviour at the crime scene and victim selection, investigators could create a behavioural profile of the suspected SHOs personality, developmental, and lifestyle characteristics to assist investigators in apprehending the offender (Healey et al., 2016; Ressler et al., 1988). As stated by the FBI, the organized offender is thought to live an organized and well-ordered life, which is reflected in the commission of the crime. The organized offender carefully plans the crime, chooses a stranger victim, and engages in forensic awareness strategies to avoid detection by removing forensic evidence, taking the weapon from the scene, and transporting the body. The organized offender is intelligent, socially, and sexually competent. Manipulation tactics are employed to exert control over the victim, gaining their confidence through seemingly normal interactions rather than using force. Some offenders will impersonate another person's role to gain access to a victim – they may be dressed casually, in a business suit or a uniform. During the crime, the organized offender asserts control over the victim using restraints (i.e., blindfolds, gags, ropes, chains, tape, belts, clothing, and handcuffs). The presence of restraints may indicate sadistic elements, as the organized offender is driven by ritualistic and deviant sexual fantasies. The victim undergoes prolonged torture, deliberately leading to a slow and intentional death. Ritual and fantasy are additionally evident in the act of collecting souvenirs from either the victim or the crime scene (Ressler et al., 1988).

On the other hand, with never being married, living alone or with a parental figure, disorganized offenders are socially inadequate (Ressler et al., 1988). They usually have never had a sexual partner and are sexually incompetent. They typically display a crime scene that is in disarray as it is unplanned and suggests it occurred suddenly without thought to avoid detection. Sexual deviancy is not the motivation, but anger is. The crime occurs unexpectedly as the victim is subjected to a violent surprise attack that occurs while they are involved in their daily activities. Fueled by rage, disorganized offenders engage in overkill to dehumanize the victim. Excessive force used towards the victim's face may suggest offenders knew the victim or the victim

reminded them of a person who caused them psychological distress. Disorganized offenders kill the victim quickly, as the use of restraints is unnecessary for these offenders. If sadistic sexual acts take place, this is usually done once the victim is dead – mutilation is common with disorganized offenders. The crime scene will have footsteps and fingerprints, and often, the weapon is left behind, which leaves investigators with plenty of evidence (Ressler et al., 1988)

The findings in the crime phase and post-crime phase showed the use of a weapon, the use of restraints, the offender engaging in asphyxiation, and the weapon not recovered from the scene to all be significantly associated with items being taken from the victim. These crime scene characteristics are identified with whom the FBI would classify as an organized offender (Ressler et al., 1988). Crime phase behaviours of the organized offender have been intentionally thought out and planned as this is necessary to gain control over the victim to succeed in the crime (Beauregard et al., 2020; Healey et al., 2013). The use of a weapon allows the SHO to gain control over the victim, making the commission of the crime easier when the victim is compliant. This was seen through the study by Beauregard and Leclerc (2007), who discovered that sex offenders engage in different weapon choices depending on how they have accessed the victim. In cases where the victim is further away, a gun is more commonly used to control the victim, whereas when the victim is in close proximity to the sexual offender, the use of a knife is more prevalent. For SHOs who are stealing from the victim, the weapon can be used as a threat for what can potentially be done if the victim does not comply. Similarly, tying the victim up with restraints also provides the SHO with greater control over the victim. In cases where situational factors are present, such as more victim resistance than the SHO anticipated, the SHO can use restraints as it is then much easier to steal from the victim when there is less victim resistance. Further, strangulation is a common method of killing by SHOs (Sorochinski & Salfati, 2019) and is also characterized under the organized offender profile (Ressler et al., 1988).

Additionally, the findings show that the weapon was not recovered from the crime scene. It is likely that SHOs who steal items from their victims are engaging in forensic awareness strategies, which is a characteristic of the organized offender (Ressler et al., 1988). Pre-planning the offence's commission occurs to lower the risk of being apprehended. Being cautious not to leave evidence behind can suggest that the SHO is more sophisticated in their crime commission than offenders who do leave forensic

evidence at the crime scene (i.e., disorganized offenders; Ressler et al., 1988). Reale et al. (2022a) found this to be the case for sexual burglary offenders when compared to sexual robbery offenders. Sexual burglary offenders displayed high levels of expertise throughout the entire crime-commission process (i.e., pre-crime, crime, and post-crime), but especially in the post-crime phase where forensic awareness strategies were used. Forensic awareness strategies such as destroying or removing evidence aided them in avoiding police detection and apprehension. In the crime and post-crime phases, we observed that the crime scene characteristics closely resemble what FBI profilers would classify as an organized offender (Ressler et al., 1988).

Interestingly, once we have included sadism in model four, the crime and post-crime phase variables are no longer significant. We believe this is due to the variable sadism taking over significance, as the crime phase and post-crime phase variables are all found to be behaviours of a sadistic SHO's crime scene. FBI profilers Ressler and colleagues (1988) also identified the organized offender profile to display sadistic elements, which then explains and grants support to these findings.

6.3. Sadism

Findings indicated the presence of sadism to be significant in sexual homicide cases involving theft. As unusual as this behaviour might be, this finding was not surprising as it is consistent with previous studies (Chopin & Beauregard, 2023a; Dietz et al., 1990; Gratzler & Bradford, 1995; Ressler et al., 1988; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999; Warren et al., 2013). This behaviour is not found in all sexual homicide cases; however, when it does happen, the SHO is likely sadistic. Although research on sexual homicide has made significant advancements since the creation of the FBI Behavioural Science Unit in the 1970s, specific behaviours, such as theft, have been less empirically studied. Although limited in the empirical literature, those who have examined the behaviour of theft in their analysis have shown that it was related to sadism. For example, in one of the earlier studies published on sadism, Dietz et al. (1990) found that 43% of sadistic SHOs kept personal items from their victims as trophies. These trophies served sadistic SHOs psychologically as they are symbolic of the SHO's "conquest" over the victim as well as becoming a part of the SHO's fantasy world. The researchers also found 53% of sadistic SHOs to have documented at least one of their sexual crimes through the form of writings, drawings, photographs, audio recordings, or video recordings. Dietz et al.

(1990) highlighted the mass documentation of offences kept by some offenders, such as mass collections of photographs of their victims, collections of video recordings of their sexual crimes, and mass collections of audio recordings of their sexual crimes. The study by Chopin and Beauregard (2023a) found sadism to manifest differently in sexual homicide. Detection of the various manifestations of sadism was seen through crime scene behaviours in which the taking of souvenirs and trophies from victims was identified as one form of manifestation classified as *the collectors*.

Moreover, the study by Warren et al. (2013) identified sadistic SHOs to steal personal items such as jewellery from their victim. Holding incriminating evidence in their possession not only fuels their narcissistic personality as having “one-up” on the police, but as stated by Warren et al. (2013), it keeps the victim linked to the offender even after death. Such items are incredibly symbolic to sadistic offenders, which makes it difficult for a law-abiding citizen to understand. One sadistic SHO interviewed by the authors in Warren et al. (2013) kept items from his victims in his mother's attic, whom he visited for coffee each morning after working the night shift. Another regifted a victim's jewellery to his daughter and wife. Both cases allowed the offender to be in proximity to the victim through seemingly ordinary interactions, unnoticed by others. Similar findings were observed by Ressler et al. (1988), where a SHO regifted the victim's jewellery to his girlfriend. These examples highlight the stark duality in the lives of these offenders, who can appear as loving husbands and fathers even as they have just committed the brutal crimes of rape and murder against young women. This duality demonstrates the organized offender typology proposed by Ressler and colleagues (1988), as the organized offender characteristics tend to show this offender to live a seemingly normal life with an above average IQ, socially adept, steady job, and living with a partner. However, evidence of the organized offender's fantasy world is seen through the taking of souvenirs from the victim or crime scene (Ressler et al., 1988).

For some sadistic SHOs, theft is part of their crime commission, as without the act of theft, the sexual homicide is incomplete and unsatisfactory (Warren et al., 2013). Schlesinger et al. (2010) noted taking souvenirs and trophies as a ritualistic behaviour as it is unnecessary to complete the crime; however, the offender engages in theft to fulfill a psychological need. Interestingly, Schlesinger et al. (2010) found ritualistic behaviour to change, as only 13.5% of SHOs in their study engaged in the same ritual with multiple victims. However, this study looked at serial SHOs and not sadistic SHOs specifically. It

would be interesting to see how these results would differ if the sample consisted only of sadistic SHOs.

Through the literature, we see that the characteristics of sexual sadism are grounded in the basis of power and control over another human being. It is through physical and psychological torture, such as humiliating the victim and inflicting pain and suffering on the victim, that is sexually stimulating for sadists (Groth & Birnbaum, 1978; Knight et al., 1994). Sadistic SHOs spend time with their victims before killing them, as sexual arousal comes from the various acts that take place before the victim is dead. Sexual arousal also comes from having power over the life of the victim (Dietz et al., 1990; MacCulloch et al., 1983). These characteristics demonstrate why sadistic offenders then engage in taking items from the crime scene or personal items from the victim. The sexual homicide is symbolic to the offender as it reflects his deviant sexual fantasy world, in which he was able to act on a real victim. Taking souvenirs or trophies allows the offender to have an item to remember these events.

Rather than looking at only souvenirs and trophies, Warren et al. (2013) highlighted that sadistic SHOs are known to possess a collection filled with various items from their sexual crimes. Through the collection, a deeper understanding of the offender can be uncovered. Collections are unique to the offender as they can give information regarding his fantasy world, sexual urges, motivations, and future criminal behaviour (Warren et al., 2013). The collection is made up of personal items from the victims, which the authors classified as trophies (i.e., lingerie, jewellery, driver's licenses, and body parts) and various forms of documentation (i.e., recordings such as video recording, audio recording, and photographs, sketches, journal entries, and writing stories). The collection not only keeps the sadistic SHO linked to the victim, but it also keeps the crimes alive. It is through the collection that the sadistic SHO can relive the events that took place and reclaim the sense of power they felt when torturing, sexually assaulting, and taking the life of the victim. The collection allows the offender to keep the victim in a never-ending cycle of victimization; as said by Warren et al. (2013), "the offender transforms the lives of his victims into a collection of conquests that he can cherish, classify, organize, and maintain" (p. 671). Without such documentation, sexual crimes could be forgotten about, which then would take away the sadist's power and control once had over the victim.

In addition, these findings are in support of the various scales that have been developed on sadism, which include the taking of items from the victim in the form of souvenirs and trophies. Marshall & Hucker's (2006) 17-item scale related to sexually sadistic behaviours includes item 11, "offender keeps trophies (e.g., hair, underwear, ID) of victim," and item 12, "offender keeps records (other than trophies) of offense." SeSaS is an 11-item scale which seeks to assess sexual sadism in sexual homicide cases (Stefanska et al., 2019). Item 11 on SeSaS is listed as "taking trophies" (Stefanska et al., 2019). Interestingly, souvenirs are not classified as an item on both scales; however, Marshall & Hucker (2006) included record keeping. This is similar to how Warren et al. (2013) explained the collection and the findings by Dietz et al. (1990) on sadistic SHOs. In both studies, all personal items taken from the victim were classified as trophies and souvenirs were not listed. Additionally, offenders who documented their crimes through photographs, video recordings, audio recordings, writings, or drawings were classified as keeping records. Future research would benefit from identifying the language of souvenirs and trophies as some studies seem to use the words conversely, interchangeably, or preference is given to either trophy (Dietz et al., 1990; Marshall & Hucker, 2006; Stefanska et al., 2019; Warren et al., 2013) or souvenir (Ressler et al., 1988); although FBI profilers distinguish between the two (Ressler et al., 1988). SADSEX-SH was designed specifically for the detection of sadism in sexual homicide cases, as it uses only crime scene characteristics to detect the presence of sexual sadism in possible suspects (Myers et al., 2019). SADSEX-SH also captures theft as a behaviour committed by sadistic SHOs, as item eight includes "souvenirs or trophies taken from the victim" (Myers et al., 2019).

Although rarely examined in the empirical literature, the findings follow what has been identified in previous studies characterizing sadistic SHOs as those who take items from the victim or crime scene. Additionally, sadistic SHOs have been shown to possess a sexually stimulating collection which includes souvenirs and trophies as well as other forms of documentation of their sexual crimes. While this study looked at items taken broadly, with sadism being significantly associated with such behaviour, we believe our findings are congruent with previous interpretations, namely that items taken by the offenders were done to fulfil their psychological desires driven by fantasy and the paraphilia of the offender.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The current study builds on previous research that found sadistic SHOs to take personal items belonging to the victim and found to possess a collection of artifacts from their sexual crimes (Chopin & Beauregard, 2023a; Dietz et al., 1990; Gratzler & Bradford, 1995; Ressler et al., 1988; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999; Warren et al., 2013). This behaviour is not instrumental, and the items taken by these offenders are not for monetary reasons but reflect the paraphilia of the offender (Dietz et al., 1990; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999; Warren et al., 2013). Pioneering studies in the sexual homicide literature that identified sadistic SHOs as committing theft through the taking of souvenirs and trophies were the FBI study by Ressler and Colleagues (1988) as well as Dietz et al. (1990). Equally impactful work is by Schlesinger & Revitch (1999), who highlighted the connection between burglary offences and sexual homicide in which the presence of sadistic fantasy through fetish theft is also found. It has been decades since this research was published, yet little empirical work in this area has been done. Our goal with this study was to reiterate this unusual and strange behaviour, which provides massive insight for those investigating these offenders and their crimes. By focusing solely on theft in sexual homicide, this study currently provides the only microanalysis of this behaviour and an empirical examination of the type of SHO most likely to commit it.

Sadists are the most dangerous and destructive of all SHOs (Dietz et al., 1990). These findings reinforce the importance of investigators being knowledgeable about sadism and crime scene behaviours of sadistic SHOs. In sexual homicide cases where the crime scene displays the presence of sadistic acts, investigators should be taking note of missing items. This can be done by searching for the victim's wallet at the crime scene to see if their ID card is still present. This is likely standard procedure for investigators trying to identify the victim. However, if an ID card is absent, it is crucial to document this, as previous literature has revealed victim ID cards as commonly taken items as souvenirs or trophies (Dietz et al., 1990; Ressler et al., 1988; Warren et al., 2013). Further, investigators should speak to the victim's family and friends to identify regularly worn clothing, shoes, and jewellery by the victim as these are also common items sadistic SHOs have been found to take as souvenirs or trophies (Dietz et al., 1990; Ressler et al., 1988; Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999; Warren et al., 2013). This evidence should not be overlooked as, in cold cases, this might be the only incriminating evidence

available. Investigators should obtain search warrants from a judge for the suspected SHOs home as well as anyone perceived as having a close relationship with the SHO (i.e., family members, intimate partners, friends). From previous literature, we know sadistic SHOs often will regift personal items from the victim, such as jewellery, to wives, children, or girlfriends (Ressler et al., 1988; Warren et al., 2013). It is also possible that these items will be hiding in other people's homes (Warren et al., 2013). These items are incredibly important to SHOs as they are symbolic of the SHOs fantasy world coming to reality and maintain a link between the SHO and the victim. These items will not be far away as they will be near the SHOs everyday life, and this is what investigators should use to begin searching. Over 30 years ago, Dietz et al. (1990) mentioned the rarity of police agencies acknowledging the importance of theft and record-keeping in sadistic sexual homicides and obtaining search warrants for such. With a lack of literature until this study's findings, we emphasize the need for investigators to be informed.

Moreover, when it is suspected the SHO is sadistic, the interrogation should be structured to the characteristics of the sadistic SHO and their crimes rather than using the same interrogation techniques on all offenders (Beauregard & Mieczkowski, 2011). Investigators should expect these offenders to be more reluctant to confess to their sexual crimes due to concerns regarding their image and reputation (Beauregard et al., 2010). Additionally, these offenders display antisocial and narcissistic tendencies with a lack of empathy and remorse for their sexual crimes, which has a direct reflection during the interrogation as they are less cooperative (Beauregard et al., 2010; Beauregard et al., 2017). Investigators should have a confrontational approach to display their competency and authority to make a strong impression on the offender. Beauregard et al. (2017) suggested that delaying the interview is one way to do this. The investigator should still acknowledge the SHO but keep them waiting a few minutes before bringing them into the interrogation room. This sets the tone that the investigator controls the interview, not the SHO.

Although the sexual crimes committed are horrific, investigators should maintain a neutral and non-judgmental perception of the SHO during the interrogation (Kebell et al., 2006). With the knowledge of sadistic SHOs engaging in theft from their victim as souvenirs or trophies to add to their sexual collection, investigators can use this information to develop the interrogation further. Sexual fantasy undoubtedly drives this behaviour (Dietz et al., 1990; Warren et al., 2013). The taking of personal items reflects

the SHOs fantasy world and symbolizes they were able to make it come to reality, as the SHO will hold much pride over the items (Warren et al., 2013). These items maintain a link between the offender and the victim, allowing the offender to keep the victim in a never-ending cycle of victimization as the offender feels a sense of power through this (Dietz et al., 1990; Warren et al., 2013). Therefore, investigators should attempt to relate positively to the SHO rather than talk about their sexual interests with a hostile demeanour. The SHOs fantasy world has likely never been shared before as they understand its deviancy. However, allowing them to divulge their sexual fantasies with a “likeminded person” or one who is “understanding” of their behaviours can lead to obtaining incriminating statements and evidence. This can be done by minimizing the actions done to the victim by relating to the offender based on characteristics such as “being a guy” and having “needs.” The goal is to get the SHO to feel comfortable talking about their deviant sexual interests (Beauregard & Mieczkowski, 2011). Further, investigators can prompt topics around fetishism and the enjoyment of obtaining personal items from their sexual partners (i.e., lingerie, taking photographs or video recording, etc.) Although shared with few to none, the SHO is incredibly proud of their sexual collection and the items within it. Because of this, we believe that through rapport building, the SHOs narcissistic personality will not be able to resist bragging about parts of their sexual collection or deviant sexual interests. Ultimately, this should provide investigators with some form of incriminating evidence.

Investigators can also focus on other goals if the interrogation is not going toward getting an incriminating statement from the SHO. Studies have suggested that the interrogation be guided into obtaining a detailed description of the suspected SHOs version of events (Beauregard & Mieczkowski, 2011; Beauregard et al., 2010). Investigators can use this to look for any inconsistencies or changes in the events compared to previous information given to police, as well as ask for an alibi from the suspected SHO to assess credibility (Beauregard & Mieczkowski, 2011; Beauregard et al., 2010)

The results of this study are informative; however, they are not without limitations. The dependent variable ‘items taken’ is broad as it includes anything recorded by investigators to have been taken from the crime scene. Although we did include cases where souvenirs were taken, there were not enough cases to examine this variable alone, emphasizing the rarity of this behaviour occurring or being detected by

investigators. Unfortunately, we do not have any details regarding what items were coded under the variable 'items taken' or 'took a souvenir.' Regardless, the results showed a significant association between sadism and theft, demonstrating that the variable captured what we believed it would. Using police data is limited as it relies solely on what is reported at the crime scene or what becomes known during the investigation (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014). Another limitation is that this variable is subject to being missed during investigations as it is not always apparent that something was taken from the victim. Behavioural variables are often missed in police data (Chopin & Aebi, 2019). In cases where the victim's lingerie was taken, investigators and family members likely would not notice this being missed unless it was found in the offender's possession. Therefore, we recognize that what we have in our data set is a very conservative depiction of this behaviour, and there are potentially many cases in which items have been taken, but this was missed.

Future research will need to expand on this study and precisely analyze the types of items that are being stolen from the victims of sexual homicide and the SHOs rationale behind this behaviour. There is a need for qualitative studies on this behaviour as having access to the offenders themselves allows researchers to ask them to explain their rationale behind why they stole from the victim, what items they stole, and why they chose specific items over others. This information would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of this behaviour, primarily missed in quantitative police data (Chopin & Aebi, 2019). Identifying the items or groups of items that are commonly taken in sexual homicide cases can assist the investigation by being more specific in search warrants, which then grants a higher likelihood of being approved by judges. Previous studies identified such items as being jewellery, such as rings and watches; articles of clothing, with women's lingerie being the most common; shoes; photographs of the victims, ranging from victim ID cards to pre- and post-photographs of the murder; and body parts, such as the victim's feet, breasts, and blood (e.g., Dietz et al., 1990; Holmes & Holmes, 2009; Ressler et al., 1988; Warren et al., 2013). It has been years since the pioneering studies were conducted, and it would be informative to know if future studies identify the same types of items or if they came across new items not identified yet in the literature. In addition, the literature needs to have clear and consistent definitions of souvenirs and trophies. Ressler and colleagues (1988) stated that the only way to differentiate between a souvenir and a trophy is to ask the SHO

themselves what the item represents to them. Therefore, access to offenders seems necessary for future research to learn more about this behaviour. Our findings emphasize that sadistic SHOs are associated with items being taken in sexual homicide; however, due to the limited empirical work on this topic, future studies should continue to validate these findings further.

Warren et al. (2013) used case studies from the last 40 years of high-profile sexual offenders (i.e., sadistic killers, necrophiliac killers, rapists, incestuous child molesters, and extra-familial child molesters) in which the authors identified offenders to be heterogeneous in the items they take. The term *the collection* is used to represent all forms of theft (i.e., souvenirs/trophies) and documentation (i.e., recordings such as video recordings, audio recordings, photographs, sketches, journal entries, and writing stories) of the offenders' sexual crimes. Assessing the entire collection rather than specific items within it gave more depth into understanding the offender, their motivations, and their fantasy worlds. Future studies should follow Warren et al. (2013) in assessing the offender's collection rather than only one modality of theft or documentation.

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