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<th>Ching, Hannah; Daffern, Michael; Thomas, Stuart</th>
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Running head: APPETITIVE VIOLENCE

Clarifying the characteristics of youth who have engaged in appetitive violence

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Abstract

Appetitive violence is a form of proactive violence; its purpose is to generate or maintain a positive emotional state and possibly, to strengthen social bonds. Portrayals of an increasing frequency of youth acts of appetitive violence have contributed to a perception that aggressive delinquents are callous and predatory. However, the characteristics of youth who have engaged in appetitive violence and the nature of their violent behaviour have not yet been elucidated. This study compared demographic and psychological characteristics of 143 young violent offenders according to whether or not they had a history of appetitive violence. It was hypothesised that youth with a history of appetitive violence would score higher on a measure of psychopathy and that their violence would be perpetrated within the context of a group assault. Results revealed that acts of appetitive violence were perpetrated exclusively by males and were more likely to occur when co-offenders were present. Psychopathy did not differentiate youth whose index offence was appetitive from those whose violent index offence was not. These results suggest that appetitive violence perpetrated by young offenders is the product of social factors rather than individual psychopathology.

Key Words: appetitive, psychopathy, violence, youth
The supposed emergence of acts of proactive violence among youth, including ‘happy slapping’ (Chan et al., 2011), has coincided with a renewed media interest in youth offending (Faucher, 2009). In turn, this focus has promoted the idea that contemporary young offenders are increasingly deficient in empathy and more callous than previously recognised (White, 2006), despite a lack of corresponding empirical support. Although the empirical literature regarding proactive violence in youth is small, the phenomenon has been explored, with evidence of ‘appetitive violence’ (Howard, 2009) and other aggressive acts perpetrated for pleasure (Ching, Daffern, & Thomas, 2013; Howard, Howells, Jinks, & McMurran, 2009). However, the distinguishing characteristics of youth who engage in this form of predatory violence have yet to be elucidated. This is important since the treatment needs of appetitively violent offenders may differ from those youth who engage in the more ‘established’ and previously focussed upon forms of violence, namely, anger-mediated and instrumental violence (Ching et al., 2013). This study sought to determine whether appetitively violent youth differ from other violent youth according to demographic, personality (i.e., psychopathy) and social factors. Delineation is necessary if specific deterrent and treatment strategies for those youth who engage in violence for this previously under researched type of violence are to be elucidated.

Youth involvement in crime is a perennial issue of concern for governments, policy makers and the public alike, as well as an ongoing focus within media reporting. While there is no universally depicted age range identified by the terms ‘young people’ or ‘youth,’ in this instance they are used broadly to refer to individuals aged between 10 to 25 years. However, within this framework, the concept of juvenile offending refers specifically to youth aged 10 to 17 years. Underpinning much of the focus on the issue of juvenile and youth offending in general, is the disproportionately high rates of offending within these age groups; exacerbated
further by recent increases of violent offending specifically. According to the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC; 2009), the rate of juvenile offending has generally been twice as high as that of adults. In 2009-2010, young offenders aged 10 to 19 comprised nearly one third of the total Australian offender population, with 15 to 19 year olds accounting for the largest proportion (23%) of offenders (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2011). In 2006-2007 the offending rate for persons aged 15 to 19 years was four times the rate for offenders aged over 19 years (5,735 and 1,305 respectively per 100,000). Of concern, the offending of people aged 10 to 19 years increased each year between 2007 until 2010; a trend which contrasts with that of adult offending, which decreased over the same time frame (ABS, 2011). In conjunction with this over representation of youth offending, between the years 1997–2007 the number of young people charged with assault in Australia rose by 48%. In the state of Victoria where this study was completed more than one third of the 36,156 alleged offenders processed for crimes against the person in the 2009/2010 period were between the ages of 15-24 (14,645); 40% of offenders processed for assault also fell within this age range (11,906 out of a total of 29,274; Victoria Police, 2010).

Further to the increased prevalence of youth violence (Australian Institute of Criminology [AIC], 2009) there has also been an intense media focus highlighting youth engagement in acts of proactive violence, particularly so-called appetitive violence (Ching et al., 2013; Howard et al., 2009). This type of violence involves unprovoked attacks on vulnerable victims; it differs from anger-mediated and instrumental violence. Although anger mediated violence is associated with a negative affect (anger) and instrumental violence is generally considered to have no motivating affective component (although in some cases a secondary emotional gain is evident, McMurran, Jinks, Howells, & Howard, 2010), appetitive violence is thought to be motivated (ultimately) by the anticipated enhancement of
positive affect (Howard, 2009). This proposition has some support; for example, excitement, or the quest for excitement, has been highlighted as an important motive in personal attacks by young people (LeBlanc & Frechenette, 1989), antisocial acts by young men (Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 2004), football hooliganism (Spaaij, 2008), in bar room aggression amongst young males (Graham & Wells, 2002), and more recently in the commission of violent offending (Ching et al., 2013; Howard, 2011).

Appetitively violent acts are exemplified by the phenomenon of ‘happy slapping,” in which youth not only perpetrate purportedly unprovoked acts of violence, they may also record and distribute images of these attacks (Palansinski, 2013; Saunders, 2005). Although this form of violence reportedly originated in the UK in 2004 (Akwagyiram, 2005), these acts have since been identified in the United States, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Australia and Canada (Ching, Daffern, & Thomas, 2012). Another fad, labelled ‘bum hunting,’ has been reported within the United States. This involves groups of young people targeting homeless individuals in acts of ‘random’ violence, with reports describing beatings with baseball bats, shootings with paintball guns and the use of fire (National Coalition for the Homeless [NCH], 2010). These acts have been subjected to intense media coverage. To date, reports of these proactive types of violence remain predominantly anecdotal, with little empirical examination (Ching et al., 2013).

Biological, psychological, behavioural and social risk factors for youth violence have been elucidated (WHO, 2002); for example, early onset and problematic substance use, family conflict and poor family management; child abuse, violent victimisation or exposure to violence; poor peer relations; involvement with antisocial peers or involvement in gangs; and lack of connection to school; as well as dispositions to violence in the form of low self-
control or sensation seeking, and attitudes which are supportive of the use of violence (Herrenkohl, Hemphill, Mason, Toumbourou, & Catalano, 2012). There has not been any study of the characteristics of youth who engage in appetitive violence, although one study, which focussed on perpetrators of happy slapping, concluded that happy slapping in juvenile offenders was more likely to occur when offenders were in the presence of a co-offender (Chan et al., 2011). Further, the authors suggested that these acts of violence were generally committed by adolescents or young adults, and that the more violent examples of these acts were perpetrated by youth with a history of prior offending and prior and current behavioural problems. Given the association between sensation seeking, substance use, and aggression (Joireman, Anderson, & Strathman, 2003), it is also likely, although not yet established, that youth who engage in appetitive violence are more likely to have a history of substance use and a proclivity for risk taking behaviour. Those adolescents with a propensity for risk taking behaviours typically engage in varied risky behaviours (Arnett, 1992).

Similarly, associations between callous and unemotional (CU) traits and proactive aggression and thrill seeking have been found (Essau, Sasagawa, & Frick, 2006; Fanti, Frick, & Georgiou, 2009; Frick & Dickens, 2006). Flight and Forth (2007) found youth who engaged in instrumental violence scored higher on the Psychopathy Checklist- Youth Version (PCL:YV; Forth, Kosson, & Hare, 2003) compared to adolescents who did not engage in instrumental violence. These differences were attributed to higher scores on the Interpersonal and Affective facets of the PCL:YV. Furthermore, the constellation of characteristics associated with CU traits (e.g. poverty of emotion, lack of empathy and guilt, callous use of others for one’s own purpose) are associated with severe antisociality in youth (Frick & Dickens, 2006), and are predictive of more severe, stable and aggressive antisocial behaviour (Munoz & Frick, 2012).
Although the aforementioned related research tends to indicate that appetitive violence may be associated with psychopathic traits and sensation seeking, social factors may also be important (Palasinski, 2013). Since youth generally commit crime in the company of others (Reiss & Farrington, 1991), it is possible that appetitive violence is a product of social factors. Previous research has suggested that the type of violence and offending a youth engages in can be dependent upon whether a young person is alone or in a group (Farrington, 1993); hedonistic offences, which are committed for excitement, for enjoyment, or to relieve boredom, are more likely to be committed in a group. Friendly witnesses or co-offenders may enhance feelings of social rewards, such as increased acceptance, popularity or social status (Chan et al., 2011) or alternatively, the group dynamic may result in some youth feeling disinhibited and anonymous; these feelings may allow the youth to engage in behaviours they may normally resist (Morrell & Scott, 2011).

**Aims and Hypotheses**

Although recent findings suggest appetitive violence is rare (Ching et al., 2013), elucidating the characteristics of appetitively violent youth is integral to identifying appropriate diversion, treatment and management strategies. To this end, this study employed a retrospective file review to delineate the demographic and psychological characteristics of a cohort of young violent offenders based upon whether their violent index offence was characterised as appetitively violent or not. The following hypotheses were investigated:

1. In light of past findings showing a relationship between age and thrill seeking (i.e., younger age is associated with greater thrill seeking) (Agnew, 1990); in conjunction with the fact that moral development, decision making and future-oriented thinking are not yet fully consolidated in youth, it was hypothesised that youth whose violent
index offending was categorised as appetitive would be younger than those youth whose violence was motivated by other goals.

2. It was hypothesised that youth with a history of substance use would be more likely to have engaged in appetitive violence, given the associated increase in arousal and the disinhibitory effect of alcohol and drugs, which may facilitate appetitive violence.

3. It was also hypothesised that youth who engaged in appetitive violence would have a more substantial history of criminal offending since youth engaging in violence of this nature would presumably have more established and broader repertoires of violent and other antisocial behaviour.

4. Furthermore, given that violence motivated by excitement has been associated with psychopathy (Bjornebekk & Howard, 2012), and callous and unemotional traits have been associated with proactive violence in youth (Frick & Dickens, 2006), it was hypothesised that appetitively violent youth, on average, would score higher on the PCL-YV than those violent youth whose violence was perpetrated for other reasons.

5. Finally, given the impact of social factors on proactive offending it was hypothesised that youth who engaged in appetitive violence would be more likely to have committed their violent offending in a group rather than individual context.

Method

Subjects

This project involved a retrospective study of case files from the Children’s Court Clinic in Victoria, Australia. The Children’s Court Clinic is an independent body which conducts assessments and provides reports on children and, where applicable, their families at the request of Children’s Court magistrates throughout Victoria, Australia. These assessments are undertaken in order to assist the relevant judicial officer in their case-related decision-
making. The Children’s Court is a specialist Court with two divisions, Family and Criminal, which deal with cases involving children and young people. The Criminal Division of the court has jurisdiction to hear and determine summarily all offences (other than murder, attempted murder, manslaughter, child homicide, defensive homicide, culpable driving causing death and arson causing death) where the alleged offender was under the age of 18 but of, or above, the age of 10 years at the time the offence was committed and under the age of 19 when proceedings were commenced in the court. Clinic case-files are extensive and detailed. In addition to the clinician’s report, the files contain charge sheets, summons sheets and other psychological assessments and pre-sentencing reports.

For the purposes of this study, 441 criminal case files were reviewed for eligibility. The criteria for inclusion were: 1) a proven conviction for a non-sexual violent index offence; and 2) referral for a general psychological assessment as opposed to a neuropsychological assessment. This resulted in a final sample comprising 143 young offenders (111 males; 32 females) with an average age at the time of assessment of 16 years (see Table 1).

-Insert Table 1 here-

**Procedure**

After establishing the sample, each eligible case file was reviewed in detail. From these, demographic characteristics including age and gender were identified and recorded, as was relevant information pertaining to the young person’s past use of substances, family history, and past offending behaviour (the data collection protocol is available from the authors upon request). Information regarding each index offence was also recorded, including the involvement of co-offenders.
Ethical approval was granted by the Victorian Department of Justice Human Research Ethics Committee and the Monash University Human Research Committee.

**Classification of index offences**

The function of all index offences were coded by one researcher (HC), utilising the tripartite classification system developed by McMurran and colleagues (McMurran et al., 2010). According to this classification system each offence is classified based upon one of three ultimate goals: 1) violence in pursuit of non-social profit based goals (tangible gain); 2) violence in pursuit of social dominance goals (in response to a real or perceived injury, insult or injustice, associated with anger); and 3) violence as defence in response to threat (associated with fear). For the purposes of this study a fourth category “other” was incorporated, to classify acts of appetitive violence. The inter-rater reliability of the coding of these functions and motivations was examined, with a random sample of twenty case files independently rated utilising the same coding protocol. Inter-rater agreement was high $K(20)= .82$.

The distribution of classifications as determined by the tripartite classification system between genders is shown in Table 2.

-Insert Table 2 here-

**Psychopathy**

PCL:YV (Forth et al., 2003) assessments were undertaken for each young offender by HC. Although the assessments undertaken at the CCC do not specifically assess psychopathy, the files are extensive, detailed and multi-faceted, which allowed PCL:YV assessments to be undertaken based solely on file information. The PCL:YV is a 20 item rater-based instrument
designed to assess the construct of psychopathy in adolescents. Each item is scored on a 3-point system: 0 (does not match the description of the item), 1 (partially matches the description of the item) and 2 (matches the description of the item). The PCL:YV generates a total score and four factor scores. The reliability of the PCL:YV coding was also examined using a random sample of twenty case files that were independently rated; results revealed an intraclass correlation coefficient of .96 for PCL:YV Total.

Approach to analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to characterise the sample. Crosstabulations and Chi Square Tests of Association were calculated to compare categorical variables, substituting Fishers Exact test in instances where cell values in the contingency tables fell below n = 5. Continuous data were compared using independent t-tests. Odds ratios were then calculated; with 95% confidence intervals computed using Miettinen’s method (Kirkwood, 1988, p. 183); age at time of index offence and gender were also considered as potential confounders. Analyses were carried out in SPSS version 19.

Results

Overall, the majority of the sample were found to have left home before the age of 16 (81.8%); they had histories of both alcohol (87.3%) and drug use (83.9%); over half (58.2%) had a prior history of offending. Those whose index offence was classified as appetitive according to McMurran et al’s (2010) system were generally younger when they committed their first offence (13.09 vs. 14.34, p=0.06) and also slightly younger at the time of the index offence (15.26 vs. 15.55, p=0.475). There were no statistically significant differences in relation to severity of injury to the victim, use of weapons on the offence, or levels of psychopathy. The two groups were, however, distinguishable in terms of group-based
offending and gender. Appetitively violent acts were significantly more likely to have been perpetrated in a group context, and, these violent acts were exclusively perpetrated by males (See Tables 2, 3 and 4). The odds of appetitively violent offending occurring in a group was 5.46 (95% CI 1.18 – 25.21) greater than other violent offence types; this rose to 5.66 (95% CI 1.218-26.310) when was statistically controlled for age at time of index offence.

-Insert Tables 3 and 4 here-

**Discussion**

This study examined the characteristics of youth with a history of appetitive violence and compared them with youth whose violent index offence was motivated by material goals, social dominance goals or in defence. With regards to substance use, offending history and psychopathy, results showed that appetitively violent youth were indistinguishable from other violent youth. It was hypothesised that appetitively violent youth would score higher on a measure of psychopathy given the lack of empathy which would be assumed to accompany a random attack on a victim for the purpose of generating or maintaining a positive emotional state. This hypothesis was based on previous findings in which a link has been suggested between proactive aggression and callous and unemotional (CU) traits (Frick & Dickens, 2006) and the results of Howard et al., (2009) who reported that sensation seeking and a desire to observe suffering uniquely and positively predicted appetitive violence. By contrast, results of this study suggest that social rather than individual factors predict appetitive violence in youth. Acts of appetitive violence were perpetrated more than five times as often within a group compared to other types of violence.

It is well established that many acts of youth violence occur within a group context (Reiss & Farrington, 1991). Peer group influences (e.g. impression management, modelling
peer behaviour, difficulty resisting peer encouragement, seeking peer approval and acceptance) clearly impact youth offending (Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 2007); these same factors may be important to appetitive violence. Social factors may encourage violence supportive beliefs, or heighten impulsivity and excitement. Adolescents with a propensity for sensation seeking may be attracted to each other (Arnett, 1992); these youth may encourage each other to engage in risky and collaborative acts of violence. Further, it may be that the group context leads to deindividuation, which may decrease inhibitions and perceived responsibility for aggressive acts (Jaffe, Shapir, & Yinon, 1981; Morrell & Scott, 2011). The group dynamics that contribute to appetitive violence remains unclear; this should be a focus of future research. It is also unclear what non-peer situational factors (if any), including individual characteristics not examined here, victim and environmental factors might trigger appetitive violence.

Youth who engaged in appetitive violence were delineated from those who did not by gender. There were no females within our sample who engaged in appetitive violence (of note, a similar proportion of females were found to engage in other types of violence). Group composition, in terms of gender, may be critical to determining whether acts of appetitive violence manifest. This interpretation is broadly consistent with previously identified gender differences in sensation seeking and associated risk taking behaviours, in which adolescent males report more general sensation seeking and socially deviant behaviour than females (Arnett, 1992; Waylan & McKenna, 2008). Such findings also reflect research which has focussed on other risky behaviours engaged in by young males, such as the influence passengers exert on young drivers (Regan & Mitsopoulos, 2001). This body of work has not only identified youth as having an increased crash risk when carrying peers as passengers, but has also distinguished a gender bias within this risk, which is elevated further for young male
drivers as compared with females. Male passengers have also been found to place young
drivers (male and female) at greater risk than female passengers, with each additional male
passenger shown to increase the crash risk of young drivers. Of note, young males report that
as a passenger they would never discourage their male peers from engaging in risky driving
behaviours, potentially even explicitly encouraging such behaviours (Regan & Mitsopoulos,
2001). Comparable peer process may help explain the finding that appetitive violence appears
to be peculiar to young males in groups.

Limitations

Although the findings of this study provide an initial insight into the characteristics
associated with youth who engage in appetitive violence, there are several issues that require
reflection. Firstly, the nature of the sample studied here (i.e., young offenders convicted of a
violent offence and referred to the Childrens’ Court Clinic) and its relatively small size, limit
the generalizability of results to adult offenders or to youth who have engaged in less severe
aggression that does not bring them into contact with the criminal justice system. Future
research might examine the prevalence of appetitive violence and the characteristics of adults
who engage in this type of violence. A second limitation was the use of file review, which
restricted the information used in the analysis. Future research utilising a participant group
would be useful to more thoroughly explore the specific impact and role that peers exert in
the commission of appetitive violence and also allow for a test of other personality and social
factors that might produce appetitive violence. A final limitation is that the violent behaviours
studied here only included the index offences of participants. These offences may have
differed from offenders previous acts (which may have included acts of appetitive violence).
It may be that offenders classified as non-appetitive had a history of appetitive violence. If so,
this would have obscured differences between the groups. Future research should attempt to
interview offender participants and screen for any history of appetitive violence. Finally, given the important role of social factors in the production of appetitive violence future research might examine the role of gangs in appetitive violence; specifically, whether gangs actively encourage this type of violence.

Conclusion

Anecdotally and in media reports, delinquent youth have been increasingly depicted as callous and deficient in empathy. Examples of their involvement in seemingly random and unprovoked acts of violence are highlighted as proof of a thrill seeking generation, motivated by a personal quest for excitement that extends to interpersonal violence. Although previous research has reported associations between sensation seeking and psychopathy, the results of this study suggest that appetitive violence is more likely perpetrated by young males in a group context. Appetitively violent youth within this sample were indistinguishable from other violent youth in terms of levels of psychopathy and demographic and criminal histories. The fact that appetitive violence was significantly more likely to occur in a group context suggests that there are important group processes that facilitate this type of violence within the adolescent male population. Violence reduction programs aimed at improving anger regulation and control are likely to be inadequate for youth whose violence is socially and emotionally reinforced; an important intervention for appetitively violent youth may be to assist these youth reduce negative peer associations, particularly during high risk times (in locations and at times when violence risk is heightened, for example at night around drinking and entertainment venues). At this time, the specific nature and influence of the group processes that produce appetitive violence remain unclear. It does however seem apparent, that whilst anecdotally appetitive violence has been painted as a sign of greater individual pathology, empirically, such assumptions are yet to be supported.
References


### Table 1.

**Descriptive characteristics of sample**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males N=111</th>
<th>Females N=32</th>
<th>Total N=143</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age at time of assessment (SD)</td>
<td>16.10 (1.57)</td>
<td>16.00 (1.33)</td>
<td>16.11 (1.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at index offence (SD)</td>
<td>15.60 (1.52)</td>
<td>15.40 (1.33)</td>
<td>15.52 (1.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at first offence (SD)</td>
<td>14.17 (1.66)</td>
<td>14.51 (0.95)</td>
<td>14.23 (1.56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index office: Assault resulting in injury</td>
<td>65 (58.6%)</td>
<td>19 (59.4%)</td>
<td>84 (58.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index offence: Assault no injury</td>
<td>41 (36.9%)</td>
<td>12 (37.5%)</td>
<td>53 (37.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index offence: Aggravated robbery</td>
<td>5 (4.5%)</td>
<td>1 (3.1%)</td>
<td>6 (4.2%)</td>
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Percentages reported to 1 decimal place
Table 2.

Classification of index offences according to function served

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males N=111 (%)</th>
<th>Females N=32 (%)</th>
<th>Total N=143 (%)</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Material goal</td>
<td>17 (15.3)</td>
<td>5 (15.6)</td>
<td>22 (15.4)</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social dominance goal</td>
<td>71 (64.0)</td>
<td>25 (78.1)</td>
<td>96 (67.1)</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In defence</td>
<td>8 (7.2)</td>
<td>2 (6.3)</td>
<td>10 (7.0)</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Enhance positive affect)</td>
<td>15 (13.5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>15 (10.5)</td>
<td>0.03*</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages reported to 1 decimal place, p values to 2 decimal places
*p<.05
Table 3.

Comparison of characteristics of appetitive and non-appetitive offenders and their violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Appetitive N=15</th>
<th>Not appetitive N=128</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>d</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has a recorded history of alcohol use</td>
<td>12 (80.0)</td>
<td>98 (76.6)</td>
<td>0.765</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has a recorded history of drug misuse</td>
<td>10 (66.7)</td>
<td>99 (77.3)</td>
<td>0.358</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resided with parents until 16 years old (or current age if younger)</td>
<td>2 (13.3)</td>
<td>24 (18.8)</td>
<td>0.607</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has a recorded history of physical abuse</td>
<td>5 (33.3)</td>
<td>38 (29.7)</td>
<td>0.771</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has a recorded history of offending</td>
<td>8 (53.3)</td>
<td>74 (57.8)</td>
<td>0.740</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim injured in index offence</td>
<td>12 (80.0)</td>
<td>82 (64.1)</td>
<td>0.219</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A weapon was used</td>
<td>7 (46.7)</td>
<td>53 (41.4)</td>
<td>0.696</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The index offence was committed in a group*</td>
<td>13 (86.7)</td>
<td>69 (53.9)</td>
<td>0.024(f)</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male gender*</td>
<td>15 (100)</td>
<td>96 (75.0)</td>
<td>0.028(f)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note data were not complete for some historical factors considered here
\(\ast p<.05\)
\(\ast\) Fishers Exact Test
### Table 4.
Comparison of psychopathy scores of appetitive and non-appetitive violence individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Appetitive M (SD)</th>
<th>Non-appetitive M (SD)</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Cohen’s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (at time of index offence)</td>
<td>15.26 (1.44)</td>
<td>15.55 (1.48)</td>
<td>0.475</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean PCL-YV score</td>
<td>13.25 (7.24)</td>
<td>11.84 (4.93)</td>
<td>0.474</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 1</td>
<td>0.33 (0.62)</td>
<td>0.12 (0.35)</td>
<td>0.203</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 2</td>
<td>2.93 (2.69)</td>
<td>2.59 (2.24)</td>
<td>0.581</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 3</td>
<td>5.13 (2.39)</td>
<td>4.49 (1.91)</td>
<td>0.328</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 4</td>
<td>3.80 (1.70)</td>
<td>3.61 (1.37)</td>
<td>0.623</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>