

WAYNE PETHERICK

# PROFILING and SERIAL CRIME

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES THIRD EDITION



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# **Profiling and Serial Crime**

Theoretical and Practical Issues
Third Edition

Wayne Petherick





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# **Profiling and Serial Crime**

Theoretical and Practical Issues



## Preface: The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same

Another three years have passed since the publication of the second edition of *Serial Crime*, and this new third edition sees not only a new title, but a new publisher, having moved to an imprint of Elsevier, Anderson Publishing. A lot has changed in this time, with an increased focus on certain behavior types such as bullying (most notably where this bullying involves the use of physical force), with governments, administrators, behavioral scientists, and others acknowledging that the push-and-shove of the school yard can have significant lifelong impacts on both offenders and bullies. Changes in the availability of, and access to, technology have likely heralded an increase in the surveillance activities of stalkers and other serial pests, while some countries around the world are struggling with outlaw motorcycle gangs, and the trouble they often bring.

But this time has been about more than change in the outside world; it has also been a time for introspection, change, and growth among myself and the contributors to this work. We have all continued to blaze ahead in our own ways, and to continue down our own paths. But these paths change, as they often do, and so too must the professional directions we travel. Exposure to and experience with particular situations, coupled with an insatiable interest, have led me to investigate self-esteem and personality disorder, and their relationship to both crime and victimization. Not only that, but this has also been in an attempt to better understand the crimes and criminal behavior being examined, and in an effort to better educate our students when they see it.

The field of profiling is a contentious one. Just spend a short amount of time with the literature, and this will become painfully evident. There is little consensus, and little uniformity. What's more, in an attempt to grab celebrity, some may be more concerned with gratuitous self-promotion and the personal advancement this may bring. There is little concern for who is trodden on, or in what way, just as long as personal agendas are met. Sadly, here the field and its advancement will take a sorry second or third place.

There is no time like the present for a refocus of efforts. For anyone who is truly passionate about the field, it is time to make a commitment to advance applied crime analysis in general (of which profiling is one specific type), and the understanding of serial crime to a level beyond the personalities involved, to acknowledge that these personalities are just one part of a very small machine, and that the pursuit of personal agendas and celebrity set us back, not drive us forward.

As part of this commitment, this third edition will expand the focus from previous editions with the inclusion of entirely new chapters, and the modification of some of the existing

chapters to reflect time- or location-based changes impacting on content. The discussions of profiling have also been extended to include chapters on staging and case linkage. In addition, this work has increased content on serial crime, from specific instances (the inclusion of a chapter on serial bullying and harassment) to general matters surrounding crime and victimization (as can be found in the final chapter on motivation).

As such, the work is comprised of two conceptual divisions. The first revolves around a type of applied crime analysis, most usually referred to as criminal profiling (though behavioral profiling and simply profiling are also common terms). This section includes the history, theoretical background, profiling types (including a new discussion on geographic profiling), research on profiling, and the more philosophical debates regarding where we should be heading. The second conceptual section involves serial crimes, including arson, murder, rape, stalking, and the new chapter on bullying and harassment. As a capstone, the final chapter examines motivation, from both victim and offender perspectives, including a suggested pathways model to offending, and the psychopathological backdrop that may accompany either offending or victimization.

To begin, Chapter 1 by Norris provides a history of profiling that contains all the major landmarks in its most recent history, from the work of medical men during the "Jack the Ripper" inquiry in England, circa 1888, through the development of the first serious attempts by mental health professionals to provide a "profile" of unknown offenders for crimes still under investigation. This would also include the psychological profile done of Adolf Hitler for a US intelligence agency during World War II. From here, Norris chronicles the development of each of the major schools of thought, starting with the Criminal Investigative Analysis (CIA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Far from being just a history, this chapter also briefly discusses the state of flux of the field, and suggests future directions.

Next, Petherick provides an overview to logic, and the role of induction and deduction in profiling. More than just of peripheral relevance to the subject, the application of logic and reasoning is central to the differences between profiling methods, with some relying on statistical assumptions to provide a composite of the crime, and others relying more strictly on crime scene information, such as physical evidence, and what this can tell us about what happened. Examples are provided where relevant throughout to show the application of the logic.

As an extension to Chapter 2, Chapter 3, "Behavioral Consistency, the Homology Assumption, and the Problems of Induction," takes some of the problems of inductive logic and transposes them directly onto the area of profiling. For example, inductive profiling approaches rely on both consistency—that an offender will behave the same way across offenses—and homology—that two different offenders who do similar things will have similar background characteristics. Yet research has failed to show that either of these two propositions are valid, or in the best case, that they may be valid, but only in certain crime types. This would, at the very best, limit their generalizability.

Having set the stage for logic and reasoning, which comprise the most broad theoretical differences between profiling approaches, Petherick then goes on to detail each of the schools of thought, including their genesis, theoretical assumptions, and the results of research into the types; that is, the type of characteristics they offer, on what each bases their inference

or assumption of offender characteristics, and how common this reasoning is within each method. For this edition, geographic profiling now has its own chapter.

Norris, in Chapter 5, takes us through geographic profiling, from its historical roots to the current theoretical propositions and practical applications. From the development and theoretical roots, such as theories of spatial behavior and main protagonists, Norris discusses whether geographic profiling is a method in its own right, or whether it forms part of an overall investigative strategy.

Chapter 6 then moves onto the fallacy of accuracy in criminal profiling; that is, while accuracy is cited as one yardstick of whether a profile is useful, it may in fact be the worst predictor of the utility of a profile. For example, what happens if a profile is accurate on 10 characteristics, but none of them actually helps police identify any suspect pools? What about in another instance where the profile gives 10 characteristics, is accurate on three of them, and one of those three helps identify a suspect who turns out to be the killer? Which has the right to claim accuracy? Which on utility? These issues are discussed in detail.

Following this, Michael McGrath, a forensic psychiatrist, provides an overview of case linkage, where attempts are made to link multiple crimes back to an offender(s) through a behavioral examination of the act. McGrath will cover not only the theory and underlying assumptions behind case linkage, but will also look in depth at the case of New Jersey v. Fortin, which has come and gone from legal scrutiny over the years. This case is of particular relevance, because not only has it seen considerable legal attention in the original trials and appeals, but also because the central issue has been the failure of case linkage attempts at multiple levels.

From here, Ferguson presents the concept of staging, wherein offenders attempt to obscure links between themselves and the crime in an attempt to mislead investigators. This chapter will not only discuss staging conceptually, but will also present some of the results of Dr. Ferguson's PhD, which was the first work of its kind to present staging as a form of deception.

The next chapter, also written by Dr. Ferguson, is the result of previous research she has conducted into investigative relevance. Here, the idea that profiles should be relevant to the police who are most often consumers is presented (something that should not be foreign but an examination of content suggests it is), as well as examining which particular profile characteristics have this relevance, and which may not. Criteria for inclusion and exclusion to investigative relevance are also provided.

In this next chapter on metacognition, Woodhouse and Petherick present the results of Barry's Master of Psychology (Forensic) thesis that sought to determine whether those given a basic level of profiling education were better at discriminating between a good profile and a bad profile. Results suggest that, even with a basic level of education, individuals rated a poor (and fictional) account of profiling as being of poorer quality than the other profile presented in the experiment. The theory behind metacognition, knowing when you don't know, is provided, and discussed within the context of the experiment.

In Chapter 11, Petherick and colleagues look at profiling as expert evidence. While not allowed in many jurisdictions, others have been more receptive to this type of expert testimony. As a result, the rules of expert evidence in Australia and elsewhere are discussed, along with those areas in which profiling may be able to assist in the legal process. This chapter will also discuss in some detail relevant cases where profiling evidence has been offered, including the outcome of the cases where known.

Chapter 12, the last in the profiling section, looks at the future of profiling, and what can still be done to make the field more valid (measuring what it claims to measure) and reliable (being able to measure consistently across time and situations). This chapter looks specifically at research, ethics, accountability, and education and training. For example, there is no unified ethical canon by which profilers live, and there are no universal training standards. Far be it from the authors to suggest that this chapter offers this; rather, these issues are discussed in a general sense, including what makes their unification across methods and practitioners difficult, if not impossible.

This first chapter in the serial crimes section discusses the highly relevant and problematic issues of serial bullying and harassment. While not always rising to the levels of criminal behavior (because of the age of the offenders or the nature of behavior itself), these often set the stage for future victimization or criminal behavior. For example, many bullies are victims, and many perpetrators rise to the level of adult criminal. These and other issues are discussed, including school-based practices, prevalence and incidence, and outlooks for bullies and victims.

The chapter on serial stalking contains the same case studies as the previous version, but with updates to the literature and theory when required. For example, new research on serial stalking is incorporated, which discusses how many stalkers may be serial offenders, in addition to base issues such as the definition of stalking, and how often it occurs as a base behavior.

Then Jenkins and Petherick provide a fresh perspective on serial rape, looking not only at base definitions of rape and sexual assault, but also at victim and offender characteristics, typologies of rape, and also the variety of criminological theories that have been, or can be, used to explain rape and serial rape. These include psychodynamic theories and evolutionary theories; the latter sees rape as an attempt by males to ensure the survival of their blood line. This chapter concludes with a discussion of various forensic techniques that may be useful during the investigation of serial rape.

A direct incarnation of the serial murder chapter from the second edition, Dan Kennedy and Robert Homant provide a detailed overview of serial murder from a variety of facets. This includes the diathesis-stress model of the development of serial murder and the trauma control model of serial murder. In addition, a variety of other serial murder theories are discussed with a detailed case study included to highlight the major features and points as relevant throughout.

In the next chapter, Brogan discusses the issue of serial arson. While this chapter is written by an Australian author, aspects of serial arson are discussed from an international perspective, drawing on information from the United States and United Kingdom as related to the issue of serial arson. Best practice with arson investigations is discussed at length, along with other aspects of serial arson that are relevant to investigator, student, and academic alike. Ross provides a number of case studies of some of Australia's worst serial arsonists. The issues they highlight are global in nature.

Finally, Petherick and Sinnamon provide a comprehensive overview of motivations, from the perspective of both the offender and the victim. This includes a developmental view of the pathways that lead to the development of certain motivations, for both offenders and victims, and details the role of self esteem, personality, and personality disorder. The authors feel that this holistic treatment provides a never-before-seen treatment of the issue. As noted, this chapter serves as the capstone to both conceptual sections of this book, both from the perspective of criminal profiling and serial crime, of all sorts.

As with all previous editions of this text, it has been a pleasure to work with all of these authors. Their combined passion, intellect, and desire to advance their particular fields is inspiring and encouraging. They serve as a base from which to further and better not only the field, but our individual selves. They remind us that we don't know all we need to know, and that the pursuit of knowledge never ends, as long as we don't become complacent. More importantly, we should never stop reading, learning, or trying to know, because there is always someone out there who will read more, learn more, or know more than you. The goal is to know as much as you can, and to do the best you can with what you know. Read on.

Wayne Petherick, PhD



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  scenario-based questions that allow for immediate feedback.



## About the Authors

#### Wayne Petherick, PhD

Wayne Petherick is currently Associate Professor of Criminology at Bond University on Queensland's Gold Coast. Wayne teaches in the areas of Alcohol, Drugs, and Crime, Criminal Profiling, Applied Crime Analysis, Criminal Motivations, Crime and Deviance, Forensic Victimology, and Forensic Criminology. Wayne is currently author, editor, or coeditor of three textbooks including this work, *Forensic Victimology*, and *Forensic Criminology*.

His research areas of interest include criminal profiling, with his doctoral thesis *Criminal Profiling: A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of Methods and Content* examining profiles to better understand the nature of logic employed and the types of characteristics offered by the different approaches. Other areas include stalking, where he is developing a Response-Outcome model to understand the response style of victims and how this may perpetuate the harassment. In other work, Wayne is examining the relationship between self-esteem, personality disorder, crime, and criminal (and victim) motivations, and in bullying and harassment.

In addition to his teaching and research work, Dr. Petherick also works on a variety of cases including homicides, threat and risk cases, and stalking. He can be contacted via email at wpetheri@staff.bond.edu.au or wpetheri@me.com.

#### Ross Brogan, MA (Fire Investigation)

Ross joined the New South Wales (NSW) Fire Brigades, in Australia, in 1970 and worked as a firefighter and officer throughout NSW during that period. Ross was awarded the Australian Fire Service Medal in 2005 for his contribution to fire investigation with the NSW Fire Brigades. He retired in December 2007 after serving the community of NSW for more than 37 years. In June 1987, he successfully completed the Arson Awareness section of NSW Police Detective training course; in August he was appointed to NSW Fire Brigades Fire Investigation Unit as an investigator, a position he held until 2003. In January 1999, Ross was awarded a Graduate Certificate in Fire Investigation; in 2004, he graduated with a Graduate Diploma of Fire Investigation; and in 2008, he graduated with a Master of Arts (Fire Investigation). Since March 2003, Ross has co-presented a 6-day practical fire investigation course for Charles Sturt University to students from the police, the fire service, private investigators, insurance investigators, and forensic science students. Ross continues to teach for Charles Sturt University. Ross is currently a member of the International Association of Arson Investigators, NSW, Victoria, and Queensland chapters; a USA International member; and a member of the Australian & New Zealand Forensic Science Society. He has been qualified by voir dire in both the criminal

and the civil jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in NSW to give opinion evidence as an expert witness in fire matters. In all, Ross has attended and given evidence in excess of 100 matters throughout Australia.

# Nathan Brooks, GradDip Psych, MPsych (Forensic), BPsychSc

Nathan holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Psychology and a Masters of Psychology (Forensic) from Bond University. He is currently a doctoral candidate in the Psychology Department at Bond University, where he is studying psychopathy in the community and business setting. Nathan has worked with a variety of offenders and his areas of interest include, sexual and violent offenders, personality disorders and risk assessment. Nathan works as a Psychologist in private practice and at Bond University as an Adjunct Teaching Fellow in the Psychology Department. Nathan can be contacted at nbrooks@bond.edu.au.

#### Claire Ferguson, PhD

Claire Ferguson holds her Bachelor of Arts degree in honours Psychology from the University of Western Ontario in Canada, her Masters degree in Criminology, and her PhD in Criminology, both from Bond University in Australia. Dr. Ferguson has worked for St. Leonard's Society, as well as interned with Queensland Fire and Rescue services (Fire Investigation Unit). She also undertook an internship with Forensic Solutions in 2008. She is a Lecturer, researcher and consultant in forensic criminology, and her expertise surrounds Forensic Criminology. Dr. Ferguson's doctorate (2010) was an analysis of staged crime scenes in homicide cases internationally. This project was the only systematic review of these types of cases to ever be conducted and was viewed with great esteem in the criminological community inside and outside of Bond University.

Dr. Ferguson has been nominated for the 'Excellence in Teaching and Learning' award and the 'UniJobs Lecturer of the Year' award by her students. Along with teaching, she has also participated in several large scale research ventures involving teams of researchers, complex methodologies and competitive national grants. Two involving the law school at Bond have led to significant policy implications in Queensland. In 2009, she received both the 'Bond University Research Candidate of the year' and the 'Faculty of HSS research Candidate of the year'. Claire is currently doing research and is a project manager for The Australian Centre for Arson Research and Treatment at Bond University.

#### Elizabeth Fry, MCrim

Elizabeth completed a Joint Honours degree in Criminology and Sociology including a thesis on Education in a Young Offender Institute in the United Kingdom. She has also completed a Master of Criminology which included a thesis on Consistencies in Crime Scene

Characteristics and Offender Behaviour in Intimate Partner Homicide in Queensland, Australia. Elizabeth's current interests include criminal profiling, forensic criminology and juvenile homicide.

Elizabeth is currently working with young offenders and chaotic, homeless youths in a residential setting supporting them to get into education, training and employment and live successfully in the community.

#### David Field, LLB

David Field is an Associate Professor of Law at Bond University in Gold Coast, Australia. Former Solicitor for Prosecutions for Queensland, stipendiary magistrate for Glasgow, also former prosecutor and defense trial attorney in both Scotland and Australia (Qld and NSW). Author of *Evidence Law in Queensland*, as well as numerous textbook chapters relating to law end evidence.

Kind to children, considerate towards animals, and environmentally friendly. Available for funerals and bah mitzvas. Happily married, although my wife may not be.

#### Robert Homant, PhD

Robert has a PhD in Clinical Psychology. After 4 years as a staff psychologist at Michigan State Prison where he was director of the Sex Offender Program, he moved to Wisconsin State Prison as Chief Psychologist. He is currently full professor and chair of the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice at the University of Detroit Mercy, where he teaches courses in deviant behavior, psychology and law, and corrections. His research interests include workplace violence and suicide by cop, and he has written a number of articles on criminal profiling and factors affecting criminally deviant behavior.

## Yolande Huntingdon, BSocSci (Criminology)

Yolande Huntingdon completed Bachelor of Social Science degree (double major Criminology, major Psychology) degree at Bond University, achieving top of class in Australian Criminal Justice System, Forensic Victimology, Applied Behavioural Evidence Analysis and Crime and Deviance in Australia and is currently embarking on her Master of Arts (by Research), with the intention of commencing her PhD endeavours within the next 12 months.

Yolande is on the Board of Directors as criminological consultant for At The Ark, a not-forprofit registered charity dealing with childhood sexual assault victim and family support and has initiated and overseen the commencement of a friendship and focus group for adult survivors of child sexual abuse, now being administered and coordinated by a qualified counsellor.

Furthermore, Yolande has completed a report addressing Australian urban transport crime prevention; this report now having been distributed to unions, transit and government authorities and key stakeholders nationwide. The Minister for Transport has requested that Yolande present these findings at a public forum into the issue of Queensland urban transit safety.

Yolande is a regular speaker, having addressed many groups and organisations on issues such as crime and deviance, crime in the community, the overrepresentation of victims of child abuse in the criminal justice system, crime prevention strategies and online sexual predation of children via social networking sites.

#### Alicia Jenkins BPsychSci (Hons), PhD Candidate

Alicia Jenkins has Certificate 4 in Justice Administration from the Tafe of South Australia, she also holds her Bachelor of Psychological Science and a Bachelor of Health Science Honours from The University of Adelaide, South Australia. Her Honours thesis evaluated the effectiveness of an Australian Government program 'We are Family,' aimed at reducing companion animal attacks on babies and children. Her research made suggestions to the state Government of Victoria and South Australia for program and delivery improvements.

She is currently a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science at Bond University, Gold Coast, with her studies focusing on self-esteem and criminal behaviour. Ms Jenkins has worked as a research assistant for the Commonwealth Scientific & Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), The University of Adelaide and the Royal Adelaide Hospital and is also a tutor in the Criminology Department at Bond University.

Ms Jenkins areas of interest include forensics, serial criminals, personality traits related to different types of criminals, the role of upbringing on individuals, self esteem and personality disorders.

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#### Daniel B. Kennedy, PhD

Daniel B. Kennedy began his career in criminal justice and security administration as a civilian crime analyst with the Detroit Police Department in 1966. Over the next decade, Dr. Kennedy also served as a counselor for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, as a probation officer in Detroit, and as a senior administrator of two police academies in southeastern Michigan. While serving in these capacities, he studied sociology and criminology at Wayne State University, earning B.A. (1967), M.A. (1969), and Ph.D. (1971) degrees along the way.

Since completing his formal education, Dr. Kennedy has had extensive specialized training in various aspects of criminal behavior, policing operations, corrections operations, and private sector security management. He successfully tested for the Certified Protection Professional designation in 1983 and has been recertified every three years since. For the past several years, he has also studied terrorism, antiterrorism, and counterterrorism through participation in focused training at the Naval Postgraduate School and other locations across the U.S., Israel, and Dubai. After spending a year teaching at the College of the Virgin Islands in St. Thomas, USVI, Dan returned to his hometown and accepted a faculty position at the University of Detroit in 1977. In June of 2008, he was honored with the title Professor Emeritus by the President and Deans of the University of Detroit Mercy.

For the past twenty-five years, Dr. Kennedy has developed expertise in forensic criminology: the application of criminological knowledge to matters of immediate concern to various courts of law. Dan practices this specialty in three ways: academic publication, participation in litigation as an expert, and teaching. He is widely published in such journals as Journal of Police Science and Administration, Journal of Criminal Justice, Justice Quarterly, Crime and Delinquency, Professional Psychology, Journal of Social Psychology, Criminal Justice and Behavior, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Police Quarterly, The Police Chief, Security Journal, Security Management, Journal of Security Administration, Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management, American Jails, and a host of others.

In addition, Dr. Kennedy frequently is called to court to testify in cases involving state police agencies, municipal police departments, and county sheriffs' departments. His testimony generally involves explaining to jurors the appropriate standards of care for the use of deadly force, vehicle pursuits, emergency psychiatric evaluations, prisoner health care, prevention of prisoner suicide, positional asphyxia/excited delirium, and "suicide by cop." Also, Dr. Kennedy evaluates numerous lawsuits concerning premises liability for negligent security in the private sector involving properties both in the U.S. and overseas. He specializes in crime foreseeability issues, appropriate standards of care in the security industry, and analyses of the behavioral aspects of proximate causation.

Although Dr. Kennedy taught forensic criminology for several years, he is currently teaching as an adjunct at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan. He offers courses in profile and threat assessment and in homeland security through the university's criminal justice program. Also active as a trainer, he frequently provides specialized seminars on related topics for a variety of justice agencies and attorneys' associations.

#### Andrew Lowe, BSocSci (Criminology)

Andrew is a police officer with the Queensland Police Service. He holds a Bachelor of Social Science (Criminology) qualification, and has published in the area of stalking. His interests include stalking, criminal profiling and forensic science. Andrew currently works in child protection as a detective and is pursuing advanced education in criminology and public safety.

#### Michael McGrath, MD

Michael McGrath, MD is a board certified forensic psychiatrist, licensed in the state of New York. He is a clinical associate professor in the Department of Psychiatry, University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry, Rochester, NY, and medical director and chair of the Department of Behavioral Health, Unity Health System, Rochester, NY.

Dr. McGrath divides his time between clinical, teaching, research and administrative activities. He has published peer reviewed articles and chapters in texts on subjects such as false reports, sexual asphyxia, Internet harassment and child pornography, criminal profiling, eyewitness testimony, codependence, etc. He has lectured on three continents and is a founding

member of the International Association of Forensic Criminologists (formerly the Academy of Behavioral Profiling). He can be contacted at: mmcgrath@profiling.org.

#### Gareth Norris, PhD

Dr Gareth Norris is a lecturer in the Department of Law and Criminology at Aberystwyth University, Wales, UK. He is a graduate of the MSc Investigative Psychology degree from the University of Liverpool and continues to research in forensic and investigative psychology. More recently he has focused on legal issues relating to the interpretation of evidence and the psychology of jury decision making. Recent publications include an assessment of the acceptance of profiling evidence in court and the use of technology in legal contexts. He was part of a special panel on 'The Psychology of the Courtroom' at the American Bar Association's annual conference and continues to lecture to student and professional audiences in legal psychology

#### Grant Sinnamon, BPsych (Hons), PhD (Candidate)

Grant Sinnamon has an academic background in adult education, psychology, counselling, and medicine. Grant's interest in criminology stems from an interest in the impact of early-life adversity on neurobiological developmental trajectories and personality formation and the consequences for adult neuropsychological, behavioural and physiological function. Professionally, Grant divides his time between research, teaching, private practice and delivering consulting and professional development services to a diverse range of clinicians and service providers in the areas of mental health, education, child development, child safety, and family & community services. Grant's professional passion has a dual focus. The first is his work in childhood onset autoimmune disease. In this area Grant's work is in the area of understanding the psychoneuroimmunology of autoimmune type 1 diabetes. Grant's second passion is in the field of developmental neurobiology and both understanding and treating the neurological deficits that can occur as a result of early-life adversity such as abuse, neglect and trauma as well developmental disorders such as autistic spectrum disorder, processing disorders, attention deficit disorders, and other conditions that impact learning, behaviour, emotion, and physical and psychological development. Grant is married to Natalie and together they have four children.

## Barry Woodhouse MPsych (Forensic)

Barry is a registered Psychologist and holds a Masters Degree in Forensic Psychology from Bond University on the Gold Coast, Australia. He has worked in a variety criminal justice settings, including with victims and perpetrators of sexual abuse, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, other areas of forensic psychology, and in sentencing policy. Barry currently works for the Australian Government as part of a team administering a large program of research aimed at improving retention amongst Defence Force personnel. His current research interests include transnational organised crime, international security policy, and the psychological aspects of intelligence collection.



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