



Strangulation in the UK media – An analysis of online article titles

Part Four: Content Analysis Findings

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Institute For
Addressing
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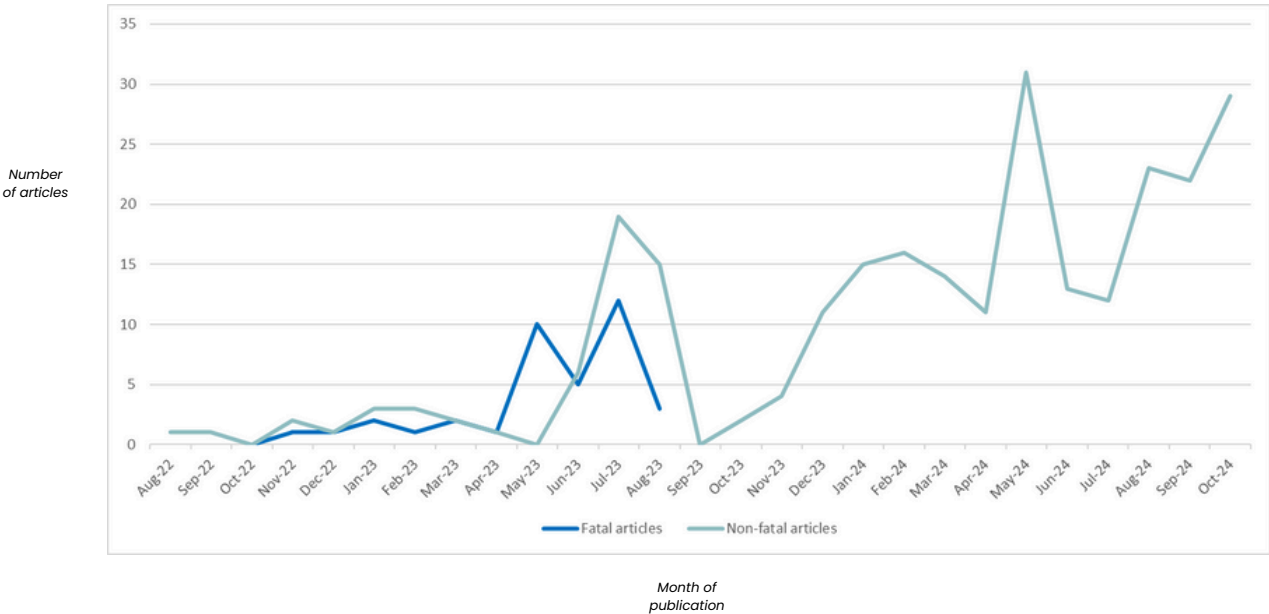
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Content Analysis Findings

Between November 2022 and October 2023, IFAS gathered 65 online articles on strangulation from UK sources. In the following year, November 2023 and October 2024, a further 229 online articles on strangulation were added to the data set. The large increase in the number of identified articles between the two years is likely a combination of better identification on our part and an increase in media reporting on strangulation. From police data for example, we know there was an increase in the number of offences reported from 8,375 in the first 6 months of legislation being in place[28] to 23,817 in the first year[29] and 39,360 in the second year[30]. Many of the online articles included in this data set covered the criminal justice response to strangulation, therefore, an increase in the number of online articles covering the increase in reported offences makes sense.

There was a total of 294 online articles from across the 2 years. As the articles were collected non-systematically the dates of publication span between August 2022 and October 2024 (see Figure 1.) The 294 online articles were categorised by whether the article focused on fatal or non-fatal strangulation. There were 38 articles on fatal strangulation and 257 on non-fatal strangulation. Only one article (which has been included in both groups) identified both fatal and non-fatal strangulation.

Figure 1. Number of online article titles by publication month (fatal vs non fatal strangulation).



It is unclear to us as to why there was an observable decrease (and, from the articles we were able to retrieve, cessation) in fatal strangulation online articles towards the end of 2023 into 2024. Even retrospective searches using ‘fatal strangulation news articles 2024’ brought up no additional articles. Although we suspect this is unlikely to represent a decrease in strangulation fatalities during this timeframe, the Office for National Statistics report for 2023–2024 is not yet available, therefore at the time of writing this report we do not have a rationale for the drop in online articles on fatal strangulation towards the end of 2023 into 2024.

Fatal strangulation article titles

First, we explored the 38 online articles titles on fatal strangulation. The majority of cases (33/38) were related to domestic homicides. There were however, five articles which fell outside of this category and could instead be described as the consequences of stranger assault, self-strangulation and/or accidents.

Figure 2. Titles, sources, publication dates & links to five online articles titles on fatal strangulation outside of domestic homicide.

2.1 Young woman suffered 'ligature strangulation' and went into cardiac arrest after constant observations were reduced to every 15 minutes, inquest told - Manchester Evening News [10.05.24]

2.2 Girl, 5, dies after being strangled by garden swing set in tragic accident - The Mirror [14.05.24]

2.3 Watch dealer's family pay tribute to 'beautiful boy' - BBC News [28.05.24]

2.4 Parents of five-year-old girl help her fulfil final act of kindness after she died in freak accident by accidentally strangling herself on rope swing going down a slide - Daily Mail Online [3.06.24]

2.5 Death of teen boy at Scots school "caused by dangerous internet challenge" - Daily Record [7.06.23]

The focus of the current report was to explore the media representation of strangulation in the context of domestic abuse and sexual violence, therefore the following analysis focuses on the 33 online article titles on domestic homicide.

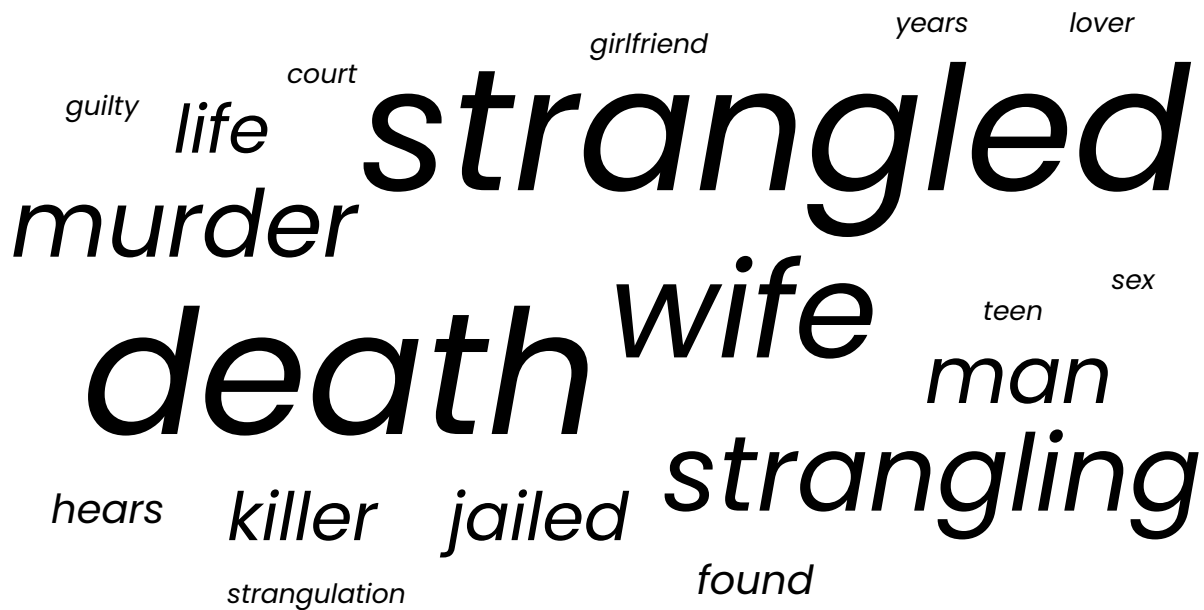
The titles of the articles were added to an online word cloud generator[31]. Word clouds are visual representations of data that can show words as larger when they appear more often and smaller when they appear less often. The word cloud in Figure 3. was generated reflecting words that appeared in the sample of 33 online article titles on fatal strangulation more than twice.

From the word cloud generator, we were able to extract the frequency of words featured in the article titles and further explore the most commonly used terms. Included in Table 1. below are words that featured more than twice.

Table 1. Frequency of words in the titles of 33 online articles covering fatal strangulation (words that featured more than twice)

Frequency	Word
13	strangled
13	death
10	wife
8	strangling
7	murder
6	man
5	jailed
5	life
5	killer
4	found
4	hears
3	years
3	strangulation
3	teen
3	girlfriend
3	guilty
3	sex
3	lover
3	court

Figure 3. Table 1 presented as a word cloud – words that featured more than twice in a sample of 33 online article titles covering fatal strangulation.



The most frequent words observed were those related to fatal strangulation (strangled, strangling, strangulation, death, life, died, killer) and the act within the context of the criminal justice system (murder, jailed, hears, guilty, court). The use of accurate and official language related to strangulation was observed, something we would support in place of using technically incorrect, euphemistic or minimising terms such as ‘choked’. That said, there were six online article titles that referenced strangulation in the headline but did not state whether this was fatal or non-fatal (shown in Figure 4.). This was only confirmed through reading the contents of the article.

From our perspective, it is important that messaging to the general public defines strangulation as fatal or non-fatal in order to raise awareness on its ordinary meaning, to avoid misunderstandings and potential minimisation from professionals and those around victim/survivors.

Figure 4. Titles, sources, publication dates & links to six online article titles that did not state whether the strangulation was fatal or non-fatal in the headline.

- [4.1 Male model took his own life after strangling girlfriend in sex game – Daily Record \[16.05.24\]](#)
- [4.2 Mortgage adviser Robert Hammond paid wife's life insurance policy before strangling her – The Telegraph \[17.07.24\]](#)
- [4.3 Grandad who strangled wife before going to Costa jailed for six years – Manchester Evening News \[23.05.24\]](#)
- [4.4 Man in court after suspected strangulation of 80-year-old woman – South London News \[26.03.24\]](#)
- [4.5 Man found guilty of strangling wife in front of TikTok lover – Yahoo News \[3.07.24\]](#)
- [4.6 Man found guilty of strangling wife in front of TikTok lover – Sky News \[3.07.24\]](#)

The word “wife” being the third most frequently used word in the article titles stood out to us. The word “man” was the sixth most commonly used word (featuring six times) yet the word “woman” featured just twice.

The words “wife” and “girlfriend” were the only nouns in the table and word cloud used to describe an individual by their relationship to someone else. By exploring words that featured once or twice across the 33 online article titles we can see that “partner”, “father” and “husband” all featured twice, and “son” and “grandad” featured once. It seems that there is a disparity in how men and women are described in these article titles on fatal strangulation.

In some cases the article links or heading in the browser tab differed from the actual article title. An example of this (see Figure 5.), and where the link and browser heading actually provided an example of how, from our perspective, simple changes in language can elicit gender equality by not referring to the victim solely as their relationship to the perpetrator:

Figure 5. Title, source, publication date & link for article with different title and browser heading.

5.1 Wife's life insurance paid 'days before killing' - Article title - BBC News [18.06.25]

5.2 Histon woman's life insurance paid days before killing - Article link and browser heading - BBC News, [18.06.24]

Other words such as “sex” and “lover” also stood out (see Figure 6.). “Sex” was used to describe the circumstances in which the fatality occurred, yet no other circumstantial words were included in the title words that featured more than twice. A review of all words showed that “domestic abuse” was used once and “honour” once.

The use of “lover”, one might argue, romanticises and/or trivialises the circumstances of the fatality. Although it is important to convey the context surrounding fatalities when they occur, the imbalance of focus in article titles suggests an unhelpful sensationalising that should be avoided. From our perspective, victims should be defined by their identity and where the relationship to the perpetrator is important to include (as it is in domestic homicide) the same rules should apply to men and women. What this means in practice is that articles titles across the board should be more careful to balance the information they provide.

Figure 6. Titles, sources, publication dates & links of article titles featuring the words “sex” and “lover”

6.1 Male model took his own life after strangling girlfriend in sex game - Daily Record [16.05.24]

6.2 Sex, drugs, & strangulation: Erotic asphyxiation turns fatal for UK couple - Deccan Herald [17.05.24]

6.3 Woman, 28, was brutally beaten and strangled to death by 17-year-old after laughing at him during sex, court hears - Daily Mail Online [28.05.24]

6.4 Man found guilty of strangling wife in front of TikTok lover - Yahoo News [3.07.24]

6.5 Man found guilty of strangling wife in front of TikTok lover - Sky News [3.07.24]

6.6 'I WAS GOING TO BE A GRAN' Mum of 'honour killer' who strangled pregnant lover to death because he was 'ashamed' insists she would've accepted her - The Sun [6.04.24]

Through this analysis of online titles, we observed examples of gender inequality (for example, reporting a female victim as wife and a male perpetrator as man), a lack of respect by including details that could be perceived as sensationalist, for example referring to victim as a “stripper” or “pregnant lover” or how the perpetrator stole “pringles and booze”, and missed opportunities to name these deaths as domestic homicides or violence against women and girls.

To provide further examples from the data set, we chose four additional titles to analyse against the existing media guidelines reviewed in section three.

By highlighting examples of article titles that both did and did not uphold respect, sensitivity, gender equality, the naming of vawg related offences, the use of official terminology and accountability, we aim to provide considerations for crafting article headlines on fatal strangulation in the future (see Figure 7.).

Figure 7. Titles, sources, publication dates & links to fatal strangulation example titles reviewed against existing guidelines outlined in part three of this analysis.



Figure 7.1 "Man found guilty of strangling wife in front of TikTok lover" – Sky News, 12.07.24

This is an example of where the perpetrator is defined by their sex and the victim is defined by their relationship to the perpetrator, rather than seeing them as their own person. Whilst this does provide context to the nature of the crime that has been committed, the inequity of "man" vs "wife" has the potential to reinforce gendered stereotypes of women as property. What is helpful in this example is the correct terminology having been used for the act of strangulation – as appose to 'choking', for example – however, the ultimate circumstances of the strangulation are not clear in the title alone. The victim of this crime died, and murder was in fact the crime for which the perpetrator was found guilty. The additional context, making reference to, and using the language of, a "TikTok lover" has the potential in this title to trivialise the circumstances of the murder, as well as causing the blame for these actions to fall to the victim as well as the perpetrator. Victims' circumstances and behaviours should not necessarily be sanitised, but care and attention should be taken to determine what might be appropriate to include, for what purpose. What is perhaps more significant and indeed newsworthy, to note in this case is that the murder was witnessed by the victim's two children.

News > Scottish News

HORROR INJURIES Amber Gibson died from 'manual strangulation' says pathologist who found her body 'caked in mud'

Connor Gordon

Published: 14:08, 13 Jul 2023 | Updated: 15:00, 13 Jul 2023

Figure 7.2 "Amber Gibson died from 'manual strangulation' says pathologist who found her body 'caked in mud'" – The Scottish Sun, 13.07.23

This title provides a good example of appropriately centring the victim in a story about their death. The fact that she was killed is also appropriately highlighted, as is the formal method of killing – followed by the official source of that information. These factual elements of the title help to reduce the possibility of sensationalising what has happened and just report on the key information. However, the victim here was in fact murdered by her brother, as opposed to dying, for example, of natural causes. The used of "died" has the potential to remove the focus of responsibility from the perpetrator who was convicted of her murder. The inclusion of an expert opinion is important and the use of the phrase "caked in mud" could be considered helpful in demonstrating the terrible way in which the victim was treated after she had been murdered. However, it could also have the potential of being read more informally compared with the rest of title, and – without focusing the blame for this case on the perpetrator(s) – could be read as disrespectful to the victim.

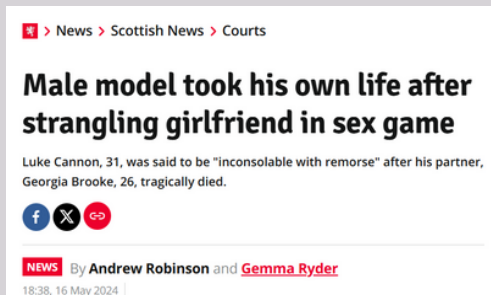


Figure 7.3 "Male model took his own life after strangling girlfriend in sex game" - Daily Record, 16.05.24

This article title again does not clarify that the female victim was strangled to death but includes detail of the male perpetrator taking his own life. We are curious as to why this might be and we would argue it could be perceived as positioning her killing as secondary to him taking his life. In this example, the victim is described by her relationship to the perpetrator and he is described by his job "Male model" which may present him as favourable and may even elicit the halo effect[32], in which portraying someone in a positive way influences our judgement of them more broadly. This could lead to a positive light being cast around the circumstances particularly as her killing is not explicitly stated. As the term sex game is not in inverted commas or quotation marks, this suggests it is being reported as fact, rather than speculation. The actual circumstances can only be known by the individuals who were there at the time and they can't speak for themselves therefore presenting the context as a sex game in which both individuals were equal and willing participants feel inappropriate.



Non-fatal strangulation article titles

The same method as applied in the fatal strangulation sample in the previous section was applied to the 256 online article titles on non-fatal strangulation.

There were 29 articles that fell outside of the context of domestic abuse and sexual violence. These included 18 articles that covered strangulation assault at work, six articles on strangulation as part of a stranger assault, three articles on strangulation assault towards a child (non-domestic abuse), one article that was a warning on children being strangled by costumes around Halloween and one that seemed to colloquially use this term in relation to two celebrity friends. Figure 8. provides some examples of article titles in this group.

Figure 8. Titles, sources, publication dates & links of six examples of online article titles on non-fatal strangulation in other contexts by order of publication date.

[8.1 Faringdon man denies strangling a child in Abingdon - Oxford Mail \[18.01.24\]](#)

[8.2 Two police officers strangled and one left unconscious in Colchester attack - The Independent \[19.02.24\]](#)

[8.3 'I tasted death as he strangled me': NHS staff facing record violence on wards - ITV News \[1.05.24\]](#)

[8.4 Child 'strangled and pushed against fence' in Bristol - Bristol Live \[8.05.24\]](#)

[8.5 Man charged with kidnap and strangulation of 87-year-old | The Oldham Times 24.09.24](#)

[8.6 Charli XCX admits she 'sometimes wants to strangle' friend Matty Healy - The Independent 11.10.24](#)

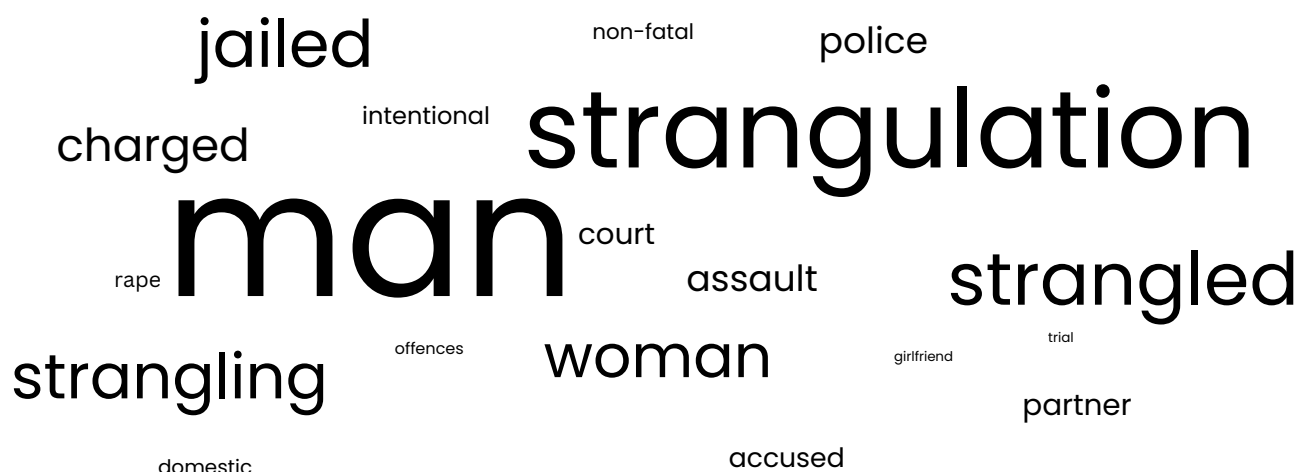
The remaining 227 online articles reported on strangulation in context of domestic abuse and sexual violence. There were nine reports on cases where the victim was a male, two of these were related to sexual violence and the remaining seven were in the context of domestic abuse. Reporting on strangulation in the context of domestic abuse and sexual violence therefore mirrors UK prevalence data that the majority of victims are female [33].

Given the sheer number of titles in this cohort, we increased the frequency table (see Table 2.) and word cloud (see Figure 9.) to report words that feature more than 10 times (rather than more than twice in the last section).

Table 2. Frequency of words featured more than 10 times in the online article titles covering non-fatal strangulation in the context of violence against women and girls.

Frequency	Word
124	man
80	strangulation
48	strangled
48	jailed
46	strangling
46	woman
32	charged
26	assault
25	police
22	partner
20	court
19	accused
18	intentional
16	rape
16	non-fatal
13	domestic
12	offences
11	trial
11	girlfriend

Figure 9. Word cloud of words featuring more than 10 times in 227 online article titles covering non-fatal strangulation in the context of domestic abuse and sexual violence.



In these, titles references to strangulation (e.g. strangled, strangling) were some of the most commonly used words. Likewise, the identity of victims and perpetrators were also common. What is interesting, however, is the absence of the word “wife” that was prominent in the fatal strangulation titles, something which is explored further in the next section through a comparison of the two samples. Similar to the fatal strangulation titles, it was positive to see official strangulation terminology being used rather than colloquial terms. Examination of all words across the 239 non-fatal strangulation article titles showed that “choked” featured five times and “choking” just three times.

Perhaps not surprising given the change in legislation in 2022, the a large majority of words featured were those relating to the criminality of non-fatal strangulation (jailed, police, charged, assault, accused, offences, trial, officer). The titles also featured words that *describe* non-fatal strangulation or other forms of violence (intentional, non-fatal, assault, rape, attack). Both the table (see Table 2.) and word cloud (see Figure 9.) demonstrate that the context of violence against women and girls only featured to a small extent in the article titles.

A recent analysis from the Vulnerability Knowledge Practice Programme (VKPP) demonstrates the co-existence of non-fatal strangulation and coercive and controlling behaviour[16]. In some cases, non-fatal strangulation is used by perpetrators as a form of coercive and controlling behaviour to instill fear and to gain power and control over a victim/survivor. Yet in this sample there were just 11/227 article titles in which the words “control”, “controlling” or “coercive” were used (see Figure 10.) and 12/227 article titles in which the words “domestic abuse” or “domestic abuser” were used (see Figure 11.).

Figure 10. Titles, sources, publication dates & links from examples of online article titles with the words 'control', 'controlling' or 'coercive'

[10.1 Jury finds Southampton man guilty of rape, strangulation and coercive & controlling behaviour - Hampshire and Isle of Wight Constabulary \[31.07.23\]](#)

[10.2 Controlling Luton man jailed after years of domestic abuse - including "intentional strangulation" - Luton Today \[1.08.24\]](#)

[10.3 Jealous and controlling' domestic abuser jailed for strangling and punching woman - Maidenhead Advertiser \[17.01.24\]](#)

[10.4 Devon man jailed after strangling and controlling ex-partner - BBC News \[25.09.24\]](#)

[10.5 Bully boyfriend strangled, kicked and controlled partner in relationship from hell - Stoke on Trent Live \[31.05.24\]](#)

[10.6 Bodmin man admitted strangling his partner as part of coercive behaviour - thepost.uk.com \[16.09.24\]](#)

Although some of the headlines in both Figures 10. and 11. use these terms generically, those that explicitly name non-fatal strangulation as domestic abuse or highlight its links to controlling behaviours used by perpetrators, stand out as naming this type of violence for what it is, in line with the media guidelines detailed in Part three of this report.

Adopting a similar approach as the fatal strangulation group, we, this time, chose 4 article titles on non-fatal strangulation to present as examples of where improvements could be made in the future when developing such headlines.

Figure 11. Titles, sources, publication dates & links from examples of online article titles with the words "domestic abuse" or 'domestic abuser'

[11.1 Domestic abuse victims helped by new non-fatal strangulation law - West Bridgford Wire \[1.07.23\]](#)

[11.2 Brave domestic abuse victim fights back after campaign of violence - Yahoo News \[03.03.24\]](#)

[11.3 Controlling Luton man jailed after years of domestic abuse - including "intentional strangulation" - Luton Today \[1.08.24\]](#)

[11.4 Jealous and controlling' domestic abuser jailed for strangling and punching woman - Maidenhead Advertiser \[17.01.24\]](#)

[11.5 Man charged with domestic assaults and stalking in Gosport & Petersfield - Hampshire and Isle of Wight Constabulary \[2.10.24\]](#)

[11.6 Domestic Abuser found guilty of serious offences - Greater Manchester Police \[28.09.24\]](#)



Figure 12. Titles, sources, publication dates & links to non-fatal strangulation example titles reviewed against existing guidelines outlined in part three of this analysis.

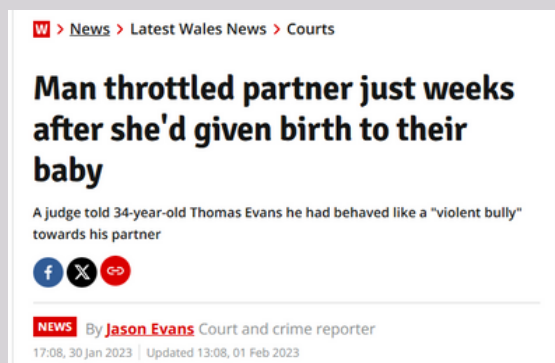


Figure 12.1 "Man throttled partner just weeks after she'd given birth to their baby" – Wales Online, 30.01.23

In a similar way to what was presented in the fatal strangulation article analysis, the way the victim has been described is by their relationship to the perpetrator, yet the word "man", shows an inequity in who is recognised as their own person. The use of "throttled" rather than strangled or non-fatally strangled in this example, presents a missed opportunity to use official terminology. Although we acknowledge that different words are used to describe the act of strangulation (e.g. choked, throttled), the use of colloquial terms minimises this form of violence and fails to name it for what it is. Furthermore, given the seriousness of the circumstances of this case – pregnant women are at particular risk of domestic abuse, it may be a trigger or escalating factor^[34] and research has shown that this is due, at least in part, to the perpetrator's perceived threat to their control over the victim, with the victim's new priority, a baby^[35] – from our perspective it is therefore of vital importance that language that minimises such circumstances is avoided. The additional context in the title, whilst striking and therefore potentially sensationalist, could be considered as important awareness-raising. Recognising the gravity of the strangulation is an opportunity to help a wider audience than just domestic abuse professionals to acknowledge the risks for women in abusive relationships around pregnancy and childbirth.

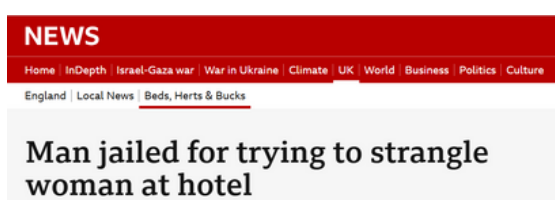


Figure 12.2 "Man jailed for trying to strangle woman with mobile phone charger" – BBC News, 21.06.24

This online article from BBC News reporting on a conviction, is an example of where the language used around strangulation can become confused. The use of "trying to strangle" insinuates that strangulation always results in death, when in fact we know there have been over 60,000 reports of strangulation and suffocation to the police since the legislation was introduced^[28]. It is important to get the language right and to use accurate terminology that doesn't confuse readers. If the perception is that strangulation describes a fatal act only, this risks misunderstanding the legislation and ultimately the impact of non-fatal strangulation on victim/survivors. This is an important example of where a ligature was used, awareness-raising on the different mechanisms that can be used by perpetrators to strangle victims is important information for readers.

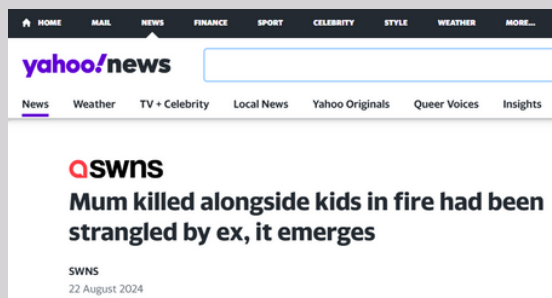


Figure 12.3 "Mum killed alongside kids in fire had been strangled by ex, it emerges" – Yahoo News, 22.08.24

This article title alludes to strangulation as a high-risk factor/precursor in domestic homicide. Although it does not explicitly name it, this is important awareness-raising and moves away from presenting the killing of women as accidental or isolated circumstances but rather the result of an individual's choices and actions over time. Again, the reference to the perpetrator being the victim's "ex" partner conveys the risk that a perpetrator remains to a victim when an abusive relationship ends. Although the victim in this title could have been named, as she is in the report, being described by her relationship to her children, highlights the sadness of this case where a whole family of individuals were killed by a man. Although it is positive that she has not been described by her relationship with the perpetrator it is still important for her to be portrayed as her own person. The context of her being a mother could have been brought in by retaining the reference to her "kids".



Figure 12.4 "Man who choked ex-partner in front of child jailed" – BBC News, 24.08.23

This title from BBC News in 2023 follows a similar pattern of describing the male perpetrator as a "Man" and the female victim by her relationship to the perpetrator. This example is included to convey that change relating to gender equality is needed across news sources. The use of "choked" rather than strangled was an example of using colloquial and minimising language which should be avoided. As well as the context provided for the nature of the relationship between victim and perpetrator, the inclusion of reference to a child witness is helpful to demonstrate the impact on others. Children who witness abuse are considered victims in their own right[2] so, when appropriately explored within articles, this is something that is important for readers of articles to reflect upon. The risks associated with the presence of a child should not be minimised or underrepresented. In the first 6 months of the new offence being in place the Crown Prosecution Service found that in 38% of convictions a child was present at the time of the strangulation[36]. This is an important aspect of this case and might be shocking to many. Although it is a criticism to name the male perpetrator as a man and the female victim in relation to him, the use of 'ex-partner' may, as highlighted in this section, present an opportunity to inform the public of the risk that perpetrators remain to victim/survivors when an abusive relationship comes to an end.

A comparison of the fatal and non-fatal strangulation article titles

A comparison of the two samples presented some key similarities and differences. For example, descriptive words relating the victim to the perpetrator were less frequent in the non-fatal strangulation titles. "Girlfriend" was the only word that featured in Table 2. (frequency of words in non-fatal strangulation group), used 11 times in 227 article titles, compared to "wife" in the fatal strangulation group which was the third most used word (13 times in 33 article titles). In contrast, however, references to "ex's" (ex-partners/ex-girlfriends) were observed in titles relating to non-fatal strangulation (see Figure 9.) but not the fatal strangulation titles (see Figure 1.). These terms reflect the end of the relationship, and this reinforces what we know about the risk perpetrators pose to victim/survivors when their perceived control over the relationship comes to an end. In a recent analysis of 75 Domestic Homicide Reviews (DHRs) where the method of killing was strangulation, it was found that in two thirds of these cases (66%) the relationship had ended or the victim was trying to leave[37]. The lack of references to the end of relationships in the fatal-strangulation article titles therefore may not reflect the full circumstances of those killed by strangulation.

Another of the observable differences were references to the word "sex". In the fatal strangulation titles, the word "sex" was the 18th most common word (see Table 1.). In the non-fatal strangulation article titles there were just 8/227 references to "sex" (see Figure 13.). It is possible that the context of consensual sex may be used as a defense by those accused of fatal strangulation as the other person is no longer around to say otherwise. Six of the eight references to sex in the non-fatal strangulation titles referred to sexual violence and the remaining two depicted warnings related to the risks associated with strangulation during consensual sex. What is also perhaps of interest in this subset of article titles is how strangulation may be perceived as secondary to sexual violence, with words such as strangulation and strangled not featuring in some of the titles at all. Whilst the context of both fatal and non-fatal strangulation is important to understand, those constructing articles should use caution in including detail on circumstances which could be seen to sensationalise or romanticise violent acts.

Figure 13. Titles, sources, publication dates & links to 8 non-fatal strangulation article titles including word 'sex'

- [13.1 Basildon: Man charged with sexual offences and assault – Essex Police \[27.08.23\]](#)
- [13.2 Man jailed for sexual offences – Norfolk Constabulary \[10.05.24\]](#)
- [13.3 Mark Wilson, of March, Cambridgeshire, jailed for sexual offences including strangulation of teenage girl in Thetford – Suffolk News \[10.05.24\]](#)
- [13.4 Man who twice strangled teenage girl jailed for multiple sexual offences – Cambridgeshire Live \[11.05.24\]](#)
- [13.5 Jersey co-restaurant owner found guilty of sexual assault – BBC News \[15.02.24\]](#)
- [13.6 Man, 20, to appear in court accused of intentional strangulation and sexual assault in Ashington – Chronicle Live \[24.10.24\]](#)
- [13.7 Sexual strangulation has become popular – but that doesn't mean it's wanted – Durham University \[26.09.24\]](#)
- [13.8 Boys think strangling women is sexy, charities warn – The Times \(Scotland\) \[12.10.2024\]](#)

Another key difference was the inclusion of other forms of assault or descriptions of violence. For example, in the non-fatal strangulation group, "assault", "attack", "rape", "domestic", "intentional" and "non-fatal" were common whereas no such words were included in the frequency table for the fatal strangulation group. This could perhaps show how fatal strangulation is considered as serious in its own right, but non-fatal strangulation requires reporting alongside other violent or abusive acts for its severity to be appreciated. Alternatively, reporting non-fatal strangulation alongside other abusive behaviours is helpful in demonstrating the way in which harmful behaviours co-exist.

In both groups, references to strangulation, the criminal justice system and whether it was fatal or non-fatal were observed. However, more accurate terminology should be used to state when a victim has been killed by strangulation. In the non-fatal strangulation group, the word "strangulation" as a noun was the second most commonly used word, perhaps reflecting the change in legislation and the word being used more broadly across society. In contrast, in the fatal strangulation group the noun was the joint 12th most common word and the action words of "strangled" and "strangling" were the most common and 4th most common words respectively. This shows that there are examples of correct terminology being used but that improvements could be made going forward to accurately depict both fatal and non-fatal strangulation.



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