

Bibliotekarstudentens nettleksikon om litteratur og medier

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Om leksikonet: https://www.litteraturogmedieleksikon.no/gallery/om_leksikonet.pdf

Virkelighetskrim

(_sjanger) Krim “fra virkeligheten”. Også kalt krimdokumentar(-film, -bok osv.). En “real crime story” eller “true crime” med dokumentarisk innhold fra en forbrytelse som har funnet sted i virkeligheten. Gjenfortelling av forbrytelser og strafferettstilfeller som faktisk har foregått. Hendelsene er i prinsippet sanne, selv om de er vinklet på en måte som skal skape ytterligere interesse og fascinasjon. Det er ikke fantasiprodukter, ikke fiksjon. Det kan dreie seg om bøker, filmer/TV-serier, tidsskriftartikler, tegneserier, blogger og andre nettsteder m.m.

Også kalt “pitaval”, etter den franske juristen og forfatteren François Gayot de Pitaval, som ga ut boka *Berømte og interessante kriminalsaker* i 1734. Pitaval var advokat i Paris, og henvendte seg med sine bøker både til jurister og til allmennheten (Bohnsack og Foltin 1999 s. 113). Til sammen ga han ut 20 bind med berømte krim saker. I en pitaval er det samlet historier om ekte krim saker (Baier 2005). En moderne pitaval er George Henry Barrows *Celebrated trials and remarkable cases of criminal jurisprudence from the earliest records to the year 1825* (1825).

I årene 1842-90 publiserte tyskerne Julius E. Hitzig, Wilhelm H. Häring og Anton Vollert en rekke bøker med den felles tittelen *Den nye pitaval: En samling kriminalhistorier fra alle land fra eldre og nyere tid*. Til sammen ble det 60 bind med over 500 historier, og flesteparten av bøkene ble trykket i to eller tre opplag (Bergengruen, Haut og Langer 2015 s. 205-206).

Den skotske juristen og kriminologen William Roughead, “from 1889 to 1949, attended every high-profile murder trial held in the High Court in Edinburgh, and published a series of best-selling accounts of them” (Seltzer 2007 s. 17). Han har blitt kalt “the ‘father of true crime’ [...] By 1937, Roughead was one of the most celebrated authors in the world. He had the friendship and admiration of Henry James, generally regarded as one of literature’s greatest figures, and was the author of a series of best-selling works starting with *The Trial of Dr Pritchard* in 1906. He inspired other literary figures, most notably Lillian Hellman, whose Pulitzer prize-nominated play *The Children’s Hour* was adapted from a Roughead story in the 1930 anthology *Bad Companions*. [...] Roughead practised law less and less as his literary success grew. In fact he himself dated his transition from lawyer to

historian of crime as early as 1889, when aged 19, he neglected his duties as apprentice to Maclaren & Traquair to attend the trial of Jessie King, the murderous ‘baby-farmer’ of Stockbridge. This resulted in a death sentence on the prisoner, and, for Roughead, a lifetime’s fascination with the personalities and events of the High Court of Justiciary.” (<https://www.wssociety.co.uk/features/2017/10/16/mr-roughead-and-miss-smith>; lesedato 22.06.24)

“True crime literature is defined by Cameron (1990, p. 131) as “the narrative presentation of real-life criminal cases for mass entertainment.” Rawlings (1998) has described the wide range of true crime material as “popular criminology”. Rawlings traces the origins of true crime back to the criminal biographies of the late seventeenth century” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 75). Sjangeren har ofte et “sensationalist focus on shock and emotion” (Joy Wiltenburg i <https://watermark.silverchair.com/109-5-1377.pdf>; lesedato 05.08.19).

Sjangeren rommer historier om både allerede løste og om uløste kriminalsaker, fra fjern og nær fortid eller fra leserens (seerens, lytterens) samtid. Noen krim-dokumentarbøker er biografier om enten kriminelle, etterforskere eller ofre. Andre historier tar for seg kriminalsaker der det er påstått uskyldig dømt (det finnes en “justice-gone-wrong subgenre”; Murley 2008 s. 102), tekster som i sjeldne tilfeller har brakt fram nye fakta som gjorde at saker måtte tas opp på nytt. Det kan deles inn i verk om gjengkriminalitet, økonomisk kriminalitet osv.

“The genre may be broken down into sub-genres authored by detectives, relatives of murder victims and relatives of criminals, in addition to books written by journalists and other professional writers. Alternatively, these narratives may be organised by theme, according to type of killer, mode of killing, region or period – for example, ‘Women Who Kill’, ‘Doctors of Death’, ‘Classic Murder’, ‘Crimes of East Anglia’ and ‘Victorian Poisoners’.” (Biressi 2001 s. 1)

“Facts are selected, shaped, and twisted to fit the crime formulas being used.” (Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 154) Det umulige i å gi en helt objektiv framstillinger gjelder også andre dokumentarsjangrer.

“Som sjanger er virkelighetskrim et uekte barn av journalistikk, dokumentar og underholdning, og det er vanskelig å finne noen entydig, vanntett definisjon på hvor grensene mellom det ene og det andre går.” (Aksel Kielland i <https://www.morgenbladet.no/kultur/kommentar/2022/10/30/hva-har-virkelighetskrimmen-betydd-for-baneheia-saken/>; lesedato 13.04.24) Det som har blitt kalt “television criminology”, byr ikke bare på underholdning, men også viktig informasjon om forbrytelser, forbrytere, risikoer, behovet for lovendringer m.m. (Jacobsen 2014 s. 5).

Medieproduktene deles inn i undersjangrer knyttet til hvem forbryteren er, hvem som forteller (f.eks. en journalist eller gjerningsmannen), hvem offeret er, m.m. Det

finnes mange bøker og verk innen andre medier om seriemordere, som dermed har fellestrekk, og tilsvarende for andre typer forbrytelser, blant annet rasistisk motiverte drap, politiske drap og økonomisk kriminalitet. Bøker og andre verk kan dreie seg om uløste mysterier, uskyldig dømte, de verste drapssakene i et bestemt land osv.

“Since the early modern murder pamphlet, true crime has asked us to consider how we, as a society, both contribute to and learn from the most shocking acts of our age.” (Pamela Burger i <https://daily.jstor.org/bloody-history-of-true-crime-genre/>; lesedato 22.10.21) “The true crime book is not an armchair mystery that asks for the identity of the criminal in the vein of Miss Marple or Sherlock Holmes, but a narrative consulted in order to learn the reason why.” (Frost 2015)

“Cameron (1990) cites readers’ letters to true crime magazines, which state that they have lost their taste for crime fiction since discovering true crime.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 77)

I artikkelen “True Crime” skriver P. Rawlings om det skremmende ved virkelighetskrim: “if one monster can arise out of such ordinariness, why not others?” (Boran 2002 s. 81). Her siktes det til skildringer av “normale” mennesker som begår grufulle overgrep. Noen lesere er spesielt fascinert av seriemordere “who had no motive apart from the desire to mutilate and destroy, usually women” (Boran 2002 s. 74).

“True crime’s language allows killers rise to the level of celebrity and receive a twisted version of praise.” (Compton 2019 s. 59) Den amerikanske seriemorderen Ted Bundy, “like “Jack the Ripper,” is a sex criminal who has spawned a distinctive legend and been attended by a distinctive revelry. In the days preceding his death, his story dominated the mass media, memorializing and further mythicizing a killer who had already been the subject of scores of articles, five books, and a made-for-TV movie (where he was played by Mark Harmon, an actor whom *People Weekly* once gushed over as the “world’s sexiest man”). The atmosphere surrounding his execution was repeatedly described as a “carnival” or “circus.” [...] In the late 1970s, when he was awaiting trial for the murder of Caryn Campbell in Aspen, Colorado, Bundy managed to escape twice. The first time he was caught and returned to custody; the second time he was successful and traveled to Florida. But upon the news of his escapes (particularly the first) a phenomenal reaction occurred. All observers concur: “In Aspen, Bundy had become a folk hero” (Larsen 1980, p. 182); “Ted achieved the status of Billy the Kid at least” (Rule 1980, p. 255); “Aspen reacted as if Bundy were some sort of Robin Hood instead of a suspected mass murderer. A folklore sprang up out of the thin Rocky Mountain air” (Nordheimer 1978, p. 46). T-shirts appeared reading, “Ted Bundy is a One Night Stand.” Radio KSNO programmed a Ted Bundy request hour, playing songs like “Ain’t No Way to Treat a Lady.” [...] after his second escape, the FBI

took Bundy seriously enough to name him to their 10 Most Wanted List” (Jane Caputi i <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/189762.pdf>; lesedato 30.03.22).

“While sexual scandals and other shocking events have become staples of modern sensationalism, its chief focus has always been crime, especially the most bloody and horrifying of murders.” (Joy Wiltenburg i <https://watermark.silverchair.com/109-5-1377.pdf>; lesedato 05.08.19) “Violent crime, especially murder, strikes at the very core of our humanity and is therefore fascinating, dramatic and entertaining.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

Historiene som fortelles i virkelighetskrim samler i seg tre dypere mysterier enn hvem som er den skyldige eller hvordan en sak kan oppklares. Disse tre mysteriene er innvevd i historiene på ulike måter og mer eller mindre direkte tematisert i de konkrete fortellingene på papiret eller på skjermen: det ondes mysterium, dødens mysterium og skyldens mysterium. Det ondes mysterium gjelder hvorfor mennesker er i stand til å gjøre grusomme, onde handlinger, og om mennesket (alltid) er fritt til å velge det gode eller det onde. Dette onde kan framstå som meningsløst, selv om årsakene til ondskapen kan forklares (ønske om hevn, nytelse, på grunn av sykdom osv.). Ondskapens resultat er sorg og lidelse. Dødens mysterium gjelder det ugjenkallelige ved døden og hvor mye lidelse og meningstap de etterlatte opplever. Og skyldens mysterium gjelder hvor mye skyld forbryteren har, knyttet til psykisk tilstand i gjerningsøyeblikket, mental helse og vanskelig oppvekst.

Sjangeren er tett forbundet med det ondes problem: “worldly imperfection, manifest as suffering caused by malicious acts of crime and predation. The problem itself is of course as old as human existence, and comprises a core problem for all religious and moral systems of thought – the problem of theodicy. Theodicy (from the Greek *Theo* (God) and *Dike* (justice)) addressed the immediately apparent existence of evil in the world of human affairs, and its seeming contradiction of the promise of a benevolent deity (Leibniz, 1998). Following Max Weber (1993), we might say that the problem of evil becomes acute for modern, rationalizing societies, for two main reasons: firstly, the problem of suffering challenges the promise of purposive, rational ordering upon which modernity is founded; and secondly, a society increasingly divested of a compelling belief in theological explanations cannot make recourse to such frameworks in order to reconcile the problem that evil presents. In sum, for modern society, the problem of theodicy becomes what David Morgan and Iain Wilkinson (2001: 200) call the problem of ‘sociodicy’ – the attempt to ‘reconcile normative expectations of social life with adversities, inequalities and forms of human suffering which appear intractable to reason, justice or even hope’.” (Majid Yar i Jacobsen 2014 s. 196)

Drap konfronterer lesere og seere med døden, en av tilværelsens største gåter. Døden er uunngåelig, gjelder alle levende vesener, og den er irreversibel og

meningsløs hvis vi ikke har et håp om et liv etter døden. At forbryteren blir tatt, opphever ikke dødens enormitet, men kan likevel bringe det som kalles “closure” for de etterlatte. De trenger å finne en form for aksept eller trøst, og takle at en kjær person er borte for alltid. For mange etterlatte er tapet helt uopprettelig og blir en belastning (eller et traume) resten av livet.

“ “Humans are fascinated by evil,” says bestselling crime writer Ian Rankin. “We wonder where it comes from and whether we ourselves could ever carry out such an act. Some readers turn to crime fiction for answers, while others prefer true crime. Of course, there is a vicarious frisson for the fan of either – the reader stands at the shoulder of monsters without being endangered.” Trisha Jackson, who specialises in crime books as an editorial director at Pan Macmillan, believes stories of criminality “create a psychologically safe space that lets us dare to wrap our minds around otherwise unfathomable emotion. [...] [...] an almost universal fascination with the extremities of human behavior” (Mark Lawson i <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2015/dec/12/serial-thrillers-why-true-is-popular-cultures-most-wanted>; lesedato 22.10.21).

“American culture still has a need for such tales, since the crime genre addresses concerns of chaos and fear and reminds readers that the law triumphs and that sin will out. True crime exists as a genre because of this need for reassurance in the form of the restoration ritual. [...] the crime genre has always worked to reassure audiences and restore order. [...] the true crime genre, which, after all, works to reassure readers that all criminals are caught and all women are capable of avoiding a similar fate.” (Frost 2015)

“The lure and promise of justice is part of what is so appealing about true crime. It promises that over the course of a few hours, a complicated and gruesome crime will be wrapped up nicely. All motives for watching true crime considered, including well-meaning desire to learn about crimes in order to advocate for justice, true crime is a consumable good and a product of our capitalistic society. Providing intimate access into some of the most horrific acts humanity can commit is what has kept consumers intrigued and coming back for centuries. [...] Dead bodies should be disturbing images, instead of the basis for one of the most popular genres of the 21st century.” (Compton 2019 s. 69-70)

“True crime is one of the popular genres of the pathological public sphere. It posits stranger-intimacy and vicarious violation as models of sociality. This might be described as a social tie on the model of *referred pain*. [...] True crime is thus part of our contemporary wound culture, a culture – or at the least, cult – of commiseration. If we cannot gather in the face of anything other than crime, violence, terror, trauma, and the wound, we can at least commiserate. [...] the media spectacle of wounding and victimization.” (Seltzer 2007 s. 2 og 10)

“While criminality comes loaded with natural born dramatic curves, arcs, conflict and tension – a natural hunting ground for the narrative ambitions of storytellers – it is the conceit of the real that audiences crave. The more believable the claim of authenticity the closer to the scene of the crime the spectator is positioned and the more intimate the imagining.” (Trevor Grant i Arntfield og Danesi 2016 s. 99)

“True crime is a politically slippery genre. On the one hand, true crime books uphold conservative values – policemen are heroes, criminals are punished, sometimes by death. True crime writers are often affiliated with victims’ rights groups, and some, like former policewoman Ann Rule, work with law enforcement agencies. [...] True crime books are a popular arena for metaphysical discussions about the nature of evil, the meaning of retribution, and the impossibility of knowing another.” (Laura Browder i <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/232756094.pdf>; lesedato 03.12.21) En tekst kan både framstille ondskap som en urkraft i mennesket og fokusere på hyperavanserte etterforskingsteknikker. Evige eksistensielle spørsmål og nye vitenskapelig-tekniske detaljer kan altså inngå i samme tekst.

Kriminologen Scott Bonn har hevdet at fascinasjonen for sjangeren skyldes at det vi leser eller ser, utløser redsel. Redsel er menneskets sterkeste følelse, men med virkelighetskrim kan vi oppleve redsel uten å være i reell fare. I stress-situasjoner trenger kroppen adrenalin, opprinnelig for å kunne flykte raskt fra farene som truet. Gjennom å kikke på ekte, grusomme forbrytelser, utløses adrenalin. Dette “energikicket” kan bli avhengighetsskapende (gjengitt fra https://monami.hs-mittweida.de/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/9713/file/TrueCrime_Lemuth_Carolin_BachelorThe sis.pdf; lesedato 08.02.22). I tillegg nevner Bonn ønsket om å kunne løse saken, som “armchair detective”.

“[T]here is wide recognition among criminal justice professionals that a simple “get tough” approach does not achieve its purported aims. Law and order ideology does, however, fit traditional media templates well, because of its simplicity, drama, emotiveness, violence, and easily identifiable villains.” (Aaron Doyle i Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 97)

“Så hvorfor er vi så tiltrukket av True Crime-sjangeren? Enkelte peker på at engasjementet handler om vår interesse for å løse gåter og leke detektiver fra sofaen eller lesestolen. Professor i Kriminologi ved Drew Universitet i USA, Scott Bonn, har forsket på sjangeren og skrevet boken “Why We Love Serial Killers”. [...] Bonn mener at vår fascinasjon for sjangeren blant annet handler om grunnleggende følelser. - Den euforiske effekten som det å se på True Crime har på menneskelige følelser kan sammenliknes med en berg og dalbane, og med å beskue naturkatastrofer. Begge deler utløser adrenalin, og adrenalin er avhengighetsdannende. Fascinasjonen for seriemordere er delvis basert på vårt behov for å forstå hvorfor noen kan gjøre så grusomme ting mot et ukjent menneske. Mennesker blir også tiltrukket av True Crime fordi det trigger den mest grunnleggende og

mektigste følelsen i oss alle: frykt. Sjangeren gir oss mulighet til å oppleve frykt og skrekk i et kontrollert miljø hvor trusselen er skummel, men ikke virkelig. Historier om virkelige mordere er for voksne det monsterfilmer er for barn. True Crime er “guilty pleasure” for spenningssøkende voksne” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19).

“The first reality of reality programming is that it offers violators at their most depraved and, at the same time, assigns them a thinly veiled romance. By contrast, it offers sensitive, knowledgeable, competent individual police officers who, by the end of a given segment, produce some type of resolution. They are not careless in handling evidence, nor are they asked to handle more problems than they can manage, nor are they ever corrupt, foul-mouthed, or simply overwhelmed. They reestablish the moral order.” (Pamela Donovan i Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 123)

Kritikere hevder at slike sanne historier er skadelige på grunn av “sensationalism, gratuitous violence, or provoking public fear of crime” (Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 39). “American law enforcement officials have expressed dismay at the spread of the true-crime genre, fearing that their officers will engage in “hot-dogging,” or showy risk-taking, for a shot at fame (Pooley 1992).” (Pamela Donovan i Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 123)

“Why are people obsessed with true crime? [...] To say we’re obsessed with the gory details of these slayings is an understatement. So what compels us to want to dwell inside the mind of a killer? We turned to the experts – who’ve worked in law enforcement, assisted the FBI, written books, hosted television shows, created films, and appeared as featured experts in the media – to ask why our nation [USA] can’t get enough of true crime. [...]

Harold Schechter

Bestselling author, *Man-Eater: The Life and Legend of an American Cannibal*, *The Mad Sculptor: The Maniac, the Model, and the Murder that Shook the Nation*;
Professor, American Literature and Popular Culture

Freudians argue that violent lawbreakers make it possible for the rest of us to adapt to the demands of normality by acting out (and getting punished for) our own forbidden impulses. In the view of Emile Durkheim, the criminal contributes to civic well-being, not only by promoting a sense of solidarity among law-abiding citizens – who are united in their condemnation of the malefactor – but by providing a cathartic outlet for their primal, vengeful impulses. If such theories are valid (and they have much to commend them), then it follows that criminals can only fulfill their social function if the rest of the world knows exactly what outrages they have committed and how they have been punished – which is to say that what the public really needs and wants is to hear the whole shocking story. And that is precisely what true crime literature provides. It’s important to keep in mind that

true crime books have been popular for several centuries. One of the earliest English bestsellers, dating back to 1635, was John Reynolds' *The Triumphe of God's Revenge Against the Crying and Execrable Sinn of Murther*, whose (ostensibly) real-life tales of cold-blooded murder and equally ruthless punishment were offered under the pious pretext of demonstrating that crime does not pay: a tried-and-true tactic still very much in use today that permits readers to ventilate their sadistic impulses – what William James calls “our primordial instinct for bloodshed and cruelty” – in a socially acceptable way. [...]

Caitlin Rother

New York Times bestselling author, *Then No One Can Have Her*, *Lost Girls*, *I'll Take Care of You*; Pulitzer-nominated investigative journalist

I think people wonder what motivates another person to commit such horrible acts against another, often a “loved one,” because we can't fathom doing such things ourselves. We want some insight into the psychology of a killer, partly so we can learn how to protect our families and ourselves, but also because we are simply fascinated by aberrant behavior and the many paths that twisted perceptions can take. It's like not being able to stop watching a traffic collision that you know is about to happen. It grips your attention and you can't look away. I also have come to learn that many people who read and watch true crime are trying to process hardship or trauma in their own lives. Somehow, watching or reading about the victims and how their families processed a horrible tragedy resonates with them; it helps them process their own personal experiences and grief, and at the same time escape from them. I, personally, enjoy researching and writing about murder cases because I, too, am a student of the human condition. I also have made a career of being a watchdog of our governmental and criminal justice systems. But more importantly, I hope to find something positive in these cases – a cautionary tale with lessons learned or, perhaps, an inspirational message, wherever the truth may take me. I also hope to help save lives by educating people how to identify dangerous situations and predators as well as flaws in our systems that need to be fixed, so I might help prevent such tragedies from happening again. [...]

Gary C. King

Bestselling author, *Dead of Night*; *Blood Lust: Portrait of a Serial Sex Killer*

People tend to like to read about true crime, some even obsessively if you follow any of the online boards and chatrooms, because they are fascinated about the cruelty one human being can inflict on another. It stirs the emotions. Readers also tend to like the detective work and are fascinated by the work that goes into solving a case. Still others, perhaps most importantly, read true crime hoping to come away with information that can help them better protect themselves and their loved ones from becoming victims. [...]

Lester Andrist

Professor of Sociology, University of Maryland; co-creator, The Sociological Cinema

In order to see why people are obsessed with true crime, you have to see the bigger metanarrative that nearly all true crime stories share. Other genres challenge the audience's sense of what is real and fake, or what is right and wrong, but stories from the true crime genre mostly confirm to audiences that their preconceived ideas about the world are correct. In the typical true crime story, it's easy to identify the good guys and the bad guys, and most importantly, the crimes are always solved. Mysteries have answers, and the justice system – imperfect though it may be – basically works. People are obsessed with true crime because, ironically, these stories about serial killers and psychopaths comfort people. While living in a world where there is rapid social, political, economic, and technological change, true crime comforts people by assuring them that their long-held ideas about how the world works are still useful. [...]

Mike Boudet

Host, Sword and Scale podcast

There's a little place inside of us, a little corner of our being, where darkness lives. I've noticed over the years that, much of the time, those who embrace it, accept it and are comfortable with it are far less likely to plunge into that pool of darkness headfirst than those who suppress it, pretend it's not there, and try to constantly, actively think that the world is a wonderful place. I've covered a lot of cases on Sword and Scale over the last two years and the vast majority, not to mention the most interesting ones, from my perspective, are the ones where someone is just going about their daily life, their daily routine, and something snaps. The slogan we have on the show is "the worst monsters are real," and I find that rings true the more I cover true crime. There are monsters all around us. You could be in the room with one right now or you might be one yourself and not know it yet. [...] What I know for sure is that every single one of us are capable of slipping into this darkness, provided the right set of stimuli. That's why it is so fascinating. That's why it is so personal. Often I can empathize just as much with the killer as I can with the victim. Often they're indistinguishable before the horror occurs." (<http://www.hopesandfears.com/hopes/now/question/216997-why-are-people-obsessed-with-true-crime>; lesedato 11.06.20)

Når folk ser en ulykke eller vold "and deem what we're witnessing a non-threat, psychiatrist Dr. David Henderson says that we continue to stare as a way to face our fears without risking immediate harm. "Witnessing violence and destruction, whether it is in a novel, a movie, on TV or a real life scene playing out in front of us in real time, gives us the opportunity to confront our fears of death, pain, despair, degradation and annihilation while still feeling some level of safety," he explains. "This sensation is sometimes experienced when we stand at the edge of the Grand Canyon or look through the glass at a ferocious lion at the zoo. We

watch because we are allowed to ask ourselves ultimate questions with an intensity of emotion that is uncoupled from the true reality of the disaster: ‘If I was in that situation, what would I do? How would I respond? Would I be the hero or the villain? Could I endure the pain? Would I have the strength to recover?’ We play out the different scenarios in our head because it helps us to reconcile that which is uncontrollable with our need to remain in control.” [...] In addition to getting us thinking about how we’d handle a potential disaster and the risk factors that increase the chance of being involved, Dr. [John] Mayer says there are a few other ways that viewing destruction can actually be beneficial. “The healthy mechanism of watching disasters is that it is a coping mechanism,” he explains. “We can become incubated emotionally by watching disasters and this helps us cope with hardships in our lives. Looking at disasters stimulates our empathy and we are programmed as humans to be empathetic – it is a key psychosocial condition that makes us social human beings.” ” (Danielle Page i <https://www.nbcnews.com/better/health/science-behind-why-we-can-t-look-away-disasters-ncna804966>; lesedato 25.01.22)

“Does true crime permit people to “ventilate their sadistic impulses...in a socially acceptable way”? Or does it serve as a “kind of guidebook for women, offering useful tips for staying safe”? Or do these stories prompt us to “take a long, hard look at the contexts in which such atrocities arise” and “how we as a society deal with them”? [...] Violence is a great exploiter. All it requires is bad luck, a foolish miscalculation, human weakness, or some combination of those factors to make its presence felt. Although monstrous deeds are front and center in these true crime narratives, they are not really about monsters. These are stories about humans: we are messy, we are imperfect; sometimes it is easy to succumb to anger and hatred; sometimes we are the victims, at other times, the perpetrators. But if there is no use hiding from violence, equally there is no denying the presence of its flip side: compassion. And there is also compassion in true crime narratives: in the doggedness of the cops and investigators who are employed by society to try and solve cases; in the dedication of the legal system workers who prepare for trials for weeks, months, years; not least in the fortitude of authors who research and write these stories to bring them out into the open. All of those people work to restore dignity to those whose dignity, along with their safety or their mental equilibrium or their lives, was taken away from them.” (Sarah Cords i <https://themillions.com/2018/01/why-i-read-true-crime.html>; lesedato 11.06.20)

“[E]n av nøklene til *true crime*-sjangerens appell er nettopp dens demokratisering av detektivrollen og dens implisitte budskap om at vi alle er potensielle etterforskere.” (Aksel Kielland i *Morgenbladet* 2.–8. februar 2018 s. 53)

Virkelighetskrim er en form for underholdning, og underholdningsaspektet betyr at “mediene deltager i bedøvelsen af den smerte, de formidler.” (Richard 2010) “The selling of sexualized dead bodies comes down to the entire purpose of infotainment, the overarching genre that houses true crime. [...] This type of media

is not simply entertainment; true crime does inform the way society talks about and interacts with violence.” (Compton 2019 s. 16-17 og 72).

“When someone turns on a true crime documentary there are specific assumptions made about the validity of that program. A major television network like NBC or Netflix in theory would not put out a show that was factually untrue for fear of legal ramifications. There is, however, a grey area in a genre that promises that all of its content is true and factual. One of the key components of true crime discourse is the ways in which it reinforces and creates truth. The name of the genre seems explanatory; it is a factual presentation of the events related to a criminal act. The surface level purpose of this media is to provide consumers with the historical and legal facts of a criminal case from crime to trial. Despite the surface level, intentions of the genre to educate the public on topics related to the criminal justice system, knowledge is highly variable and constructed. The presence of the word ‘true’ connotes that everything presented is completely honest and factual, when, in actuality, the way that information is presented to consumers presents possible complications. Through a high degree of ambiguity and the genre expectations of infotainment, true crime molds its own reality. It is critical to examine this grey area and the potential harm that it might cause.” (Compton 2019 s. 47)

“[T]he sort of case which attracts a book publisher is likely to involve a large-scale crime, a gang, a mass or serial murderer (McClaren 1993), a murderer who has been freed and has killed again (Holden 1974, Young 1973), or, perhaps, a murderer who almost got away with it (Caffell 1994, Wilkes 1994). Of the Moors murders one writer remarked, ‘what was special about this case, especially sinister was that in the dock was a woman, a woman accused of killing children. It defied comprehension’ (Ritchie 1993: 104). Some cases continue to fascinate, while others fade from the publishers’ lists. A current case may lead to a book reviewing similar earlier cases: presumably the Bulger murder prompted Jones’s (1994) *Murderous Innocents: True Stories of Children who Kill*, as the execution of Ruth Ellis had led publishers to hurry out books on women who had been hanged” (Rawlings 1995).

“Collections have also been themed around:

- types of murder victims: children (Jones 1994), police officers (Cobb 1961);
- types of offenders: women (Huggett and Berry 1956, Jones 1985, Nash 1981);
- types of victims and offenders: lovers (Gribble 1954), royalty (Alexander 1978, MacNalty 1955), the ruling classes (Bleackley 1905), doctors, including the oddly-titled *One Hundred Years of Medical Murder* (Camp 1982; also Dewes 1962);
- methods of murder: poison, such as Farrell’s (1994) *Poisons and Poisoners: An Encyclopedia of Homicidal Poisonings* (see also Eaton 1924, Gaute and Odell

1972, Rowland 1960), serial murders, such as *The Encyclopedia of Serial Killers* (Lane and Gregg 1992), and ‘accidental’ murders (Church 1989);

- locations of crime (usually murder): including a book to place alongside Egon Ronay’s restaurant guides and designed for the murder-trail tourist, Tribballs’ (1993) *The Murder Guide to Great Britain*; there are also regional guides, such as Lane’s *The Murder Club Guide to South-west England and Wales* (Lane 1989; also Lane 1991) and various county histories of crime (Briffett 1990, Fielding 1994a, Green 1990, Harrison 1992, Murphy 1988, Yarwood 1991); histories of crime in cities in general (Sanders 1958) and particular cities, such as *Square Mile of Murder* about Glasgow (House 1961), *Murder and Mayhem in Birkenhead 1830-1930* (Malcolm [...]) and the rather unfortunately titled *Murderous Bolton* (Fielding 1994b);

- cases featured in particular branches of the media: the *Illustrated London News* (West 1994), the BBC’s *Crimewatch* programme (Mills 1994) and Channel 4’s *Trial and Error* (Jessel 1994);

- particular police forces: mostly Scotland Yard, with stirring titles such as *Great Manhunters of the Yard* (Gribble 1966) and *Triumphs of Scotland Yard* (Gribble 1955; see also Ambler 1978, Dilnot 1933, Felstead 1951, Gosling 1959, Honeycombe 1982, 1993; McKnight 1967, Thomson 1936, Waddell 1993, Williams 1973);

- methods of solving crime (Paul 1990, Thorwald 1965);

- miscarriages of justice (Brome 1971, Cobb 1962, Jessel 1994, and a collection in which the writer seeks to prove that innocent people are not convicted – Fielding 1958); and

- executions, such as Fielding’s (1994c) *The Hangman’s Record*. Finally, publishers have also produced themed series, such as William Hodge’s *Notable British Trials and Notable Scottish Trials*, and Jarrolds’ *Old Bailey Trials*.” (Rawlings 1995)

“Whether it be gender, race, or class status, true crime has distinct parameters that ultimately shape people’s perception of violence. In addition to the word *victim*, the word *tragedy* is a key component in the way that true crime discusses and shapes the perception of violence. [...] The preference for stories about the deaths of white women is a documented cultural phenomenon. The effects of the phenomenon are delineated in the following quotation: “These messages are powerful: they position certain sub-groups of women – often white, wealthy, and conventionally attractive – as deserving of our collective resources, while making the marginalization and victimization of other groups of women, such as low-income women of colour, seem natural” (Stillman 491).” (Compton 2019 s. 45)

“[D]et finnes tre hovedkategorier *true crime*-fortellinger: Uskyldig dømt, skyldig på frifot, og den mistenktes egne bekjennelser. Felles for dem er som regel en intens oppmerksomhet på detaljer, obskure bevis og *larger than life*-karakterer. [...] Endeløs terping på klokkeslett og centimetre og telefonlogger gjør seeren til medetterforsker.” (Bernhard Ellefsen i *Morgenbladet* 17.–23. juli 2015 s. 29)

Til en bok om den amerikanske seriemorderen Henry Lee Lucas var det vedlagt en lyd-kassett der Lucas forteller i detalj om grusomme mord han har begått. Dette ble annonsert som “For the first time ever! A tape of the authentic confessions of America’s most notorious serial killer!” (Serge Chazal i <https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/etudlitt/1997-v30-n1-etudlitt2261/501189ar/>; lesedato 11.01.23).

“As a subgenre of true crime, historical true crime is gaining popularity.” (Ann Marie Ackermann i <https://www.annmarieackermann.com/historical-true-crime-books/>; lesedato 25.09.19) Ackermann tror lesere som er interessert i en historisk periode, kan fascineres av virkelighetskrim fra perioden, og historiene er mindre sensasjonalistiske hvis de tilhører en fjern fortid. Dessuten er tidligere tiders etterforskningsmetoder lettere å forstå enn den vitenskapsbaserte i vår tid.

“Historical true crimes are based on the verifiable sources and archival materials. One of the representants of this type of literature is Horst Bosetzky, who in his novels *Der kalte Engel* [2002], *Die Bestie vom Schlesischen Bahnhof*, and *Wie ein Tier: Der S-Bahn-Mörder* [1995] presented three genuine murders from the times of Weimar Republic, Nazi Germany, and post-war Germany. Bosetzky’s texts can though not be called crime novels. One deals here rather with the so-called new Pitavals, in which the crimes’ historicism mixes with the novels’ fiction. The murders are not solved by the literary detectives, since murders have been, during reading, previously solved by the history. Therefore, Bosetzky’s novels are closer to the literary criminal chronicle than to the crime novel.” (Wolfgang Brylla i <https://journals.openedition.org/germanica/3191>; lesedato 23.08.22)

“Another sub-genre seeks to establish that what had previously been assumed to be an accidental death was, in fact, murder: for example, it has been claimed that Brian Jones, a former guitarist with the Rolling Stones who died in his swimming pool in 1966, was murdered [...] a separate literature has developed in which writers seek to solve unsolved crimes [...] books which challenge convictions (but see Fielding 1958 for the view that the courts do not wrongly convict), and often offer new suspects. [...] Less frequently, writers challenge acquittals (Archer 1971, Ryan 1989, and, uniquely, a book by a trial judge, Devlin 1985). Others seek to uphold the correctness of an acquittal (Hoskins 1984, Rowland 1963).” (Rawlings 1995)

“Usually, the writer claims to have new evidence or techniques not available to the police at the time. An early example is Stapleton’s (1861) book on the murder of Savile Kent in 1860. Occasionally, writers find no solution, and turn to the reason

why this should be: for instance, Berry-Dee's book on a Brighton double murder in 1986 is highly critical of the police conduct of the investigation (Berry-Dee 1991). [...] expose miscarriages of justice [...] setting the record straight" (Rawlings 1995)

"The Jack the Ripper case was as fascinating to Americans as to the British, it seemed, and its coverage emphasized, for the first time, forensics as an important element in the narrative. However, it was not until the appearance of Thomas Duke's 1910 *Celebrated Criminal Cases of America* that the United States witnessed a similar explosion in true crime as a national genre. In some respects, the formula for true crime has not changed since Duke's day. In his preface, Duke, the captain of police in San Francisco, assured readers that, "While this volume will show that in some instances fabulous amounts of money have been unlawfully obtained, it will also show that retribution invariably overtakes the professional criminal and brings with it untold misery and degradation." And, pursuing a theme that still holds a prominent place in contemporary true crime books, Duke notes that a "perusal of this volume will show that, while many of the most desperate characters have inherited their criminal tendencies, environment frequently transforms an ideal youth into a veritable fiend." Then, as now, readers were able both to participate vicariously in the horrible crime and to pronounce moral judgment upon it." (Laura Browder i <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/232756094.pdf>; lesedato 03.12.21)

"Thomas Duke's bestselling 1910 volume, *Celebrated Criminal Cases of America*, with its at least partial focus on criminals of color and foreign criminals – Australians, Mexican bandits, and Chinese killers. Even more unusual, by today's standards, is Duke's coverage of crimes in which people of color were the victims – such as in the New York draft riots. Duke writes, "The following is a list of colored people who were murdered by the mobs in a particularly atrocious manner." (600). Duke also writes of the case of Captain Nathaniel Gordon, who in 1860 "seized and shipped 897 Africans from the Congo River, and was captured and subsequently executed in New York. Eighteen victims died from suffocation" (602)." (Browder 2006)

Noen forfattere "promise to delve into the criminal mind, such as La Bern's book on Haigh [John George Haigh, the Yorkshire Acid Bath Murderer], subtitled *The Mind of a Murderer* (La Bern 1973), and Ritchie's book on [Myra] Hindley, subtitled *Inside the Mind of a Murderess* (Ritchie 1993), although the psychological insights promised do not often emerge." (Rawlings 1995)

Konflikter kan eskalere til drap og andre forbrytelser. En gruppe kanadiske kriminologer har hevdet at konflikter er tett knyttet til opplevelse av rettferdighet og urettferdighet: "Han har ingen rett til å gå til sengs med min kone", "Hun har ikke rett til å forlate meg", "De pengene tilhører meg" (Maurice Cusson, Catherine Ross m.fl. i <https://books.openedition.org/pum/6647>; lesedato 16.12.23). Den som

begår et drap er ofte en person som føler seg som offer for en stor urett, og som krever en straff for uretten. Det oppstår et behov for å hevne seg på den som har begått uretten, særlig hvis den er begått med vilje (Maurice Cusson, Catherine Ross m.fl. i <https://books.openedition.org/pum/6647>; lesedato 16.12.23).

Michael A. Arntfield og Marcel Danesis *Murder in Plain English: From Manifestos to Memes – Looking at Murder through the Words of Killers* (2017) er basert på “extensive research and interviews with convicted murderers [...] the book emphasizes the often-overlooked narrative impulse that drives killers, explaining how both mass and serial murderers perceive their crimes as stories and why a select few are compelled to commit these stories to writing whether before, during or after their horrific acts. [...] Arntfield and Danesi call their tantalizing theory, “literary criminology,” the study of crime through literature and language.” (<https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/murder-english>; lesedato 06.04.22)

Virkelighetskrim reiser en rekke spørsmål som gjelder personvern og etikk. “Avtroppende riksadvokat Tor-Aksel Busch vil ha mer debatt om kriminalitet som underholdning. Han er særlig skeptisk til dokumentarserien om Orderud-drapene. [...] - Jeg synes det er veldig krevende når alvorlige kriminalsaker blir føljetonger på TV. Jeg skjønner at det kan være god TV, og antagelig ganske billig å produsere. Men det å få tilgang til politimateriale, og dissekere dette i beste sendetid, med tunge personvern hensyn involvert, det diskuteres for lite. [...] - Vi har gått flere omdreininger i amerikansk retning, inspirert av true crime-serier i USA, det er ingen tvil om, sier Busch [...] Busch sier det først og fremst er to ting han reagerer på: Graden av detaljorientering i de norske true crime-seriene, i tillegg til personfokuset. [...] I forbindelse med arbeidet med *Gåten Orderud* fant programskaperne politiets egne opptak fra kårboligen. Opptakene ble aldri vist i de to rettssakene etter drapet, til tross for at de ble etterlyst av forsvarerne til Per og Veronica Orderud. Dokumentarserien som ble vist i fjor høst, ble produsert av Monster, for NRK. Marie Sjø, prosjektredaktør i NRK for serien, tilbakeviser kritikken fra Busch. - I et demokrati er det utrolig viktig med åpenhet rundt den delen av samfunnet som har makt og myndighet. Det at den fjerde statsmakt ettergår den tredje, er en god ting. Det må de tåle. [...] - Dette er en sak som ble voldsomt dekket i sin tid. Vi vurderte det slik at vår serie i sum ga folk flest en veldig god innsikt i politiets arbeid, etterforskning, og hva som foregår i en rettsal. [...] “Fallet Kevin”, om to svenske gutter som ble utpekt som mordere. Guttene ble renvasket som følge av serien.” (https://www.nrk.no/norge/tor-aksel-busch-tar-et-oppgjor-med_true-crime_-_vi-har-gatt-i-amerikansk-retning-1.14748811; lesedato 30.10.19)

“Når man betrakter de siste fem årenes produksjon av norsk virkelighetskrim for tv og strømmetjenester under ett, legger man umiddelbart merke til to ting: Den første er at norske medier er svært tilbakeholdne med å offentliggjøre navn og informasjon om involverte parter sammenlignet med medier i andre land – og at

dette resulterer i *true crime* som er langt mer forsiktig og mindre spekulativ enn den som produseres i sjangerens hjemland USA. Den andre er at så å si alle disse seriene inneholder avsløringer som gir nordmenn gode grunner til å revurdere sin tillit til norsk politi. [...] der standardprosedyren for norske virkelighetskrimserier består i å gi seg ut for å skulle løse sakene de tar for seg, bare for å distansere seg fra alle slike ambisjoner med et uforpliktende “tiden vil vise” i siste episode, handler Netflix-modellen om å melke sakene for underholdningsverdi.” (Morgenbladet 3.–9. juni 2022 s. 37)

“Politisjef Grete Lien Metlid ser potensielle farer i virkelighetskrimmens kommersielle suksess. [...] - Det er et åpenbart underholdningsperspektiv og kommersielt element i dette. Må vi alle forvente å bli en podkast eller en tv-episode dersom vi involveres i en alvorlig kriminalsak, for å sette det litt på spissen? Kan det føre til at folk vil vegre seg for å snakke med politiet? Vi må ikke glemme at det i alle saker er ekte ofre og pårørende. [...] På sitt beste byr sjangeren på gravende journalistikk som kan bidra til ny informasjon, nye svar og avdekke justisfeil, mener Metlid. Men et mindretall av nye virkelighetskrim-produksjoner gjør nettopp det, erfarer hun. [...] Oslo-politiet får nær ukentlig henvendelser om å delta, og antall søknader om innsyn i saksdokumenter i forbindelse med virkelighetskrim-produksjoner har vokst enormt, forteller Metlid. Henvendelsene kommer ikke bare fra norske produksjonsselskaper og tv-kanaler. Internasjonale aktører viser også jevnlig interesse for historier fra Norge. Politiet har valgt å medvirke i enkelte. For eksempel da VG og senere Netflix fortalte historien om en ukjent kvinne som ble funnet skutt på Oslo Plaza i 1995. Etersom politiet fortsatt ikke kjenner identiteten til kvinnen, håpet de serien kunne bidra til en oppklaring. [...] - Det kan se ut til at selve historiefortellingen kan bli det viktigste noen ganger. Virkelighetskrim som sjanger har jo ofte som mål å fortelle en ny og alternativ historie, uten å være bundet av samme krav til bevisførsel eller kontradiksjon, og av plasshensyn må mye informasjon utelates. Da må man være ekstra bevisst på at dette er virkelige saker, utøve god kildekritikk og ikke strekke dramaturgien så langt at virkelighet blir fiksjon eller at folk kan bli mistenkeliggjort. Jeg er opptatt av at politiet ikke fanges i kommersielle og mer underholdningsmessige formål, utdyper Metlid. [...] Pål Grøndahl, psykologspesialist og rettspsykiatrisk sakkyndig, har merket seg tendensen. [...] Den største skaden virkelighetskrimserier kan gjøre, er å peke på feil person som skyldig, påpeker Grøndahl. Han mener det finnes et potensial for at rettssikkerheten kan trues, i den grad seerne av en tv-serie vil oppfatte den som en sannhet.” (Signe Rosenlund-Hauglid i <https://www.morgenbladet.no/kultur/2021/03/23/ma-vi-alle-forvente-a-bli-en-podkast-eller-en-tv-episode-dersom-vi-involveres-i-en-alvorlig-kriminalsak/>; lesedato 13.04.24)

Amerikaneren Corey Mitchell skrev *Strangler* (2007) om “the Tourniquet Killer” Anthony Allen Shore. Mitchell og forlaget inkluderte “extremely graphic crime scene photos in the book”. Om dette uttalte forfatteren: “There is a PC [politically correct] trend to go soft when describing murder scenes or including photos which I think is

utter nonsense. We are not writing love scenes here. These are some of the most brutal, vicious, unthinkable acts that one human being can commit upon another. I don't think it should be candy-coated or spoke about only in hushed tones in any way. I want everyone out there to know that Tony Shore [...] is an incestuous child-molesting sadistic killer who likes to rape and strangle little girls.” (<https://www.eclectica.org/v11n4/adams.html>; lesedato 25.01.22)

“I *true crime*-sjangeren blir litterær stil også et spørsmål om etikk [...] Et lykketreff for oss, da, at vi har sakprosaforfattere som i sine egne bøker fremstår som de beste etterforskerne av alle.” (Bjarne Riiser Gundersen i *Morgenbladet* 3.–9. november 2017 s. 56) Den siste formuleringen bør oppfattes som ironisk. “Bad news are good news” sett fra et spennings- og underholdningsperspektiv.

Sjangeren kan påvirke mediebrukeres oppfatning av kriminaliteten i samfunnet. “The images and messages conveyed by these television programs about violent crime, in particular murder, may ultimately influence what viewers come to think about violent crime in terms of its prevalence and nature as well as possible explanations for its occurrence. [...] Comparisons reveal that the media tend to depict the crimes that occur the least in American society (violent crimes), while neglecting the crimes that occur the most (property crimes) [...] several authors have contended that the media may be an important source of crime myths or false beliefs about crime (Pepinsky and Jesilow 1984; Wright 1985; Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter 1993; Fabianic 1997) and evidence suggests that media consumers may be influenced by these media myths. Lewis (1981), for example, reports that those who watch television the most have the most distorted views of crime.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

Det har blitt hevdet at kvinner og gamle mennesker opplever sterkere frykt enn andre i samfunnet når de medopplever forbrytelser gjennom mediene (Carolin Lemuth i https://monami.hs-mittweida.de/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/9713/file/TrueCrime_Lemuth_Carolin_BachelorThesis.pdf; lesedato 08.02.22). Kvinnenes og de gamles usikkerhetsfølelse forsterkes av mediens framstillinger av reell kriminalitet – forbrytelser som kan være sensasjonelle, og svært sjeldne. Noen seere og lesere blir altså reddere enn andre for å bli offer for en statistisk sjelden forbrytelse.

“Dorfman and Thorson (2001) have found that 76 % of individuals in the United States claim that their opinions about crime were founded upon their interaction with the media (Dorfman and Thorson, 2001: 28).” (Mark McLennan i <https://baudrillardstudies.ubishops.ca/simulacra-and-simulated-policing-baudrillard-and-criminology/>; lesedato 07.04.22)

“There are repeated findings of a strong tendency for viewers who watch large amounts of crime on television to be more afraid of crime and more inclined

toward law and order. However, the extent to which each circumstance causes the other has proved difficult to isolate. Do people want more law and order because they watch crime on TV, or vice versa? The relationship is most likely one of mutual reinforcement.” (Aaron Doyle i Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 107-108)

“Women may pursue strategies of avoidance by remaining alert to indicators of risk and to possible means of avoiding harm: television provides one medium that conveys messages about risk and about strategies for avoiding danger. [...] Overall, however, women thought the media play an important role in *increasing* their anxieties and fear of crime while playing little or no role in *decreasing* those fears.” (Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 55) En seer fortalte: “I do take “Crimewatch” seriously, because when I have watched it in the past, it’s made me nervous, like when I’ve had to go upstairs, thinking “God, I’m not safe,” because they have shown a lot of scenes where things have happened within your own home. ... I don’t like it because it makes me nervous ... if you go outside you’re not safe, and even in your own home, you’re not safe.” (“Afro-Caribbean woman with experience of violence”, sitert fra Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 54)

“[T]elevision murder presentations support Miethe and McCorkle’s (1998) observation that television crime dramas tend to give the impression that most murders are meticulously planned. Indeed, the over-emphasis on planned murders on television masks the spontaneity of real-life murder, which is often the result of an argument or dispute or fuelled by alcohol and/or drugs. [...] more people are killed not by the hands of other people but through corporate wrongdoing such as pollution, industrial accidents and unsafe working conditions (Reiman 1998).” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“The narrative voice, influenced by the American crime writing style, is always that of an investigating officer. [...] The consumer is addressed as a privileged knowing subject, that is, as someone who is something of an expert on murder and violent crime. The detail and technical terminology used flatters the readers by implying they are being addressed as fellow experts. This narrative form allies the reader with the representative of law and order, the detective, by disclosing copious gory details (verbal and visual) denied the casual newspaper reader. [...] consumers of true crime can wallow in salacious, “pornographic” depictions of (often) sexualised violence, while remaining immune from accusations of prurience.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 77-78) Så kynisk kan virkelighetskrim virke at det har blitt kalt “the murder leisure industry [...] forensics and pornography meet and fuse” (Seltzer 2007 s. 15 og 26).

“Uansett hvordan man vrir og vender på det, handler virkelighetskrim om å få mennesker til å engasjere seg i virkelige forbrytelser som om de var underholdning, hvilket uunngåelig innebærer at en hel del informasjon som de involverte gjerne skulle sett at forble privat, blir allemannseie. Det sier seg derfor selv at aktørene

som tjener penger på denne utviklingen og driver den fremover, har et langt større ansvar for å vurdere klokheten av nye formidlingsstrategier enn ofre og etterlatte.” (Aksel Kielland i *Morgenbladet* 8.–14. september 2023 s. 33)

“This debate about the value of true crime speaks to our ambivalence over consuming real-life tales of horror. That anybody benefits – through monetary gain or personal titillation – from domestic murder, sex crimes, and grotesque violence seems distasteful, and so we want to consign true crime to the lowest rungs of culture.” (Pamela Burger i <https://daily.jstor.org/bloody-history-of-true-crime-genre/>; lesedato 22.10.21)

“The so-called Son of Sam law has permitted crime victims in New York state to lay claim to their victimizer’s royalties, but surely it is of some note that sales of crime stories have risen so high that such a law had to be passed in the first place. When sales were smaller, no one noticed or cared; but sales have been growing. A public consensus has formed around the thesis that criminals should not profit even in this way from their crimes. There is, however, little in the way of a consensus around the notion that the victims of crime should not have their suffering compounded by popular entertainments built around their trauma. And, by and large, popular entertainment is just what “true crime” is as a genre. [...] however, most “true crime” authors do not identify themselves as entertainers but as unofficial intelligence agents. Ours is a nasty job, they imply, but someone has to do it. Someone has to stare the horror in the eye so that we may all know what it looks like.” (Jack Miles i <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25125321.pdf>; lesedato 14.10.22)

Seeren “become something of a voyeur who experiences the thrill of the kill” (Trevor Grant i Arntfield og Danesi 2016 s. 109). “[L]ike pornography, they may trap viewers and program providers in a descending vortex of stronger and ever more ethically unacceptable thrills” (Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 204).

Virkelighetskrim har ofte framstillinger som “link sexual pleasure with transgression and death”; “In true crime, then, readers can linger over salacious details of horrific crimes, even gain illicit sexual pleasure from their representation under the guise of education and morality. Further to Cameron’s point (1990 [artikkelen “Pleasure and danger, sex and death: Reading true crime monthlies”]), it is possible to argue that true crime is consumed in the same way as pornography. Consumers, in seeking some kind of closure/resolution that is unavailable, keep coming back for more of the same. It is in this way that consumption of true crime mirrors consumption of pornography; consumers know what to expect in terms of style, content and form. Pornography represents a sexual event; true crime represents a (violent) crime. Both are concerned with bodies and what happens to them; characters, location, plot and style are all irrelevant. The scenario is repeated endlessly, but without satisfaction; there is no return to a state of grace or restoration of order. There are no answers as to why the events took place and no

insight into the motivation of the villain and or hero (true crime, after all, is not fiction nor is it sociology, criminology or psychology!). All we have are descriptions of events, which we are invited to witness, to be horrified by, even to be aroused by, but not to understand.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 80-81) “True crime cannot explain the motivation of the killer; the riddle is not solved; the horror is presented for us to witness, but not to understand.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 83). “The ideology of true crime undermines the restoration of order. [...] true crime’s need for moral certainty rests on the ideology of the inevitability and individualised nature of crime.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 80)

“[T]rue crime as a popular literary form has often been seen as disreputable, and open to the charge of being exploitative, as crimes up to and including mass murder are turned into money-making forms of consumption. But it is also a way of addressing anxieties – whether they relate specifically to crime and disorder, or have a broader reference (Murley 2008; Seltzer 2006). [...] It always faces the charge that its appeal is to prurience, morbid curiosity, or even to dark sexual urges. True crime also needs to be distinguished from crime fiction, although that distinction is less secure than at first it might appear (Seltzer 2006).” (Melissa Gregg og Jason Wilson i <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10304311003703082>; lesedato 30.12.22) “True crime is crime fact that looks like crime fiction. [...] a species of paperback sociology that, for the most part, retells real-life cases of crime. But these popular real-life case histories do so following the conventions of popular crime fiction.” (Seltzer 2007 s. 16)

“A non-fiction approach to any story, in any genre, including true crime, ‘always fictionalizes, emphasizes, exaggerates, interprets, constructs, and creates “truth,” and any relationship to the facts is mediated and compromised’ (Murley 2008: 13). There is no doubt that at some level the spectator understands authenticity is compromised in the re-imagining. However, the form in which the crime story is constructed directly influences the perception of the degree of truth within a narrative.” (Trevor Grant i Arntfield og Danesi 2016 s. 99)

“[M]any of these works are written with little real regard for the victims. The focus, as in Truman Capote’s *In Cold Blood*, which all but created the genre, is usually on the criminal. Even when attention shifts to the victims, direct or indirect, it is rarely attention that arrives at a time when they want or need it.” (Jack Miles i <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25125321.pdf>; lesedato 14.10.22)

“Detailed and protracted portrayal of a murder and its aftermath almost inevitably renews the pain and the humiliating exposure of those close to the murderer’s victims, whatever may be the gain in such portrayals for society as whole. [...] the re-use of real people under their own names can pass muster as something other than exploitation. There may be a social utility in such writing; but recall that when psychiatrists write up their cases for the professional literature, they change the names. If the authors of “true crime” wanted to spare the victims or collateral

victims of violent crime further unwelcome notoriety, rather than building on just that notoriety to build the audience for their books, it would certainly be possible for them to change names as well. There were good reasons behind the convention, now so little observed, of changing the names to protect the innocent. Fiction, which typically changes much more than just the names, gives no hostages here. “True crime” gives many.” (Jack Miles i <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25125321.pdf>; lesedato 14.10.22)

Forbrytere framstilt i massemediene “are thought to commit crimes because of greed, jealousy, emotional instability, mental pathology, and other individual defects or weaknesses (Barrile 1984; Estep and MacDonald 1984; Maguire 1988; Cavender and Bond-Maupin 1993; Fabianic 1997). Cavender and Bond-Maupin (1993), for example, report that criminals, as presented in the media, are dangerous people with ambiguous psychological capacities – in essence, “crazed killers” and “psychopaths”. In this way, criminality is viewed as the failure of an individual who is morally weak or mentally deficient. Indeed, Maguire (1988) reports that social explanations are almost entirely absent from crime and police dramas, with a heavy emphasis on conservative and individualistic explanations that center around individual pathology. [...] little or no effort is made in these crime dramas to relate homicide to social-structural or institutional forces. [...] Expressive motives are those that derive mainly from emotional responses or psychological reactions such as anger, jealousy, resentment, frustration, fear, love or general dislike.

Instrumental motives derive from a desire to obtain some personal goal or end such as money or status enhancement. Murderers may also be motivated by some mental illness or defect that essentially controls their responses to situations.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“The preoccupation with motives, whether expressive, instrumental or the result of mental illness, calls attention to the individualistic nature of most popular explanations of crime which tend to locate the “cause” of criminal behavior within the individual; that is, people commit crimes because of something uniquely inside them – a feeling of jealousy, a biological deficiency, an emotional instability, or some desire to achieve a personal goal. Motives, by their very nature, are individualistic. Everybody who commits murder commits it for a uniquely different reason, although there may be some commonality across motives. The tendency of the popular justice programs analyzed to focus on and even highlight particular motives detracts away from theoretical explanations of criminal behavior that go beyond individualistic explanations to include more encompassing sociological explanations.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“Barrile (1984) contends that individualistic explanations of crime reduce crime to “a personal trouble”, thereby successfully avoiding the sociological causes of crime such as poverty, unemployment, discrimination, judicial bias, classism and racism.

These structural explanations are not only more complex, but they may be better predictors of individual criminality. [...] policies created to solve the problem of violence may be inadequate if they reflect media-inspired individualistic explanations, which advance the solution to crime as a matter of adjusting individual personalities rather than altering the social structure.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“[P]roducers and scriptwriters see little entertainment value in including more sociologically-based explanations in their program content. [...] the central issue in an episode of *The Practice* highlights the powerful/powerless distinction often at work in the legal system. Here, Rebecca Washington defends an indigenous young man, Ronny Vaga, who confesses to a hit-and-run homicide. It is suggested that real estate tycoon, Teddy Barrington, is actually paying Vaga to say that he was driving to prevent being exposed as the one who, under the influence of alcohol, hit and killed the woman. Not only does this point out that the rich and powerful can use their money to avoid criminal prosecution but also that the poor and powerless are willing to take the fall.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“Contemporary true crime authors, especially those writing during or after the boom of the 1980s, find themselves writing within a rather constrained genre that comes with specific expectations of plot, detail, and orientation to its subjects, but one important element of the true crime genre [...] the triumph of justice through a verdict, if not confession, and a proper sentence of life in prison or removal to death row. The author’s combination of representing victims in the past and at a distance to the reader, while keeping the criminal himself immediate and in the present, necessitates this final element so that order might be restored and audiences may be reassured that, now as then, the crime will out, and justice will be served. [...] the criminal must be caught by the end of the book in order to maintain the genre’s sense of restored order and continued reassurance of safety. [...] The vast majority of true crime narratives identify, catch, and neutralize the criminal, thus restoring order to the community. [...] criminals must be apprehended and neutralized, but only after all reasonable doubt has been removed. Just as escaped or unidentified criminals threaten the stable nature of society and the trustworthiness of the justice system, so do wrongly sentenced innocents. [...] There must be a reason why certain members of society break both law and taboo, and any explanation – from religious mania to madness to a troubled childhood – comforts and reassures readers that that these are special circumstances, not likely to occur with anyone the readers knows personally, a distancing tactic that is inherent to the contemporary genre of true crime.” (Frost 2015)

“The body discovery scene functions as the hook to intrigue the reader, and the narrative often moves into the criminal’s biography [...] The criminal is lit from all sides by stories from his childhood in an attempt to construct a linear narrative

from birth to crime that provides an explanation for how a child might grow up to commit such atrocities. This narrative of the criminal concentrates on the moments that were perceived to have had the most impact on the criminal's personality and sense of morality, and is thus leveled and sharpened to highlight these instances while dismissing the more mundane life events. [...] Twentieth-century crime narratives not only made space for discussions of motive, guilt, and the underlying causes of the criminal's behavior, but also created space for the author to gain more control of the narrative construction and the presentation of the events, not only of the trial or the crime, but of the criminal's life. [...] true crime of the twentieth century looks very different from previous crime narratives, in thanks partly to developing methods of publication and distribution, and partly because of developments in fields such as medicine or psychology." (Frost 2015)

"[I]t would seem that authors who do not comply with generic expectations will merely disappoint the already-established true crime audience, and thus would fail to sell. [...] The author's authority in representing the moment of the crime, especially murder, comes partially through the research that author purports to have conducted. [...] these books and their authors advertised their ability to "go behind the headlines." One means of offering audiences more information was to emphasize the author's relationship with the subject, implying that the criminal has revealed more to the author than has been printed elsewhere. [...] whatever had been presented in court was only the beginning of the story." (Frost 2015)

"Murderers, unlike their victims, may well be alive for authors to meet and interview in order to uncover information that can be incorporated into the narrative as motive. In this aspect the author must be careful about speculation, since "the plot of the historical narrative ... has to be presented as 'found' in the events rather than put there by narrative techniques," but the evolution and popularity of twentieth century true crime has, with the evolution of psychology, developed a number of biographical elements that are expected, or at least accepted, as explanations for why a criminal became a criminal (White 24). The question of motive [...] now requires a more complex answer, supported by experts in their fields." (Frost 2015)

"With guilt and motive in question, not only did authors have to begin to piece together a single, "true" narrative from the given testimony, but they also needed to present scientific knowledge shared by experts with the common public. As medical knowledge advanced, autopsies and autopsy reports became common occurrences after suspicious deaths, and all manner of medical personnel who had contact with the body were called upon to present their findings. As the twentieth century progressed toward the true crime boom in the 1980s, the practice of calling upon expert witnesses became more established, and many witnesses, either of their own volition or through examination, simplified their testimony for the average citizen who does not hold a medical degree. Authors may choose to quote this testimony, summarize it, or further explain or emphasize salient points – all moves

that direct the narrative for the audience in order to steer readers toward opinions of guilt or innocence. Authors can further frame the testimony of experts by undercutting or emphasizing their ethos, using these methods to encourage readers to trust the experts whose testimony agrees with the trial outcome, while creating doubt about the opposing viewpoint. While the medical experts generally offer testimony of evidence that leads to the criminal's identification and capture, experts in psychology tend to work alongside the accused's friends and family – those who have chosen to remain loyal to the accused, despite the charges – to explore the criminal's motive. In the negative, a psychologist might diagnose a criminal with a disorder that means the criminal should be removed from society for safety's sake. In the positive, testimony might present elements from the criminal's biography that lead toward lenience in sentencing by creating a narrative of childhood abuse, deprivation, or abandonment that led to the criminal act. When presented in this way, the argument is not for innocence, but for understanding.” (Frost 2015)

“True crime narrates the events in such a way that it becomes important to know the criminal and relate to him on some level, if not completely, so that readers might be made aware that such criminals exist and be able to recognize them if they should encounter any. Because of the official narrative that criminals can be anticipated through childhood behavior and that certain childhood acts or occurrences are indications that someone may tend toward violence, the background of an accused criminal becomes important as evidence of its own. Authors may shape this testimony in such a way as to frame it as evidence of a violent personality and reason for severe punishment, or as an explanation for the violent act in an attempt to gain more empathy and secure a less severe punishment.” (Frost 2015)

“In order to conform to generic expectations, true crime must cover several steps, such as opening with a crime; the criminal's biography, with a focus on his parents and any romantic relationships; descriptions of the crimes and crime scenes; the legal pursuit of the criminal, including expert testimony; and the trial and outcome. The narrative is generally presented in this order as well, identifying the criminal after the initial hook, since the criminal's identity is rarely a mystery. Most contemporary true crime narratives are presented as giving the audience the story behind the name, rather than revealing the criminal's identity.” (Frost 2015)

“Within these criminal biographies, authors often look for the cause of criminal behavior within childhood, developing the argument of nature versus nurture in such a way that reassures audiences that they themselves will not raise such criminal monsters. Parents are fully investigated, with mothers as more of a target for blame – when fathers are found guilty, it is for their absence, not their presence. The circumstances of birth are noted, especially in cases similar to Ted Bundy or Charles Manson. Each was born outside of marriage and, for the first few years of life, believed that their grandparents were their parents, while their mothers were presented as their older sisters. Each was then told the truth and taken away from

his (grand)parents, to be raised solely by his sister-mother in a new city. Jeffrey Dahmer, on the other hand, was raised by both parents, although his father was distant and his mother either too cruel or too concerned with her own physical and mental health to pay much attention to him. When his parents divorced, Dahmer was already nearly finished with high school, and his parents argued over custody of his younger brother, but not Dahmer. [...] Family members generally incur blame for how they raised the criminal, while friends are grilled in order to determine whether someone should have noticed something “wrong” with the criminal, even at a young age. Was the criminal a loner or did he have a small group of friends? Did he play with them outside of school or was he isolated in his own home? Should someone – if not his classmates, at least his teachers – have noticed the warning signs? Perhaps most importantly: were there warning signs? This close examination of childhood, present in many contemporary true crime accounts, attempts to reassure audiences on two counts: first, that they can avoid these parental failures that lead to a criminal lifestyle; and second, that they would be able to recognize the budding criminal in other children.” (Frost 2015)

“For even as these books posit the existence of socially inexplicable deviance – pure evil, in short – they also reaffirm notions of causality, by encouraging the reader to participate in a voyeuristic dissection of the victim’s mistakes, her failure to read obvious clues. As true crime writer Jack Olsen, author of *Son: A Psychopath and His Victims* (1983) and “*Doc*”: *The Rape of the Town of Lovell* (1989), says, “it’s what people have come to expect from the genre, an explanation of the criminal mind, of criminal behavior, and how to avoid people like that.” ” (Laura Browder i <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/232756094.pdf>; lesedato 03.12.21)

“At times the lead detective might be represented as a hero for breaking the case and securing the arrest of a dangerous criminal. At other times the lead detective only succeeds by disobeying orders and pursuing a hunch that luckily plays out. In other narratives, there is no one single person responsible for an arrest, but an array of officers who managed to piece together all of their information and work together.” (Frost 2015)

“Murder in hot blood, caused by anger and directed at the source of this anger, is perhaps more universally relatable and understandable. The murder of strangers, especially when these murders are cold and calculating, allowing the criminal to return to his daily life undetected between these acts, is more foreign, and thus more intriguing.” (Frost 2015)

Noen ofre for forbrytelser blir nesten “usynlige”, bl.a. fordi de lever i ytterkantene av samfunnet, for eksempel som hjemløse. Deres usynlighet som ofre skyldes at de er “verdiløse” for fellesskapet, og det kan blir framstilt som nesten selvforskyldt at de utsettes for vold og andre overgrep. “Steven A. Egger, professor of criminology at University of Houston-Clear Lake, proposes that murderers, especially serial

killers, prefer to pick from “a devalued stratum of humanity” that includes transients such as the homeless, runaways, and prostitutes (Egger 80). Egger argues that such victims, having been “less-alive” during life, become “less-dead” or perhaps even “never-were” after their deaths. [...] While care may be taken to describe the criminal’s troubled childhood and to provide the reader with an explanation for his violent acts, the victim’s life remains purely evidence and is not meant to sway emotions or perceptions. Instead of an explanation meant to gain empathy, the victim’s biography is presented in such a way that readers “come to see the behavior of victims, their lifestyles, as the central factor in their demise” (Egger 81). Because the audience does not relate to the “less-dead” or respond when such people are threatened, this allows the criminal, the serial killer in particular, to continue to prey on the “less-dead,” helped along by the determined way in which society ignores the disappearance of transient populations deemed distasteful to have around.” (Frost 2015)

“Victim blaming” er kritikk av offeret fordi det var ute midt på natten, beveget seg i et farlig strøk av byen, gikk “utfordrende” kledd osv. (Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 56).

Amerikanske Margaret Prescod, grunnleggeren av Black Coalition Fighting Back Serial Murder, har uttalt: “There’d be more response from the police if these were San Marino housewives. ... If you’re Black and living on the fringe, your life isn’t worth much.” (siteret fra <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/189762.pdf>; lesedato 30.03.22) “When the police or press describe the murdered women as prostitutes, it lulls nonprostitute women into a false feeling of safety. It plays upon sexist and frequently racist prejudices to mute the seriousness of the murders, and – most effectively – it diverts the blame to the victim. In October 1888, Charles Warren, police chief in charge of the “Jack the Ripper” case, pontificated to the press: “The police can do nothing as long as the victims unwittingly connive at their own destruction. They take the murderer to some retired spot, and place themselves in such a position that they can be slaughtered without a sound being heard” (Cameron and Frazer 1987, p. 20). That sentiment was echoed, one century later, in a piece in the *Los Angeles Times* (Boxall 1989), titled “Prostitutes: Easy Prey for Killers.”” (Jane Caputi i <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/189762.pdf>; lesedato 30.03.22)

“True crime plays a large role in orienting contemporary audiences towards criminals and victims, and – although the genre has gone through cosmetic changes over the centuries – still works to restore balance within the disturbed community and reassure audiences that such disruptions are temporary, manageable, and can be brought back under control.” (Frost 2015) “With the bureaucratization of social control, media crime representations have virtually displaced the spectacle of public punishment as a vehicle for symbolically affirming moral sentiments and reproving their violation” (Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 81).

I de siste tiårene av 1600-tallet var sjangeren forbryterbiografier (“criminal biography”) populær i England, dvs. biografier om kriminelle (Messerli og Chartier 2000 s. 294). “In early American crime accounts, motive was never called into question since it was determined that everyone could be tempted by the devil and fall away from God’s grace. Similarly, every fallen man or woman could be reconciled to The Lord after this fall, no matter how great a sin was committed.” (Frost 2015)

I 1657 drepte britten Nathaniel Butler en arbeidskamerat. Butler “perpetrated a brutal murder, attacking his sleeping bedfellow, a nineteen year old apprentice named John Knight. The motive was nothing to do with sex, or shame: nobody in any of the pamphlets about the case finds anything unusual about two young men sharing a bed. Rather, John Knight had been left in charge of his master’s business, a silk mercery, and Butler had seen just how much money was in the till. Knight had invited Butler to stay with him because he didn’t want to be alone with the responsibility of holding the keys to the till. [...] [Butler] “condemned himself in his general ill led life, as having been addicted to gaming, drinking, and abusing himself with women, and other vices whereto the Devil had inured him [...] led him into the snare of temptation to this vile Act.” (*A Full and the truest narrative of the most horrid, barbarous and unparalleled murder*, p. 9. [...] “I made proffer many a time with my knife to the intent to cut John’s throat, and once put my knife up again: And between three and four of the clock, on Thursday morning, I took my knife and cut his Mouth to his Ear, at which he shrieked out and cried Murder. Then I put my right hand into his Mouth, and so lay struggling together for about half an hour, and at length I strangled him: after which I looked about the Chamber, and the Devil instigated me to cut his Throat [...]” [...] At his trial, Butler confessed everything: his only plea to the court was that he be given more time to repent. It was objected by the Lord Mayor himself that he had given poor Knight no chance to die having purged his soul of sins. [...] In his last fortnight, Butler became more and more the exemplary instance of the sinner reclaimed. His various counsellors express extraordinary confidence about his chance of salvation. [...] In this febrile atmosphere, heady with repentance and a sense of the sinner reclaimed, the young man himself appears hysterically joyful, eager for the scaffold.” (<http://roy25booth.blogspot.com/2016/06/to-heaven-on-gibbet-repentance-of.html>; lesedato 14.10.20) Synet på skyldproblematikken har senere i stor grad gått fra syndig menneske til sykt menneske.

Den britiske forfatteren Henry Fielding publiserte i 1752 et verk med den lange tittelen *Examples of the interposition of providence in the detection and punishment of murder. Containing, above thirty cases, in which this dreadful crime has been brought to light, in the most extraordinary and miraculous manner; collected from various authors, ancient and modern.*

“By the early eighteenth century the popularity of the criminal biography was well established: *A Narrative of all the Robberies, Escapes, &c. of John Sheppard*

(1724a) went through eight editions in the two months following the death of Sheppard, a famous prisonbreaker, and *The Life and Adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew* (1745) reached 30 editions within 50 years; the Blandy murder in 1752 combined parricide by a young woman, a treacherous lover and the suspicion of injustice, and led to around 30 pamphlets and broadsheets being published” (Rawlings 1995).

Aaron Skirboll's bok *The Thief-Taker Hangings. How Daniel Defoe, Johnathan Wild, and Jack Sheppard Captivated London and Created the Celebrity Criminal* (2014) “portrays a strange and alien land whose indifferent government legislated hundreds of capital crimes, carried out endless executions, and yet was effectively lawless. Skirboll’s research led him to British archives and contemporary newspapers, unearthing a fascinating story. [...] Skirboll shows the lives and trials of Londoners from all classes. ... Though this is not a Defoe biography, his background and career producing pamphlets and newspapers are vital. ... His exclusive interviews of felons in Newgate and other London prisons truly changed the face of journalism. [...] Skirboll skillfully weaves together the lives and times of Daniel Defoe, who invented the English novel and literary true crime journalism, and two infamous criminals whose stories he told, Jonathan Wild and Jack Sheppard.” (<http://aaronskirboll.com/books/>; lesedato 17.08.23)

Karen Halttunen ga i 1998 ut *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination*. “Confronting murder in the newspaper, on screen, and in sensational trials, we often feel the killer is fundamentally incomprehensible and morally alien. But this was not always the popular response to murder. In *Murder Most Foul*, Karen Halttunen explores the changing view of murder from early New England sermons read at the public execution of murderers, through the nineteenth century, when secular and sensational accounts replaced the sacred treatment of the crime, to today’s true crime literature and tabloid reports. The early narratives were shaped by a strong belief in original sin and spiritual redemption, by the idea that all murders were natural manifestations of the innate depravity of humankind. In a dramatic departure from that view, the Gothic imagination – with its central conventions of the fundamental horror and mystery of the crime – seized upon the murderer as a moral monster, separated from the normal majority by an impassable gulf. Halttunen shows how this perception helped shape the modern response to criminal transgression, mandating criminal incarceration, and informing a social-scientific model of criminal deviance. The Gothic expression of horror and inhumanity is the predominant response to radical evil today; it has provided a set of conventions surrounding tales of murder that appear to be natural and instinctive, when in fact they are rooted in the nineteenth century.” (<https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674003842>; lesedato 12.05.20)

Et av materialene som Halttunen bruker i *Murder Most Foul* er “nonfiction accounts of murder appearing in pamphlets, broadsides, and newspapers from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century [...] true-crime murder narratives (the

sex murder, the domestic murder, murder by reason of insanity) in relation to specific social-scientific models of criminal deviance. [...] the chapter “Murder in the Family Circle.” Here she argues that narratives of domestic murder frequently undermined sentimental-liberal ideals of love and domesticity, in particular by locating the horror and mystery of murder within the family itself. Such narratives demonstrate “the uncanny quality of that which was simultaneously most familiar and most alien” (170).” (<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/1426>; lesedato 04.02.22)

“At times, it seems we are returning to Cesare Lombroso’s notion of the ‘criminal man’, with the study of physiognomy replaced by psychological profiling or even genetic analysis. There’s a seductive clarity to this discourse. It creates a forbidding certainty that can easily challenge the need for rehabilitation and justify indeterminate sentencing for public protection. And for the writer and the reader, it provides the two essential components of story: character and narrative. The character of the serial killer reinvents the monster as antagonist. Conforming to Lombroso’s notion of atavism, they are subhuman and immune to empathy. They are also superhuman, with extraordinary skills and perceptions. Their humanity is a mask; their true personality exists only in the components of their offender profile. The understanding of character in the monster is merely the function of its eventual incarceration or destruction. The narrative structure in the serial killer genre has a rhythm that plays between compulsion and frustration.” (Jake Arnott i <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26204091.pdf>; lesedato 20.09.23)

Antologien *Monsters In and Among Us: A Gothic Criminology* (2007; redigert av Caroline J. Picart og Cecil E. Greek) handler om “the tendency to make monsters out of criminals”, og inneholder blant annet en artikkel av Steve Greenfield om “cinematic depictions of real-life serial killer doctors, contrasting the “monstrous” portrayal of Marcel Pétiot with the relative everyday-ness of Harold Shipman”.

Historien om Edmond Dantès og hans hevn i den franske forfatteren Alexandre Dumas’ roman *Greven av Monte-Cristo* (1845-46) er inspirert av en sann historie som Dumas og hans samarbeidspartner Auguste Maquet fant i et verk med tittelen *Erindringer hentet fra politiet i Paris’ arkiver, til fremme av historien om moralen og politiet* (1838) (Oudin 2010 s. 69-70).

Amerikaneren Edmund Lester Pearsons *Studies in Murder* (1999, redigert av Roger Lane) ble først utgitt i 1924. “Pearson, a Harvard educated New Englander and librarian by profession, was a master crime writer, probably one of the finest and certainly one of the most prolific. His tales of murderous events helped to define the genre of “true crime”; narrative accounts of criminal and usually sensational events that are based on trial records and contemporaneous chronicles. Indeed, for several generations Pearson’s work was the way readers came to know the stories of many of America’s most infamous crimes. Yet, for all of their historical authenticity, their dependence on trial records and newspaper accounts, his crime tales are as richly detailed as any fictional mysteries or detective novels, his

“characters”, drawn from life, are quirky and complicated, and his “resolutions” often leave room for questions and even doubt. [...] This collection contains the accounts of five very different murders: “The Borden Case” (1872), in which Lizzie Borden was accused (and acquitted) of the ax murder of her father and stepmother in their home in Fall River Massachusetts; “The Twenty-Third Street Murder” (1870), about the violent death of Benjamin Nathan, a wealthy New Yorker (possibly also a case of parricide); “Mate Bram!” (1896), the story of a triple murder at sea; “The Hunting Knife” (1904), the tale of the murder of a middle aged woman in her tidy home just west of Cambridge Massachusetts; and finally “Uncle Amos Has a Dream” (1812), the case of the presumed murder of Russel Colvin, a somewhat strange man known to disappear for long periods from his family home in Manchester, New Hampshire. All of these were cases of brutal murder, four of them stories of dysfunctional and probably murderous families, and all of them resulted in well-publicized trials. [...] Pearson’s tales are always sensitive to the nuances of social class and position – the witnesses who must be jailed to be secured, the culinary details of a Victorian household – as well as to the legal and judicial issues involved in high profile murder cases.” (Amy G. Srebnick i <https://journals.openedition.org/chs/797>; lesedato 25.09.19)

“I de beste bokhandlerne i New York er det i de siste åra dukket opp en ny gruppe bøker, en ny sjanger, som har vokst opp og fortrenget andre sjangere til om ikke skyggenes dal så i hvert fall til kommersielle blindsoner. Det dreier seg om real crime, autentisk forbrytelse, og er dokumentarbøker om bankran, drap, kidnapping, ja, hva som helst bare det er virkelig kriminalitet. Synsvinkelen skal verken ligge hos politi eller røver. Sjangeren er naturligvis ikke ny, Gunnar Larsens “To mistenkelige personer”, Truman Capotes “Med kaldt blod”, Norman Mailers “Bøddelens sang” og James Ellroys “The Black Dahlia”, for ikke å snakke om sistnevntes spektakulære “My dark Places” der han skriver om drapet på sin egen mor, kan tjene som eksempler. De dikteriske elementene i disse [ovenfor nevnte] verkene er nok større enn i de mer rene utgaver av real crime. Skal det bli sånn at denne sjangeren skal erstatte kriminalromanen, slik biografien har erstattet dannelsesromanen? [...] Poenget med real crime er ellers at ingenting skal være anonymt, alt som skjer, skjer på et bestemt sted og til en bestemt tid, politi, røver og offer er navngitt.” (Espen Søybye i *Dagbladet* 20. januar 2008 s. 41)

“The birth of the contemporary true crime genre is often pinned on Truman Capote’s *In Cold Blood*, first published in four parts in *The New Yorker* in 1965 before being compiled into a book in 1966 and then produced as a movie the following year. Capote expanded the role of the author of a crime narrative because he was already established in literary circles and was thus able to bring a sense of acceptability to texts that had generally been dismissed as pulp. Two other authors of the twentieth century – Vincent Bugliosi, prosecuting attorney of Charles Manson and his three codefendants, and Ann Rule, who would rise to the top of the genre in the 1980s – continued to expand possibilities for the role, and authority, of the true crime author while still enacting the ritual of restoration.” (Frost 2015)

“Tre aspirin, kaldt værterøl og en rekke Pall Mall-sigaretter, det var hans oppfatning av et ordentlig måltid.” Sånn lyder setningen som introduserer forbryteren i *Med kaldt blod*, boken som ifølge sin forfatter Truman Capote – og et stort antall senere lesere – grunnla sjangeren *true crime* da den kom ut i 1966.” (Bjarne Riiser Gundersen i *Morgenbladet* 3.–9. november 2017 s. 56)

“Some authors, such as Truman Capote, extensively interviewed the criminals after they were apprehended, looking for more information about their childhoods or perhaps searching for a single moment in which the presumably innocent babe turned into the criminal monster.” (Frost 2015)

“Capote failed to win the Pulitzer prize he thought he deserved, partly because of critical doubts about murder being the basis for entertainment. (Although, in 1979, Norman Mailer took the award for *The Executioner’s Song*, his epic retelling of the case of Utah double murderer Gary Gilmore.) Britain’s richest trophy for non-fiction, the Samuel Johnson prize, also acknowledged the potential high quality of homicide reconstructions by giving its cheque in 2008 to Kate Summerscale’s *The Suspicions of Mr Whicher*, which reopened an 1860 killing in Wiltshire.” (Mark Lawson i <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2015/dec/12/serial-thrillers-why-true-is-popular-cultures-most-wanted>; lesedato 22.10.21)

“Although it is certainly an attention-grabber, and Vincent Bugliosi uses the discovery of the murders of Sharon Tate and her guests as his starting point in *Helter Skelter* (1974) because it begins the legal investigation, Truman Capote starts with a description of the quiet Kansas town about to be torn apart by the crime. Indeed, in *In Cold Blood*, the victims in the narrative are still alive at its start. Ann Rule opens *The Stranger Beside Me* not with one of Bundy’s murders, as might be expected, but with his emergence in Florida after his second prison escape. [...] the narrative ostensibly opens up the entire legal process to the audience, including leads that fizzle out or suppositions that end up being wrong.” (Frost 2015)

“Når det gjelder bokutgivelser er de fleste enige om at Truman Capotes klassiker “Med kaldt blod” fra 1965 etablerte sjangeren slik den er i dag. I november 1959 kunne leserne av “The New York Times” få med seg en artikkel om en gruffull forbrytelse. Fire personer i én og samme familie hadde blitt funnet døde i en liten by i Kansas. Capote ble fascinert av saken, og reiste til byen hvor han intervjuet politi, vitner og naboer, og han fulgte etter hvert rettsaken etter drapene. I 1966 ble boken hans utgitt, og den ble en bestselger. Det er imidlertid “Helter Skelter” fra 1974, skrevet av den amerikanske advokaten Vincent Bugliosi, som er tidenes bestselgende bok innen sjangeren. Bugliosi var aktor i drapsrettssakene mot Charles Manson og de andre medlemmene av kulten hans, og “Helter Skelter” handler nettopp om denne kriminalsaken. Bugliosi har i nyere tid skrevet bok om O.J. Simpson-saken.” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19)

“Like trial reports centuries earlier, Vincent Bugliosi reacted to the uncertainties and the lack of clarity by reporting the specifics of the investigation and the trial itself, relying on information that had previously been recorded in order to support the case for his subjects’ guilt. The narrative follows the investigation of a series of California murders eventually traced back to Charles Manson and his “Family,” including the resulting trial and the issues surrounding prosecuting Manson and his followers. Like Capote, Bugliosi himself has a role in his narrative, but unlike his predecessor, Bugliosi acknowledges this, clearly representing his own words and actions through use of scenes that include the identifier “I.” Bugliosi was the prosecutor in the case he narrates, although he went beyond the usual limits of this role in order to collect evidence against Charles Manson and his Family. [...] the narrative that has come to advertise itself as the best-selling true crime book ever published. Bugliosi carefully documents the evidence collected, down to the number of latent fingerprints, drawing on forensic science at the scene of the crime to be used alongside the coroner’s reports of the autopsy and bolster the evidence. Alongside reporting the Manson case, Bugliosi also makes a point to criticize the local law enforcement whenever he sees flaws or gaps in their procedure, thus documenting such details about the collection of evidence. This does not merely allow readers all of the clues of the murder investigation, but also provides evidence for his later arguments against law enforcement’s handling of the case and invites the audience to come to their own conclusions. [...] it is not until Part Three of the book, 165 pages in, that he introduces himself, quite literally, in a chapter all his own. Up until this point Bugliosi has maintained a third person narrative voice, recounting evidence and quotes taken by investigating officers, but not including himself because he was quite literally not yet involved. In the chapter entitled November 18, 1969, he introduces himself and recounts his own past in order to show readers his own legal competence.” (Frost 2015)

“[A]t times Bugliosi’s strict attention to chronological order makes his narrative more confusing than helpful, forcing readers to sift through evidence and keep apparently random facts in memory in order to make sense of the events. Individual interviews reference different events and different people, and instead of grouping all of the information surrounding certain events into one section, the reconstruction of past events jumps around depending on which witnesses is being interviewed about what subject. Names are mentioned of people – “characters” – who will not appear until weeks later, or are brought up once and then only returned to in another interview with another witness, confusing the many threads that Bugliosi, as prosecutor, must attempt to tie together for the trial. Although the book “allows for no moral gray areas,” there are difficulties at times determining whether individuals are good or bad upon their first appearances, law enforcement officials and Family members alike” (Frost 2015).

“*Helter Skelter* includes two sections of black and white photographs. The first includes maps of relevant California locations, photographs of 10050 Cielo Drive and the LaBianca residence, and images of all seven victims. Each is represented in

two photographs, the first being while they were alive – Parent at prom, Folger and Frykowski in a casual moment, Sebring and Tate in individual stills that look like publicity shots, and the LaBiancas in individual close-ups. Each of these images, though, is situated next to a photograph of the victims’ bodies at the crime scene under which each name is listed, followed by the identifier “murder victim.” Each image of the scene is accompanied by a short description of how the victim was found – for example, Sebring had a towel over his face and Folger’s white nightgown had turned red with her blood – except for Tate’s, which indicates her pregnancy, her pleading for her unborn child, and a response from one of the killers. Even though Sebring’s caption indicates that the rope looped around his neck led to another victim, and the rope is visible in the photo of Tate, it is not mentioned in her caption. The fact that they were the only two victims linked in such a way, and that they had at one time been lovers, was made much of by the investigation. Even though each victim is shown at the scene of the crime and details such as the rope going to Tate’s neck can be seen, the bodies themselves have been turned into white silhouettes. The claim that Folger’s white gown had turned red is not confirmable by her photograph, all of which is white. Other elements, such as the bag over Sebring’s head, the pillow over Leno LaBianca’s face, and the clothes covering Rosemary LaBianca’s upper body, are left intact in the original photographic image. Only the bodies themselves, with the presumably ripped and bloodstained clothes, are whited out. [...] these people [de skyldige] have clearly been labeled as murderers and thus warrant a closer look, in case readers might then be capable of recognizing the evil lurking within not only these photographs, but also potentially dangerous strangers on the street.” (Frost 2015)

“*In Cold Blood* led to the development of what we now know was true crime books – paperbacks thick enough to function as doorstoppers and featuring the inevitable photo insert. These books have a number of features in common: they are generally hefty – between 400 and 800 pages long – and thus demand a significant investment of time on the part of their readers. [...] pictures are at least 60 percent of the initial draw and you can’t sell a paperback if you don’t have solid pictures. This may seem trivial, but it is a key issue because what makes a book different is that it delivers the things you can’t get anywhere else. This includes things like the autopsy pictures, the severed breasts of prostitutes, the slashed throats – things you’ll never see on TV or in the newspaper or anywhere else. These photographs heighten the aura of reality so important to true crime readers. Yet many of these photos are not gory at all: they also portray the killer and victim in happier circumstances, as well as in their roles as corpse and apprehended criminal; they document the police officers and lawyers involved in the case, and they nearly always feature a picture of the convicted killer being led away to a lifetime in prison.” (Laura Browder og Paul Dinas i <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/232756094.pdf>; lesedato 03.12.21)

Seere kan ofte bevitne “feelings of confusion, fear, indignation, humiliation or rage of the arrested person” (Michael Hviid Jacobsen i Jacobsen 2014 s. 17). Skrekken kan personifiseres som offerets kropp.

Den amerikanske forfatteren Ann Rule kjente seriemorderen Ted Bundy før hans forbrytelser ble avslørt. Hun skrev boka *The Stranger Beside Me* (1980) om han. “When she was asked to write this book, before the investigation had even centered on a suspect, Rule shared her joy with her friends, including one Ted Bundy, with whom she had worked at a Seattle crisis center. The first-person accounts in *Stranger* stem from Rule’s relationship with Bundy as a friend while researching the crimes he had committed. The personal relationship between criminal and author thus reached a new level, beyond Capote’s post-sentencing interviews and Bugliosi’s presence through the trial process. Rule knew her subject before the world recognized the name “Ted Bundy” and associated it with the act of serial killing. The effect of this relationship can be seen in the number of times Rule has been asked what Ted was like – “really.” Because of this personal relationship, she is meant to have a better understanding of the truth of Ted Bundy, and thus be better able to communicate that truth to her audience. Further, the fact that she knew Ted before he was identified as *the* Ted puts her in a unique position of reassurance, since – after a number of details about the Ted murders had been released – she did indeed call the police tip line and report on her friend. This contributes to the aspect of the ritual that proclaims all criminals will indeed be recognized and brought to justice. Further, if Ann Rule can accept the rightness of the guilty sentence and the death penalty when it comes to her friend, then they must be deserved and therefore rightful consequences. Far from clouding her judgment, Rule’s personal relationship with Bundy grants her declaration of his guilt, and acceptance of his fate, more credence. [...] Rule does not offer her own opinion of Bundy’s guilt or innocence until 478 pages in.” (Frost 2015)

“Ann Rule brakte nytt blod inn i sjangeren med *The Stranger Beside Me*, om seriemorderen Ted Bundy, en venn og kollega av henne. I 1974 jobbet Rule med en sak om de uløste drapene på flere unge piker. Bundys navn kom opp, og Rule tipset politiet om dette. Hun var overbevist om at Bundy var uskyldig, først da han senere ble pågrepet, rømte fra fengslet og drepte igjen, begynte hennes tro på hans uskyld å vakle. Rule var likevel ambivalent til dødsstraffen Bundy fikk. Rules personlige kjennskap til Bundy ble viktig for debutboken hennes. Hun skapte seg senere en betydelig forfatterkarriere og ble i USA kjent som “dronningen av true crime”.” (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

“Bundy – groomed, a law student – was acceptable not only to women but to their mothers. Rule herself, nearly a generation older than Bundy, was charmed by him, although she did not fall in love with him. Even as she was immersed in the case of the “Ted” murders, it took months before she called the police hotline to tell them that she did indeed know a man named Ted who drove a VW Bug. [...] Although

smart women will apparently recognize danger and be able to defend themselves against it, both Rule and Bundy's girlfriend felt conflicted about making such calls, allowing for the same doubts that led to the victims' deaths. [...] Bundy was able to present a normal façade to the world, although there is rhetoric surrounding his eyes – Rule's 2008 introduction includes references to women who believe they escaped Bundy, many of whom wrote that they recognized him by his eyes. It is curious, however, that Bundy was able to fool so many young women if his eyes were as misleading and dangerous as claimed, but many covers of *Stranger* include his eyes, marking them as the most important physical feature of the serial killer, the window into his demented soul. Smart women, then, should be able to gaze into a man's eyes and recognize the threat he poses, therefore protecting themselves from becoming his next victim. [...] Bundy presented the world with the idea of the normal-looking, even attractive, man with psychological issues, no longer recognizable as evil by his outer appearance. Part of the intrigue of the serial killer thus lies with the inability to recognize the danger, a fact that Bundy employed in order to kill so many victims. The threat no longer looks threatening, and is therefore even more dangerous than before." (Frost 2015)

I et nytt forord til *The Stranger Beside Me* Ann Rule "declares Bundy's guilt, if not what he was "really like," prior to the crime narrative. Whether she meant the original text as a glimpse into the life of a friend of a criminal or a brutal warning that criminals are not easily identifiable, the new preface returns *Stranger* to the position of crime narratives before it, clearly declaring guilt and allowing the narrative to present readers with the evidence to prove it." (Frost 2015)

"The message that women could be murdered at any moment is central to many of the genre's canonical and popular works. As a result, this message has been reinforced through the sheer popularity of these works. The message that an attacker could be lurking anywhere is central in Anne Rule's book *The Stranger Beside Me*. Rule is crowned as one of the major pioneers of true crime in the 20th century. Considered one of the genre's most notable works, *The Stranger Beside Me* chronicles Rule's personal and professional relationship with the infamous serial killer, Ted Bundy. She historicizes Bundy's life and the crimes he committed while integrating her personal relationship with him." (Compton 2019 s. 57)

"[F]ascinasjonen og forferdelsen rundt Bundy, fikk meg til å tenke. Jeg hadde tidligere sett en Bundy-dokumentar, men jeg husket ikke noen av ofrenes navn. Lynda Ann Healy, Debra Kent, Susan Curtis. Og så videre. I innlegget ["I won't be watching the Bundy Tapes on Netflix"] står deres alder, interesser og ambisjonene de hadde i livet. Alt som kunne vært. "In a world filled with kind, beautiful people, I wonder why we all know Ted Bundy's name", står det. Da kan man spørre seg: Har vi som samfunn skyld i at grusomheten blir større enn dens faktiske størrelse når vi sluker, repeterer og videre produserer historiene gjerningspersonene selv har skapt? Noen raske søk røper at over femti bøker er blitt skrevet om seriemorderen Theodore Robert Bundy. Enkelte av disse er blitt filmatisert. Hvis jeg vil se en

dokumentar eller film om seriemorderen, har jeg opptil ti stykker å velge mellom, og når en skulle tro at interessen hadde dødd ut, Bundy var aktiv som seriemorder fra 1974 til 1978, viser det seg at det i år kommer en biografisk krimfilm med navnet *Extremely Wicked, Shockingly Evil, and Vile*, der Bundy gestaltes av skuespiller Zac Efron. Jeg er mer oppgitt over at det finnes et marked, en utrøstelig interesse for denne typen filmer, enn det faktumet at de lages. Det er vi, allmennheten, som holder Bundys navn i live, og det er vi som glemmer ofrene.” (Sumaya Jirde Ali i *Morgenbladet* 22.–28. februar 2019 s. 22)

“While divorcing her husband, Sheila Bellush, a mother of quadruplets, told her sister that if anything were to happen to her, to find true crime writer Ann Rule to tell her story. Shortly thereafter, Sheila was gunned down by a hit man hired by her husband. The resulting Ann Rule book, *Every Breath You Take* (Rule, 2001), was bought by nearly one million readers. [...] 86% of the Amazon reviews for *Every Breath You Take* were written by women” (Amanda M. Vicary og R. Chris Fraley i https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240287787_Captured_by_True_Crime_Why_Are_Women_Drawn_to_Tales_of_Rape_Murder_and_Serial_Killers; lesedato 22.10.21).

“ “When I began writing fact-detective stories,” Rule tells us, “I promised myself that I would always remember I was writing about the loss of human beings, that I was never to forget that. I hoped that the work I did might somehow save other victims, might warn them of the danger.” ” (Laura Browder i <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/232756094.pdf>; lesedato 03.12.21)

Andre kjente amerikanske true crime-forfattere er Carlton Stowers, Dennis McDougal og Gregg Olsen.

“Victimology, branch of criminology that scientifically studies the relationship between an injured party and an offender by examining the causes and the nature of the consequent suffering. Specifically, victimology focuses on whether the perpetrators were complete strangers, mere acquaintances, friends, family members, or even intimates and why a particular person or place was targeted. Criminal victimization may inflict economic costs, physical injuries, and psychological harm. Victimology first emerged in the 1940s and '50s, when several criminologists (notably Hans von Hentig, Benjamin Mendelsohn, and Henri Ellenberger) examined victim-offender interactions and stressed reciprocal influences and role reversals. These pioneers raised the possibility that certain individuals who suffered wounds and losses might share some degree of responsibility with the lawbreakers for their own misfortunes. For example, the carelessness of some motorists made the tasks of thieves easier; reckless behaviour on the part of intoxicated customers in a bar often attracted the attention of robbers; and provocation by some brawlers caused confrontations to escalate to the point that the instigator was injured or even killed. More controversially, women were sometimes said to bear some responsibility for misunderstandings that evolved into

sexual assaults. By systematically investigating the actions of victims, costly mistakes could be identified and risk-reduction strategies could be discerned.” (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/victimology>; lesedato 22.06.24)

“Victims of murder, rape, spousal abuse, elder abuse, child abuse, and kidnapping have received the most research attention, but entire categories of victims that were formerly overlooked have been rediscovered (e.g., people with disabilities that make them unusually vulnerable and targets of workplace violence, hate crimes, and terrorist attacks). Other groups have been discovered and protected, such as individuals who have fallen victim to identity theft. One focus of victimology has centred on identifying and measuring the frequency (both annual incidence and lifetime prevalence rates) of various types of victimizations, such as stalking, date rape, and carjacking. Some research has focused on the related challenge of explaining why the risks of violent victimization vary so dramatically from group to group, especially by age, gender, social class, race, ethnicity, and area of residence (mostly as a result of exposure to dangerous persons because of routine activities as well as lifestyle choices). Another area of concern to victimologists is how the legal system (e.g., detectives in specialized squads, victim-witness assistance programs administered by the offices of prosecutors, and state-administered financial compensation programs) deals with victims in their capacity as witnesses for the government. Victimologists have documented how the interests and needs of injured parties have been routinely overlooked historically but are now being addressed because the victims’ rights movement has won concessions that empower victims within the justice system.” (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/victimology>; lesedato 22.06.24)

Den amerikanske journalisten og forfatteren Janet Malcolms *The Journalist and the Murderer* (1990) handler om en “mye omtalt rettssak mellom en drapsdømt mann og en forfatter som skrev en true crime-bok om saken hans. Den drapsdømte hadde gitt forfatteren helt ufiltrert tilgang til livet sitt, og til forsvarsteamets arbeid under rettssaken, i full tro på at boken ville handle om hans uskyld. Forfatteren hadde dessuten i både brev og samtaler gjort det klart at han var den drapsdømtes venn og allierte. Men da boken kom, viste den seg å være et fullkomment karakterdrap. I rettssaken Malcolm beskriver, er det forfatteren som står tiltalt – for injurier og manipulasjon av kildeforholdet.” (*Morgenbladet* 25. juni–1. juli 2021 s. 38)

Amerikaneren Orenthal James (“O. J.”) Simpson ble tiltalt for drapet på sin ekskone og hennes kjæreste, men ble frifunnet etter en rettssak i 1995 som fikk enorm medieoppmerksomhet. Simpson var allerede kjente i USA som fotballspiller og filmskuespiller. I 2007 ga Simpson og skyggeskriveren Pablo Fenjves ut boka *If I Did It: Confessions of the Killer*, som handler om hvordan Simpson tror drapene må ha foregått, og som altså er slik han selv kan ha gjennomført dem til tross for at han til slutt ble frikjent. Noen lesere vil følgelig anta at Simpson egentlig forklarer hva som faktisk skjedde, men peker nese av rettsapparatet som ikke har beviser nok mot han.

I 2006 “anger erupted in many media outlets when Regan Books announced that it would release a memoir by Simpson that would discuss how he *might* have killed the two people. Commentators voiced the opinion that such a book was taboo, and public indignation seemed so intense that the book company’s owner, News Corporation, decided not to release the title and recalled printed copies from stores.” (Turow 2009 s. 26)

“The controversial release of O.J. Simpson’s quasi-confessional book about the killing of his ex-wife and her friend has divided book retailers in Canada, some of whom plan not to stock it. *If I Did It*, in which Simpson speculates on how, hypothetically, he could have killed Nicole Brown Simpson and Ron Goldman, has been at the centre of controversy since its release was announced earlier this week. [...] Under a storm of criticism, ReganBooks publisher Judith Regan said in a release issued Friday she chose to go ahead with the book because she was a victim of domestic violence and thought proceeds of the sale would go to Simpson's kids. “I didn't know what to expect when I got the call that the killer wanted to confess,” Regan said in an eight-page statement titled “Why I Did It.” “But I knew one thing. I wanted the confession for my own selfish reasons and for the symbolism of that act. For me, it was personal.” She said she was in an abusive relationship in her 20s and saw Simpson's confessional as a way to get closure. “I made the decision to publish this book, and to sit face to face with the killer, because I wanted him, and the men who broke my heart and your hearts, to tell the truth, to confess their sins, to do penance and to amend their lives,” she said. Though Simpson does not actually admit to the killings, Regan said she considers the book a confession.” (<http://www.cbc.ca/news/arts/books/story/2006/11/17/oj-canada-bookstores.html>; lesedato 25.01.13)

Andre eksempler:

Paul Johann Anselm von Feuerbach: *Merkelige rettsstiltfeller* (1808-11)

Egon Erwin Kisch: *Praha-Pitaval* (1931)

Fabian, R. m.fl.: *Forbyternes overmenn* (på norsk 1954-56) – 6 bind med gjenfortellinger av drap og andre alvorlige kriminelle handlinger som har foregått i virkeligheten. (O. Heiman (red.) sin *Nordisk kriminalkrønike* er lagd over samme lest som *Forbyternes overmenn*.)

Eigil Steinmetz: *Attentater og politiske mord fra Marat til Kennedy* (1967)

Michel Foucault et al.: *Jeg, Pierre Rivière, har myrdet min mor, min søster og min bror: Et tilfelle av slektningdrap i det 19. århundre* (1973)

John Gilmore: *Severed: The True Story of the Black Dahlia Murder* (1994) – om en ung kvinne som reiste til Hollywood for å bli stjerne, men ble drept på grusomt vis; en uløst sak

Paul Britton: *The Jigsaw Man* (1997) – en britisk kriminalpsykolog forteller om sitt liv og saker han har bidratt til å løse

Monika Nordland Yndestad og Gro Vik: *Drapsmysterier fra Bergensområdet* (2005) – om 25 drap i perioden 1839-1994

Peter Øvig Knudsen: *Blekingegadebanden* (2008) – om en gruppe kommunistiske kriminelle i Danmark

Nils Johan Stoa: *Kjødets lyst: Fortellinger om synd og straff* (2010) – saker hentet fra reelle arkiver, f.eks. om barnemord

Hilde Moi: *Savnet i Baneheia: Drapene som rystet Norge* (2011)

Asbjørn Hansen: *Menneskejeger: Fra et liv som drapsetterforsker i Kripos* (2013)

En fransk avis kalt *Den lille avis (Le Petit Journal)* ga fra 1890 ut et illustrert tillegg hver søndag om ekte krim saker. Bilaget ble utgitt fram til 1944 (Oudin 2010 s. 104).

Mange amerikanske tidsskrifter har skrevet om sanne krimhistorier, og noen magasiner har handlet bare om slike saker. “In 1924 Bernarr Macfadden launched *True Detective Mysteries*. It flourished, attracted hosts of imitators, and established a new genre that for many years was one of the mostly widely read categories of American magazine. But as television grew into our main source of crime news, detective magazines went into decline and today are virtually extinct. In their 75-year wake, they left a vast – largely untapped – body of literature of great relevance to the scholars who study our criminal heritage, to historians of law-enforcement, to the sorrowful friends and relatives of crime victims, and to the descendants of criminals themselves from whom poignant events in family history were often hidden.” (Patterson Smith i <http://www.patterson-smith.com/mags.htm>; lesedato 30.10.13)

“I 1924 ble det amerikanske magasinet “True Detective Mysteries” grunnlagt. Her blandet man fiktive krimhistorier med historier fra virkeligheten. Det viste seg at historiene fra virkeligheten var mye mer populære enn de oppdiktete, så etter hvert kuttet bladets grunnlegger, Bernarr Macfadden, ut fiksjonen. Bladet byttet også navn til “True Detective”. Magasinets popularitet var enorm, og det ble solgt omlag 2 millioner eksemplarer av bladet hver måned på 1930- og 1940-tallet. Macfadden grunnla senere “Master Detective”, som også baserte seg på historier fra virkeligheten. Populariteten til “True Detective” førte også til at hundrevis av andre

magasiner med samme tema kom ut. “True Detective” holdt det gående helt til 1995, men har nå, sammen med “Master Detective” fått nytt liv hos True Crime Library.” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19)

“What was the so-called Golden Age of the detective magazine? The early and mid 1930s, when the major crimes figures of the Depression, like Bonnie and Clyde and the Barker gang roamed the Midwest. These bandits were themselves avid readers of the genre. Are these magazines published today? Generally speaking, they have died out. *True Detective*, the progenitor that began in 1924, published its last issue in 1995. [...] How many different detective magazines were there? No census has ever been taken, but since their advent in the 1920s there had to have been several hundred magazine titles and many thousands of different issues.” (Patterson Smith i <http://www.patterson-smith.com/mags.htm#GoldenAge>; lesedato 30.10.13)

“Titles such as [magasinene] True Crime and True Detective appeal not just to our fascination with horrific acts but to our desire to see justice and retribution [...] Philip Morton, who’s on the editorial staff of True Crime Library, which publishes the magazines, says: [...] “We are very careful about the sensitivities of anyone who has been involved in any of the cases we report – especially the recent ones. We are generally more careful than the national press, for instance, about naming friends and relatives of criminals and victims, and are very selective about the pictures we use: we’ve no interest in causing additional grief to anyone in any of our case reports. We are committed to getting it right and telling a complete story. That way there’s less chance of anyone feeling hard done by. Also I think people like to put themselves into life-and-death situations and imagine how they’d react – and our magazines, which are scrupulously truthful and as accurate as we can make them, certainly provide the material for such fantasies. What’s it like to be on Death Row, awaiting execution, or facing down a homicidal maniac, or indeed planning the perfect murder? Our writers specialise in putting our readers in just such situations, where they can experience a vicarious thrill.” [...] Though the method of storytelling has changed over the almost-century since True Detective magazine was launched, the basis of it is still the same: a fascination with the worst of human nature. It might be that the true crime genre allows us to study the depths that people can sink to, at a safe distance, or it might just be that we really, really like the juicy details of a particularly gory crime.” (David Barnett i https://www.independent.co.uk/news/long_reads/true-crime-pays-the-history-of-real-life-crime-magazines-a7647976.html; lesedato 14.05.19)

Tyskeren Robert Adolf Stemmler har blant annet gitt ut (alle på tysk) *Helvete: 10 kriminalsaker* (1963), *Giftmord: 10 kriminalsaker* (1964), *Dødsdom: 9 kriminalsaker* (1964), *Attentat* (1965), *Utpressere* (1966), *Ungdomskriminalitet* (1967), *Gjerningsmotiv begjær* (1967) og *Seksualforbrytelser* (1967).

Japaneren Issei Sagawa var i 1981 student i Paris, der han drepte, parterte og spiste en nederlandsk student. Han ble erklært sinnssyk og sendt tilbake til Japan, der han ble satt fri takket være sin rike og mektige far. Han begynte som skuespiller og forfatter (Oudin 2010 s. 22). “Sagawa tried his hand at a comic book version of the story. He also wrote a weekly column for a tabloid publication, edited an anthology of cannibal fantasies” (http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/serial_killers/weird/sagawa/11.html; lesedato 05.12.13). Briten Ian Brady, som på 1960-tallet sammen med Myra Hindley drepte en rekke barn i det som har blitt kalt “The Moors murders”, prøver i boka *The Gates of Janus: Serial Killing and Its Analysis* (2001) å forklare hvorfor noen blir seriemordere og føler seg frie fra religiøse, juridiske og moralske lover.

Gordon Burn har utgitt boka *Somebody's Husband, Somebody's Son* (1985) om den britiske seriemorderen Peter Sutcliffe, som drepte 13 kvinner. “The books are organised around ideas of order/normality and disorder/abnormality. The offender is presented as initially ordinary (so, Burn's book on Peter Sutcliffe is titled ... *somebody's husband, somebody's son*), but this ordinariness is gradually peeled away. The crimes are woven into the narrative without any change of pace so that they appear a normal part of the biographee's life and, thereby, emphasise her or his abnormality. The criminal as monster is further accentuated by the contrast between the crimes and the prosaic detail of streets, places, contemporary films and music. [...] The criminal is depicted as abnormal – and abnormal before the crime – but this abnormality is only revealed through the crime, so there remains the constant threat of other potential murderers whose tendencies are hidden and against whom it is, therefore, difficult to guard. Although order is restored through detection, it is not the innocent order which existed before the crime, not least because the detective may reveal the killer, but he or she cannot always explain the evil or irrational motivation. The element of tension remains: if one monster can arise out of such ordinariness, why not others? The detective becomes essential.” (Rawlings 1995)

“Burn (1984) writes that Sutcliffe clung to his mother as a child in a way that his father thought unnatural (p.30-3), was ashamed of his own body (p.39), was isolated and bullied (pp.44, 49, 71), developed an unhealthy interest in his work at the local cemetery (pp.56-9, 64), was embarrassed by courting couples (p.60), behaved oddly with women (pp.62-3, 68-9); Sutcliffe's gaze was unnerving (p.65), he was ‘erie’ (p.90). All of this is presented against the background of the knowledge of his conviction for the murders, and implies the existence of clear predictive signs of the murders that were to follow.” (Rawlings 1995)

“The police are often discussed in terms which present them as vulnerable, human, ordinary, as opposed to the developing image of the monstrous offender: good against evil. The breaking of the case is usually attributed to the detective being able to read clues which no one else could decipher. For example, the breakthrough in the Moors murders case might have seemed to have been when David Smith,

Hindley's brother-in-law, went to the police, but Ritchie (1993) lays more emphasis on the discovery by a detective of a left luggage ticket: 'a piece of meticulous detection that John Tyrell would later be praised for in court' (Ritchie 1993: 95). The obvious exception to this view of competent detective work would seem to be the Sutcliffe case. Burn's description of the police inquiry starts about a third of the way into the book, after five murders have been depicted, and from then on the inquiry is presented as a shambles." (Rawlings 1995)

"The victims are typically left in the background of all these books, although books by victims or their relatives (West 1989) do appear, and Gratus (1969) has produced a collection." (Rawlings 1995) Ann West ga ut *For Love of Lesley: The 'Moors Murders' Remembered by a Victim's Mother* (1989), og Jack Gratus *The Victims* (1969).

"*Homicide: a year on the Killing Streets* [1991], by David Simon [...] Simon took a hiatus from his job as a Baltimore newspaper reporter to embed with homicide detectives in one of the most dangerous cities in the US, and then a few more to masterfully weave the stories together from all sides – players and the played, cops and baddies and innocents. Aside from providing grist for anyone attempting to understand the hard truths of life in an American warzone, this one of the most readable books here, particularly if you've ever lost a month bingeing on *The Wire* – a series based largely on this book." (Charles Graeber i <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/oct/02/charles-graeber-top-10-true-crime-books>; lesedato 29.10.21)

Geoff Tibballs' bok *The Murder Guide to Great Britain* (1993) har blitt beskrevet slik: "Often the foulest murders have been committed in the most picturesque parts of Britain, such as the picnic massacre in the New Forest, the gruesome discovery in the grounds of Arundel Castle and the horrific find which marred the 390th Shakespeare birthday celebrations in Stratford-upon-Avon. This guide to the murder sites of Britain and Ireland incorporates 200 years of crime history, from the dark alleys of Jack the Ripper to the open moorland of Exmoor and Northumberland. The wide range of settings includes railway stations, beaches, theatres, and even the peaceful academic haven of Inspector Morse's Oxford." (<https://www.amazon.co.uk/Murder-Guide-Great-Britain/dp/0752208454>; lesedato 16.04.20)

Den britiske psykologen Paul Britton skrev *The Jigsaw Man* (1997) om sin rolle som "Consultant Clinical and Forensic Psychologist" ("profiler") for britisk politi. En profiler er en psykolog- og kriminolog-ekspert som lager en analyse, en profil, av egenskaper gjerningsmannen antakelig har, f.eks. alder og yrke. Britton har deltatt i jakten på mordere og bidratt til å arrestere mange av dem, også seriemordere. Han beskriver etterforskningen av en rekke saker og sin rolle i dem. Dessuten prøver han å forklare hvordan en psykopat, sadist og andre mentalt syke mennesker innretter sine liv og hvorfor de begår grusomme handlinger mot andre.

Han analyserer deres psyke, og tyr delvis til metaforer for å gjøre det ubegripelige en smule forståelig. Om den britiske seriemorderen Frederick West skriver Britton at han aldri klarte å oppfatte andre mennesker som unike personer, med samme menneskelige behov som han selv. En metafor for Wests kulde er at han brukte riktige ord i omgang med andre mennesker, men at han ikke visste hva de egentlig betydde. En annen metafor Britton bruker, er at West var fargeblind. Det går godt an å leve med å være fargeblind, men det er umulig å skjønne hva gressets grønnfarge og rosens rødfarge er. West kjente tingenes former, men ikke deres farge (Britton 1998 s. 380-381). Britton gir gode råd og advarsler når det gjelder framgangsmåter i etterforskning, som om leseren selv drev etterforskning. Noen råd kan kanskje overføres til dagliglivet. En av advarslene er å danne seg en hypotese og så lete etter de faktaene som passer til hypotesen. Informasjoner blir da vurdert etter om de passer inn i det mønsteret man allerede har dannet seg i tankene. Avgjørende informasjon/fakta som ikke passer inn i bildet, har da en tendens til å bli oversett (Britton 1998 s. 418).

Whoever Fights Monsters: My Twenty Years Tracking Serial Killers for the FBI (1992) av Robert K. Ressler (og Tom Shachtman) handler om hvordan psykologiske analyser kan bidra til å fange seriemordere. “Face-to-face with some of America’s most terrifying killers, FBI veteran and ex-Army CID colonel Robert Ressler learned [...] how to identify the unknown monsters who walk among us – and put them behind bars. Now the man who coined the phrase “serial killer” and advised Thomas Harris on *The Silence of the Lambs* shows how he is able to track down some of today’s most brutal murderers. Just as it happened in *The Silence of the Lambs*, Ressler used the evidence at a crime scene to put together a psychological profile of the killers. From the victims they choose, to the way they kill, to the often grotesque souvenirs they take with them – Ressler unlocks the identities of these vicious killers [...] And with his discovery that serial killers share certain violent behaviors, Ressler’s gone behind prison walls to hear the bizarre first-hand stories of countless convicted murderers. Getting inside the mind of a killer to understand how and why he kills, is one of the FBI’s most effective ways of helping police bring in killers who are still at large. Join Ressler as he takes you on the hunt for today’s most dangerous psychopaths.” (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/79085.Whoever_Fights_Monsters; lesedato 23.04.24)

Boka *Journey Into Darkness* (1997) av John E. Douglas (og Mark Olshaker) “reveals more unique cases from his time as head of the FBI’s elite Investigative Support Unit. In the #1 New York Times bestseller *Mindhunter*, John Douglas, who headed the FBI’s elite Investigative Support Unit, told the story of his brilliant and terrifying career tracking down some of the most heinous criminals in history. Now, in *Journey into Darkness*, Douglas profiles vicious serial killers, rapists, and child molesters. He is straightforward, blunt, often irreverent, and outspoken, but takes pains not to glorify any of these murderers. Some of the unique cases Douglas discusses include:

- The Clairemont killer
- The schoolgirl murders
- Richmond's First Serial Murderer
- The brutal and sadistic murder of Suzanne Marie Collins
- Polly Klaas' abduction and murder by Richard Allen Davis,
- The tragedy that led to the creation of Megan's Law

With *Journey into Darkness*, Douglas provides more than a glimpse into the minds of serial killers; he demonstrates what a powerful weapon behavioral science has become. Profiling criminals helps not only to capture them, but also helps society understand how these predators work and what can be done to prevent them from striking again. Douglas focuses especially on pedophiles and child abductors, fully explaining what drives them, and how to keep children away from them. As he points out, "The best way to protect your children is to know your enemy." He includes eight rules for safety, a list of steps parents can take to prevent child abduction and exploitation, tips on how to detect sexual exploitation, basic rules of safety for children, and a chart, based on age, which details the safety skills children should have to protect themselves." (<https://www.everand.com/book/224270558/Journey-Into-Darkness>; lesedato 23.04.24)

Den amerikanske forfatteren Joe McGinniss "kastet seg på "true crime"-bølgen. I 1979 ble han invitert av en drapstiltalt – Jeffrey MacDonald – til å skrive en bok om mordet på MacDonalds kone og to barn i militærleiren hvor MacDonald jobbet som lege. MacDonald anførte at hans kone og barn var blitt drept av flere inntrengere, og ble trodd av en militær domstol. Men drapsofferets stefar fikk tatt saken opp på ny i en sivildomstol. McGinniss fulgte MacDonald og advokatene mens de forberedte seg på rettssaken. På et tidspunkt ble han til og med av praktiske årsaker innlemmet i forsvarsteamet – som han allerede bodde sammen med i byen Raleigh, hvor rettssaken fant sted. En forhåndsavtale ble inngått om at en betraktelig sum og deler av overskuddet fra boka skulle gå til MacDonald. Det var mildt sagt et uryddig forhold. MacDonald og McGinniss var til dels intervjuobjekt og forfatter, men de var også forretningspartnere, de var gode venner, og ikke minst hadde McGinniss vært med som flue på veggen i forsvarsteamet. Hvilken rolle var den viktigste? Etter at MacDonald ble fengslet, kommuniserte de gjennom brev som har nådd offentligheten i ettertid. "(...) Jeg skriver igjen om et par dager, Jeff", skrev McGinniss i et brev etter at sivildomstolen dømte MacDonald, "dette er så jævla forferdelig at jeg ikke kan tro det enda – synet av juryen som kom inn – av juryens avstemning – og du stod der – mens du bare sa de få ordene – ledet ut – også å se deg i et jævla fengsel. Det er et helvete å gjennomleve – her bruker jeg sommeren på å få en ny venn også kommer jævlene og låser ham inne." (Fra "The Journalist and the Murderer".) I et annet brev skrev McGinniss at han håpet bokprosjektet kunne gi mening til fengselstilværelsen for MacDonald, fordi boka ville la ham fortelle den fulle historien. "Ei bok om saken; ingen forbryter bør være uten. (Selv om det var for å spøke, føles det ikke riktig å

trykke ordet “forbryter” med henvisning til deg, og jeg håper som et helvete at denne fasen vil ta slutt så fort som mulig).” (*Dagbladet* 21. februar 2014 s. 56-57)

“I [boka] “Fatal Vision” skisserte McGinniss Jeffrey MacDonald som en demonisk sosiopat, bak den velstelte og innbydende fasaden til den høyt utdannede militærlegen. McGinniss hadde funnet en løs formulering i et vitnesbyrd som kunne tyde på at MacDonald hadde tatt en overdose amfetaminslankepill som fortsatt var lovlige i 1971, og konkluderte med at pillene hadde utløst en voldelig psykose. Voldelig fordi MacDonald var drevet av et hat mot den kvinnelige rasen som han hadde undertrykket siden barndommen, fyret opp under av amfetaminen, stress og utmattelse og antent av at kona hadde begynt på et psykologkurs som ga henne “ny, truende innsikt i personlighetsstruktur og atferdsmønstre”. Basert på en sammenrasket gjennomgang av den tilgjengelige psykiatriske teorien, gjorde ikke bare McGinniss intervjuobjektet sitt til en morder, men til en syk morder. “Grandios”, “kald”, “grunn”, “nådeløs”, “utnyttende”, “parasittisk”, “hoven”, “sjalu”, “selvsentrert”, “uten følelsesmessig dybde” og “uten oppriktig tristhet” var blant merkelappene McGinniss fikk klistret på MacDonald via en psykiaterkilde. Kontrasten mellom den velmenende mannen som strakte seg langt for å gjøre sin kilde til lags, og det ravende karakterdrapet som ble gjort i “Fatal Vision”, opplevdes som et sjokkerende svik for MacDonald. Han saksøkte McGinniss for avtalebrudd.” (*Dagbladet* 21. februar 2014 s. 57)

A Wilderness of Error: The Trials of Jeffrey MacDonald (2012) av Errol Morris prøver bevise at en mann som ble dømt for å ha drept sin gravide kone og sine to døtre, er uskyldig. “Academy Award-winning documentary filmmaker Errol Morris presents 20 years of his own investigation into one of America’s most infamous murder cases. In 1970, Jeffrey MacDonald, a Green Beret doctor stationed in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, was accused of the brutal killing of his pregnant wife and two young daughters, a crime he attributed to intruders. He was convicted, but has always maintained his innocence. [...] The case is the subject of several best-selling books, including Joe McGinnis’ *Fatal Vision* [1983] (in which the author begins in sympathy to MacDonald, then decides along the way that he is guilty), and Janet Malcolm’s *The Journalist and the Murderer*, about McGinnis and MacDonald (and the “betrayal” of the latter by the former), as well as a widely-seen television miniseries and more. [...] *A Wilderness of Error* is exhaustive, combining countless sources and a wide range of material, including interviews, transcripts, documents, and timelines. [...] A floor plan of MacDonald’s house has been embossed on the book’s cover, setting the location of the crime scene and playing off the “wilderness” of the title. [...] The book’s presentation of evidence is augmented by an accompanying website, which goes beyond simple promotion to serve as an actual resource for background on the case. Visitors can sift through materials like photographs and testimony, organized chronologically by year and displayed with detailed captions.” (<https://www.pentagram.com/work/a-wilderness-of-error-the-trials-of-jeffrey-macdonald/story>; lesedato 06.04.22) MacDonald gikk til rettssak

mot Joe McGinnis på grunn av *Fatal Vision*, som det var avtalt mellom forfatteren og MacDonald at skulle argumentere for at han var uskyldig.

Amerikaneren Joseph Wambaugh's *Fire Lover: A True Story* (2002) handler om brannmannen, pyromanen og morderen John Orr. "From master crime writer Joseph Wambaugh, the acclaimed author of such classics as *The Onion Field* and *The Choirboys*, comes the extraordinary true story of a firefighter who may have been, according to U.S. government profilers, "the most prolific American arsonist of the twentieth century." Growing up in Los Angeles, John Orr would watch in awe as firefighters scrambled to put out blazes with seeming disregard for their own lives. One day he would become a fireman himself, and a good one. As a member of the Glendale Fire Department, he rose through the ranks, eventually becoming a fire captain and one of southern California's best-known and most-respected arson investigators, as well as a writer of firefighting articles and finally of a fact-based novel. But there was another, unseen life, one that included many women, a need for risk, and a hunger for recognition. [...] Chilling, colorful, and vivid, *Fire Lover* is Joseph Wambaugh at his best. He explores the making of a deviant personality, the fascinating intricacies of fire science, the uneasy relationship between firefighting and law-enforcement communities, and a legal system gone haywire. Based on his trademark meticulous research, interviews, case records, and thousands of pages of court transcripts, Wambaugh fashions a powerful narrative. You will never look at fire the same way again." (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/21493.Fire_Lover; lesedato 23.09.20) "Investigators now believe Orr started more than 2,000 fires throughout California between 1984 and 1991. ATF fire investigator Mike Matassa puts the cost of Orr's arson in the tens of millions. In 1992, Orr was convicted of killing four people who died when a hardware store burned in Pasadena. Among the evidence used against him was a novel Orr had written called "Points of Origin," about a firefighter named Aaron who sets fires." (<https://www.newsweek.com/arson-scorched-earth-obsession-103053>; lesedato 23.09.20)

"*Columbine* [2009], by Dave Cullen [...] the Columbine, Colorado "trenchcoat mafia" school shooting in on 20 April, 1999. Dave Cullen [...] spent a decade pulling out fresh sources and details about the lives of teen murderers Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, then artfully pieced them into a ticking narrative which culminates in a moment-by-moment account of the massacre itself. You'll be ducking under your desk as you read." (Charles Graeber i <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/oct/02/charles-graeber-top-10-true-crime-books>; lesedato 29.10.21)

Den argentinske forfatteren Selva Almadás *Døde jenter* (2014; på norsk 2021) "forteller historien til tre tenåringsjenter som ble drept på den argentinske landsbygda i 80-årene. Tre drap som ingen ble dømt for og som fant sted før kvinnedrap – femicidio – var blitt et begrep i dagligtalen. Selva Almada nøster i de tre uløste sakene, til 19 år gamle Andrea Danne, som ble knivstukket og drept i sin

egen seng, 15 år gamle María Luisa Quevedo, som ble voldtatt, kvalt og slengt i en grøft, og 20 år gamle Sarita Mundín, som ble funnet lemlestet ved en elvebredd. Almada bruker de tre historiene og historiene til andre kvinner til å skape et portrett av kjønnsbasert vold som har gyldighet langt utover Argentinas landegrenser – og også i Norge. I en dokumentarisk fortelling som kan sammenlignes med Truman Capotes *Med kaldt blod*, går *Døde jenter* inn i kjernen av kvinnedrap, for å finne høyst presserende svar på et voldsomt problem i vår tid. Med sin særegne litterære stil fanger Selva Almada disse ofte usynlige strukturene i samfunnet, og med lyrisk brutalitet snakker hun om hverdagsligheten knyttet til vold mot kvinner og kvinnedrap på en måte som treffer lesere verden over. Boken er oversatt til engelsk (USA og De britiske øyer), svensk og gresk. Latinamerikanske land topper lista over farlige steder for kvinner. Tall fra FN (2018) viser at 12 kvinner blir drept hver eneste dag. 14 av de 25 landene i verden med høyest forekomst av kvinnedrap, ligger i Latin-Amerika. Seksuell trakassering, vold og voldtekt har lenge vært et samfunns- og folkehelseproblem i Latin-Amerika av ubegripelige dimensjoner og uten effektive løsninger i sikte.” (<https://www.ark.no/produkt/boker/fagboker/dode-jenter-9788293867012>; lesedato 20.09.23)

Den franske forfatteren Emmanuel Carrère, “forfatteren bak “Limonov”, som nylig kom ut på norsk [2014], følte så store moralske kvaler rundt sitt forsøk på å skildre et mord på avstand, at han etter seks års arbeid la fra seg 1000 sider med manus da han jobbet med boka “Doktor Romand” – om den falske legen Jean-Claude Romand, som tok livet av sin kone og sine to barn i redsel for å bli avslørt. Carrère var nødt til å endre perspektiv, og endte med å dra seg selv inn i historien, for å vise fram de nødvendige hullene i fortellingen en sakprosaforfatter skriver. “Fra et moralsk perspektiv er dette hva jeg er stolt av med boka: Jeg snakket aldri på hans vegne. Jeg satte meg aldri i hans sted”, sa Carrère til *The Paris Review*. Injuriesøksmål kom ikke på tale engang – drapsmannen roste boka.” (*Dagbladet* 21. februar 2014 s. 57)

Nordisk kriminalkrønike “arbeider på oppdrag fra Norges politiidrettsforbund. Politiet i Norge behandler hvert år tusenvis av anmeldelser når det gjelder lovbrudd av forskjellig art. Mange av disse får stor oppmerksomhet i media, og mange av disse blir vi aldri ferdige med. Siden 1971 har *Nordisk Kriminalkrønike* årlig kommet med en utgave som omhandler nettopp noen av disse sakene. Etterforskerne som aktivt har deltatt i oppklaringen av forbrytelsene, har skrevet ned historiene og sine opplevelser om dette.” (<http://www.norkrim.no/>; lesedato 24.04.17)

“I Norge har bokserier som “*Nordisk Kriminalkrønike*” og magasinet “*Kriminaljournalen*”, som var inspirert av “*True Detective*”, vært viktige innslag i sjangeren. Jens Bjørneboe skrev faktisk i *Kriminaljournalen*, han hadde blant annet en serie om etterforskningsteknikk der. [...] Når man snakker om norske utgivelser innen sjangeren på 1990-tallet er det vanskelig å komme utenom Ola Thune, og hans bøker: “*Sannheten om Anne Kristin-saken*” (1992) og “*Jakten*” (1993).

Sistnevnte skrev han sammen med Ragnar Kvam Jr. Thune fikk forøvrig en egen tv-serie i 2010: “Thune-files”. Nevnes må også “Øksedrapene i Lille Helvete” (1992) av Tore Sandberg. 2000-tallet ble innledet av Odd Isungsets “Attentatet”, hvor han skrev om drapsforsøket på forlagssjef Willian Nygaard. Og vi fikk senere utgivelser som Erik Tumyr og Frank Ganders “Da døden kom til Orderud gård” (2002), Bjørn Olav Jahrs “Smarte skurker, grådige gubber” (2005), Morten A. Strøksnes’ “Et mord i Kongo” (2011). Kjetil Østli fikk Brageprisen for “Politi og røver” (2009). Mye omtalte saker som Nokas-saken, Martine-saken, brannen på Scandinavian Star og Baneheia har også blitt gjenstand for bøker innen sjangeren. Men flest bøker har det nok vært skrevet om 22-juli og drapene på Utøya med Åsne Seierstads “En av oss” som en av de mest omtalte. Torgrim Sørnes har gravd opp historiske kriminalsaker i sin bokserie om de dødsdømte i Norge. [...] kom varsler Robin Schaefer ut med “Monika-saken”, og Bjørn Olav Jahr skapte debatt med “Hvem drepte Birgitte Tengs”. Jørn Lier Horst og Trond Einar Frednes solgte masse av “Badboy”. Anne Britt Harsem har utmerket seg med flere utgivelser, blant annet bøker om Alvdal-saken. Denne høsten er hun aktuell med “Barneranerne”. Torgrim Sørnes utkom med “Bøddel” tidligere i år, og Trond Henriksen er aktuell med “Ingen murer er for høye”. Denne uken lanseres Erik Larsons amerikanske bestselger “Djevelen i den hvite byen” på norsk. Her handler det om verdensutstillingen i Chicago og seriemorderen H.H. Holmes. Senere denne måneden lanseres “En natt i oktober”, Marius Løkens egen beretning fra Halloween-drapet i 2011. Løken overlevde 20 knivstikk.” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19)

Nils Johan Stoas bok *Kjødets lyst* (2010) er en “samling kriminalhistorier fra gamle dager, fisket fram fra arkivene – rystende og spennende skildringer av bestialske drap, ulykkelig sjalusi og antikverte straffemetoder. En fin påminnelse for dem som tror at folk er blitt mye råere og gærnere i vår tid.” (*Dagbladet* 27. februar 2012 s. 36) “Kjønnsdriften står sentralt i kriminalitetshistorien. I Nils Johan Stoas nye bok *Kjødets lyst – Fortellinger om synd og straff* ser vi hvorledes kjønnsdriften ligger som en urkraft bak en rekke forbrytelser. [...] Kjønnsdriften står sentralt i kriminalitetshistorien fordi den har gitt opphav til ulike typer lovbrudd, ikke bare sedelighetsforbrytelser i snever forstand, som hor, leiermål, blodskam, homoseksualitet og seksuell omgang med dyr. Som en kriminell urkraft ligger kjønnsdriften også bak andre, og i nåtidens øyne langt mer alvorlige forbrytelser. Talløse tilfeller av drap kan på ulik måte spores tilbake til sex og begjær – sjalusidrap, drap for å skjule brudd på sedelighetslovene og drap for å bryte ut av ekteskap og parforhold. I *Kjødets lyst* møter vi enkeltindivider i dramatiske og ekstreme livssituasjoner. Deres liv og skjebne engasjerer oss fortsatt, tross avstanden i tid. Nils Johan Stoa er historiker og leder for Statsarkivet i Kongsberg. Han har tidligere utgitt *I hine hårde dage – Gamle norske kriminalhistorier* [...] Kriminaliteten berører grunnleggende trekk ved samfunnsforhold og mellommenneskelige relasjoner – før som nå, skriver Stoa i bokens forord. - Den historiske kriminaliteten forteller oss om fortidens mennesker og samfunnet de levde i.” (<http://www.cappelendamm.no/>; lesedato 25.01.13)

Torgrim Sørnes' bok *Ondskap: De henrettede i Norge 1815-1876* (2009) forteller "historien om 39 kriminalsaker fra 1800-tallet som endte med dødsdom og eksekusjon. Sørnes tegner et bilde av et Norge som er lite kjent fra før. Ved hjelp av studier av rettsdokumenter og avisartikler, har forfatteren rekonstruert begivenhetene som førte fem kvinner og 39 menn til retterstedet. Det dreier seg om mennesker fra de laveste sosiale lag – husmenn, stimenn og løsarbeidere. Vi får innblikk i miljøer preget av den dypeste fattigdom. Ugjerningene har et bakteppe av sykdom og nød, knivslagsmål, pengebegjær, løsunger og fyll. Boken gir oss innblikk i motivene bak ugjerningene, grufulle detaljer om drapene, etterforskningen, rettssakene og vitnemålene. Den følger de dømte til retterstedet og overværer halshuggingen. Her rapporteres det om delinkventenes siste ord så vel som skarpretternes og publikums reaksjoner." (<http://www.bokkilden.no/>; lesedato 24.02.14)

Bernt Roughvedts bok *Mordet på lille Mary: En sann historie om klarsyn, sedelighetsforbrytere og et drap i gamle Pipervika* (2017) handler om en historisk drapsgåte. Den "foregår i Pipervikas slumlignende gatestubber, som var et uregulert villnis frem til Rådhuskvartalene ble påbegynt tidlig på 1930-tallet. [...] det som i ettertid er blitt kalt "Mary-saken", som begynte da seks år gamle Mary Eugenie Olsen ble meldt savnet fra hjemmet sitt i Pipervika i Oslo i januar 1937. Etter noen måneder ble kroppen hennes funnet flytende i havnebassenget, innpakket i en striesekk. Etterforskningen og rettssaken som fulgte, ble den typen medieføljetong man kunne varme seg på under 1930-tallets dyrtid. [...] Samtidig er det umulig ikke å tenke på en annen krimdokumentar mens man leser, en bok også Roughvedt oppgir som direkte inspirasjonskilde: Ivo de Figueiredos *Mysteriet Ingeborg Køber* (2010), som tok for seg et annet av 1930-tallets spektakulære rettsdramaer. [...] Forfatteren forteller i avslutningskapittelet at politiets mappe om Mary-saken på mystisk vis forsvant fra et kontor i 1950, derfor bygger boken "kun på Oslo-avisers reportasjer". Begrensningene tvinger ham tidvis ut i spekulasjoner [...] Roughvedt er, i likhet med avdøde jussprofessor Anders Bratholm, overbevist om at Ingolf Hansen ble uskyldig dømt" (*Morgenbladet* 18.–24. august 2017 s. 58).

"Tina Jørgensen er tyve år gammel når hun forsvinner sporløst fra Stavanger i september 2000. En måned senere blir hun, ved en tilfeldighet, funnet drept i en kum ved Bore kirke. I ettertid har flere personer vært pågrepet og mistenkt i saken, men den er foreløpig ikke oppklart. Som krimjournalist i Stavanger Aftenblad har Erlend Frafjord fulgt saken fra begynnelsen. Boken *Da Tina ble drept* [2017] gir en grundig fremstilling av politiets etterforskning og tar for seg ulike teorier om drapet og mulige gjerningsmenn. Flere av saksdetaljene som presenteres i boken, har ikke tidligere vært kjent for publikum. Leseren gis også innblikk i Tinas oppvekst og liv, gjennom private bilder og dagboknotater får vi et bilde av hennes personlighet og bakgrunn. Å levendegjøre offeret på denne måten er et fint, litterært grep som skaper mer engasjement for bokens innhold. [...] *Da Tina ble drept* er resultatet av et imponerende godt og grundig journalistisk arbeid. Frafjord baserer boken på

flere etterprøvbare kilder og har hatt unik tilgang til stoff som belyser saken fra flere sider. Hans uttalte ønske er at boken skal bidra til å løse drapssaken, men han har ingen annen tydelig agenda utover dette. Gjennom hele boken evner han å holde en objektiv tone og en sunn distanse til det som fremlegges. I presentasjonen av mulige gjerningsmenn gir han for eksempel ikke leseren noen føringer, men lar fakta tale for seg. Leseren står fritt til å trekke sin egen konklusjon, og dette får boken tidvis til å fremstå som en krimroman. [...] Flere kapitler har cliffhangers som gjør boken vanskelig å legge fra seg.” (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

Erlend Frafjords bok *Da Tina ble drept: En kriminaldokumentar* (2017) er “skrevet fra et aktivistisk perspektiv: Målet er å generere nye tips til Kripos-gruppen som nå undersøker saken på nytt. Men boken rommer også et ønske om å menneskelig-gjøre Tina Jørgensen, å gjøre den 21-årige Randaberg-kvinnen til noe mer nyansert enn tabloidavisenes resirkulerte savnet-portrett.” (Bjarne Riiser Gundersen i *Morgenbladet* 3.–9. november 2017 s. 57)

“Bjørn Olav Jahr ble kjent for sitt journalistiske arbeid med Finance Credit-saken, som senere også ble bok. Han har vært redaktør for Frafjords bok og er også aktuell med en egen true crime: *Drapene i Baneheia* [2017] [...] *Drapene i Baneheia* tar for seg hele sakskomplekset, fra jentene forsvinner til de blir funnet, går gjennom politiets etterforskning, den påfølgende rettsprosessen og senere etterspill. Boken retter et sterkt kritisk blikk mot politi og påtalemyndighet. [...] deler Jahr saksdetaljer som tidligere har vært holdt unna offentligheten. Pressen valgte ikke å referere detaljer under rettssakene blant annet av hensyn til ofrenes familie. Jahr mener dette reduserte pressens mulighet for å bedrive kritisk journalistikk, gjorde at politi og påtalemyndighet slapp unna med feil, og påvirket rettssikkerheten til Viggo Kristiansen. Jahr er også kritisk til pressens arbeid og går langt i å antyde at det har gått prestisje i saken hos flere. [...] Tidlig i boken skriver Jahr at han mener Viggo Kristiansen er uskyldig, offer for Norges største justismord, og boken må derfor leses i lys av dette. [...] Jahr går for eksempel langt i å antyde karaktertrekk og diagnoser hos Jan Helge Andersen, og tegner et bilde av en beregnende psykopat som har trukket sin uskyldige kamerat inn i saken for å mildne inntrykket av seg selv. I et kapittel fremfører Jahr sin teori om hvordan drapene kan ha skjedd, dette gjør boken spekulativ og reduserer dens kraft. *Drapene i Baneheia* inneholder mye sprengstoff, blant annet når det kommer til det såkalte mobilbeviset, og er en forstyrrende bok på flere plan. Den stiller spørsmålsteget ved om det er reell rettssikkerhet i Norge, er kritisk til avhørspraksis og mener forhåndsdomming i pressen kan påvirke mulighetene for en rettfærdig rettssak.” (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

“Det er ingen overdrivelse å kalle Baneheia-saken for et nasjonalt traume. Da nyheten kom om at to unge jenter, Stine Sofie Sørstrønen (8) og Lena Sløgedal Paulsen (10), var blitt voldtatt og drept i Baneheia fredag 19. mai 2000, ble hele

nasjonen hensatt i en tilstand av sjokk og sorg. Sjokket ble raskt forvandlet til raseri: Hvilken samvittighetsløs forbryter kunne finne på å gjøre noe slikt? Lettelsen var derfor stor da politiet i september 2000 kunne informere om at to unge menn var arrestert i forbindelse med drapene, hvorav den ene, Jan Helge Andersen, allerede samme dag innrømmet å ha drept den ene jenta. Den andre av de to siktede, Viggo Kristiansen, innrømmet ingen befatning med barnedrapene, og har til dags dato bedyret sin uskyld. [...] Ett av Jahrs hovedanliggender er å påvise løgner, brister og uoverensstemmelser i Andersens fortelling fra drapskvelden. [...] Jahr kan ellers peke på en lang rekke kritikkverdige forhold i politiets håndtering av saken. [...] Den største svakheten ved boken er at forfatteren allerede på de første sidene fremstiller det som et faktum at Viggo Kristiansen er uskyldig dømt. Dermed frarøver han leseren muligheten til å lese boken som en nøytral fremstilling. Etter mitt syn ville det ha vært heldigere om han hele veien hadde veid for og imot, før han eventuelt til slutt, som følge av å ha vurdert alle sakens momenter, presenterte sin egen konklusjon. [...] Et annet problem er at Jahr bare sporadisk oppgir kildene til de opplysningene han presenterer. Dermed blir det også vanskelig for leseren å vurdere hvilken vekt som kan tillegges hvert enkelt moment. [...] Det er, i hvert fall for denne leseren, vanskelig å fri seg fra følelsen av at vi her kan stå overfor en av de største rettsskandalene i nyere norsk historie.” (Frode Helmich Pedersen i *Morgenbladet* 20.–26. oktober 2017 s. 50-51)

Kåre Hunstad og Harald Haaves *Drapene i Tistedal* (1993) handler om fire drap i Tistedal ved Halden i årene 1991-92. Biblioteksjefen i Halden bibliotek skrev 9. september 2011: “Er det noen bibliotek som kan tenke seg å avgi eksemplarer av denne boka? Vi har stadig etterspørsel etter den, siden hendelsen skjedde i vårt distrikt. Vi har mistet flere eksemplarer og de få vi har igjen er utrolig slitte.” (på e-postlista biblioteknorge@nb.no)

Åsted: På innsiden av Kripos – En kriminalteknikers jakt på sannheten (2018) av Håvard Haftor Arntzen “[t]ar deg med til 70 åsteder [...] Etter 24 år som kriminaltekniker og nå som leder for Seksjonen for brann og kjemi ved Kripos, gir Håvard Haftor Arntzen i disse dager ut en ny bok om hvordan det er å jobbe på åstedene der landets alvorligste lovbrudd er begått. [...] I noen saker går han i detalj på åstedet, i noen saker blir leseren med på utrykning og i andre saker er beskrivelsene hentet fra rettssalene. En kriminalteknikers oppgave er å få sporene – de tause vitnene – til å snakke, fremhever Arntzen i forordet til boka: “Vi kriminalteknikere jobber på vegne av de tause, de som har blitt fratatt muligheten til å snakke for seg, og på vegne av de tause sporene som forteller sannheten om hva som faktisk skjedde på åstedet. De tause vitnene lyver aldri”. [...] “Etter å ha vært på en del obduksjoner greide jeg å betrakte den døde som et åsted, men det gikk en stund før hodet mitt forstod det (...). Under en obduksjon skal man være profesjonell, men samtidig ikke bli for herdet. Den dagen jeg blir for profesjonell og ikke tar innover meg hva som har skjedd, er det på tide å kaste inn håndkleet”, skriver Arntzen om den psykiske belastningen krimteknikerne står overfor i møte med ofrene. [...] - Vi kriminalteknikere må gjennom mange påkjenninger. Vi

rykker ut til drap, mistenkelig dødsfall, selvdrap, ved trafikkulykker med døden til følge, til brannsteder. Og det er ikke bare de store sakene som man husker. Av og til er det treåringen som ble påkjørt jeg husker tilbake på. [...] Jeg har forsøkt å beskrive hva vi tenker og føler, vi som er inne i de hvite kjeledressene og som beveger oss rundt på et åsted. [...] Når jeg skriver om drap og branner, så vet jeg også at det sitter pårørende i disse sakene igjen. Jeg har ikke ønsket å rippe opp i noe, og derfor har vi i enkelte av sakene også ringt noen pårørende for å varsle og for å gi dem anledning til å lese og kommentere. [...] DNA, elektroniske spor, 3D-fotografi, bruk av brann- og kriminalsøkshunder. Den teknologiske utviklingen har tilført krimteknikerfaget mye siden Arntzen startet i jobben. Det tror han er noe av årsaken til at det ikke finnes uoppklarte drap i Norge etter 2012. - Utfordringene er store fortsatt. Det er fortsatt lett å tolke spor feil, men jo mer skolert du blir og jo flere saker du undersøker, desto sikrere og bedre blir du som kriminaltekniker.” (<https://www.politiforum.no/havard-arntzen-havard-haftor-arntzen-kriminal-tekniker/tar-deg-med-til-70-asteder---og-gir-de-tause-vitnene-en-stemme/148545>; lesedato 12.03.21)

“Hva skjer på innsiden av politisperringene på åstedene i de verste drapssakene og ulykkene i Norge? Håvard Haftor Arntzen har vært politi i over 30 år, 24 av dem som åstedsgransker i KRIPOS. Her forteller han den spennende historien om hvordan de jobber for å oppdage de mikroskopiske sporene mordere etterlater seg. Det minste lille hårstrå eller fiber kan være avgjørende for å skjønne hva som har skjedd og for å få forbrytere dømt, og ikke en millimeter av et åsted kan overses. Tålmodighet er det viktigste våpenet for den som søker sannheten de døde ikke kan fortelle selv.” (<https://www.haugenbok.no/asted/arntzen-havard-haftor/9788248921981>; lesedato 12.03.21)

Ståle Øklands bok *Operasjon Gamma: Jakten på Norges farligste kriminelle miljø* (2018) handler om politiets kamp mot gjengen Young Bloods i det sørlige Oslo. “I 2017 beordrer politimesteren i Oslo en operasjon for å knuse et brutal kriminelt miljø som bevæpner seg, selger narkotika, kidnapper folk og tjener penger på illegal gambling. Gjengen bak kriminaliteten har forbindelser til mafiaen på Balkan. Den innerste kjernen står med mer enn 200 uoppgjorte saker. Politiet foretar massive arrestasjoner, beslaglegger penger, narkotika og våpen, men strever med å få tak i bakmennene. Så blir en ung mann skutt på Holmlia. Hvordan kan et slikt miljø vokse frem i fredelige Norge? Forfatteren fulgte politiets Operasjon Gamma som flue på vegg i et år. Han trenger bak politiets avmålte kommentarer og møter de kriminelle ansikt til ansikt. Det ble en reise dypt ned i Oslos kriminelle underverden der penger, makt og hevn utgjør hverdagen.” (<https://www.ark.no/boker/Stale-Okland-Operasjon-Gamma-9788203297236>; lesedato 12.03.21)

“Selv i de mest objektive beretningene fremstilles en virkelighet hvor det er behov for engasjerte mennesker utenfor politiets kretser dersom kriminalsaker skal gis en rettferdig behandling.” (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

“Perhaps the most famous crime narrative of innocence, John Grisham’s *The Innocent Man: Murder and Injustice in a Small Town* (2006), documents the release of a prisoner who had spent eleven years on death row, thanks to DNA evidence. Grisham further documents the mental and psychological damage done to the innocent prisoner during this prison stay, especially when the prisoner came within a week of his execution date before it was stayed. These tales of wrongful imprisonment, however, do not generally appear in book-length accounts within the true crime genre, because they display instances in which the legal system has failed to protect the community. Like the trial report, the contemporary true crime book works to reassure audiences that justice has been done and to present them with the feeling of safety and of order restored.” (Frost 2015)

Ingrid Berglunds bok *Ingen sak for en kvinne* (2010) handler om Mary Reklev, Norges første kvinnelige privatetterforsker. “Da privatetterforsker Mary Reklev pensjonerte seg, brant hun arkivet for å bli kvitt sakene hun hadde jobbet med. Det fjernet alle spor til klientene, men ikke sporene klientene hadde satt i henne. Synet av mannen som lå i krampegråt på gulvet, blikket til kvinnen som ble terrorisert av sin mann, fortvilelsen til ingeniøren hun trakk ut av en container, bønner i øynene til barnet som ikke greide å leve med morens forsikringssvindler lot seg verken viske ut eller brenne opp. Mary Reklev startet Norges første private etterforskningsbyrå sammen med sin politiekttemann, Gunnar Reklev, i 1966. I de førti årene Mary drev byrået forble innholdet i sakene stort sett det samme, men måten å etterforske på forandret seg drastisk. Boka gir et innblikk i hvordan det var, og er, å være privatetterforsker, en virkelighetens Varg Veum, eller Nancy Drew for å være kjønnsriktig.” (<http://www.bokkilden.no/>; lesedato 18.02.11)

“Undertittelen på boka, “I fotsporene til privatetterforsker Mary Reklev”, er dekkende i den forstand at den både forteller historien om etterforskeren og om en rekke av de sakene hun arbeidet med, men både Berglund og hovedpersonen selv er nøye med å påpeke at alle personer, bortsett fra en viss møbelhandler fra Jessheim, er anonymisert.” (*Dagbladet* 26. januar 2010 s. 36)

Dennis Zacher Aske ga i 2018 ut boka *Kvinnen i Isdalen: Nytt lys over norgeshistoriens største kriminalgåte*, som med “over 300 sider og med et 50 siders appendiks med dokumentasjon går gjennom den komplekse saken om kvinnen som ble funnet død i Isdalen i Bergen i november 1970. Det er en av de største kriminalgåtene vi har, omtalt i en rekke dokumentarer og bøker. BBC World Service og NRK har nå gått sammen om en podkastserie med tittel *Death in Ice Valley*. Premiere i april, den vil kunne få 200 millioner lyttere. Aske har altså gjort en kolossal innsats. Politiets materiale fra etterforskningen er finsiktet, gamle ruteplaner for båter og fly er sjekket, turstier i Bergen er gått opp og tiden det tar å gå dem notert ned. Gamle aviser er lest på nytt, folk som hadde noe med saken å gjøre og som fortsatt er i live er intervjuet. Spor er fulgt ut av landet, til Italia, Sør-Afrika, helt til New Zealand. Jeg kunne se Aske for meg mens jeg leste – sittende lange dager og sene kvelder med det enorme puslespillet. Vi følger ham på turene inn i krattet i den utilgjengelige Isdalen, han gransker foto fra åstedet – hun hadde

brannskader på bena, på den ene foten forbrente rester av en mørkeblå strekkbukse. Men fremfor alt følger vi den gåtefulle kvinnen på reisene hvor hun – skal det etter hvert vise seg – opererer under ulike identiteter, tar inn på hotell under forskjellige navn. Hvem var hun? Begikk hun selvmord, som politiet konkluderte med? Eller ble hun drept?” (Willy Pedersen i *Morgenbladet* 16.–22. mars 2018 s. 48)

Heidi Helene Sveens bok *Det var ikke voldtekt* (2019) dreier seg om åtte voldtektssaker, fulgt fra tilhørerbenken i norske rettssaler. “Med boken ønsker Sveen å vise hvordan såkalte voldtektsmyter brukes for å plassere voldtekts-handlinger i en “ullen og tvetydig gråsoner, som gjør det vanskelig å skille mellom overgrep og frivillig sex”. Resultatet er, mener Sveen, at rettsikkerheten til ofrene svekkes. [...] Boken er nesten ubehagelig oppslukende. Sveen gjennomgår bevisfremleggelse, uttalelser fra sakkyndige, utspøringer fra aktor og forsvarsadvokater, og dommerens rettsbelæring overfor juryen som skal ta stilling til skyldspørsmålet. Hun forklarer juss og prosedyre for leseren på en uanstrengt måte. Sakene er spennende i seg selv, men inneholder også kritiske innblikk i kulturelle oppfatninger omkring kjønn, seksualitet, vold og makt. I én sak har et tidligere kjærestepar gjort det slutt, før de møtes på en pub og han blir med henne hjem. Kun de to vet hva som skjedde videre. Har de vært i håndgemeng, og deretter hatt sex, eller har han banket henne opp, og deretter voldtatt henne? Både forsvar og aktor gjør sitt for å svekke den andre partens fremstilling.” (*Morgenbladet* 13.–19. september 2019 s. 34)

Britiske Adrian Raines bok *The Anatomy of Violence* (2013) er skrevet av “en av pionerene innenfor nevrokriminologi og en verdensledende ekspert på biologiske årsaker bak vold. Med utgangspunkt i kjente mordere som Richard Speck, Ted Kacysynski og Henry Lee Lucas, ser han i denne boka på sammenhenger mellom predisponerte egenskaper og kriminalitet. Han drøfter også de vanskelige juridiske og etiske problemstillingene slike funn reiser.” (*Klassekampens* bokmagasin 8. februar 2014 s. 11)

Den polsk-tyske kriminologen Lydia Benecke prøver i boka *På tynn is: Det ondes psykologi* (2013; på tysk) å forklare hvorfor noen mennesker blir psykopater (Benecke 2013 s. 196). Barn som utsettes for overgrep gjentatte ganger, som lever med ekstrem vold osv., får en hjerne som er i permanent “alarmstilstand” (Benecke 2013 s. 199). Hjernen reagerer vanligvis med å gi beskjed om flukt, kamp eller en annen vei ut av det ekstreme, med disse barna har ingen utvei. Det psykiske stresset blir ekstremt over lange perioder, og kan ikke nedjusteres. Funksjoner i hjernen som mennesket trenger for å unngå farlige situasjoner, blir skadet (Benecke 2013 s. 201). Senere i livet utløser alt som ligner overgrepene og de traumatiske opplevelsene, en sterk psykisk reaksjon. Psykopater opplever sin ulykkelige livssituasjon som dypt urettferdig, og anser seg som løst fra alle menneskelige hensyn og bånd som fungerer i samfunnet (Benecke 2013 s. 238). De har blitt “følelsesdøve”, ute av stand til å oppleve noen annen følelse enn raseri (Benecke 2013 s. 248-249). De har derfor ingen skyldfølelse for sine løgner, tyverier og drap.

“[T]he defendants variously claimed that poverty, medication, television, racism, abuse, or some combination thereof caused a mental disorder that should be blamed for their actions. [...] What happens to the notion of personal responsibility when genetics displace our understanding of free will? In an age when the human genome has been mapped and doctors promise the continued unfolding of the mystery of human biology, where will the law situate responsibility? [...] Mental illnesses that are now considered legitimate were ridiculed twenty years ago. As society changes with progress in the diagnosis and treatment of mental illness, the definitions of mental illness are evolving. At times there is a discrepancy between what is accepted by psychiatry and what society, at large, is willing to acknowledge.” (Rachel Gans-Boriskin og Claire Wardle i <https://www.albany.edu/scj/jcipc/vol12is1/gans-boriskin.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

I boka *Sex Crimes: Patterns and Behaviors* (2. utgave, 2002) skriver forfatterne Stephen T. Holmes og Ronald M. Holmes: ““there is no clear understanding of the etiology of the voyeur” (61); “the exact etiology [of transvestitism] is unknown” (69); “the basic etiology of pedophilia is unknown” (95); “no one knows the precise etiology of necrophilia” (149); “the issue of etiology [for lust offenders] is not fully addressed” (168); “there is no simple explanation for the etiology of a rapist” (184).” (her gjengitt av Scott R. Senjo i <https://www.albany.edu/scj/jcipc/vol10is2/senjo.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19) Etiologi er årsakslære, som f.eks. kan gjelde hvordan en sykdom oppstod og hvorfor den utviklet seg slik den gjorde. Men det kan være åpenbart at en person har en type personlighetsforstyrrelse uten at grunnen/årsaken kan klarlegges. Det finnes en lang rekke psykiske sykdommer eller lidelser som viser seg i form av unormal/avvikende og truende/farlig atferd i ulike situasjoner. Å stille en sikker diagnose kan være umulig, og dermed blir skyldspørsmålet også usikkert. Hvor mye frivillig vilje fra gjerningspersonens side lå bak forbrytelsen?

Skyldspørsmål blir ofte tematisert og diskutert i virkelighetskrim. Er den arresterte strafferettslig tilregnelig? Har personen skylddevne eller er vedkommende så mentalt “syk” at han eller hun er ute av stand til å føle skyld for sine handlinger? Det er primært tre grunner til at en person ikke er tilregnelig: (1) psykisk utviklingshemming, (2) psykotisk tilstand og andre tilstander der personen ikke er ved klar bevissthet, (3) personen er et barn/umyndig (under landets laveste alder for straffeskyld).

Murderous Innocents: True Stories of Children who Kill (1994) av Frank Jones forteller blant annet om Mary Bell. I 1968 drepte Bell et annet barn da hun selv var bare ti år gammel, og hun er antakelig Englands yngste morder. Hun kvalte en gutt. Elleve år gammel ble hun stilt for retten for dette drapet og drapet på et annet barn. På grunn av hennes alder ble hun ikke tillagt fullt ansvar. Hun hadde også tidligere prøvd å kvele barn.

“Anthony Glassford Powell, 49, from London, killed David Edwards in 1993 [...] Went to prison for 20 years for the violent crime before he was released in 2013.

Criminologists on Channel 4 show ‘What Makes A Murderer’ have studied him [...] Found sexual abuse as a child which could have led to blunted response to fear. Also uncovered he had suffered brain damage from multiple fights as a teenager. Desperate to learn more about the reasons why he committed his crime, Powell agreed to submit himself to physiological and psychological testing as part of a three-week examination for Channel 4’s What Makes a Murderer, which airs on Thursday at 9pm. Neurocriminologist Professor Adrian Raine and forensic psychologist Dr Vicky Thakordas-Desai discovered that a mix of factors likely contributed to Powell’s decision to commit the crime, including sexual abuse he suffered as a child. [...] Powell says his family had been shattered by what had he’d done, revealing: ‘My parents didn’t raise me to kill. Could it be my genes? Could it be blood? Those are the answers I’m looking for.’ [...] Meanwhile neuro-criminologist Professor Adrian applauds Powell’s decision to take part in the experiment, saying: ‘I really respect your courage for opening yourself up to all of us.’ [...] Powell, who appears on the programme on Thursday, says he is determined to find out more about his brain and ‘understand’ himself [...] The study begins with Dr Vicky conducting a psychological interview with Powell, and the killer describing the night of the crime. [...] But Adrian suggests he could potentially ‘feigning’ emotions, saying: ‘We should get a brain scan on Powell to see if there are another further clues to help us understand the homicide.’ [...] Professor Adrian goes on to take Powell to a world-leading brain research facility in Birmingham to uncover any abnormalities to his brains structure. [...] He points to a gap called the ‘cave of septum pellucidum’ which has developed abnormally, indicating Powell’s brain was underdeveloped as a baby. [...] Powell reveals: ‘This process has made me look deeper into my life and where I’ve come from, but I don’t blame no one. I take full responsibility for my actions. I’m very remorseful. I’m very sorry.’ ” (<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-7746667/What-Makes-Murderer-Criminologists-reveal-reasons-former-gang-member-SHOT-stranger.html>; lesedato 20.04.20)

Den amerikanske sosiologen Jack Katz hevder i boka *Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions in Doing Evil* (1988) at kriminalitet ofte har en sensuell appell som forfører lovbyrteren. Forbryteren har et behov for “to feel worthy and the inclination to link the sense of personal worth to a conception of higher meaning. From such a perspective, the point of their acts is to make these feelings personally real – in their case by creating “magical environments” in which crimes from the most banal to the most brutal have transcendent meaning for the offender. [...] he argues in the opening chapter of the book, potential law violators may be seduced by the “sensual dynamics” (p. 4) of activities that elicit a moral, emotional reaction on the part of the actor. [...] Confronted with a perceived challenge to basic morality, the killer (usually male) defines his situation in transcendental terms as a “last stand in defense of his basic worth”. [...] Personal claims of moral worth are conjoined with a sense of universal moral absolutes. This conviction sustains the transformation of an “eternally” humiliating situation into a justified rage. Subsequent behavior is organized to maintain the perspective and emotional

posture of being forced to defend his/her moral self. The process eventuates in an attack – often but not necessarily fatal – impelled by the need (in Katz’s conception) for a “sacrificial marking” of the victim, redefined as an offender against moral order.” (https://soci.ucalgary.ca/brannigan/sites/soci.ucalgary.ca.brannigan/files/Katz_commentary.pdf; lesedato 29.06.15)

Sakprosalitteraturen om kriminalitet omfatter også bøker som Franklin W. Dixons *Hardyguttenes detektivhåndbok* (på norsk 1959; med forord av etterforsker Reidar Sveen). Den handler om hukommelsestrening, skygging m.m. for hobbydetektiver (eller gutter/jenter som drømmer om å kunne gi politiet en håndsrekning). I boka behandles fingeravtrykk, avstøpning i gips og plastmasse av sko-avtrykk og bildekkspor, hvordan øve opp iakttakelsesevne, om åstedundersøkelse og visitering av den mistenkte osv. Det finnes mange bøker av typen Sheila L. Stephens’ *The Everything Private Investigation Book: Master the techniques of the pros to examine evidence, trace down people, and discover the truth* (2008).

Den britiske forfatteren og legen Arthur Conan Doyle, som skrev Sherlock Holmes-historiene, var medlem av en Crimes Club i London. Denne klubben ble stiftet i 1903, og de første medlemmene var leger, jurister og forfattere. Når medlemmene møttes, spiste de middag sammen og diskutert uløste eller utilfredsstillende løste krim saker i samfunnet, dvs. reelle forbrytelser (Oudin 2010 s. 13). Om dette har Stephen Wade skrevet boka *Conan Doyle and the Crimes Club: The Creator of Sherlock Holmes and His Criminological Friends* (2012). “In December 1903, a group of gentlemen friends met for dinner at the Carlton Club. They had one great interest in common: a fascination with crimes and criminals. In the ranks of that first convivial circle there were writers, lawyers and academics rubbing shoulders with a London coroner and two celebrated aristocrats. In a golden age of literary dinners and good fellowship, these aficionados of murder agreed to have meetings at which members would talk on famous and infamous crimes. [...] Conan Doyle and the Crimes Club: The Creator of Sherlock Holmes and his Criminological Friends recounts the lives of the first members of this celebrated body of criminologists, including their escapades in detective work, changing the law and undertaking spying missions. Cases include espionage as well as major crimes and some stories involve famous or forgotten unsolved cases or mysteries. [...] Conan Doyle and the Crimes Club: The Creator of Sherlock Holmes and his Criminological Friends reveals the Edwardian world of gentleman sleuths and their investigations and adventures, all to be recalled over a square meal and good cigar.” (<http://www.amazon.co.uk/Conan-Doyle-Crimes-Club-Criminological/dp/1781551944>; lesedato 04.12.13)

Forfatter og eks-politimann Jørn Lier Horsts faktabok *Kriminalteknikk* (2008) – i serien *Vitenskapsbiblioteket*, rettet til barn og ungdom – handler om “etterforskning, fingeravtrykk, dna-profil, blodspor, likskue, arnested, skuddåpning, gjerningsmenn. [...] Politimannen Jørn Lier Horst tar oss med til åstedet, bak sperringene og inn i laboratoriet for å vise oss hvordan forbrytere opererer og

politiet avslører dem. Med eksempler og bildemateriale fra kjente etterforskninger, som Orderud-saken, Øksemordet og drapet av ismannen Ötzi.” (<http://www.bokkilden.no/>; lesedato 18.02.16)

“Med den klassiske dokumentarfilmen *The Thin Blue Line* (1988) står filmskaper og forfatter Errol Morris som noe av en arketypisk skikkelse. Før han ga seg filmmediet i vold, arbeidet han som privatetterforsker, og denne filmen utgjør et slags vannskille: Her avdekker Morris et justismord, og lykkes både i å få den uskyldig dømte mannen frikjent og en annen til å tilstå udåden.” (Bernhard Ellefsen i *Morgenbladet* 17.–23. juli 2015 s. 29)

Andrew Jarecki m.fl. lagde TV-serien *The Jinx: The Life and Deaths of Robert Durst* (2015) som “undersøker de tre drapssakene den nå 72 år gamle mannen har vært mistenkt i. Hans første kone forsvant i 1982, i 2000 ble en god venninne av ham funnet brutalt drept i California samtidig som Durst var i området, og året etter skjøt og parterte (!) han en nabo, men ble oppsiktsvekkende nok frikjent fordi juryen mente at han hadde handlet i nødverge. Gjennom en rekke intervjuer med involverte i sakene, og ikke minst med Durst selv, samt nitid gjennomgåelse av beviser og dokumenter, viser Jarecki konsekvensene av slurvete politiarbeid og den mistenktes ubegrensede tilgang til økonomiske ressurser. I et nesten ufattelig klimaks ble Durst arrestert kvelden før den siste episoden i serien ble sendt på amerikansk tv. Der konfronteres han nemlig med et nytt og nokså utvetydig bevis Jarecki har funnet. Forstyrret av denne overraskelsen går Durst på toalettet, hvor han – tilsynelatende intetanende om mikrofonen han har på skjorten – mumler for seg selv: “There it is. You’re caught. [...] What the hell did I do? Killed them all, of course.” Med det ender serien, og Durst sitter i saksa. En av dem som hadde etterforsket Durst i forbindelse med konas forsvinning, uttalte at Jarecki lyktes der “politiet har mislyktes i tretti år”. [...] I sin anmeldelse av *The Jinx* skrev nevnte [Emily] Nussbaum at true crime nå utgjør en slags andre ankeinstans i det amerikanske rettsvesenet.” (Bernhard Ellefsen i *Morgenbladet* 17.–23. juli 2015 s. 28-29)

TV-serien *Making a Murderer* (2015) “dissects society’s need to contain so-called undesirables in our communities, and how righteousness and bias can completely railroad our constitutionally mandated judicial processes. [...] Following *Making a Murderer*’s release, 160,000 people signed onto petitions to free Steven Avery.” (Jake Flanagan i <https://qz.com/583998/how-true-crime-went-from-guilty-pleasure-to-high-culture/>; lesedato 22.10.21) “In another demonstration of the drawing power of “Making a Murderer,” nearly 130,000 people were inspired to sign a White House petition requesting a pardon for the show’s subject, Steven Avery – who appealed his conviction the 2005 murder of Wisconsin photographer Teresa Halbach earlier this year – and co-defendant Brendan Dassey. The flood of signatures prompted the White House to respond that the president cannot constitutionally pardon a person convicted of a state criminal offense. A separate “Free Steven Avery” petition on Change.org garnered more than half a million

signatures. [...] Keith Findley, an assistant criminology professor at the University of Wisconsin Law School, said the unresolved ending – even a guilty verdict under questionable circumstances – is a key element in luring viewers. “The public is beginning to become more aware that innocent people are sometimes convicted,” said Findley, who has been involved in numerous wrongful conviction cases and who helped represent Avery in his successful appeal of a rape conviction in 2003. “Stories like ‘Serial’ and ‘Making a Murderer’ give us a glimpse into how that can happen.” ” (Elisha Fielstadt i <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/new-crop-true-crime-shows-seduces-audiences-compels-them-dig-n546821>; lesedato 22.10.21)

“Virkelighetskrim (*True crime*) ruller med enorm kraft gjennom underholdningsindustrien verden over. [...] I virkelighetskrim-sjangeren, som i forskningen, må kompleks empiri filtreres av teorier og hypoteser. “Rene observasjoner” finnes aldri. [...] Det er ingen urimelig påstand: Virkelighetskrim bidrar til fortolkninger av sosiale problemer og til å etablere livskraftige typologier av kriminelle. “Seriemorderen” henter fortsatt materiale fra “Jack the Ripper” i London, med pervertert lyst og klasseforskjeller som viktigste ingredienser. I den strålende tv-serien *Mindhunter* videreutvikles seriemorder-typologien gjennom de to FBI-agentene som etablerer en ny enhet for adferdsvitenskap i 1977. De vil erstatte FBI-lederen J. Edgar Hoovers banale ideer om at kriminalitet begås for vinningen skyld. Her handler det snarere om seksualitet på ville veier. Serien er tett på virkeligheten og den nye kriminologisk-psykologiske forskningen som utvikles på slutten av 1970-tallet. [...] Virkelighetskrim fungerer når den legges i en historisk kontekst som den kan gi nye fortolkninger av.” (sosiologiprofessor Willy Pedersen i *Morgenbladet* 16.–22. mars 2018 s. 48-49)

“Once a guilty pleasure associated with rubberneckers [= kikkere] and cheap, gory magazines, true crime has “moved out of the gutter”, says Jean Murley, author of *The Rise of True Crime: 20th-Century Murder and American Popular Culture*. “It hasn’t necessarily become highbrow entertainment, but it has a lot more cultural cachet [= prestisje, status]. People aren’t ashamed of liking it the way they were 10 years ago.” [...] There’s a limitless amount of material. [...] Should it all be used, though? These aren’t just stories – they are real people’s lives. No matter how tastefully it is done, is it not unethical to transform personal tragedies into public entertainment?” (Arwa Mahdawi i <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2018/oct/16/making-a-murderer-is-our-obsession-with-true-crime-turning-nasty-serial>; lesedato 27.05.19)

Investigation Discovery er en amerikansk TV-stasjon som ble lansert i 1996. Programmene er i all hovedsak dokumentarfilmer om reelle krim saker. “Investigation Discovery, or ID, is a cable television network owned by Discovery Communications that features almost exclusively true-crime documentaries. [...] The ascent of the ID channel mirrors the deep cultural appetite for true-crime media. The genre has been wildly popular for decades, starting with pulp fiction

and continuing through *America's Most Wanted* and beyond. Beginning in the last few years, however, what was once largely the realm of low-brow entertainment has entered high culture – becoming precisely the kind of cerebral content, marketed to intellectual elites [...] True crime has often been defined by half-truths, glamorizations, stretched facts, and insinuations. Today, it's becoming more about interrogating our criminal justice system and examining our theories on criminality and law enforcement.” (Jake Flanagan i <https://qz.com/583998/how-true-crime-went-from-guilty-pleasure-to-high-culture/>; lesedato 22.10.21)

“Investigation Discovery becomes top cable channel for women [i 2015] with true crime all the time [...] It's a grim lineup. Husbands killing wives, wives stabbing husbands, murderous lovers, along with stalkers, kidnappers and serial killers past and present. Brenda Boyd of Austin, Texas, can't get enough of it. She's a self-proclaimed “ID [*Investigation Discovery*] addict,” referring to the hard-core fans of mystery and crime cable network Investigation Discovery. [...] ID finished the fourth quarter of 2015 as the most-watched ad-supported cable network among women ages 25 to 54 [i USA], according to Nielsen data. In prime time, the channel had an average of 897,000 viewers overall, up 10 % from 2014. [...] The channel has grown internationally as well, reaching 163 markets around the world. [...] ID chooses to keep it simple, with criminal investigations boiled down to their just-the-facts-ma'am essence and mixed with a generous helping of emotional recollections of the victims. Every case depicted has been adjudicated and resolution comes at the end of an hour show. When one investigation ends, another begins. [...] Noelle Daidone, 40, a northern New Jersey fan, can vouch for ID's allure. “My DVR [video-opptaker] is filled with ID shows,” Daidone said. “But when I'm home, even if I'm not totally focused on programs, I do have it on while cleaning and going about my day.”” (Stephen Battaglio i <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/cotown/la-et-ct-investigation-discovery-20160105-story.html>; lesedato 13.03.17)

Investigation Discovery “may also be benefiting from the country's mood. Violent crime has been on the decline in the U.S. since the 1980s. But stories unambiguously grounded in law and order provide an escape for viewers anxious about the threat from terrorism in a world that can seem out of control. “In an era when fear is prevalent, having identifiable good guys and bad guys is a comfortable thing,” said Susan Zirinsky, senior executive producer of the long-running CBS crime-and-justice newsmagazine “48 Hours.” “There is a need for people to be able to feel secure and herald a hero.” [...] The channel does its own original investigative shows such as “Deadline: Crime,” hosted by NBC News anchor Tamron Hall; “On the Case With Paula Zahn”; and “Killer Instinct,” in which former “Dateline NBC” correspondent and online predator catcher Chris Hansen profiles serials murderers. Many of ID's original series use actors doing scripted reenactments of criminal cases and have attention-grabbing titles (“Wives With Knives,” “Who the Bleep Did I Marry?” “A Stranger in My Home,” “Your Worst Nightmare,” “Fear Thy Neighbor”). One series, “A Crime to Remember,”

dramatizes cases from the 1950s and '60s [...] ID's highest-rated show is "Homicide Hunter: Lt. Joe Kenda," featuring the case files of a laconic retired Colorado Springs, Colo., detective who solved nearly 400 murders in his career, drawing 1.6 million viewers on average. Most of the series have the participation of people personally connected to the victims. [...] It's a part of validating that 'This person was a part of my life, was here, and I want you to know what happened to them.' [...] ID premieres 650 hours of programming a year and with crime being a renewable resource, there is no shortage of material for new shows." (Stephen Battaglio i <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/cotown/la-et-ct-investigation-discovery-20160105-story.html>; lesedato 13.03.17)

"If you spend any amount of time watching true crime TV, you will quickly notice that the shows almost always involve one particular type of crime: murder. Often, too, the focus is on exotic, bizarre and especially grisly or disturbing incidents of murder. In the extreme, the tales of murder depicted in true crime TV shows involve the gruesome and notorious exploits of serial killers such as the late Jeffrey Dahmer, Ted Bundy, John Wayne Gacy (The Killer Clown), Richard Ramirez (The Night Stalker) or David Berkowitz (Son of Sam). The morbid stories of these prolific killers have become popular culture legends. [...] The public is drawn to true crime because it triggers the most basic and powerful emotion in all of us – fear. As a source of popular culture entertainment, it allow us to experience fear and horror in a controlled environment where the threat is exciting but not real." (Scott Bonn i <http://time.com/4172673/true-crime-allure/>; lesedato 08.03.17)

"My initial thoughts on why I would choose to spend so many hours of my life absorbed in these gruesome narratives is that perhaps I'm learning how to prevent them from happening to myself. I want to get inside the mind of a rapist and/or killer so I know what to look for [...] this is indeed the reason why some women watch true crime. It's thrilling to know that these stories are true and they happened to women just like us, but it's also very scary and we should view them as cautionary tales. And once the paranoia sets in it only perpetuates the obsession because we then feel compelled to keep watching so we're prepared for any situation. [...] I think the real reason we've become so obsessed with true crime is more about wanting to understand why the legal system works the way it does. Most of us have never even been in a courtroom, let alone a murder trial [...] A guilty or not guilty verdict might not matter in terms of gauging our interest in a story, but the ability to critically examine our country's justice system does. [...] We also need to understand the why. What circumstances could push someone to commit a truly heinous crime? It's more about a deep fascination with the human psyche than anything else, and this might be where the appeal to women plays a big part. Many women, whether by nature or by pressure from society, feel they must act as nurturers and caregivers with an obligation to be responsible for others. I think we want to understand how someone gets to the point of instability where they're capable of committing rape and murder. We can't fathom letting it happen to someone we know, or even worse, someone whose livelihood depends on us, so

we need to examine it from an outside perspective. But beyond the desire to understand the details of who and why and how, I'm also left wondering if the entire genre of true crime as a whole is just totally immoral. [...] as we inevitably continue to indulge ourselves, we must make sure we consider that real people experienced a significant loss in every single one of these stories. We must be respectful of that.” (journalist og blogger Molly Fosco i http://www.huffingtonpost.com/molly-fosco/is-our-obsession-with-true-crime-morally-irresponsible_b_9073196.html; lesedato 10.03.17)

Investigation Discoverys programmer “couches nonfiction retellings of murders, kidnappings, abuse, rapes, stalking, and other harrowing experiences alongside elaborate reenactments and personal statements from survivors, family members, investigators, witnesses, and experts. These shows depict the real-life manifestations of our deepest fears, losing ourselves or a loved one at the hands of a deranged maniac or, worse and more likely, a person we know. They dramatize – and sometimes over-dramatize – the strength and resilience of, mostly, women, in the face of unspeakable horror, in a 24-hour cycle, ordeal after ordeal after ordeal. Despite its macabre, endless, often difficult-to-watch stream of true tales depicting the evils of humanity – or perhaps because of all that – Investigation Discovery is one of women’s most-watched cable networks on television, becoming the third-most-watched ad-supported network among women ages 25-54 in just seven years on air [...] “It’s the old adage that truth is stranger than fiction,” says Pamela Deutsch, a Senior Executive Producer at ID, who worked on reality shows like *What Not to Wear* and *LA Ink* before joining ID five years ago. “The idea of relatable characters is something that’s really important to us, because I think that really speaks to why people really enjoy true crime: a lot of the people that we feature really look like your friends and neighbors. People just want to understand the whys. You hear all these stories in the news, and it just gives us kind of a desire to understand, like, ‘How did this person make that wrong turn? They look just like me!’ ” ID’s programming philosophy sits at the perfect intersection of reality television’s voyeurism, the realtime sleuthing of a mystery, and the dogged fact-finding of news journalism” (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17).

Forfatteren Kelly Peacock har begrunnet at hun like true crime-dokumentarserier: “I like educating myself. I want to understand the world I’m living in, the people who are capable of these crimes, how I could protect or defend myself in a bad situation. [...] When we are watching true crime documentaries and docuseries, we’re challenging ourselves and questioning our beliefs on society as we know it. How do you spot a serial killer? How can you protect or defend yourself? Can you trust the justice system? Can you trust anyone?” (<https://thoughtcatalog.com/kelly-peacock/2019/03/here-are-8-true-crime-documentaries-you-need-to-watch/>; lesedato 27.05.19) “We know murder is bad. So why are we so obsessed it? We know we can detach if we need to. It’s like a train wreck – it’s painful, but we just

can't look away. In a weird way, it's comforting to know it's not happening to us and that distance allows us to detach, if need be. And in a weird way, we like being scared. That adrenaline factor is just something we crave. It's dramatic and society lives for drama, am I right? We like to get our brains going. We like thinking, solving a mystery or a puzzle, and being challenged one way or another. We always want to make sense of things we can't wrap our brains around. We feel prepared. Women in particular love true crime because it makes us feel prepared if anything were to happen to us and we want tips on how to survive. We are drawn to relatability. We know that, unfortunately, this is the world we live in and we need to know how to defend or protect ourselves if we are ever in a bad situation. We're fascinated with evil." (Peacock i <https://thoughtcatalog.com/kelly-peacock/2019/03/this-is-why-were-so-fascinated-with-true-crime/>; lesedato 27.05.19)

Investigation Discoverys programserie *Disappeared*, "traces the final steps of individuals before they went missing and doesn't always resolve itself, but leaves a lingering existential residue, encouraging a viewer's armchair crime-solving skills as well as a terrified acknowledgement that anyone, anywhere, could disappear without a trace. [...] Tawanna Johnson, an ID Addict from Tampa, Florida [...] "I pretty much would watch it all day every day," she says. "You can't believe that some of this stuff happens. Of course you watch the news, you read the paper, but you don't really realize how for-real it is. It keeps you on your guard – especially me being a single woman, it keeps me more aware to know what to watch out for. We know that this is real, and when they're reenacting it, it makes it so much more interesting to watch." [...] I want to know why. [...] *Deadly Affairs*, for instance, features reenactments of illicit love gone wrong narrated by daytime soap grande dame Susan Lucci" (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17).

"From the most idealistic viewpoint, ID gives a voice to victims and their families, whose perspectives are often submerged in media coverage that tends to focus more on the warped minds of the perps [= perpetrators] than the people whose lives have been upended. [...] Some shows, such as *Stalked*, feature psychologists and advocates offering analysis into the minds of both perpetrators and targets. [...] true crime TV experienced a boom in the 1980s, with the rampant popularity of *Unsolved Mysteries* (1987) and *America's Most Wanted* (1988). The latter was launched with its own grisly backstory – it was hosted by John Walsh, who became famous in 1981 when his six-year-old son Adam was found murdered and decapitated, helping fuel that era's abduction panic and transforming Walsh into a lifelong victim's rights advocate. Among more science-based true crime shows, the excellent *Forensic Files* was one of the longest-running, most prolific, and unflinchingly gruesome true-crime shows, debuting in 1996, and airing its final new episode 15 years later in 2011. [...] the 1990s, when Court TV turned the Menendez Brothers and OJ Simpson trials into marquee events. In the early 2000s, the late investigative journalist Dominick Dunne's definitive show *Power, Privilege, and Justice* brought the unsavory crimes of the blue-chip crowd to Court

TV (now Tru TV) for a true-crime series inspired by the murder of his daughter; its sentiment lives on in *ID's Vanity Fair: Confidential*" (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17).

"The host of "America's Most Wanted," John Walsh, got involved via a group he started, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, after his five-year-old son, Adam, was abducted and murdered. Informal discussions with "America's Most Wanted" viewers reveal that poking fun at his stiff posture or the show's almost giddy glorification of authority is not taken well. It is taken as insensitive to this man's tragic loss. This makes him the perfect host – a paramount example of the genre's personalized framing of crime. This personalized frame is often explicitly counterposed to generalizations, as in "just another statistic." " (Pamela Donovan i Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 126)

"[P]olice sometimes parade suspects in handcuffs in strategic locations so they can be photographed by the news media – a kind of shaming ritual sometimes called the "perp walk" (Doyle and Ericson 1996)." (Aaron Doyle i Fishman og Cavender 1998 s. 110)

"Women, though, are often incorrectly assumed to be uninterested in gritty procedurals and macabre investigative shows – but Investigation Discovery's popularity among women is more rule than exception. Crime fiction shows like *Law & Order SVU*, *CSI*, and *Bones*, like *ID*, all boast a majority of women viewers, and as early as 2008, universities nationwide were attributing the surging amount of women in forensics programs to the "CSI effect" of seeing women represented on television as scientists and detectives. *Snapped*, which depicts only women killers and would-be killers, is in its 15th season since first airing on the Oxygen Network in 2004, and special episodes focusing on famous killers like Jodi Arias and Yolanda Saldivar (murderer of Selena) have helped beef up its numbers among millennial women. Investigation Discovery, for its part, has a fairly robust roster of shows about women perps, shows like *Wives With Knives*, *How (Not) to Kill Your Husband*, and *Pretty Bad Girls*. Says Kim Cumms, who counts *ID's Deadly Women* among her favorites, "I think when we think of women, we think of mothers, nurturers. So to see a woman who's out there doing the killing simply because she wants to or because she had to, it's like, 'Wow, what pushes a woman to that point?' " [...] "It's not about fiction, it's about things that people have actually done. Not something that someone has invented. It's stories about everyday people who do incredibly bizarre and violent things," says Joe Kenda, a retired Colorado police detective who hosts *ID's* hit show *Lt. Joe Kenda: Homicide Hunter*. "The twists and turns, the unknown factor, gives people an opportunity to be an armchair detective in some way. But there's another fascination as well, and it's been true for 6000 years. People have gathered around the fire and looked at someone and said, tell me a story. If you can tell a story in an interesting way, you have people's attention. If it's a subject that fascinates, you have their *undivided*

attention.” ” (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17)

“Why do women read true crime? Well, men read it too, but mostly it’s women who go for it. [...] women read true crime to:

1) Learn the motives and methods of murderers and to prevent becoming victims; some books contain defense tactics and escape tricks. [...]

2) Learn about the psychology of violence and understand the warning signs. (This is true, too. As Diane Fanning wrote in her latest, *Mommy’s Little Girl*: “We want to know why, because until we do, we cannot do anything to prevent it from happening again to another child. We have to believe there is a way to prevent such a death, or we slide into an endless pit of despair. Our only hope is knowledge, awareness of the red flags that portend disaster and an ability to recognize the warnings in real time.”) (Laura James i http://www.laurajames.com/clews/the_true_crime_genre/; lesedato 17.04.18)

Amanda M. Vicary og R. Chris Fraley skriver i artikkelen “Captured by True Crime: Why are Women Drawn to Tales of Rape, Murder, and Serial Killers?” (2010) at kvinner som leser eller ser true crime, kan lære strategier for å unngå å bli ofre (eller tror de kan lære dette). Kvinnene kan også lære seg hvilke tegn de bør se etter for å finne ut om en mann er farlig/voldelig, og hvordan de kan overleve hvis de er i livsfare. Vicary og Fraley undersøker også antakelsen om at mange kvinner liker virkelighetskrim fordi sjangeren innbyr til empati, medfølelse og intens innlevelse. Sjangeren handler dessuten ofte om psykiske mekanismer og sosiale relasjoner, som kvinner generelt er mer interessert i enn menn.

“Young women are the biggest true crime buffs – here’s why [...] According to Dr. Howard Forman, forensic psychiatrist at Montefiore Medical Center, the trend is rooted in empathy. “By the time you get to adulthood, women are able to empathize to a greater degree than men, on average,” Forman tells Tech Insider. “That may lead to true crime being more interesting to women than men, simply because if you empathize more with the victim, it may be more relevant to you and more gripping.” [...] Women haven’t been given the same latitude, socially, to be aggressive like men have. True crime may let women tap into something darker than they’d normally express in daily life. [...] Amanda Vicary, assistant professor of psychology at Illinois Wesleyan University, offers yet another explanation: True crime serves as a kind of guidebook for women, offering useful tips for staying safe. That’s the conclusion she and her colleague R. Chris Fraley came to in their 2010 study of women and true crime. According to their report, women often reported finding “potential life-saving knowledge” from the novels they read. “One of the reasons women may enjoy crime books and television shows more than men is because women fear being crime victims a lot more than men do,” Vicary tells Tech Insider, “even though men are statistically much more likely to be murdered.”

[...] a morbid sense of “What if?”.” (Chris Weller i <https://www.businessinsider.com/why-young-women-are-the-biggest-true-crime-buffs-2016-3?r=US&IR=T>; lesedato 11.06.20)

“[B]y learning the motives and methods of murderers, people learn ways to prevent becoming their victims. In fact, it might be the case that fascination with murder arises from evolved mechanisms more broadly concerned with monitoring fitness-relevant information. But why would women, more so than men, be interested in crime, especially given that men are more likely to be victims (Chilton & Jarvis, 1999)? The answer may lie in fear of crime, as much research has shown that women fear becoming the victims of a crime more so than do men (Allen, 2006; Mirrlees-Black, Mayhew, & Percy, 1996). As such, we might expect women to be more interested in true crime books because of the potential survival cues contained therein.” (Amanda M. Vicary og R. Chris Fraley i https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240287787_Captured_by_True_Crime_Why_Are_Women_Drawn_to_Tales_of_Rape_Murder_and_Serial_Killers; lesedato 22.10.21) “After all, there is a great need to learn about dealing with psychopaths in order to protect oneself against their threats, manipulation, and exploits.” (Joan Swart i Arntfield og Danesi 2016 s. 92)

“[P]eople’s fascination with murder may stem from a desire to avoid becoming the victim of a deadly crime (Buss, 2005). As true crime books sometimes contain successful defense tactics and escape tricks used by surviving victims, these books can offer insight into how one can achieve this goal. [...] Many true crime books include speculation as to why an individual decides to commit a murder and whether the motivating factor lies, for example, in a stressful life event or rejection by a significant other. Such understanding might increase a woman’s chances of detecting the signs that a jealous exlover or stranger may turn violent. [...] Because the victims in true crime books are often women, it may be the case that women simply have more to gain from reading these books in terms of understanding survival strategies and defense tactics.” (Amanda M. Vicary og R. Chris Fraley i https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240287787_Captured_by_True_Crime_Why_Are_Women_Drawn_to_Tales_of_Rape_Murder_and_Serial_Killers; lesedato 22.10.21)

“The impending fear of death is an intense and undeniable fear that cannot be understated. While women consume true crime for different reasons, one of the most commonly discussed and substantial is based on the desire to learn to cope and protect oneself from future trauma.” (Compton 2019 s. 67)

“[B]y understanding why an individual decides to kill, a woman can learn the warning signs to watch for in a jealous lover or stranger. By learning escape tips, women learn survival strategies they can use if actually kidnapped or held captive. In addition, the finding that women consider true crime books more appealing when the victims are female supports the notion that women may be attracted to

these books because of the potential life-saving knowledge gained from reading them. If a woman, rather than a man, is killed, the motives and tactics are simply more relevant to women reading the story. Despite the fact that women may enjoy reading these books because they learn survival tips and strategies, it is possible that reading these books may actually increase the very fear that drives women toward them in the first place. In other words, a vicious cycle may be occurring: A woman fears becoming the victim of a crime, so, consciously or unconsciously, she turns to true crime books in a possible effort to learn strategies and techniques to prevent becoming murdered. However, with each true crime book she reads, this woman learns about another murderer and his victims, thereby increasing her awareness and fear of crime. It is not possible to state with certainty from these studies whether or not this vicious cycle occurs, but we do know that women, compared to men, have a heightened fear of crime despite the fact that they are less likely to become a victim (Allen, 2006; Chilton & Jarvis, 1999) and that women are drawn to true crime books that contain information on how to prevent themselves from becoming the victim of such a crime.” (Amanda M. Vicary og R. Chris Fraley i https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240287787_Captured_by_True_Crime_Why_Are_Women_Drawn_to_Tales_of_Rape_Murder_and_Serial_Killers; lesedato 22.10.21)

Virkelighetskrim “makes women think that they are more likely to die than men, and fear is a powerful tool of oppression. True crime creates and feeds off women’s fear of death, a reality that true crime constructed. This fear allows for policing of women’s behaviors that benefits the patriarchy. This policing can come in the forms such as women being told not to go anywhere alone, or being encouraged to rely on one or two men who are romantic partners or family for protection. This manipulation of reality places women at the mercy of men while simultaneously making them dependent on protection from them.” (Compton 2019 s. 49)

Krimdokumentarer “tend to feature women and sometimes children as victims of grisly crimes, and the blurbs that publishers choose to print on the backs of their true crime book jackets give some indication of what their readers want: “Almost too fantastic to be believed ... and too horrific to be ignored!” and “terrifying, bizarrely fascinating. [...] Feminist critics have deplored our culture’s fixation on such stories, and argued that, in Jane Caputi’s words, “the sexual killer – no matter how hypocritically reviled by his patriarchal culture – should be recognized, finally, as its ‘ultimate man’ ” (62). However, the interviews I conducted with a group of true crime fans suggest that many of them read true crime to help themselves cope with the patriarchal violence they have encountered in the past, and fear in the present. For who are the readers who consume enough of these books to insure that there will be a true crime section in any bookstore? The answer may be surprising. According to publishers, true crime writers, and bookstore owners polled in a preliminary survey, from two-thirds to three-quarters of the readers of these grisly nonfiction accounts are women. Paul Dinas, Editor-in-Chief of Kensington Books, estimates that seventy percent of his true crime imprint’s readership is female [...].

The webmaster of a popular true crime online readers' group estimates that of 214 group members, 210 are women." (Browder 2006)

"The label of "true crime" gives the material in these books the aura of fact – an air of authority enhanced by the journalistic, "nonliterary" style in which they are written, by the thick description of events, and by the inclusion of supporting photographic and other documentary evidence. This perceived factuality removes the responsibility for aestheticizing violence from both the writer and the reader of such works. And this factuality is extremely important to readers. Many of them were almost disgusted by the idea of reading fiction; it seemed not only uninteresting to them, because it was not real, but reading it seemed irresponsible as well, because it did not provide the kind of education that true crime did in the ways of the world. [...] Over and over again, women described the characters in these books as being typical, "just like you, me, my brother, my next door neighbor." They thought of the world described in true crime books as reflective of the one they themselves inhabited. True crime readers also feel that true crime either helps them become more aware, or that it provides a good explanation for personality traits that lead them to be misunderstood by people. As Marla told me, "I think it makes you really wary of other people. I think you tend to start to think that everyone in the world might have a hidden agenda. I think they tend to make me really suspicious." " (Browder 2006)

"True crime allows women both to identify with the victims of violent crime and to be armchair killers. Marla told me that "I can probably empathize and feel both what the criminal and the victim must be feeling at that moment, and I put myself into their shoes and think about what I would feel like if I were having these things done to me and I also do the same thing with the criminal – what would he or she be thinking at that moment?" Yet while true crime books focus a great deal of attention on the victims of murder, they also allow their readers to stalk the victims like the killer does." (Browder 2006)

"True crimes allow women to gaze into the abyss – both of the terror suffered by crime victims and of their own traumatic memories – and to survive. As Hilary continued, "I think a lot of women identify a whole lot – look, I'm not the only one this happened to. Especially if it's a husband or something that's been abusive, because you know there's a lot of that in this world. No one wants to feel like they're the only one. I think it's like therapy." [...] there is much more to true crime than the "lurid thrill" that Dinas suggests. True crime books are a popular arena for metaphysical discussions about the nature of evil, the meaning of retribution, and the impossibility of knowing another." (Browder 2006)

"Since the 1970s, it has been true that while some true crime books detail the ravages wrought by crazed strangers, a greater number concern murders committed by those men who are entrusted with protecting and caring for women. There are rogue policemen, such as LAPD officer William "Mild Bill" Leasure, the

protagonist of Edward Humes' 1992 work, *Murderer with a Badge*. There are also bad FBI agents. As the jacket copy for Aphrodite Jones' 1992 book *The FBI Killer* attests, "Susan Daniel Smith, twenty-seven, prayed for a handsome Prince Charming who would take her away from the squalor of her rural Kentucky community to live in romance and luxury. When a good-looking, big city FBI agent named Mark Putnam entered her life, Susan thought her prayers were answered. She was dead wrong." There are bad doctors: the villain of Jack Olsen's "Doc" is a trusted family doctor, a Mormon, in a small town, who for twenty-five years had been raping and molesting women and children, his patients. Dr. Jeffrey MacDonald, of Joe McGinnis' best-selling *Fatal Vision*, was a former Green Beret who was convicted of murdering his wife and two young children. Dale Cavaness, the protagonist of Darcy O'Brien's *Murder in Little Egypt*, was a respected Illinois doctor who beat his wife, and ultimately murdered his two sons. There are rotten kids, such as Chris Pritchard, the North Carolina teenager who bludgeoned and stabbed his mother and stepfather, and who is the focus of Joe McGinnis' *Cruel Doubt* (1991) and Jerry Bledsoe's *Blood Games* (1991). There are parents who kill their children, like Marie Hilley, who poisoned her mother-in-law, mother, husband, and daughter – then "duped a man into marriage, faked her own death, and came back to him – as her long-lost twin!" in Philip E. Ginsburg's *Poisoned Blood*. And, especially, there are bad husbands. In true crime books, fathers, and sometimes mothers, kill their children, and children kill their parents. Most of all, women who are duped by the promise of romance are killed by their erstwhile lovers." (Browder 2006)

Den svenske advokaten og krimforfatteren Jens Lapidus har skrevet: "Jeg er forsvarsadvokat av yrke, så i mitt daglige virke konfronteres jeg med faktiske forbrytelser. Og jeg tilstår villig at jeg på sett og vis lar meg fascinere av forbrytelsens natur. Virkelighetens forbrytelser likner sjelden på romanens. De er skitnere og mindre intrikate. Gjerningene er nedrige og innimellom føler du medlidenhet også med de mistenkte. [...] Ikke sjelden framstår det jeg har snekret sammen i min bøker som rene barnematen sammenliknet den beinharde virkeligheten rundt oss. Hvis jeg hadde skrevet ned en del av de historiene jeg støter på i embeds medfør, ville det blitt avfeid som det rene nonsens. "Virkelighetsfjernt, urealistisk, ikke troverdig." Det ville blitt gjennomgangstonen i anmeldelsene." (i *Dagbladet* 7. april 2009 s. 52)

"For some women, true crime books may function as cautionary tales or vicarious thrills, but for other women, who have themselves experienced violence, it is possible that true crime serves another function. As Cathy Caruth and others have discussed, survivors of trauma tend to have memories of violence that are fragmentary and incoherent. Can female survivors of violence read true crime books as a way of narrativizing their own experience? By obsessively reading nonfictional narratives in which evil is punished, it is possible that survivors of violence may be finding meaning – the possibility of a happy ending – for their own stories. Moreover, reading true crime books can be for some readers a way of

mastering not only past memories of violence, but present fears of it: as one reader told me, it is a way of imagining the limits of horror. In exploring the link between true crime readership and female readers' own experience of violence, I have been fascinated to learn that true crime books enjoy an overwhelming popularity among inmates of women's prisons – a population that has almost certainly experienced a high degree of violence. [...] As Anne said, many true crime readers “have been abused, there's been domestic violence in their lives, or they were abused as kids, physically, emotionally, sexually. They are all very, very loving, caring people who don't understand how anybody could do something like that to them. I think women are constantly looking for a reason why somebody would do something like that. They want an easy formula answer, and there isn't one.” ” (Browder 2006)

“Just as several of the women I interviewed expressed the view that reading true crime was a brave and socially responsible thing to do, [Ann] Rule describes writing true crime as a social service. On her Web site, Rule writes “I know I am in the right career when I hear from women who feel their lives have been saved by something they read in one of my books. I never want to scare you, but I want my readers to be alert – and not to fall for any of the ruses and devices that killers use to throw you off guard . . . Sometimes the danger readers face lies in a destructive relationship with someone they thought they knew – and several of my books have given women, particularly, a ‘heads up’ about signs to look for” (<http://www.annrules.com/news2html>.)” (Browder 2006)

Den amerikanske journalisten og forfatteren Sheila Weller, som blant annet har skrevet *Marrying the Hangman* (1991) sa i et intervju i 1997 at hennes bøker “have a unifying theme: the victimization of women by men. ‘I would love to find a story to break this paradigm,’ she observes. ‘Here's what I'm comfortable saying. I think I write provictim books. If I could write a provictim story where the man was the victim, that would be very interesting.’ ” (Browder 2006)

Det har vært mye oppmerksomhet rundt kvinner som skriver fan- eller kjærlighetsbrev til seriemordere, eller gifter seg med menn som de vet er brutale eller har begått drap. En antakelse er at disse kvinnene har opplevd vold og overgrep, og identifiserer seg med menn som i likhet med dem selv har en voldelig bakgrunn. Traumatiserte kvinner kan føle et slektskap med menn som er psykisk skadet, ensomme, eller fulle av aggresjon eller angst. En annen hypotese er at noen kvinner har et “saviour complex” overfor mannlige forbrytere. Disse kvinnene vil redde mennene, gjøre dem til bedre mennesker, selv om kvinnen må tåle mye lidelse for (kanskje) å oppnå en slik endring hos mannen.

“Historisk har de alltid vært der. Kvinner som legger sin elsk på menn som er dømt for de mest bestialske handlinger: drap, voldtekt, nekrofil, kidnapping, tortur og barnemishandling. Kvinner som uttrykker sin beundring og kjærlighet i brevets form, kvinner som ber om ekteskap med disse mennene. [...] Det kalles hybristofili; det å være seksuelt tiltrukket av personer som har begått alvorlige forbrytelser eller soner

lange fengselsstraffer. [...] Det er en form for tiltrekning mot det ukjente eller det uforutsigbare, gjerne en tiltro eller forestilling om at man kan gjøre en forskjell. [...] kan disse kvinnene tro de kan frelse eller redde dem.” (Frode Thuen og Trine Stalsberg i <https://www.klikk.no/side2/helse/hybristofili-kvinner-som-sender-drapsmenn-og-pedofile-frierbrev-4592092>; lesedato 14.10.20)

“Hybristophilia is a type of paraphilia in which a person “gets sexually aroused over someone else committing an offensive or violent act,” says Katherine Ramsland, PhD, a professor of forensic psychology at DeSales University and author of the book *Confession of a Serial Killer: The Untold Story of Dennis Rader, the BTK Killer*. [...] Because access to notorious criminals is pretty well limited, hybristophilia can manifest itself as relationships maintained via letters sent and received while the criminal is in prison. To be clear, though, it’s only hybristophilia if the non-criminal party is actually aroused by the idea of the criminal committing a murder or similar – just writing a letter to a prisoner or keeping in contact with someone you already know doesn’t count. [...] Notorious murderer Richard Ramirez, who received tons of letters while in prison. [...] How does it differ from say, a casual interest in true-crime TV shows? If you’re not sexually aroused by the sight of a crime being committed, then you probably don’t have hybristophilia. “The difference between somebody who’s just watching every one of these shows that comes out and somebody’s who completely addicted to it is obsession,” says Dr. Ramsland. “Can you get up and go do something else or miss one? Then you’re probably not obsessed with it. But if you form your entire life around seeing these shows and binging them and watching them over and over and identifying with the people in them, now you’re in an obsessive mode. But again, that’s not necessarily sexual. When it rises to the point where it’s sexually arousing, and especially if it’s the only thing in your life that’s sexually arousing, now you have a paraphilia ... a paraphilia is really about not just, ‘This is one of the many things a person does sexually.’ This is their primary arousal stimulus.”” (Eliza Thompson i <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/entertainment/tv/a17804534/sexual-attraction-to-serial-killers/> ; lesedato 27.05.19)

Amerikaneren Stephen Trombleys *The Execution Protocol: Inside America’s Capital Punishment Industry* (1993) “is the first book to examine with absolute candour what it is like to live and die on America’s death row. Over a year of intensive research, author Stephen Trombley immersed himself in the shadowy world of the capital punishment industry, embarking on an extraordinary personal odyssey that allowed him to hear of things, and witness scenes, that most people can’t even bring themselves to think about. The result is a shocking insight into the history and present practice of state-sanctioned killing.” (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/313167.The_Execution_Protocol; lesedato 19.04.18)

“The long-established, strictly outlined position of the criminal within the crime narrative has led to where America stands today, with criminals narrating their own stories via Facebook, video, or other formats to be read after their crimes have been

enacted and, at times, after their deaths. The central position of the criminal throughout crime narrative history, still clearly present within true crime, allows for this thinking: if I am a criminal, and I commit criminal acts, then the public will want to hear my story.” (Frost 2015)

Serien *Forsvinningen: Lørenskog 31. oktober 2018* (2022) på Netflix, har manus av Stephen Uhlander og Nikolaj Frobenius, og handler om en uløst forsvinnings sak. Frobenius kalte serien en “untrue crime”. “Men hva er det egentlig en *untrue crime* prøver å gjøre? - I en konvensjonell *true crime* vil serieskaperne forsøke å komme med en løsning, det er intensjonen. Her prøvde vi det motsatte: Publikum hadde en innstilling i utgangspunktet. Så kom det flere og flere spørsmål, hypoteser, spekulasjoner og bevegelsen blir motsatt. I stedet for å gå mot ett argument, en løsning, går vi fra en fordom ut i flere og flere spørsmål og større og større uklarhet, sier Frobenius. [...] De to filmskaperne ønsket å “invertere” eller vrenge sjangeren. De ville spre en vifte av påstander og rykter som bare ble mer og mer omfattende. I serien deres følger man derfor ulike perspektiver i hver episode, som media, politi, rettsvesen og krim-forumer på nettet. [...] Jeg tror publikum og moderne mediebrukere kjenner seg igjen i følelsen av uklarhet, sier Frobenius.” (*Morgenbladet* 30. september–6. oktober 2022 s. 32) “Det sentrale premisset for serien er at Lørenskog-saken fortsatt er uløst og at serieskaperne hverken forsøker å oppklare den eller antyde hva som *egentlig* skjedde. Snarere ønsker de å bruke den enorme interessen for saken til å si noe om de kognitive, psykologiske og emosjonelle mekanismene som utløses når samfunnet stilles overfor en gåte som forsvinningen av Anne Elisabeth Hagen. Ved å skildre saken gjennom øynene til politietterforskere, advokater og journalister, forsøker de å kanalisere en gnagende uvisshet, lik den som gjennomsyrrer David Finchers seriemorderthriller *Zodiac*, gjennom en plottstruktur som minner om Akira Kurosawas klassiske samuraifilm *Rashomon*. Siden premieren i 1950 er *Rashomon* blitt et begrep for å beskrive det faktum at forskjellige mennesker kan oppleve den samme hendelsen på vidt forskjellige måter, og *Forsvinningen* fortjener honnør for å gjøre norsk virkelighetskrim mer bevisst på betydningen av perspektiver og subjektivitet.” (Aksel Kielland i <https://www.morgenbladet.no/kultur/film-og-tv/2022/09/18/netflix-miniserie-om-lorenskog-saken-er-et-viktig-skritt-videre-for-norsk-virkelighetskrim/>; lesedato 13.04.24)

Den engelske forfatteren Antony M. Brown har spesialisert seg på historiske krimdokumentarbøker om uløste gåter, altså om historiske “cold cases”. Eksempler er *The Green Bicycle Mystery: The Curious Case of Bella Wright* (2017) og *Move to Murder* (2018). I likhet med de klassiske Ellery Queen-bøkene vil Brown gjerne gi sine lesere en intellektuell utfordring, og opprettet derfor nettstedet <http://coldcasejury.com/>. Dette fungerer som reklame for, men supplerer også Browns bøker, for nettstedet består av “saksmapper” som skal gi leserne en reell mulighet til å gjøre seg opp en mening om hvem som er de skyldige og uskyldige i de uløste sakene. Personbeskrivelser, skisser av åsteder, kart osv. gir grunnlag for at leseren

kan bli Browns “med-detektiv”. Leseren får sitte i Browns “Cold Case Jury” og delta i det forfatteren på nettstedet kaller “the first truly interactive crime tales”.

Nettstedet websleuths.com rommer “a dedicated forum for internet detectives. [...] A small but dedicated group of people worldwide now spend their spare time trying to assist the police and solve other mysteries by trawling through social media profiles, scouring online high school yearbooks, sifting through coroners’ photographs – and more. [...] You had average, everyday, normal people going on websites and solving crimes that the police have never been able to. [...] Websleuths is far from the only example of a community of internet detectives. There’s also the amateur-run *Doe Network*, which as well as the US, lists cases from Mexico, Canada and the UK, for example. Sites like these helped pave the way for the launch in 2008 of *NamUs.gov*, a missing and unidentified persons system which is overseen by the US National Institute of Justice. It allows anyone to search for and contribute to open cases. NamUs claims that so far there have been 309 unidentified persons cases and 708 missing persons cases which have been “NamUs Aided”. [...] Forums such as *Reddit’s Bureau of Investigations* (RBI) and *Unsolved Mysteries* are just two more examples of places where internet detectives gather daily. [...] For Deborah Halber, author of a forthcoming book on internet detectives called *The Skeleton Crew* [2014], it’s this mixture of intuition and careful data analysis that enables amateurs to solve long-dormant missing persons cases [...] When asked what she thinks motivates internet detectives, she suggests that solving mysteries could simply be a way for people to engage abilities they can’t use in their day jobs.” (Chris Baraniuk i <http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20140501-meet-the-bedroom-detectives>; lesedato 05.04.19)

Andrew O’Hagans bok *The Missing* (1996) “explores one of society’ most enduring, yet unexamined, concerns – missing persons. He writes movingly of his own grandfather, lost at sea during World War II; of Sandy Davidson, the three-year-old who disappeared from a construction site near O’Hagan’s childhood home; of James Bulger, the toddler abducted from a mall in Liverpool and murdered by two ten-year-olds in 1993; and the twelve young women Fred and Rosemary West murdered and buried in their Gloucester backyard over a period of nearly thirty years. In all of these cases, O’Hagan goes out with police and meets with social workers and families, always looking for the deeper truths so often left forgotten. What kind of lives did those who have gone missing lead? What made them disappear? What happens to those left behind? Merging social history, memoir, and reportage, *The Missing* is one of those rare books that bring a neglected corner of human experience into the public eye” (<https://thenewpress.com/books/missing>; lesedato 22.06.24).

“The new breed of crime chronicles are particularly effective because they invite viewers to work alongside investigators as they attempt to solve confounding cases [...] audiences hungry for tales of murder and quests for justice [...] viewers aren’t just discussing the shows at the office water cooler; they’re parsing them out on

social media and itching to solve the crimes on their own. [...] That interest spills onto social media, including online forums, where people discuss theories and nauseum of who might have actually committed the crime” (Elisha Fielstadt i <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/new-crop-true-crime-shows-seduces-audiences-compels-them-dig-n546821>; lesedato 22.10.21).

“The Borowitz Collection is the greatest private true crime library ever amassed. [...] true crime publications tend to be as short-lived as their subjects. Recognizing their value, Albert Borowitz, one of the great true crime historians and connoisseurs of this age, spent decades of his life amassing the largest known private library in the theme, a collection of true crime books exceeding ten thousand volumes, some going back to the 1600s. In doing so, the multilingual American lawyer managed to save generations of stories from several continents, rescuing many books and hundreds of old crime broadsides from extinction, with no other copies left in existence. [...] Included in his collection are more than 250 volumes on the eternal mystery of Jack the Ripper. Lizzie Borden takes up an entire shelf with more than forty titles to her name. Jesse James has sixty books, going back to 1880. The Praslin murder, a worldwide sensation in 1847, is here represented by twelve extremely rare and quite valuable books in both English and French. Other priceless, one-of-a-kind, historically significant treasures are too many to list.” (<https://laurajames.typepad.com/>; lesedato 11.10.19)

Det amerikanske forlaget Doubleday “established the first true crime book club in 1992.” (<https://pdf.sciencedirectassets.com/271758/1-s2.0-S0047235200X00098/1-s2.0-0047235295000028/main.pdf>; lesedato 28.01.20)

“True crime-bølge i mediene [...] Flere av de største mediehusene satser nå [i 2022] på krimstoff både på nett, papir, video, podkast og sosiale medier.” (Anna Stjern i <https://journalisten.no/kortnytt-krimjournalistikk-nrk/true-crime-bolge-i-mediene-blir-problematisk-nar-det-sensasjonelle-fremstar-som-hovedmotivet/502460>; lesedato 24.09.22)

“2. juli 2021 la 22 år gamle Gabby Petito og kjæresten Brian Laundrie ut på en reise på tvers av USA i en ombygget kassebil. Petito dokumenterte turen flittig på Instagram og Youtube, og da hun i september ble meldt savnet av familien som ikke hadde hørt fra henne på lenge, ble innleggene hennes plutselig ledetråder i et kriminalmysterium som lokket til seg nettdetektiver fra hele verden. Det tok en drøy uke fra saken nådde de tradisjonelle mediene til levningene etter Petito ble funnet, og deretter seks dager før Laundrie ble meldt savnet, mistenkt – av presse og publikum, om ikke politiet – for å ha drept henne. Gjennom de påfølgende månedene frem til Laundrie ble funnet død, og politiet konkluderte med at han tok livet av både seg selv og kjæresten sin, ble saken konsumert som en virkelighetskrim som utspilte seg i realtid, på tvers av medier og sjangre.” (Aksel Kielland i *Morgenbladet* 8.–14. september 2023 s. 32-33)

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