Detection avoidance and mis/unclassified, unsolved homicides in Australia

Paper type: Conceptual

Keywords: detection avoidance, homicide investigation, death investigation, Coroner, misclassified homicides, missing person
• Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to begin to explore whether and how the use of detection avoidance by offenders leads to a so called ‘dark figure’ of unsolved homicides that have been mis/unclassified.

• Design/methodology/approach: Australian Coronial data, and inquest findings are used to examine how detection avoidance impacts on determining homicide, and cases remaining unsolved.

• Findings: Results show detection avoidance behaviours perpetrated by offenders may be catalysed by other challenges, and may lead to homicides being mis/unclassified and unsolved. Findings indicate there is a small dark figure of mis/unclassified homicides which eventually become known and investigated as homicides in Australia. The number of unsolved homicides may be greater than official data reveals, due to some cases remaining mis/unclassified.

• Research Limitations: Results are likely to underestimate the prevalence of mis/unclassified homicides due to the invisibility of cases and the difficulty establishing rules to include suspected but unproven homicides. The variable nature and impact of detection avoidance behaviours also limits results, along with jurisdictional differences in Coronial data.

• Practical implications: This discussion explains detection avoidance behaviours impact on determining and investigating homicide and the necessity of future research.

• Originality/value: Mis/unclassified homicides as unsolved homicides has not been discussed previously. This discussion is the first to conceptualise mis/unclassified homicides as a dark figure of unsolved cases, and the first to attempt to gauge the problem.
Detection avoidance and mis/unclassified, unsolved homicides in Australia

Cold case homicides are generally defined as those that have not been solved within one year, which are not being actively investigated due to a lack of new information (Geberth, 2006; Quinet & Nunn, 2014). Annually about 15% of cases are unsolved in the same year they are reported in Australia, with proportions varying across different States, Territories, and years sampled (Bryant & Bricknell, 2017).

In recent years, more focus has been devoted to clearing unsolved cases in Australia. For several states this has resulted in a flurry of cold cases being solved, including 17 cases from previous reporting periods in Queensland in only two years (Queensland Police Service, 2017). Along with solving known cold case homicides, there has also been increased attention paid to resolving a small number of deaths and disappearances that were previously closed by Coroners or police as non-suspicious yet continue to be suspected as homicides by authorities. Deaths and disappearances being closed while still perceived by police and coroners as suspicious most often occur due to a lack of unequivocal evidence of homicide, often due to efforts by third parties to conceal evidence. In this discussion, known deaths previously classified as non-suspicious but eventually determined to be homicides are referred to as misclassified homicides. Suspicious disappearances previously not classified or investigated as deaths, let alone homicides, but later determined to be so are referred to as unclassified homicides.

There are numerous examples in Australia where Coroners and police have examined or re-examined historic death and missing persons cases and found evidence of homicide that was hidden or manipulated by offenders. Such cases demonstrate the concerning reality that, along with other factors, detection avoidance behaviours by
offenders can successfully delay comprehensive homicide investigations, sometimes for many years.

The recent increase in these examples pose obvious questions for police and criminologists – does the use of detection avoidance behaviours by offenders lead to a dark figure of unsolved homicides that have been mis/unclassified?; And if so, how? Though there is a limited relevant literature available, evidence suggests detection avoidance behaviours by offenders can lead to homicides remaining unsolved, and more worrying, death and missing persons cases being wrongly labelled non-suspicious and closed.

**Background**

**Detection Avoidance in Homicide**

Detection avoidance (DA) has been defined as behaviour an offender employs to hide, destroy or manipulate evidence in order to avoid detection or apprehension by police (Beauregard & Bouchard, 2010; Beauregard & Martineau, 2012, 2014; Canter, 1989; Davies, 1992; Salfati & Haratsis, 2001). Recently the importance of studying an offender’s detection avoidance efforts has gained a modest momentum with several researchers examining how certain types of offenders evade detection (Beauregard & Bouchard, 2010; Beauregard & Martineau, 2014; Brown & Keppel, 2012; Neimeyer, Pepper & Salfati, 2008; Salfati & Haratsis, 2001). Of all the types of DA employed by offenders, Crime Scene Staging (CSS) has received the most attention in the literature. CSS refers to the deliberate alteration of physical evidence to simulate events that did not occur to mislead investigators (Chisum & Turvey, 2007; Ferguson, 2015; Geberth, 2006). CSS commonly involves offenders manipulating how the homicide type presents (by making a domestic homicide appear as a stranger homicide, for example), how the manner of death presents (by making a homicide
appear as non-suspicious), or where offenders conceal all evidence of the homicide and report the victim missing (Schlesinger et al. 2012).

**Frequency of DA**

Literature examining DA in general is limited, and only a handful of studies focus on homicide. In 2001, Salfati and Haratsis examined 210 solved and unsolved single-offender, single-victim homicides in Greece. DA behaviours were used in 22% of solved and 68% of unsolved cases, a finding which suggests the potential value employing DA has for offenders. In 2008, Neimeyer, Pepper and Salfati examined 85 serial homicide cases involving 17 offenders. In this sample of experienced murderers, less than 20% used ‘adaptive behaviours’ to avoid detection. Brown and Keppel (2012) studied 347 child murders from the USA and found about half of the offenders (52.7%) employed countermeasures.

Beauregard and Martineau (2014) studied 350 sexual homicides in Canada, measuring 16 different DA behaviours. They determined that 45.7% (n = 160) of all sexual murderers sampled carried out at least one DA strategy. Of the total sample, 30.6% destroyed evidence, 11.1% disposed of the victim’s body, 4.3% protected their identity, 11.4% acted on the victim or environment (by forcibly detaining or imprisoning the victim, for example), 0.9% staged the crime scene, and 12% used other precautions, such as securing an alibi or using a look-out. When used, the majority of offenders (24.9% of total) employed only one DA behaviour.

**Method**

Coronial data offers the best potential for estimating numbers of mis/unclassified, unsolved homicides and DA behaviours employed due to its qualitative richness, its separateness from police data focusing on known criminal deaths, and its public availability.
Therefore, State/Territory Coronial Inquest data for all 8 regions in Australia in the 2017/18 year were examined.

Since each region has a different system, the procedure for accessing the data varied slightly from State to State. In general, each of the Coroner’s or Magistrates’ Court websites was located and a list of Coronial Inquests was found either in the annual report, or on the website itself. Though specific legislation differs by jurisdiction, a Coronial inquest is generally held when: a Coroner uses their discretion to rule that a hearing is in the public interest or necessary to establish the circumstances of the death; the decedent was in custody or care at the time of their death; or the death occurred as a result of police action (Office of the State Coroner for Western Australia, 2018). Each case examined by inquest in 2017-18 was downloaded from the relevant website and analysed to determine whether it was potentially a mis/unclassified homicide. For misclassified cases, deaths where there was uncertainty amongst authorities (Police, Coroners, Forensic Pathologists) either now or previously as to whether manner of death was homicide were searched for. For unclassified homicides, cases that were investigated as missing persons or suspected deaths by police, which may not have been previously reported to the Coroner, and remain suspicious deaths or determined homicides were searched for. Definitions of mis/unclassified homicides were kept as broad as possible to maximise the sample.

Results

Results of the analyses from each of the States and Territories in Australia are presented in Table 1. Despite efforts to maximise the sample across jurisdictions, 2 of 8 jurisdictions did not provide specific data on inquests held in 2017-18. Explanations for why inquest findings in these regions were not able to be analysed are noted in Table 1. In 4 jurisdictions, no mis/unclassified, unsolved cases meeting our definitions appeared in the
Inquest results. One case of mis/unclassified, unsolved homicides was discovered in each of the remaining two jurisdictions, Victoria (VIC) and Western Australia (WA).

In the 2017-18 reporting year, the Coroner of WA investigated 2291 deaths, including 48 unlawful homicides, and held inquests for 63 deaths. In 2017-18 in WA, 18 inquests were held for missing persons thought to be deceased but where no body had been found. Of these, Coroners found one unclassified homicide case where foul play was known to be involved in either killing the victim or disposing of the body, but the victim had not previously been deemed deceased (Office of the State Coroner for Western Australia, 2018). This case involved a woman reported missing in 1999 where the initial missing person investigation was lacking and closed only 9 months later (Vicker, 2017). The decedent was vulnerable by virtue of being a known victim of domestic violence and indigenous. The eventual second police investigation (not commenced until 2007 with lines of inquiry not run out until 2015) revealed several Persons of Interest (POI) in her death. Her body has never been found and the Coroner found it was disposed of by persons involved in her murder or in concealing her death (Vicker, 2017). Therefore, despite the thorough police investigation in 2015 and Coronial inquest in 2017, delays created by an offender disposing of the body prevented the case being resolved. It continues as an unsolved homicide, now properly classified (Vicker, 2017).

In the state of Victoria, review of Coronial findings from 2017-18 revealed the Coroner’s Court investigated 6642 deaths, of which 57 were homicides. Victorian Coroners held 49 inquests (Coroners Court of Victoria, 2018). Similar to WA, there was one death subject to an inquest where the causes of death were not known but not natural, and where the death was believed to be attributable to the actions of a third party, but that remains unsolved as a homicide (Jamieson, 2018). This case involved the 2015 death of a young man
in a house fire, where controversy remained as to whether the death was a homicide or accident, and whether the fire was deliberately lit. Police carried out an investigation, which was ultimately finalised in 2017 without criminal charges being laid. Upon inquest, the presiding Coroner ruled that despite being unable to ascertain the precise cause of death, it was not due to the fire per se but was caused by the actions of a third party. The Coroner further found that the fire was deliberately lit and referred the matter to the DPP, since there was a known POI. The DPP cited insufficient evidence to charge anyone in connection with the death, so while the death is classified as a homicide, it remains unsolved and cold (Jamieson, 2018). In this case, it appears DA in the form of setting fire to the scene successfully prevented the homicide being solved, at least for the time being.
**Table 1**: State/Territory Coronial data for mis/unclassified homicides by number of inquests in 2017-8

| Jurisdiction | Coronial invest (n) | Hom/Suspic Deaths (n) | Total inq (n) | MP/suspect death inq (n) | Mis/uncl Hom (n) | Notes on data available |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| ACT          | 308                 | 5 (suspic)            | 6             | 0                        | 0               | Available findings are significantly redacted |
| NSW          | -                   | -                     | -             | -                        | -               | Annual reports not published, limited inquest findings available online |
| NT           | -                   | -                     | -             | -                        | -               | No dedicated Coronial website, Annual reports not published, limited inquest findings available online |
| QLD          | 5812                | 34 (suspic)           | 52            | 2                        | 0               | -                       |
| SA           | 2599                | 14                    | 21            | 0                        | 0               | Published findings only available for 15 inquests |
| TAS          | 598                 | 6                     | 19            | 0                        | 0               | Several suspected and suspicious deaths which remain possible homicides were investigated without inquest |
| VIC          | 6642                | 57                    | 49            | 1                        | 1               | -                       |
| WA           | 2291                | 48                    | 63            | 18                       | 1               | -                       |

**Discussion**

**Are there mis/unclassified, unsolved homicides in Australia?**

A conservative estimate of two known cases in a 12-month period indicates mis/unclassified homicides are not occurring frequently in Australia. However, given the low number of known homicides annually in the two states where robust information is available (N = 48 in WA and N = 57 in VIC), one case each represents a significant proportion; about 2%. In the other States, issues with how data is collected and presented makes drawing conclusions surrounding the absence of known mis/unclassified cases problematic. For example, in Tasmania (TAS) no inquests into suspected deaths were held, but several cases in 2017-18 involved a coronial *investigation* into a suspected death which could not rule out foul play, and indeed some remained suspected homicides. It is not clear why these cases were not the subject of an inquest, however the lack of evidence due to DA by offenders is a likely contributor. In South Australia (SA), only 15 inquest findings for the
year were available at the time of this writing, and in New South Wales (NSW) and Northern Territory (NT), no systematic data was available.

**Does DA Lead to Mis/Unclassified or Unsolved Homicides?**

The two cases uncovered in this analysis highlight the important role that DA behaviours by offenders can play in how suspicious deaths or disappearances are classified and whether homicides ultimately remain unsolved. In the WA case, DA in the form of disposing of or concealing the deceased’s body meant that a homicide investigation did not begin until 8 years after the victim was reported missing. Due to a combination of failing to look for the deceased in a timely fashion and offender efforts to have the body remain undiscovered, even establishing a death was difficult in this case, let alone classifying it as a homicide (Vicker, 2017). In this case, DA certainly led to the case being unclassified and unsolved.

Similar findings have been observed in the literature on DA and CSS. For example, research by Ferguson & Pooley (2019a, b) revealed ‘no-body’ cases in Australia commonly involved homicides where the victim was reported missing and deemed a low-risk of harm initially. Cases such as these were commonly unclassified as homicides for a significant period. The delays created by initial perception of the missing person as low-risk, the complexity added by the absence of a victim’s body, and lies told by POIs resulted in numerous examples like the WA case, where perpetrators could not be prosecuted and the homicide remained unsolved (Ferguson & Pooley, 2019b).

Even in cases where the body is eventually found, delays created by offenders disposing of a victim’s body have real impacts. For example, Beauregard and Martineau (2014) found DA behaviours in the form of disposing of a victim’s body worked to significantly delay arrest of offenders. Along with providing opportunities for evidence to
degrade or be destroyed, delays in finding the body can also hinder investigations as most training and procedure for homicide investigation is designed for use on live or fresh cases, not those with significant time lags (Roach, 2017).

In 2018 Ferguson studied 22 solved murders involving forensically aware offenders. Similar to the sexual homicide sample (Beauregard & Martineau, 2014), significant delays by virtue of DA behaviours being used were noted, as well as layers of complexity added to an investigation as a result. Several cases involved long periods before discovery of a death or homicide, and ongoing uncertainty by investigators due to the cases being deemed non-suspicious early on. Time to discovery of the death or crime ranged from minutes to 23 years. In the cases involving body disposal the deceased was discovered 6 days after going missing at the earliest, but similar to the WA example, bodies were sometimes never discovered. Even a 6-day delay in discovery added complexity to the medical and forensic analyses, hampering investigations in the forensically aware sample (Ferguson, 2018).

Findings in the literature therefore appear consistent with the WA case analysed here, however in this case the lack of available evidence and delays created by the DA behaviours led to the death being unclassified for at least 8 years, and continuing to remain unsolved 20 years on.

DA behaviours of the offender appear to have worked in a different way in the case analysed from Victoria. This case remains unsolved due to the insufficiency of available evidence by virtue of the DA behaviours used by the offender in attempting to have the homicide appear as an accidental death in a fire. That is, despite a comprehensive investigation beginning immediately after the death, evidence of homicide and the person responsible have been destroyed by the fire. What remains did not suppress the
controversy over whether the death was indeed accidental, and at present is not substantial enough to move forward with prosecution despite there being a known POI.

Similar impacts of DA are discussed in the literature specific to deaths made to look like accidents in fires. Research by Ferguson et al. (2015) showed the use of fire to destroy evidence or mutilate bodies post-mortem complicated ensuing homicide investigations. Arson associated homicides involved high levels of planning and premeditation, compounding the existing complexity of investigating the fire death (Ferguson et al, 2015).

Other research of offenders manipulating how manner of death is classified reveals additional complexities are created by DA behaviours. For example, studies of homicides made to appear as suicides show that, while less sophisticated than other types of staged scenes (Ferguson & Petherick, 2016), even simple behaviours impacted certainty surrounding manner of death, and therefore, work to erode investigator confidence and subsequent performance (Roach, 2017). In Ferguson and Sutherland’s (2018) analysis of fall homicides, offenders’ efforts to have a homicide appear as an accident led to great difficulties for investigators, with several cases being misclassified as non-suspicious deaths for a period of years (Ferguson & Sutherland, 2018). The fall study was the first to discuss the likelihood of a dark figure of misclassified homicides. Such a finding demonstrates the impact DA can have and the uncertainty created, like in the Victorian case, even when comprehensive investigations begin without delay.

In summary, the two cases discovered and the small amount of literature relating to DA by offenders in homicide cases implies that these behaviours can contribute to homicides being unsolved (Beauregard & Bouchard, 2010; Durnal, 2010; Salfati & Haratsis, 2001; Stevens, 2008). To explain how this generally happens, a proposed model for the impact of DA behaviours on death and homicide investigations is presented in Figure 1.
Brookman’s (2005) flow chart depicting how homicide investigations progress has been adapted and where DA can interrupt the process, sometimes causing the case to become a mis/unclassified, unsolved homicide has been proposed. The model is necessarily broad, noting that the relationship between DA and unsolved cases may be multifaceted, complex and situation dependent.

**Limitations**

This analysis is limited by several factors. Most importantly, the results are likely to underestimate the prevalence of mis/unclassified homicides. This is caused by two related factors: the inherent invisibility of homicides wrongly classified as non-suspicious deaths or not deaths at all; and the difficulty establishing rules to include or exclude cases where homicide is strongly suspected but remains unproven. The first part of this limitation cannot be avoided, as numbers of undiscovered homicides are not predictable. To attempt to avoid the second element of this limitation, only cases where the coroner opined at inquest that a third-party was involved in the death were included. Those cases where foul play simply could not be ruled out, or where the coroner opined as to third party involvement without conducting an inquest were excluded. Because of these issues the prevalence of mis/unclassified homicides is likely underestimated.

Similarly, data from WA is also likely to underestimate the problem of mis/unclassified homicides due to the standard of proof required under the WA legislation. Unlike others in Australia, WA Coroners make decisions at the criminal standard of proof (beyond a reasonable doubt) rather than the civil standard (on the balance of probabilities; Office of the State Coroner for Western Australia, 2018). This means that WA cases where manner of death is deemed ‘undetermined’ might have been ruled homicides by Coroners
in other jurisdictions. This limitation was tempered by the researchers carefully considering any borderline cases in WA (n = 1; eventually excluded), however it remains.

The analysis is also limited by difficulties in quantifying the impact of DA behaviours due to the variability of possible behaviours and many confounding factors. DA often involves the removal or destruction of evidence, so predicting how the investigation might have progressed had evidence not been absent is problematic. This limitation is tempered by the level of detail available in the Coronial inquest documents and impacts being fairly obvious in the two cases discovered (for example, lack of death investigation for 8 years), however it should be noted.

Finally, minor limitations exist within the Coronial data itself. Coronial data is limited by jurisdictional differences, Coronial investigations occurring sometimes decades after the death or disappearance has occurred, and the use of multiple Coronial inquests with opposing findings in some cases. Furthermore, published Coronial data does not indicate how many death or missing persons investigations were finalised by police before presiding Coroners directed them to carry out additional inquiries, where further evidence of a homicide was uncovered. Limitations aside, examination of Coronial data allowed conclusions to be drawn regarding mis/unclassified and unsolved homicides in Australia which were supported by the literature.

**Conclusion**

Although admittedly not being uncovered at alarming rates, this analysis conservatively reveals that Australian homicide cases are misclassified as other types of death or unclassified as deaths in not insignificant proportions due to DA by offenders. Therefore, along with known unsolved homicides, there may also be a dark figure of homicides which are truly cold, given that they may never have been investigated
comprehensively as homicides or even deaths. Mis/unclassified cases are marred by the usual impact of DA behaviours; but also, by delays, lack of evidence, ongoing uncertainty from investigators about the nature of the death or disappearance, and a potential corresponding lack of confidence in investigative decision-making, likely including resource allocation (Roach, 2017). As such, mis/unclassified cases have the odds stacked against them ever being resolved, absent a major shift in perception (Roach, 2017) or new information forthcoming (Davis et al, 2014).

While the examples provided here make it plain that the Coronial system in Australia provides some protection from homicides being mis/unclassified and unsolved, it appears that Coroners are hampered in the same way as police by DA behaviours perpetrated by offenders. Despite their broad powers, Australian Coroners have little control over offender planning and decision-making, evidence left behind, or delays in cases being reported to them as suspected deaths. Coroners do have the ability to more actively influence related factors such as police training, policy, and procedure. Making recommendations to prevent these factors from catalysing the impact of DA behaviours may be a positive way forward in the future. Until then, the important oversight of suspicious death and disappearance cases provided by Australian Coroners will undoubtedly uncover more mis/unclassified homicide cases where offenders have avoided detection and the case remains unsolved. Unfortunately, the true proliferation of these cases cannot be known, however future research should proceed with an eye towards measuring common themes and characteristics in the cases that are known.
Figure 1: Key police activities in response to possible homicide and the corresponding impact of offender detection avoidance behaviours (adapted from Brookman, 2005)
1 Beauregard & Martineau, 2014
2 Ferguson & Pooley, 2019a
3 Ferguson, 2015
4 Ferguson & Petherick, 2016
5 Nethery, 2004
6 Ferguson & Sutherland, 2018
7 Ferguson et al, (2015)
8 Ferguson, 2018
9 Roach, 2017
References

Beauregard, E. & Bouchard, M. (2010). Cleaning up your act: Forensic awareness as a detection avoidance strategy. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38*, 1160-1166, doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.09.004

Beauregard, E. & Martineau, M. (2012). A descriptive study of sexual homicide in Canada: Implications for police investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 57*(12), 1454-1476, doi: 10.1177/0306624X12456682

Beauregard, E. & Martineau, M. (2014). No body, no crime? The role of forensic awareness in avoiding police detection in cases of sexual homicide. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 42*, 213-220, doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2013.06.007

Brookman, F. (2005). *Understanding Homicide*. Sage: London. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446216361.n10

Brown, K. & Keppel, R. (2012). Child abduction murder: The impact of forensic evidence on solvability. *Journal of Forensic Sciences, 57*(2), 353-353, doi:10.1111/j.1556-4029.2011.01970.x

Bryant, W. & Bricknell, S. (2017). Homicide in Australia 2012-3 to 2013-4: National Homicide Monitoring Program report. Australian Institute of Criminology, Statistical Report 02.

Canter, D. (1989). Offender profiling. *The Psychologist, 2*(1), 12-16.

Chisum, J., & Turvey, B. (2007). A history of crime reconstruction. In J. Chisum & B. Turvey (Eds.), *Crime reconstruction* (pp. 1-35). London, England: Academic Press.

Coroners Court of Victoria (2018). Annual Report 2017-2018. Retrieved from: https://www.coronerscourt.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2018-12/MASTER%20CCOV%20AR%202017-18_0.pdf

Cuneo, C. (2011, 20 June). Car clue to killer of Jessica Small. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from: https://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/car-clue-to-killer-of-jessica-small/news-story/5dd6246b6b714d6f1bd08a8e312b113b?sv=d8e5fb0bb2a1b90294d57aff7d6d56f9

Davies, A. (1992). Rapists’ behaviour: A three aspect model as a basis for analysis and the identification of serial crime. *Forensic Science International, 55*, 173-194.

Davis, R., Jensen, C., Burgette, L., Burnett, K. (2014). Working Smarter on Cold Cases: Identifying Factors Associated with Successful Cold Case Investigations. *Journal of Forensic Sciences, 59*(2). doi: 10.1111/1556-4029.12384

Durnal, E. (2010). Crime scene investigation (as seen on TV). *Forensic Science International, 199*, 1-5, doi: 10.1016/j.forsciint.2010.02.015
“Ex-boyfriend charged with murder over death of Titans cheerleader Breeana Robinson”, 2019, 25 January). ABC News. Retrieved from: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-01-25/breanna-robinson-man-charged-murder-gold-coast-cheerleader-death/10748906

Ferguson, C. (2015) Staged homicides: An examination of common features of faked burglaries, suicides, accidents and car accidents. Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology, 30(3), 139-157, doi: 10.1007/s11896-014-9154-1

Ferguson, C. (2016) Collision or collusion? Homicides staged as car accidents. Journal of Law and Medicine, 24, 493-503.

Ferguson, C. (2018). Forensically aware offenders and homicide investigations: Challenges, opportunities and impacts. Paper presented at ANZ Forensic Science Society Biennial Symposium, Perth, Western Australia.

Ferguson, C., Doley, R., Watt, B., Lyneham, M., & Payne, J. (2015) Arson associated homicide in Australia: a 5-year follow up. Trends and Issues in Criminology, No. 484. Australian Institute of Criminology: Canberra.

Ferguson, C. & Petherick, W. (2016) Getting away with murder: An examination of detected homicides staged as suicides. Homicide Studies, 20(1), 3-24, doi: 10.1177/1088767914553099

Ferguson, C. & Pooley, K. (2019a). Australian no-body homicides: Exploring common features of solved cases. Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine. doi: 10.1016/j.jflm.2019.06.007

Ferguson, C. & Pooley, K. (2019b) Comparing solved and unsolved no-body homicides in Australia: An exploratory analysis. Homicide Studies. doi: 10.1177/10887679198523

Ferguson C., & Sutherland, T. (2018) Murder by pushing: An exploratory analysis of homicidal falls from a height. American Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology, doi: 10.1097/PAF.0000000000000386

Gardiner, S. (2018, 26 October). Million-dollar reward offered for information about the suspected murder of Bathurst teenager Jessica Small. ABC News. Retrieved from https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-10-26/one-million-dollar-reward-offered-in-jessica-small-murder-case/10432906

Geberth, V. (2006). Practical homicide investigation: Tactics, Procedures and Forensic Techniques (4th ed.). Boca Raton, U.S.A.: CRC Press.

Gross, H. (1924). Criminal Investigation, London: Sweet & Maxwell.
Hazelwood, R. & Napier, M. (2004) Crime scene staging and its detection. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 48*, 744-759, doi: 10.1177/0306624X04268298

Jamieson, A. (2018). Finding into death with Inquest of Connor Michael Tolson (COR 20154765). Retrieved from: https://www.coronerscourt.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2018-12/connormichaeltolson_476515.pdf

Keppel, R., & Weis, J. (2004) The rarity of “unusual” dispositions of victim bodies: Staging and posing. *Journal of Forensic Science, 49*, 1308-1312.

“Lyn Dawson’s Story: The mother, the husband and the teacher’s pet” (2018, 10 September) ABC News. Retrieved from: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-09-10/australian-story-who-killed-lyn-dawson/10213690

Neimeyer, E., Pepper, K., & Salfati, G. (2008) *Avoiding detection: An examination of adaptive and maladaptive behaviors in serial homicide.* Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, St. Louis, MO.

Nethery K. (2004). *Non-familial abductions that end in homicide: an analysis of the distances patterns and disposal sites.* Unpublished Master’s Thesis, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University

O’Connell J. & Soderman, H. (1936) *Modern Criminal Investigation.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

O’Hara, C. & Osterburg, J. (1949) *An Introduction to Criminalistics: The Application of the Physical Sciences to the Detection of Crime.* New York: MacMillan.

Office of the State Coroner of Western Australia (2018). Annual Report 2017-2018. Retrieved from: https://www.coronerscourt.wa.gov.au/_files/Annual_report_2017_2018.pdf

Phillips, A. (2018, 25 January) One lone police officer who trusted his gut and put an ex-cop any for murder. ABC News. Retrieved from: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-25/the-police-officer-who-put-away-ex-cop-for-murder-qld/9355838

Quinet, K., & Nunn, S. (2014). Establishing the Victim–Offender Relationship of Initially Unsolved Homicides: Partner, Family, Acquaintance, or Stranger? *Homicide Studies, 18*(3), 271-297. DOI: 10.1177/1088767913493783

Queensland Police Service (2017). Annual Statistical Review 2016-7. State of Queensland. www.police.qld.gov.au

Regoecki, W. C., Jarvis, J., & Riedel, M. (2008). Clearing murders: Is it about time? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 45*, 142-162.
Roach, J. (2017). The retrospective detective. Cognitive bias and the cold case homicide investigator. *Papers from the British Criminology Conference*. Retrieved from: http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/34101/1/The-Retrospective-Detective.pdf

Salfati, G. & Haratsis, E. (2001) Greek homicide: A behavioral examination of offender crime scene actions. *Homicide Studies, 5*(4), 355-362, doi: 10.1177/1088767901005004006

Schlesinger, L., Gardenier, A., Jarvis, J. & Sheehan-Cook, J. (2012) Crime scene staging in homicide. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology, 29*, 44-51, doi: 10.1007/s11896-012-9114-6

Stevens, D. (2008) Forensic science, wrongful convictions and American prosecutor discretion. *The Howard Journal, 47*(1), 31-51, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2311.2008.00495.x

Svensson, A. & Wendel, O. (1965). *Techniques of Crime Scene Investigation*. New York: American Elsevier.

Vicker, E. (2017). *Record of Investigation into death of Petronella Albert* (F/No: 291:2016). Retrieved from: https://www.coronerscourt.wa.gov.au/I/inquest_into_the_death_of_petronella_albert.aspx