The Child Molester: Separating myth from reality

A thesis submitted for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy
by

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THE CHILD MOLESTER
SEPARATING MYTH FROM REALITY

SYNOPSIS

There exist contradictory perceptions of child molesters. Whereas the criminal justice system treats them as similar to other criminals the academic literature views them as victims of a pathological disorder emphasizing the need for treatment.

A deeper exploration of the academic literature reinforces this distinction. Instead of researching and categorising the similarities or differences between child molesters and other criminal offenders the literature has implicitly accepted that no commonalities exist by postulating only variations within child sexual offenders. It is argued in this thesis that this constricted approach has missed existing communal characteristics between the groups.

The thesis is proposed that child molesters should be viewed as exploitative and abusive individuals for whom sexual deviancy with a young vulnerable victim forms part of a diversity of symptoms demonstrating the way they relate to other individuals within society. This is in contrast to the academic literature which views him as an individual with only one distinguishing trait, an exclusive sexual motivation towards children.

In order to explore this further all detected sexual offenses committed on children aged between 5-12 years for a three year period (1987-89) which were reported to the Lancashire Constabulary were compiled. Victim,
offence, and offender details were then content analyzed for all 416 offenses, and evaluated using a number of statistical tests.

The initial analysis did not support previous conceptual classifications that offenders could be distinguished by a sexual preference for children. Instead, the offenses exhibited similarities to other criminal offenses which allowed their discrimination on a variety of criteria. These comprised: age and gender of victim; age and gender of offender, relationship of offender to the victim; type of offence and how it was committed; and the previous convictions and the antecedents of the offender.

It was further hypothesized that offenders could further be discriminated as to their degree of invasiveness towards the victim. Ninety-seven of the offenses were then content analyzed over 59 variables relating specifically to offence behaviour. A multi-dimensional scaling procedure known as Smallest Space Analysis (Lingoes, 1973) revealed a faceted structure to child molestation behaviour, distinguishing offenders between levels of aggression and intimacy.

The facet structure provided a model to test and confirm the social interactive model proposed by Canter, 1989. Using Chi-square analysis it was established that those who related to the child in the most abusive fashion were revealed to have distinct characteristics; the most exploitative offenders showed criminal recidivism and an inability to sustain relationships. In contrast the intimate, socially motivated offender, who demonstrated the most apparent empathy towards the victim had less criminal history, and a superior ability to form non-deviant relationships. It was hypothesized that a linear
continuum relating to levels of abuse existed between these two extremes of offender behaviour.

The ability to differentiate child sex offenses on a number of clearly defined offence behaviour criteria and to then ascribe offender characteristics was subjected to a field validation test. The subsequent profile was found accurate on all 22 variables in relation to an offender who indecently assaulted a number of pre-pubertal boys.

Aggressively orientated behaviour was then described in terms of an "anti-social personality" whereby indiscriminate sexual deviancy appeared as just another symptom of impulsive criminal behaviour. In contrast "intimate orientated behaviour" was described in terms of relationship inadequacy. The continuum of behaviour between the two extremes was explained in terms of coercive and abusive behaviour explained within the parameters of a multi-disciplinary criminological model.

In conclusion the theoretical benefits are discussed of a psychological framework which allows offenses to be understood in terms of observable criteria. Similarly the practical benefits for criminal investigation are also addressed.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a curious and somewhat nostalgic affair to extend my gratitude to those who have helped me over these last 4 years of research.

Starting at home my appreciation goes to my wife Ann who has displayed considerable patience and shown significant support for a husband who has spent most of his spare time engaged on academic rather than domestic chores. I also wish to thank my friend Steven Corbin who checked thousands of coding details to provide my inter-rater agreement.

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Section 1

An introduction to child sexual abuse and child sex-offenders
CHAPTER 1

Pathology or Criminality?
During 1990 inmates of Strangeways Prison rioted. When those responsible were brought before the Court, Prosecuting Counsel explained the hierarchy which existed amongst the prison population. At the bottom of this population existed the "nonces" or "beasts" who were incarcerated for the sexual abuse of children. Such offenders were generally segregated from other prisoners, known as "Rule 43", for their own safety. It is these offenders who form the subject matter of this thesis.

The Prosecution case outlined how child molesters were isolated by other prisoners and upon the onset of the riot were immediately attacked. Such offenders were then threatened, beaten, and even thrown over the landing rails to be caught by the safety net below. The Judge when summing up the details of the trial directed comment towards one of the ringleaders who had attacked a guard, seized the keys and released other prisoners inciting them to attack the "beasts". The judge disclosed the irony of the situation by saying to the prisoner, "You, forgetful of your own past, which included a rape conviction, appointed yourself judge, jury and executioner" (1).

The prisoner who led this attack provides a graphic illustration of Turner's (1981) social identity theory which reveals how individuals ascribe themselves to in-groups enhancing their own social identity at the expense of others (the out-group). The feature which particularly amplifies this conceptualisation was that although this prisoner was a sex-offender he was able to perceive himself as different to another subset of offenders and rationalise his retribution.

When analyzing and comparing sexual offenders who choose to offend against children from those who offend against adults one inevitably seeks discriminating criteria. One
argument is that there exists no tangible difference between these groups, like the ringleader of the prison riot all had committed sexual offenses on those who were vulnerable. The fact that the ring-leader of the riot attacked child sex-offenders only amplifies the propensity and ability of this type of individual to offend against others more vulnerable than themselves.

This of course is not a popular conceptualisation. Commentators, who have consisted of clinicians, psychologists, sociologists, probation and police officers have consistently pointed to something inherently different within the child molester distancing that offender subset from others. A common perception is that these offenders suffer pathological disorders and require treatment. Richard Monk, Head of the Community Affairs and Crime Prevention Department within the Metropolitan Police Service was quoted as saying such offenders were evil, and that punishing paedophilia was no solution to a crime where offenders re-offended within hours of being released from prison (2).

Others have reinforced this opinion saying that this type of offender cannot be cured, merely controlled. But it is those who maintain this pathological perspective who highlight the contradiction that surround these offenders within the Criminal Justice system. Although such descriptions form the basis for what one would expect to be a treatment model, child sex offenders are treated as ordinary criminals. They are perceived as mentally capable of taking responsibility for their actions, resulting in their incarceration being conducted at prisons rather than hospitals.

This perverse inconsistency between the Courts and the medical profession does have historical precedent. Twenty years ago homosexuality was still viewed as a perversion,
a mental illness which needed to be cured. A host of techniques such as aversion therapy, systematic desensitisation, hypnosis, and psychosurgery were used to cure the "patient", although the Criminal Justice System saw the behaviour as criminal (3). It is now accepted that such sexual orientation is a variant rather than a perversion of sexuality, and not in itself an indication of mental illness.

The concept of mental illness has revolved around the ability to define abnormal behaviour. The essence of this prognosis is the perceived distance child molestation is from "normal" behaviour. Here public attitude is important. If sexual behaviour is perceived merely as a symptom of an exploitative and abusive individual then the distance between such an offender and the general public is significantly reduced. However public attitude towards child sex-offenders has never recognised this realm of objectivity. It has been unforgiving in its denigration, often shrouding child sexual behaviour in rhetoric and sensationalism, which allows no other interpretation than pathology. As has been witnessed deviant sexual acts with adults, such as rape, are seen as neighbouring "normal" behaviour whereas those with children is more remote. But is it that these offenders are unhealthy and perverted or is it that the public wants to perceive them in this way in order to distance them from the general population?

It is critical to understand child molesters and to establish if and how they differ from other criminals. This is not only important in terms of treatment and punishment, but in understanding the psychological processes related to criminality. For here is a group of offenders who are described as incurable, but if this is true what aspects of their psyche or what element of society has made them so? Can such a process be
prevented? What repercussions does it have on others? It may be of course that child molesters are not significantly different from other criminals. To make such a finding would have an affect on the way researchers have viewed the topic, as well as adding a further dimension in the understanding of the wider criminal population.
CHAPTER 2

The concept of Child Molestation
It is perhaps understandable to commence a thesis of this nature by becoming embroiled in the rhetoric which denounces sexual acts against children. Many studies on this subject are emotive and have bred exaggerated and bizarre claims. Although this thesis will never argue such behaviour is defensible it is vital that it be viewed objectively. To this endeavour this chapter will look at three issues concerning the concept of child sexual abuse: how other societies have defined the offence, the extent of the problem, and the effect such offenses has had on its victims.

**Other cultures**

Actions are deemed criminal because they are so proscribed by society, due to the fact they transgress a social norm. Cultures are diverse in their perception of criminality, and this is especially true of sexual behaviour.

History shows that the Jews B.C. brought in a code forbidding temple prostitution but otherwise were not concerned about sexual deviation, merely discouraging excessive sexuality. Meyer and Salmon (1984) report that from 600 B.C. to 65 A.D. sexual relations were viewed as satanic temptation and those who indulged were sinful. In contrast those in ancient Greece felt there was a beauty and sense of joy surrounding sexual behaviour. Homosexuality was practised and accepted as was pederasty (sexual initiation of young boys by older men), and public nudity.

As years progressed methods to prevent sexual activity were devised. Misogyny came into vogue in the 4th-6th Centuries precipitating sexual deviation which even
resulted in self castration.

Homosexuality however was, and remains as a sexual behaviour found and accepted in most societies (Masters & Johnson, 1979; Masters, Johnson & Kolodny, 1982). It also serves as a useful example to demonstrate how public perception affects medical diagnosis. DSM-1 initially classified homosexuality as a socio-pathic personality disorder, which was reduced in the publication of DSM-11, to the term personality disorder. As homosexual and lesbian rights groups became more vociferous public and medical attitude began to change. In 1974 it was replaced by a new term called "sexual orientation disorder", which related to those who were distressed by their homosexual behaviour. In DSM-111 a new term was devised called "ego-dystonic homosexuality". This related to individuals for whom the concept of homosexuality was unacceptable and who cathartically dissipated their internalized conflict. Now because general public attitude and therefore psychiatrists no longer considered homosexuality to be pathological it was inappropriate to speak of its treatment or cure.

A further anomaly can be seen by focusing on the different customs and laws observed in other Countries. An example of this is India where many Hindu and Muslim families, because of their poverty, sell their daughters into marriage or legalised prostitution (4). For instance in Hyderabad, Southern India 13 year old Hindu girls have been married to middle aged transvestite priests. A component of the marriage contract was that the child would perform sexual acts with any man the priest demanded. Although such girls were officially dedicated to the goddess Yellama in effect they were being married into quasi-religious prostitution. The selling of young females is not isolated to religious sects, with other females in this area being sold for
marriage as young as 8 years, although for the vast majority this did not occur until the female reached puberty.

In fact there appears no uniformity in respect of sexual activity with young people. One of the most liberal Countries in respect of sexual behaviour is Holland. Although attempts were recently made to reduce the age of sexual consent to 12 years, this was unsuccessful and currently remains at 14 years. As well as inconsistencies between Countries there are also inconsistencies within them. An example of this is the United States of America where the average age for sexual consent is 18 years of age. However although this is the consensual age in New York, a relatively short distance away in the State of Maine the legitimate age for sexual consent is 14 years.

The section proves that there are spatial and temporal criteria that relate to criminal offending in relation to sexual deviancy. A man of 50 years having sexual intercourse with a girl of 14 years would be committing a criminal offence in this Country, perhaps perceived by society as having a "pathological disorder". However if the same person committed the same behaviour in Southern India or Holland his behaviour would be perceived as normal. These inconsistencies must surely warrant caution when determining pathological disorders. Ascribing mental illness status to those who commit certain antisocial acts has had a long and unjust history, once in place these laws are accepted by the general population and accepted without consideration.
Definitions of sexual abuse

Having discussed the inconsistencies in relation to the age a child can legitimately engage in sexual activity, this chapter looks specifically at the behaviour which is defined as sexually deviant.

Kempe & Kempe (1984: p9) defined sexual abuse as, "...the involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities that they do not fully comprehend and to which they are unable to give informed consent, or that violate the social taboos of family roles."

They went on to list the categories of sexual abuse as follows:

a) Incest- sexual activity between family members.

b) Paedophilia- the preference of an adult for pre-pubertal children as sex objects.

c) Exhibitionism- the exposure of genitals by an adult male.

d) Molestation- behaviours such as touching, fondling, kissing and masturbation.

e) Sexual intercourse- including oral-genital, anal-genital, or penile-vaginal contact.

f) Rape- sexual or attempted intercourse without the consent of the victim.

g) Sexual sadism- the infliction of bodily injury as a means of obtaining sexual excitement.
h) Child pornography- the involvement of children in sexual acts for profit.

Butler (1985:5), gave a wider definition taking into account the cognitive state of the child, stating it was, "...any sexual activity or experience imposed on a child which results in emotional, physical, or sexual trauma."

In practice however forming such clearly defined boundaries in relation to sexual abuse can be difficult. For instance where does an affectionate kiss transcend the boundary of decency and become sexual abuse? Similarly should a pat on the bottom by a grandfather be construed as indecent, if not should it be interpreted as indecent if he stroked the child's bottom? Because of these difficulties Goldstein (1987) said any definition must include mention of the offenders' intent or state of mind during the behaviour. Again this would promote not eradicate difficulties in the task of obtaining proof that the individual received some sexual gratification from the action. Obviously such an attempt would have practical and theoretical difficulties.

The extent of sexual abuse

Commentators reported that the interest in child sex abuse, which exploded into the consciousness of the British public during the 1980's, was itself pathological (5). On the positive side there is little doubt that the publicity did assist victims to come forward and disclose their abuse, although accurate assessment of its extent has been extremely difficult to establish. In effect there are three sources which relate to the frequency of sexual abuse: victim reports, offender reports, and offenses reported to the Police (a review of the
methodological problems surrounding each perspective will be discussed later). All give different accounts as to its frequency.

Victim reports

Outlined below are a number of surveys which described the perceived extent of sexual abuse from the victim’s perspective.

Finkelhor (1979a) took 796 social science college students (530 female, 266 male) from 6 New England, U.S.A. educational establishments. They were then asked to complete a questionnaire exploring any incestuous or coercive sexual experiences they suffered as a child. It found that 19.2% (nearly 1 in 5) women and 8.6% (1 in 11) males reported having had abusive childhood sexual experiences.

In 1984 Canada commissioned a national population survey which took a representative sample from all parts of the Country. The questionnaires produced an 88% response rate resulting in 1,833 respondents. The results found that 17.6% of females and 8.2% of males in the total population had been subjected to sexual assault (i.e. at least the touching of unclothed breasts, buttocks, penis, or vagina), prior to their 17th birthday.

Bagley and King (1990) reviewed studies from 1979, which included over 9,000 subjects from 3 different countries. They summarized these studies as follows:

a) 38% of San Francisco women reported at least one experience of sexual abuse before the age of 18
years, with 28% occurring before 14 years. These included non-contact experiences (Russell, 1984).

b) 11% of female and 3% of male Texas residents, responding to a mailed survey, reported having been sexually abused as children (age not specified), (Kercher and McShane, 1984).

c) 15% of female and 6% of male Boston parents identified experiences when they were aged 16 years and under which they considered to have been childhood sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1984a).

d) 20% of females and 9% of males in a population of students in Western Canada reported a sexual relationship in childhood (usually involving threat, force, or a significantly older partner), which occurred up to their 18th birthday (Sorrenti-Little et al. 1984).

e) 45% of Los Angeles women reported at least one sexual abuse experience before 18 years. There was no significant difference between Afro and white respondents (Wyatt, 1985).

f) 12% of female and 8% of male residents of Britain reported having been sexually abused before the age of 16 years (Baker and Duncan, 1985).

g) 22% of female college students in the eastern U.S.A. reported at least one sexually abusive experience as a child, aged 16 years or younger (Fromuth, 1986).

h) 22% of women of all ages, in a community mental health study in Calgary, Western Canada, reported serious sexual abuse up to their 17th birthday (Bagley and Ramsay, 1986).
i) 24% of women aged 22 to 36 in a survey of 632 mothers with young children reported sexual abuse involving contact at least with their genitals, before the age of 17 years (Bagley and Young, 1988).

Offender reports

There has been considerable clinical work done on child sex-offenders. As part of their therapy such offenders have been asked to quantify how many sex offenses they have committed.

Abel (1984), from his studies on such offenders hypothesised that adult out-patient sex offenders may be expected to commit on average 380 offenses in their lifetime, whereas Lanning (1987) felt the figure may be up to 1000. Abel et al. (1987) later reported that 561 rapists/child molesters disclosed having committed over 200,000 sex assaults on over 195,000 victims, which averaged out to 356 offenses for each offender.

Briere & Runtz (1989), found from their study that 22% of adult male college students admitted being attracted to children. 5% said they had masturbatory fantasies in respect of children, whilst 7% said they would abuse children if they could evade detection. Deviant fantasies may therefore be much more widespread than was first imagined. Whether such fantasies have the potential to cause deviant behaviour is difficult to ascertain.
Offenses reported to the Police

Sexual offenses as a whole comprise less than 1% of all offenses reported to the police (Criminal Statistics 1990). According to such statistics indecent assault is the most common offence, followed in terms of frequency by rape, indecent assault on a male, unlawful sexual intercourse on a girl under 16 years, indecency between males, buggery, gross indecency with a child, and incest. Over the last 10 years reported sexual offenses have risen by 3.8% per annum. Violence has risen by 8.8%, and rape by 18%. Unfortunately these statistics are difficult to interpret; whether the rise is due to a change in attitudes culminating in more people feeling able to report this type of offense, or whether the actual level of offending has risen is open to supposition.

Having looked at all sexual offenses, immaterial of age of victim, the question was asked as to what criminal offenses were most frequently committed on juveniles (legally defined at the time of the study as those under the age of 17 years). The answer was provided by analyzing all crimes reported in the Lancashire Police area during 1988. There were 83,588 criminal offenses reported to the Constabulary, 2653 (3.2%) of which were committed on juveniles. Although these crimes were initially classified into 33 home office categories for statistical purposes, it serves the purpose of this survey to place them into 3 broader categories; crimes which are violent, sexual or dishonest in nature.

The findings are;

- dishonesty 50%
- sexual offenses 29%
- violence 21%
and when differentiated into gender:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
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<tr>
<td>VIOLENCE</td>
<td>410 (24%)</td>
<td>153 (16%)</td>
<td>563</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEXUAL</td>
<td>135 (8%)</td>
<td>627 (66%)</td>
<td>762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISHONESTY</td>
<td>1155 (68%)</td>
<td>173 (18%)</td>
<td>1328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>2653</td>
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Figure 1 above showing offenses committed on juvenile victims in respect of gender.

As can be seen reported sex-offenses in Lancashire account for 29% of all offenses on children, although this is significantly more for females (66%) than males (8%). The final question in this chapter asks what affect such offenses have had upon the victim.

**The effect of child abuse**

Dr. Bentovim from Great Ormond Street hospital said, "Whilst sexual abuse is an act of power, the fact that it is transmitted bodily has inevitable sexual repercussions." Donald Campbell said, "Premature sexual experience with someone outside the generational boundaries needs to be taken very seriously indeed. It may precipitate a too early foreclosure of the child or adolescent's own choice in developing sexuality." Dr. Eileen Vizard of the Tavistock Clinical Assessment and Treatment Service for adolescent abusers agreed, "A
tragedy for all victims, regardless of their gender or the gender of their abusers, is that they are troubled by sexual fantasies and flashbacks. We need to intervene as quickly as possible so they have a freer choice in their sexual development." Given an example of a 14 year old boy who had been sexually abused by a same sex teacher Dr Vizard stated that the victim would take a further step towards homosexuality which otherwise may not have been his consenting choice (6).

Of those that have been sexually abused the most frequently reported problems in children have included severe anxiety, anger, somatic complaints, disturbed sexual functioning, truancy and running away from home. The effects of child abuse later reported by adults are most likely to involve depression, low self esteem, anxiety, isolation, and behaviours which include substance abuse, sexual problems, and self destructive behaviours. Similarly recipients are most likely to be victims of non-voluntary sexual contact, also showing poor parenting skills (Bachmann et al. 1988). It also leads to the forming of specific attitudes towards sexual matters i.e. promiscuity, inappropriate preoccupation with sexual activity, lack of trust in intimate relationships and behavioral problems; i.e. sleep and eating disorders, involuntary facial movements, and headaches.

Briere & Runtz (1988), said that it was difficult to associate whether symptomology in adulthood correlated with earlier sexual abuse or whether both were a function of a third variable such as dysfunctional family dynamics. Similarly they thought it was necessary to find if such relationships existed in less deviant samples i.e. other than in offenders undergoing clinical treatment. A questionnaire was therefore given to 278 female undergraduate students, with an age range between
17-40 years, average age being 19.8 years. The questionnaire asked the respondents if they had been sexually abused, the criteria for which was based on Finkelhor's inventory (1979), which defined abuse as sexual contact (i.e. touching through to intercourse) between a girl under 15 years of age, with an individual at least 5 years older. Approximately 15% reported having had sexual contact. Such women when assessed against the Hopkins symptom checklist reported higher levels of dissociation, somatization, anxiety and depression than did non-abused women. Although abuse characteristics were associated with a wide range of symptoms the research pointed to the fact that greater anxiety, dissociation, and somatization was found in women whose abuse involved either parental incest, older abusers, completed intercourse, or a longer period of abuse.
Section Conclusion

These chapters have indicated how public opinion can determine mental illness by focusing upon a behaviour which is perceived as morally wrong. It was also mentioned that the interest in child abuse has itself been termed pathological. There is a danger of dealing with this emotive topic too subjectively.

Cohen (1972), termed the phrase "moral panic" to describe how a group of people can become focused upon as a threat to societal values and interests. Moore (1987) later said that moral panics erode respect for sound evidence, making an analogy between the witch-hunts in the past. Like sexual child abuse witchcraft was difficult to prove therefore considerable reliance was made of "so-called experts" who were legitimately motivated and believed what they said. These experts interpreted witchcraft from behaviour the lay-person saw as unsuspicious and their decisions are now seen as mistaken.

Nobody can argue legitimately that child sexual abuse can be condoned however caution must be exercised when questions are asked as to what is a child? what is child sexual abuse? how should we react to child sexual abuse? how should we perceive the offenders?
Section 2

Previous research on offenders
CHAPTER 3

Introduction and Definitions relating to child sex-offenders
What type of person is the child molester? How can he be explained? The purpose of the following section is to look at previous research both on child molesters and mainstream criminological theory, to ascertain what, if any, are the criteria which differentiate this type of offender. One of the themes which will be explored throughout this review is the part methodology and theory has had to play in such research. This section will be in three parts: typologies of child molesters; models of child molestation; and psychological and sociological theories of criminology.

**Some definitions**

Prior to embarking on this review it is useful to assemble a number of definitions which go some way to extricate the ambiguities associated with child molestation. Groth (1980:3), defined a child molester as,

"...a significantly older individual whose conscious sexual desires and responses are directed, either partially or exclusively, toward pre-pubertal children (paedophilia) and/or pubescent children (haebophilia) to whom he or she may be directly related or not (incest)."

The term paedophilia is classified in DSM-111 (1980:271), as a paraphilia, a psychosexual disorder which is technically a psychiatric diagnosis which can only be made by a qualified psychiatrist or psychologist. The word "paedophile" therefore is a diagnostic term, not a legal one, explained as "the act or fantasy of engaging
In sexual activity with prepubertal children as a repeatedly preferred or exclusive method of achieving sexual excitement."

In layman terms any such distinction between haebophilia and paedophilia has been erased in the emotive rhetoric which surrounds this type of offence. This is even true of those who explain offenders in a quasi-clinical format; Lanning (1987:203), whose work will be seen in more detail later, is one who does not acknowledge the distinction, defining a paedophile as a "significantly older individual who prefers to have sex with individuals legally considered children". This may be a small point but it shows the willingness for certain researchers to be seduced into the usage of common terminology rather than adhering to a regulated experimental format. Further Lanning's definition is weak because its ambiguity. A child can be accommodated within this definition between 1-16 years dependent on the legislation that exists where he or she resides. Similarly of what age is a "significantly older individual"? Should this concept be determined on physical age or mental capability? Again the parameters are blurred.

A further distinction also needs to be made between the terms paedophile and child molester. It must be accepted that for those described as "paedophiles" the facility exists to satisfy their fixation through young prostitutes, pornography or masturbatory fantasy; they may never need to assault a child. By definition however child molesters are those who actually engage in offence behaviour directed against a child. Therefore child molesters and "paedophiles" are not necessarily one and the same.
It is dubious that society can objectively differentiate between the non-offending "paedophile" and the child molester. Could public attitude accept that a person whose sexual fantasises revolve around children be innocent of a crime? Who is the most disturbed individual, the one that commits the offence or the one who merely thinks about the behaviour? There are a number of moral arguments here which would be more adequately discussed by philosophers rather than psychologists, but again the deliberation of such questions promotes emotive discussion, often encompassing myth, which detracts from the topic's objectivity. For instance would the same concern be given to an individual who fantasises about robbing a bank, or of punching his employer in the face?

Further explanations are required in relation to pornography which Lanning (1987), and Goldstein (1987), emphasise is important when dealing with "paedophiles". Child pornography is defined as a sexually explicit reproduction of a child's image, voice or handwriting. Child erotica on the other hand is defined as any material, relating to children, that services a sexual purpose for a given individual. In this way pornography would include sexually explicit photographs of children whereas child erotica might include legitimately bought children's underwear. "Paedophiles" are reported as creative in their acquisition of such items, for instance Claire Short (M.P. for Ladywood) reported in October 1989 that remanded "paedophiles" would swap their offence depositions for similar depositions held by other molesters, to read whilst in prison.

Any pornographic collection can involve a wide variety of items which will all have a sexual significance to its keeper. Lanning (1987), says that the more intelligent and affluent "paedophiles" will manage to store a more detailed collection, in both a commercial and home-made
form. One thing is certain, the commentator claims, the
collection will be painstakingly collected and not given
up lightly.

Can child sex offenders be differentiated from other
criminals? Research on this subject has never suggested
otherwise. Child molesters have never been compared to
control groups consisting of other criminals; research
into the underlying cause of such behaviour has never
searched under the umbrella of mainstream criminological
theory. It is as if the question never merited
consideration. Research has been concerned with
distinguishing within the group, rather than between
groups of other criminals. It is to that distinction the
thesis now turns.
CHAPTER 4

Typologies of Child Molesters
Typologies

The most common typology of child molestation has been a dichotomous distinction between the fixated or preferential molester versus the regressed or situational molester (see Cohen, Boucher, Seghorn & Mehegan 1979; Fitch 1962; Groth, Hobson and Gary 1982; Howells 1981; Kopp 1962; Lanning 1987; McCaghy 1967; Swanson 1971; Dietz 1983).

The preferential or fixated offender

The concept of the fixated or preferential molester is well defined and supported in clinical circles, and is more commonly known as the paedophile. This person’s preferred or exclusive method of achieving sexual arousal involves unconventional imagery or acts relating to children, and this is the type of offender to whom DSM-111 refers to.

Such an offender is normally characterised on three criteria: an illness or pathological disorder; an incapacity to form relationships with heterosexual peers; and a sexual recidivism relating exclusively to children. The Gracewell Clinic (7), one of the few treatment centres for such offenders in Britain, postulates that sexual behaviour patterns in relation to these individuals are learned and relatively fixed, therefore they cannot be cured merely controlled. As a consequence such offenders are said to follow and continue to follow, if uninterrupted, an identifiable pattern of behaviour that will lead them into other offenses. Indeed as has been reported, Abel (1984) hypothesised that adult out patient sex offenders may be expected to commit on average 380 offenses in their lifetime, whilst in Lanning’s opinion the offender may molest 10,50,100, or even 1000 children in a lifetime.
Groth (1987b:6) described the preferential offender as a person.....

"...who has, from adolescence been sexually attracted primarily or exclusively to significantly younger people, and this attraction has persisted throughout his life, regardless of what other sexual experience he has had."

Although not validated by any significant statistical analysis Lanning (1987), an agent employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, describes the preferential offender as typically 25 years of age, single (never having been married), living alone or with parents. He will have a limited dating history and if married attaches himself to a strong domineering woman or a weak passive "woman-child", who has low sexual expectations. The offender will have a small circle of friends, many of whom would be children. Also the molesters’ preference will be formed in early adolescence which will make them noticeable by their indifference to the opposite sex and their inability to settle in any one place. Lanning says that once the child molester is identified he will be pressurised to move town and this will show in frequent moves.

He further states that the preferential molester will show a long term and persistent pattern of behaviour, will have children as his preferred sexual object, and will have well developed techniques for obtaining victims. As a result, he concludes, such people will be easier to investigate.

Richard Monk (2), Head of the Community Affairs and Crime Prevention Department at New Scotland Yard says that "paedophiles" were white, middle aged, frequently without previous convictions and perhaps active in youth
organizations. Sometimes they were wealthy, high ranking or influential, and always incapable of sustaining an adult relationship with someone of the opposite sex. He said offenders targeted their victims over days, weeks, months, and even a year saying they seduced rather than coerced victims into the abuse.

Goldstein (1987) states that as well as the preference for children there is a need amongst them for frequent and repeated sex and says that preferential molesters can further be subdivided into the seduction, introverted, and sadistic molesters.

The "seduction" type is described as a person who can identify a particular child as receptive to attention (due to emotional or physical neglect), and use social skills to "court" the child. Such offenders may be involved with more than one child at any time. Goldstein (1987) says that in some cases such offenders have become sadistic molesters, although the reason is not known.

The "introverted" offender in contrast is a person who lacks the social skills of the "seductive" type and has a fear of communication. Although he prefers children he finds it difficult to seduce them therefore he evolves a strategy whereby he molest strangers or very young children which negates the need for interpersonal communication. Goldstein states that such an individual is more likely to attend areas where he knows children will be, in order to watch or engage them in brief sexual encounters. Such an inadequacy may make the person expose himself or make obscene 'phone calls to children. He may even marry and have children in order to have access to children, a strategy also reported by Monk (2).
The “sadistic” offender is reported in much fewer numbers and is a person who needs to inflict upon the child some pain or suffering in order to become aroused (or gratified). Goldstein says that it is this type who is the most likely preferential molester to abduct or murder their victim, although in some cases he says the seduction type may also become a sadistic molester.

The situational or regressed offender

Groth described such an offender as a "normal" type of person whose sexual preference normally lay with his heterosexual peers, but who became unable to control his impulse and experimented sexually with children due to situational stressors such as divorce, alcoholism, financial problems or other life crises. Such an offender would have poor coping skills and would molest children because they were available, therefore many commentators assumed the offenders' own children would become the most vulnerable. Here the dynamics of the situation form the important precipitator rather than the characteristics of the offender. However as Groth intimates there is also a requirement for the child to be sexually attractive to the individual, no matter how transient this attraction is.

Groth (1987b:9) describes the situational offender as...

"...a person who originally preferred peers or adult partners for sexual gratification. However when these adult relationships became conflictual in some important respect, the adult became replaced by the child as the focus of the person's sexual interests and desires...At the time of the sexual activity, this offender is usually in a state of depression, in which he doesn't care, and/or is in a state of partial
dissociation in which he doesn't think about what he is doing - he suspends his usual values, his controls are weak, and he behaves in a way that is, in some respects, counter to his usual standards and conduct."

Further, as is seen in more refined typologies below, although this sexual orientation is transient invariably the majority of these offenders are characterized by deviant sexual characteristics and their ability to plan offenses, a strategy which is synonymous with fixated offenders. The perception of mental illness is also maintained by this model; offenders are said to suffer from depression or alcoholism which again consolidate the belief that normal people do not commit this type of offence. It extends the case for treatment rather than punishment.

Lanning (1987) further differentiates between the situational offender into the "morally discriminate", the "sexually discriminate" and "inadequate" types.

Lanning reports that the "morally discriminate" is a person for whom child abuse is simply part of a general pattern of abuse. This offender abuses all around him simply because such victims are weaker than him and he can get away with it. Lanning further reports that the victims can be strangers, acquaintances or even his own children, with this type of offender merely acting to satisfy his sexual urge when he discerns it is safe to do so. Lanning further states such an offender will collect pornography of a sadomasochistic nature which will mainly involve adults although it will probably include pubescent children.

The "sexually indiscriminate" is a person who is willing to try anything of a sexual nature. Although he has no ingrained preference for children he would choose such a victim through boredom hoping it would provide a new
experience. Such an offender, Lanning says, would use his own children and even loan them to others. He is likely to have a wide and varied pornography collection of which that relating to children would only comprise a small part.

Lanning’s final subset of situational offenders is the "inadequate". This type of offender is reported in fewer numbers and sees the child as a non-threatening and vulnerable object to be explored, becoming involved through insecurity or curiosity. Such an offender can come from a diverse background. They could include those with mental or personality disorders, and are characterized by those offenders who are shy and withdrawn. Such a person is said to dissipate their emotional turmoil through any non-threatening victim. They are described as dangerous because of their mental and emotional problems and are perceived as being capable of torturing or even killing their victims. Any pornography collection belonging to this type of individual would probably be adult rather than child orientated. Lanning finishes by saying that although any child molester is capable of violence most of the sexually motivated child murders profiled by the F.B.I. have involved situational offenders especially those that fit the morally discriminate and inadequate typology.

Further typologies

Further distinctions have been seen as important within the understanding of child sexual abuse. In essence these have dealt with the violence involved in the offence, the gender of the victim, the incestuous relationship towards the victim, the amount of contact with children, and the social competence of the offender.
Groth et al. (1982a), made a distinction in regard to child rapists who were involved in offenses of violence and who committed offenses similar to adult rape. This offender overpowers and/or threatens to harm their victim in contrast to child molesters who coax or pressure the child into sexual acts through non-violent means. Child rapists were further classified into those motivated by power, anger, or sadism.

Further dichotomous distinctions have been made between incestuous and non incestuous offenders (Herman 1981), with the underlying assumption that certain offenders were exclusively incestuous. Later research did not support this, Abel et al. (in Conte, 1985), reporting on 142 fathers who sexually assaulted their daughters found that 44% of them had abused female children outside their home, 11% had abused male children, and 18% admitted raping mature women (Conte, 1985). Further such incestuous fathers were sexually aroused by child sexual stimuli which did not relate to their own daughters. Although the dichotomy was not sustained the importance of familial abuse has continued to dominate research in this field.

Knight, Carter and Prentky (1989) agreed with Finkelhor & Araji (1983) that even more tightly defined dichotomies were inadequate. They therefore attempted to provide a classification system that divided child molesters into reliable and cohesive subgroups when confounded by the fixated/regressed dichotomy. Using 177 child molesters from the Massachusetts Treatment Centre, which accommodates sexually dangerous offenders, they only included those who committed "contact offenses" on children under 16 years of age. The study found that nearly 90% of the sample had prior adult penal history which characteristically contained prior serious sexual offenses. Other convictions were not commented upon.
In the classification there were 2 main axis. Axis 1 involved two dichotomous decisions. The first was the strength of the fixation, that is the extent to which a child formed part of the subject’s thoughts. The second decision related to social competence based on the subjects employment record, adult relationships, and level of social responsibility. Axis 2 required further decisions. The first related to the amount of contact the subject had with children; with high contact subjects then being assessed into those who were predominantly relationship orientated, against those who were exclusively sexually orientated. Low contact subjects were split into those who caused low or high physical injury, who were again split into non-sadistic and sadistic categories. Knight et al (1989) concluded that their typology could give a better understanding of the offender.

A number of dimensions, although noted, were not integrated into this classification. One of these was the gender of the victim which had been found significant for offenders in a number of other studies (see Fitch, 1962; Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy & Christenson, 1965; Mohr, Turner, & Jerry 1964). Such studies have found evidence of concurrence (Freund 1967 a & b; Laws & Osborn, 1983) and predictive validity (Fitch 1962; Frisbie, 1969).

Virtually all studies found a higher abuser rate for girls, although there was also a substantial number of boys abused. Finkelhor (1986), quoted the average rates of child sex abuse from 8 random surveys as 70% girl victims to 30% boy victims. Groth (1979) in a study of 148 child molesters found that 51% selected only girls as victims, 28% selected only boys, and 21% selected both boys and girls. Abuse of boys therefore is certainly not uncommon. Out of a sample of nearly 3,000 male college students 216 reported experiencing an incident prior to the age of 14 that was classified as sexual abuse by researchers (Groth 1979;
Risin & Koss 1987). Also in Canada a survey of 89 male runaways seeking shelter found that 38% reported having been sexually abused (Janus et al., 1987).

Finally Lanning (1987) reported that most "paedophiles" prefer children of a certain sex and age bracket. The older the age the more particular the gender preference, conversely the younger the child the less likely there would be gender discrimination. Presumably the rationale here being that the younger the child the more androgynous the appearance. Also puberty is reported as being an important dividing line for many molesters.

Both Goldstein (1987), and Lanning (1987), comment upon the fact that most offenders have been victims and this supposition is borne out in the literature. Burgess et al. (1987) in a study of 41 incarcerated serial rapists revealed 56% had experienced sexual abuse as children. Seghorn et al. (1987), in a further study of incarcerated child molesters found more than 50% had childhood histories of abuse. This phenomenon will be explored in greater detail in the following section which has looked at dynamic explanations of child abuse.

In summarising this chapter there are a number of research and methodological criticisms which can be made.

Historically subjects who were used to provide evidence for typologies have emanated from a clinical setting. As such the offender group has normally been a sub-set of child molesters, classified with pathological disorders, who are co-operative and non-violent. The isolated studies which have used as its research sample violent offenders/patients (cf Knight et al. (1989), are also unrepresentative of the typical child molester. Because the subsequent data was the result of patients often unverified explanations of events it was limited (this will be discussed later), and more
appropriate to therapy than providing material tailored to create a better understanding of child molesters generally.

Similarly due to the therapeutic and clinical setting such research was based there were no control groups to analyze these offenders against. Implicitly accepting that child molesters are inherently different from other criminals has contaminated and directed all other investigation on the subject. As a result the critical variable which has affixed these offenders and separated them from others is the sexual motivation towards the child. This pathological interest is most apparent within the preferential or fixated offenders, although sexual deviancy is also reported within the regressed offenders who are described as having pornography collections, and involving themselves in child sex abuse circles. Any dilution of this concept of mental illness in regressed or situational offenders is boosted with other pathologies such as depression or alcoholism.

The model used is a pathological one which involves a personality disorder within the individual. This creates a danger of only looking to confirm any hypotheses that emerge. Also analysis was only geared to looking at how offenders related sexually to children and did not look at other criminal history or sexual deviancy in respect of adult victims.

Dichotomies although conceptually simple are extremely rigid, whether or not further distinctions are made. Human behaviour cannot simply be explained by distinct and contrasting personality and behavioural parameters. Personality theory for instance has had difficulty in sustaining and perpetuating the theory that distinct typologies exist and act in a predictable fashion. Mischel (1969) has stated that personality is not a stable and enduring phenomenon but is affected by the situation, from
which people evolve and gain experience. The term child molester however creates a perception of an individual who is able to commit any sexual offence on any child. Intuitively this cannot be the case, a father who touches the breasts of his daughter whilst she is in the bath is not automatically the same person who can attack two boys at an isolated fishing pit, assault and bugger them. Clearly such a diverse number of child molesters cannot be explained by either an innate sexual preference for children or a transitory preference precipitated by a life crisis. The theory lacks the sophistication required to accommodate the myriad of processes which can result in child sexual abuse.

It is also interesting that the thrust of the theory revolves around the victims being sexually attractive because of his/her age rather than the fact that he/she presents a much more vulnerable victim than an adult. Studies have shown that other vulnerable victims are also sexually abused including the elderly, sick, or otherwise disabled. There is no suggestion however that any innate sexual preference for these groups exist in the mind of the offender.

One last point on the theme of methodology is the apparent lack of statistical evidence from which these distinct typologies have emerged. For instance Monk (2), and Goldstein (1987), have both spoken of "paedophiles" marrying women to gain access to their children. Such a behaviour, if proven, would be a critical variable in characterising these offenders, who even when having an available "peer" partner, they abstain from sexual activity because of their preference for children. This emphasises that the sexual act takes place because the child is the preferred sexual partner and not because the child exists as a vulnerable sexual victim for an individual who wants sexual gratification.
Unfortunately no proof is given with these assertions. Similar to the recent publicity on "satanic abuse" although widely reported no evidence is provided to substantiate it. Further Goldstein (1987) stated that this was the behaviour of the "introverted situational" molester who has a fear of communication and uses strategies to prevent this. It does stretch the imagination that marriage can be accomplished with no communication between the parties. Thirdly none of these reports explain how they have separated methodologically the abusive offender who, having married, indiscriminately indecently assaults available and vulnerable victims, from the meticulously planned "paedophile" who lives to sexually abuse only children.

In conclusion these typologies did not provide any explanation other than a pathological personality disorder. This constraint was noticed by other researchers. Lanyon (1986) has suggested that the preferential/situational distinction may be better thought of as a dimension of offender behaviour rather than as a rigid dichotomy. Similarly Finkelhor (1986) and Conte (1985) have looked towards constructing more flexible models to account for the behaviour of child molesters. Although these models have no predictive power and can only work retrospectively once the offender is known they are more proficient at accommodating a diverse range of criminological theory. It is to that the thesis moves to next.
CHAPTER 5

Models of child sex abuse
Typologies, which have just been explored, were extremely rigid. Because of this researchers moved towards producing dynamic models which allowed some flexibility and could accommodate a number of perspectives. This chapter gives examples of these models.

**Finkelhors model**

Finkelhor (1986) provided a model which outlined four processes that must exist before an offence of child abuse takes place. These are emotional congruence, sexual arousal, blockage and disinhibition. By taking each process and discussing Finkelhor’s work, together with other research on the topic, we can further build on the understanding of child abuse.

**Emotional Congruence**

Finkelhor states the potential offender needs to find the child attractive and a source of emotional gratification. Well documented explanations, often from a feminist perspective, exist to explain why children are attractive to men.

Roberts & Manning (1989) equated the civil status of women to childhood. The paper hypothesised that western ideology holds the philosophy of the innocence of childhood coupled with the concept of the "good woman" who is too innocent to cope with the "real world" and must be protected. It is argued that this dependency can give rise to abuse. Innocence has to be sustained by outside forces which facilitate this process by repression, segregation and a
creation of a false reality. It is these people who have the control. In western ideology it is the male who holds the power and the male/adult - female/child relationship contains in theory the greatest power differential. Roberts postulates it is this relationship which forms the basis in which to understand the majority of abusive acts and its offenders; in cases of abuse the offender has all the options and the victim has no control of the situation. Classic victimology theory supports this notion by saying you cannot victimise an equal and that the strong will victimise the weak. This point was emphasized in 1984 when a man called James Cermak and 5 adult members of his family were prosecuted in America for molesting several child relatives. When Cermak's 5 year old son found out his father had been sentenced to 40 years in prison he asked how long a period that was. When Prosecutor Kathleen Morris replied "You'll be as big as your dad when he gets out" the child allegedly gave a sigh of relief and said, "Then he can't hurt me"(8).

Sexual arousal to children

Finkelhor (1986) said prior to offending the perpetrator had to be sexually aroused by the child. There have been a number of studies which have provided evidence that child sex offenders are sexually aroused by children (Freund, 1967; Freund & Langevin, 1976). Similarly studies by Quinsey et al.(1975), and Abel et al.(1981a), found that although such offenders said that they claimed to be sexually aroused by adults they showed greatest arousal to child stimuli. However a study done by Lewis, Shankok and Pincus (1979), found that sexual assaultive juveniles and non sexual assaultive but violent juveniles had similar kinds of neurological dysfunction. This they said lent greater credence to the hypothesis that violence of any
kind and sexual violence per se may reflect similar underlying etiological vulnerabilities.

Another perspective has looked at chemical imbalance with studies linking testosterone to increased libido. Other theories relied less on physiological explanations and more on socialization theories to explain sexual arousal towards children. In recent years considerable research has been done on the fact that a large proportion of abusers have been abused themselves, a theory which will be discussed later, in more detail. A main contention however is that males are socialized to "sexualize their emotions". Finkelhor (1986), goes on to say that males are socialized into being attracted to younger smaller and less dominant partners.

Blockage

This relates to the inability of offenders to obtain or seek adult sexual partners. Lanning (1987) reported that certain molesters were incapable of the interpersonal skills required to "seduce" women. Similarly others may experience anxiety or trauma in adult relationships due to their feeling of vulnerability.

Disinhibition

The potential offender in committing the offence has to overcome the social and moral restraints of offending against the child. Such disinhibitors make it possible to circumvent expected behaviour and increase a wide variety of behaviour which in this case would allow the sexual abuse of children. These disinhibitors could involve
substance abuse, including alcohol or drugs; psychosis; mental retardation; or other mental aberrations. Although certain researchers have said this type of individual warrants their own typology, Gebhard et al. 1965, and Swanson, 1971 reported that they only appeared to be present in a minority of offenders (Bard et al. 1987, Knight et al. 1985).

A further disinhibitor is cognitive distortion or dissonance. From an investigative perspective Goldstein (1987) says that the sex offender differs fundamentally to the thief. The thief commits his crime through a need for money or other tangible object, in contrast to the sex offender who commits the offence because he acts upon an urge within himself. Whereas the thief knows his problem is caused by an identifiable reason, which he can account for and deal with successfully (i.e. if he gets a job or money from other methods), the child molester has no such logic governing his act; there is no other legitimate source open to him to dissipate his need.

This philosophy involves "Consistency theories" which assume that a person desires balance and harmony between the beliefs and attitudes he holds. For example the leader of the Labour Party would have difficulty in reasoning why he/she went to a private hospital for treatment. A contradiction in beliefs known as "dissonance" was defined by Festinger (1957), as a negative drive state which occurs whenever an individual holds two cognitions (ideals, beliefs, attitudes), which are psychologically inconsistent. If this is correct the indecency offender perceiving that the act is wrong should experience dissonance. Therefore he either refutes that the act is a crime or he distances himself from the criminal action. In this way the "paedophile" would be more likely to openly admit the behaviour as he does not see it as wrong, whereas other strategies to promote consistent cognitions would be
to blame the child for the actions (i.e. the child wanted
sex, and they initiated the sexual contact).

Before leaving this subject it is important to comment upon
Goldstein’s example which explicitly endorses the
difference between the thief and the child molester.
Goldstein does not view the two offenders as individuals
driven by impulsive and hedonistic drives. The thief has a
control which he can exercise, the child molester is
presumably out of control and although no doubt is
suffering from mental illness Goldstein feels he is
coherent enough to recognise the dissonance within his
cognitions.

**Turning from victim to abuser**

Other dynamic models explaining child abuse have more
recently looked at the concept of victims turning into
abusers. Support for this has come from 2 sources, those
who are able to observe children (ie teachers, carers,
psychiatrists), and self reports from child abusers
themselves.

There is considerable research to show that victims do
respond negatively to abuse. In a host of studies abused
children were found to suffer emotionally (Adams-Tucker,
1982); developmentally (Finkelhor, 1986; Longo, 1982;
Summitt, 1983); from communication problems and depression
(Finkelhor, 1986; Conte, 1985); a feeling of helplessness
(Sanford, 1987; Longo, 1982); a lack of confidence (Tong,
Oates & McDowell, 1987); multi-personality (Fagan, 1984);
as well as other mental health problems (Adams-Tucker,
1982). They have also been found to suffer from behavioral
affects as they have been found to be over-represented in
special education (Conte, 1985); amongst prostitution (Finkelhor, 1986); also suffering from sexual dysfunction as well as substance abuse (Becker, Skinner, Abel & Treacey, 1982);

The ideology that the affect of abuse has caused individuals to abuse others is also well documented. Longo (1982), although using a small sample of adolescent offenders found that 47% disclosed being abused, a significant finding when assessed against a control group. Further studies with adult sex-offenders showed as many as 70-80% stated they had been sexually victimized in childhood (Kline, 1987). The studies generally conclude that sexual abuse is a learned behaviour and although not every victim goes on to abuse others they are at an increased risk of doing so (Longo, 1982; Ryan, Lane, Davis & Isaac, 1987).

Researchers have hypothesised that victims can respond in a number of ways to abuse, one of which can result in their abuse of others. Summit (1983) said that the victim will experience confusion and cognitive dissonance as although knowing he/she has been victimized and betrayed he/she may also feel that the abuser has filled a gap in his/her life which has demanded attention, and which was welcomed by the child. Conte (1985), says that the child will be left with feelings of guilt and an internalization of the factors that emanate from disclosure.

Ryan (1987) postulated a cycle of abuse. She stated that inherent in child sexual abuse is a relationship of power and control between offender and victim which will both affect the personality and behaviour of the victim. Ryan states that the cycle of abuse can affect those who have a childhood history which they have perceived as one of
helplessness, lack of control, and betrayal due either to physical, sexual or emotional abuse. This vulnerability can be triggered by a later experience in the victim's life which reminds him/her of the abuse and causes the dysfunctional response cycle to start. The trigger provided by the current situation reminds the person of the earlier trauma and once more forms negative emotions such as poor self image, lack of control, a lowering of self esteem and a feeling of helplessness.

To avoid further negative emotions, such as rejection or failure, in a new interpersonal relationship the person either withdraws from the situation, and avoids it, or controls it by behaving in ways that guarantee its failure; this in itself will inevitably bring self-isolation. Ryan
(1987), goes on to say that with this isolation comes a period where the individual attempts to externalise the blame with subsequent anger leading to "power and control" retaliatory fantasies. The individual then seeks to achieve internal control through substance abuse or suicide, or attempts to achieve external control through violence, damage or sexual assault. However the positive feelings associated with any of the acts are transitory and are superseded by negative feelings, initially through guilt about the consequences of the action, or the feeling of being caught. These focused emotions are then reinforced by a more general feeling of powerlessness as the individual slips back to their original state. Although the individual is repentant and says it will not reoccur a further trigger comes along and the cycle is repeated.

Hendry (1989) says abuse can result in both "passive helplessness" or "repetitive aggressiveness". Blanchard (1986) reports that there should be greater concern for the boy who is aggressive and acts out such behaviour, acting in a typically "macho" style. Ryan et al.(1987), says that boys who are abused may integrate such behaviour into their behaviour repertoire. This is supported by Fehrenback (1986) who stated that "hands on" offenders were more likely to have been sexually abused than "hands off" offenders. She says that the victim over-identifies with the aggressive behaviour which he has experienced and uses it cathartically to undo the harm felt against themselves. In fact studies have shown that children have exhibited sexually abusive behaviours as young as 5 years. She says this behaviour is cognitively and behavioral reinforced and is shown in the "sexual assault cycle".

Cognitive distortion and justification has an important part to play in this cycle. Bentovim (1991), reports the case history of a 14 year old boy who had experienced a traumatic childhood, and who was neglected, poorly fed and
treated, being physically and sexually assaulted by his guardians. When assessed from questionnaires devised by Salter (1988) and Wilson (1978) the subject agreed that it was acceptable to: have sex with someone much younger or much older than yourself; tying someone up and being tied up; and seducing an innocent person. When the youth was assessed against the Abel & Becker Cognition scales (Abel et al.1985), Bentovim reported that the youth felt it was justified that: a (wo)man should have sex with his/her children or stepchildren, if his/her spouse doesn't like sex; a child who doesn't resist an adult really wants to have sex with the adult; and if an adult has sex with a younger child it prevents the child having sexual hang-ups in the future.

Bentovim (1991) in a further dynamic self reinforcing cycle model (shown below) stated that abuse leads to affective responses from the victim which in turn leads to unbearable levels of anxiety and helplessness. Bentovim says that the child lacks the ability to reflect upon and digest the experience he/she has suffered therefore to combat this intolerant emotional level they create a "hole in the mind" (Bentovim & Kinston 1990). The affect of this is to divert the child’s thinking in relation to their own abuse by causing the child to engage in a series of actions which either cause the child to abuse others or make him/her susceptible to further abuse. Bentovim states this addictive repetition of action is the only way the child can combat their intolerable levels of anxiety and helplessness.
Figure 3 above, showing Bentovim's (1991) model of sexual abuse

**Finkelhor's notion of traumagenic dynamics**

A further model of dynamic processes came from Finkelhor (1988). Finkelhor stated that 4 processes precipitate affective responses from a victim of child sexual abuse. These are described as follows:
It has already been described how a large number of abusers had been abused themselves. Finkelhor describes how the traumatic sexualisation leads to a framework from where inappropriate conditioning later forces a response from the child. This can be in the guise of an aversion to abuse, as well as flashbacks and fear where the child seeks to exclude himself/herself from situations that could remind themselves of the abuse. This cognitive state leads to affective behaviour seen in the sexual pre-occupation of the child which may either lead them into further abuse, or cause them to sexualize other children. Such factors interrelate with each other and may create triggers from which the process continues.
The second process Finkelhor referred to is powerlessness:

![Diagram of powerlessness process]

Finkelhor (1988) stated that powerlessness was an emotion experienced as a result of sexual abuse. As can be seen from the diagram, the invasion of the child's body by a person perceived as his/her guardian leads to a feeling of vulnerability, an absence of protection and continued fear and helplessness. This again precipitates an interactive process where fear, anxiety and an inability to control events may lead to learning difficulties; despair, and depression. In contrast to this behaviour there may also be seen a more aggressive reaction where the person shows a need to control, dominate and abuse.
The third process is betrayal.

\[ \text{BETRAYAL} \]

- manipulation of trust; violation of care; protection and well being.
- depression; disenchantment; disillusion.
- clinging; dependency; hostile; angry; distrustful; antisocial.
- seeking redeeming relationships.
- retaliation

As was described earlier there is a power relationship between an adult and child with the latter looking to their "carer" for protection. When such a trust is violated it may lead to a state of depression or disillusion. Again it can trigger non aggressive behaviour, with the child appearing to cling to others, or seeking out other relationships to avoid isolation (unfortunately this can itself lead to further inappropriate partners). In contrast the behaviour can be externalised more aggressively with the child becoming angry, retaliatory and antisocial, possibly abusing others. Again the interactive process continues.
The final process is stigmatisation

A feeling of stigmatisation has often been reported by victims of child abuse. The attitude that the child has solicited the abuse, or that the child is responsible for the break-up of the family home are often perceived by the child, or felt by those who influence the child such as family or peers. Again the affects can be internalized either in self-mutilation or suicide; or the child can externalise the emotion allowing their aggressive style to affect others.

Friedrich (1988) has said that whilst abused girls internalise their behaviour abused boys are more likely to externalise their behaviour and abuse others, a hypothesis
which supports the finding that offenders are predominantly male. Johnson (1989) found that females who abused others had almost certainly been abused themselves, and were more likely to use their abusive action in a retaliatory manner. Finally Bentovim (1991) reports that research on male offenders suggests that perhaps only 50% have been abused themselves. It therefore appears that the transition from being sexually abused to sexual abuser does not account for all molesters.

It was seen earlier, in the case study described by Bentovim (1991), that neglect also appeared to surround sexual abuse. Pierce and Pierce (1990), found that adolescents who abused others had a history of abuse themselves, although this was not necessarily sexual. The study found that the offender had undergone physical and emotional abuse, together with rejection, both within the family and amongst his or her peers. By widening the parameters one finds that the child is subjected to considerable deprivation.

Becker (1988) stated that as well as sexual abuse there are a wide variety of problems such as social isolation, conduct disorder, limited cognitive ability, impulse disorder, which can be exhibited by an abused child. In a reported case history an abused child did not come to the notice of the authorities for sexual deviance but for stealing. Glasgow (1988) adds that adolescence is a period of turmoil for the individual where naivety, changes to the body, and inconsistencies of societal attitudes and values can lead to a turbulent existence where self gratification is the priority and empathy is lacking. This is further exacerbated by the framework in which the child develops both within general society and within the family. Therefore coercive parenting styles, explicit aggression, poor care, and neglect lead the child to learn such behaviour and think of it as the norm. The studies
basically conclude that if the child is treated as an object then this will be most likely reciprocated towards others he/she later controls.

In conclusion to this chapter it has been found that dynamic models have the ability to accommodate a number of disciplines and perspectives which typologies were unable to. They have distanced themselves from a simple pathological model and attempted to explain the processes which precipitate the offence. However many still retain and highlight the importance of sexual preference towards the child and by doing so this type of offender is still perceived as belonging to a distinct and exclusive group of criminal who will not transcend boundaries.

A further point is that the victim-abuser model does not explain adequately why not all victims turn abuser or why some individuals become molesters without this precipitating factor.

Throughout the review however there have been indications that child sex-offenders do share similarities with other criminals, most notably the study by Lewis et al.(1979) which found that sexually deviant and violent youths had similar underlying dysfunctions. Other explanations of behaviour such as neurological disorder, cognitive distortion, learning behaviour, parenting skills, societal attitudes also lend themselves to mainstream criminological theory. This highlights the possibility that there is no reason to segregate such offenders and that child abuse may be the symptom of other underlying processes rather than the actual cause of a particular deviant sexual behaviour. It is now time to examine mainstream criminological theory to examine this hypothesis.
CHAPTER 6

Main stream
Criminological theory
relating to Offenders
A study of child molesters in the previous chapter has indicated that important similarities may exist with other offenders. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of broadly relevant literature for those readers who have little or no detailed background in the social sciences.

Criminologists have deliberated between psychological and sociological explanations of deviancy, this chapter commences with the former.

**A Psychological perspective**

**Biological explanations**

The most uncomplicated psychological explanation states that certain men are born Criminals. Lombroso, an influential figure from the positivist school in the 19th Century, was reported as one of the first to apply scientific methodology to the study of social problems. Lombroso argued from his appointment as a prison physician that criminals could be identified from non-criminals because of the presence of physical anomalies. The "true" or "born" criminal, who was a biological throwback to his contemporary accounted for a third of the criminal population whilst the occasional criminal accounted for the rest.

A problem in many criminological experiments has surrounded their ethical acceptability. As a result genetic studies focused on the family, the rationale being the closer the familial ties, the closer the genetic similarity.

Studies have consistently shown that criminals often came from a family whose other members were criminal. Osborn
& West (1979) found that 40% of the sons from criminal fathers became criminal themselves, compared with 13% from a control group. Twin studies used Monozygotic (identical) twins who shared the same genetic profile and Dizygotic twins, who were formed from two eggs and only shared 50% of genes. The assumption was that if genes were the most important factor the identical twins would exhibit the most similar behaviour, if environment was constant.

Studies initially found a higher concordance rate for criminality between the identical twins (75% compared to 24% for the non-identical twins although more recently this has fallen to 48%-20%, Hollin, 1989). Another perspective used adopted children comparing their behaviour to biological parents. Mednick et al. (1983a), showed that having a biological parent who is a criminal does lead to a higher number of criminal (male) adoptees. However the number of criminal adoptees is highest when both fathers are criminal. Mednick et al. (1987) looked at a large sample of Danish adoptees. They found when looking at the records of both adoptive and biological parents, if neither of the fathers had convictions 13.5% of the adoptees had convictions. If adoptive parents had convictions this increased to 15%, and if biological fathers had convictions this increased to 20% of their sons. The effect was most significant on sons from chronically offending biological fathers, who went on to offend considerably themselves. Although they accounted for only 1% of the population they accounted for a third of all convictions. In essence genetic inheritance does seem to account for only small propensity of criminal behaviour and it only realises its potential if other components, such as poor environment, are present.

More recently work has looked at normal gene variability in accounting for differences in behaviour. Evidence has
shown that there is a genetic predisposition towards low intelligence, personality type, learning capability, and alcoholism. As Rutter & Giller said (1983:179) "the question of just what is inherited remains unanswered. It is unlikely to be criminality as such."

Testosterone has long been linked to aggressive and sexual behaviour found predominantly in males. Olweus (1979, 1984) has found evidence that angry reactions to insulting stimulus correlates with high testosterone levels. Kreuz & Rose (1967) cited in Rubin (1987), found incarcerated adults with long histories of violence had higher than average levels of testosterone than less-aggressive prisoners. Dabbs and Morris (1990), looking at conscripts of the Vietnam war distinguished between the high testosterone group (10%) and normals (90%). They found high level groups were more likely to take part in anti-social actions such as assaulting their partners, committing other types of assault, taking drugs, and getting into trouble at work, all this occurring prior to the age of 18 years. Dabbs and Morris also found that the men's socioeconomic status was another significant variable. Those who were also lower than average in financial and educational terms were twice as likely as "normals" to take part in antisocial activity. They felt those from better backgrounds had better inhibitors in place and were better equipped to negate the effects of the hormone. Interestingly reducing these levels by chemical castration did reduce sexual thoughts and acts, although there has been little evidence to show it reduced nonsexual violence.

To summarise biological factors are important but only predetermine a life of crime when certain environmental events exist, even then the results are not completely predictable. It does however highlight inadequacies and difficulties in explaining child molestation from this
perspective. Lombroso’s inadequate theory of the born and occasional criminal is a pathological dichotomy which was used a Century later for the preferential/situational child molester. Further any attempt methodologically to find a hereditary link would be contaminated by the work which has looked at the victim turning abuser. Again the environment could not be controlled making it difficult to establish whether the genetic factor makes the abused child offend or the experience of abuse later stimulates him into a cycle of abuse.

Neurological theory

Since the ancient Greeks discovered it was the brain, rather than the heart, which served as the organ of the mind, many researchers have devoted their life to its study; in particular attempting to localise different functions of the brain within certain areas. If researchers were able to say that the difference between those who sexually abuse children was through an abnormality of the brain then the identification of such offenders would be conceptually more simple and allow for objective interpretation as to punishment or treatment.

Aristotle first argued that the mind could be divided into different faculties although it was left to St. Augustine and Nemesius in the 4th Century to localise these functions using a theory known as cell doctrine. In essence cell doctrine could be interpreted as an information processing model where auditory, visual, tactile and olfactory stimulus converged on a cell called "sensus communis" (common sense). From here sensation and imagery was passed to a second cell where thinking and reasoning took place. From there it was processed to the third and final cell where memory and action took place.
Such a model was mirrored in the cognitive psychology of the 1960's and it probably survived for 1,000 years firstly because it was intuitively simple, and secondly because any criticism at that time was looked upon as heresy. Theoretically the three faculties were insufficient for the whole range of human behaviour, an inadequacy later corrected by phrenology.

Pioneered by Gall (1758-1828) and later Spurzheim (1766-1832), phrenology's basis was that personality and intelligence were reducible to 35-40 powers or functions which could be divided into three classes: animal faculties (i.e. combativeness, acquisitiveness); moral faculties, (i.e. veneration, conscientiousness, hope); and intellectual faculties (i.e. language, number). Each faculty was based on the study of individual differences and comprised its own memory, sensation and thought. Indeed phrenologists tried to capture an individual's faculties as scientists do in psychometrics today. Sexual molesters would therefore be highly developed in animal faculties and poorly developed in the moral sphere.

Phrenology failed firstly because many of the faculties bore little relation to actual behaviour, proving difficult to define and quantify objectively. Secondly its methodology was flawed. It stated that faculties could be strongly or weakly developed needing a correspondingly sized area of the brain to sustain them, which meant the skull would deform over that particular brain area in development. This is not the case, the outer skull does not correspond with the inner skull or the surface features of the cortex. Further all experiments were done to confirm the theory rather than to test the null hypothesis, and the concept of superficial personality assessment invited quackery and exploitation (an accusation which has since been levelled...
at Criminal Profiling). Finally because Gall and Spurzheim said that the brain was composed of independent functioning units and that personality characteristics were innate the theory opposed Descartes view of dualism. Flourens, and others, wanted a neuropsychological theory compatible with dualism and which saw the brain as non-divisible, with perception and action distributed throughout the cortex.

A different perspective on localisation was made by Broca (1824-1880) on two specific points: firstly that a behaviour is controlled by a specific brain area; secondly that destroying that area selectively destroys the behaviour. An example of this was Phineas Gage (1868), who had an iron bar measuring 3'7" by 1.25" propelled through his head in a dynamite accident, damaging the left frontal lobe. Before the accident he was reported as being of average intelligence, energetic and persistent in executing all his plans of operation. Afterwards a change of personality was reported; he became abusive, showed little respect or patience for others, and had the "animal passions of a strong man" (Blumer and Benson, 1975).

Again relating lesion sites to psychological deficiencies is an unreliable methodology. The locus of the damage for instance can be an important variable, a small lesion in the brainstem can cause a permanent coma, whereas a person with a lesion 20/30 times larger (as in the case of Phineas Gage), can remain conscious and coherent. Secondly after brain damage there are many behaviours which are merely transient, further complicated by the fact that humans take variable amounts of time to recover. Thirdly brain lesions do not affect only the area damaged and this is seen to some degree in "crowding"; here in brain lesions of young children certain areas can give up one or all of its functions to
take over the previous function. Lastly not all brain lesions in certain areas give the same behavioral effects. Tumours can produce pressure on widespread parts of the brain and give symptoms unrelated to the area where the tumour is located.

Since these experiments the attention has turned away from clearly defined areas of localisation with the concept of modularity dominating current work. As Marr, (1976), an influential figure in this field said...

"Any large computation should be split up and implemented as a collection of small sub-parts that are as nearly independent of one another as the overall task allows. If a process is not designed in this way, a small change in one place will have consequences in many other places. This means that the process as a whole becomes extremely difficult to debug or improve, whether by a human designer or in the course of evolution, because a small change to improve one part has to be accompanied by many simultaneous compensating changes elsewhere."

At the moment this theory is responsible for the plotting out of specific sets of modules in the visual cortex responsible for such things as movement, shape and colour. Whether the theory will one day leap past the constraints of sensory and motor behaviour and extend to thinking and reasoning remains to be seen.

What has improved neuropsychological theory and methodology has been technology. Electro-encephalograms (E.E.G.'s) have evolved to allow the possibility of single cell recording in the cortex. Non-electrophysiological approaches have used radioactive gas to mix with blood and indicate active areas of the brain. Similarly in Positron Emission Tomography (PET scanner)
radioactively labelled compounds when metabolized by the brain emit positrons which collide with electrons and generate gamma rays allowing further analysis of the cortex. Finally computerised transaxial tomography (CT scan) incorporates the use of X-ray beams moved laterally through 160 equally spaced positions, and then rotated through 180 equally spaced degrees, to provide a three dimensional non invasive examination of the brain which will show lesions.

What have neuropsychological studies found in relation to the identification of the child-molester? The temporal lobe has been associated with disturbed behaviour for about a century. It is thought that an abnormal temporal lobe may produce abnormalities in the biochemistry or electrophysiology of the brain. Personality traits following a temporal lobectomy involve egocentricism, and a proneness to aggressive outbursts. It has been shown that bilateral removal of the whole temporal lobe results in a dramatic increase of indiscriminate sexual behaviour (i.e. towards the same sex as well as inanimate objects). The condition is not well documented, however in the more commonly found temporal lobe epilepsy Blumer and Walker (1975), found most of their subjects had a change in sexual activity. This was mostly in relation to a decrease, although other studies found it altered sexual orientation resulting in fetishism, transvestism, exhibitionism, and hyper-sexual episodes. Further, aggression has also been found in such victims which has led to violent crime such as rape and murder, although this may be due to abnormal electrical activity on the temporal and limbic structures rather than the temporal lobes themselves.

It is also thought that orbital front lesions can cause abnormal sexual behaviour (i.e public masturbation) by reducing inhibitions, whilst dorsolateral lesions
possibly decrease sexual interest. On the whole however such evidence is not properly documented and merely serves as anecdotal.

In essence these findings indicate that sexual behaviours are not discriminatory (ie targeted only at children), and that sexual deviancy is linked to aspects such as egocentrism, aggression, impulsiveness, pointing again to the concept that sexuality is merely the symptom of other underlying causes.

**Personality theory**

A concept which has traditionally been associated with criminality has been personality. Personality is an abstract notion, being defined by different researchers in different ways. A general view is that it accommodates a persons actions, thoughts, emotions and motivation.

Freud's psychoanalytical theory was a comprehensive approach to personality. He said man had drives to fulfil which needed to be kept in balance (homeostasis). Freud, as with all theorists was governed by the principles of the day, and based his theory on hydrodynamics (the science of fluids). In this way Freud postulated that all activity required energy which was taken from a limited amount in the body's closed system. Therefore energy used in one direction meant that it could not be used in another. Freud's theory focused on the importance of the sexual drive, or libido. He saw important stages of development within the child. The "oral" stage, where the child feeds; the "anal" stage, where the child experiences pleasure from the control of urine and excreta; the "phallic" stage (around the 4th year), where pleasure is from stimulation of the genitals; the
"latency" period, where sexual interest appears to subdue; and the "genital" stage, where the individual reaches puberty and sexual interest is reawakened. Freud stated when the child evolves from the phallic to the latency stage there is a period of stress because the child becomes fixated with the same sex parent. This is known as the Oedipus conflict (males) and Electra conflict (females). He stated that in the phallic stage the child forms an erotic attachment to the parent of the opposite gender. Although the child views the same sex parent as a hated rival these emotions are hidden so the parent won’t hurt the child. This anxiety, Freud said, was in the form of castration anxiety.

To deal with it the child represses the sexual drive for the other sex-parent and identifies with the same sex parent, internalizing the values and role of that parent. Freud said the ability to resolve this conflict was necessary for successful sexual adjustment in the adult years; unsatisfactory resolution could lead to the child being unable to extricate him/herself from the same sex parent and relate to other genders. Similarly fixation in the other stages could lead to further difficulties in later life.

Freud saw the personality as involving three structures which inter-related and transcended different levels of consciousness. The "id" was the most primitive structure, working from what Freud called the pleasure principle. It was the source of all motivation, working at the unconscious level, and seeking immediate gratification to relieve any tension. The "ego" in contrast works from the reality principle reconciling what the "id" wants with what is actually possible. It works at the conscious and unconscious level, organizing and controlling in an attempt to maximise pleasure and minimize pain. Finally the "super-ego" is the value system which imposes right
and wrong. In conjunction the "id" makes a demand, the "ego" tries to meet it and the "superego" may or may not approve it. Freud said a delicate balance exists which the "ego" needs to maintain. When this can not be done anxiety is formed which the ego attempts to dissipate by the use of defence mechanisms, the failure of these can result in pathology.

Freud was very influential however his methodology often rested only on personal observations and came from his own patients who were well educated, affluent members of Viennese society, unrepresentative of the general public. Perhaps of more significance was that Freud came to his deliberations because his patients complained of sexual abuse, and he chose to disbelieve them feeling that these revelations came from a deep seated pre-occupation or fantasy, with symbolic reference. Another shortfall in Freuds' deliberations were that his psychoanalytic and psychodynamic theories were untestable.

A contrast to psychodynamic theories was the phenomenological approach to personality. It was more optimistic, taking a humanistic perspective in attempting to improve the individual to the best of his or her potential. Rather than looking how the past had shaped the personality it looked at a person's present view of the world.

Maslow (1908–1970), provided a theory of motivation which related to the needs which brought meaning and satisfaction to life. Such needs were hierarchical, starting with physiological needs and ascending in order to: safety needs, belonging/love needs, esteem needs, cognitive needs, aesthetic needs, and at the pinnacle - self actualization. The lower needs were regulated by others, that is other people are relied on to provide food, shelter and security, similarly others are needed
for love and self esteem; it was only when a person is self actualized are they independent. Maslow felt few people actualized their potential, due to the imperfections of society which did not allow people to work through the more basic needs. He therefore felt that to allow more self actualization individuals had to work to provide a better society thereby extracting its imperfections. Maslow's theory has done little to improve the understanding of the criminal personality, and can be more readily viewed as a personal value system and philosophy to live life by as not everyone strives for the betterment of society. However it does highlight the importance that relationships provide self esteem and love and are a basic need which requires fulfilment. This is a theme which will be returned to later.

Dispositional theories proposed that people act in a similar way in a wide diversity of situations over a long period of time. Significant in this field is Allport (1897-1967) with the Trait approach. Allport fused the physiological and the psychological together defining a trait as a neuropsychic structure able to influence a person's response to any given stimuli. Allport said there were common traits which were used to generalise a group of people, and individual traits which were able to describe a particular person (i.e. friendly, approachable, cheerful, enthusiastic etc.). Allport said that some people had cardinal traits which dominated a person's disposition (i.e. Mahatma Ghandi), although more commonly seen were central dispositions which relate to the small number of traits which most easily describe a person. Finally there were secondary dispositions only observable during special conditions, for instance an elderly female who shouts at a wrestling contest. Allport did not organize traits because he said they differed between individuals therefore it was unknown how many existed or how they related to each other.
Cattell however used the technique of factor analysis to categorise traits and manipulate them into a workable size. Cattell referred to source traits as the underlying core of personality. He described sixteen source traits each of which could be measured between two poles, for instance between dominance and submissiveness. In essence he observed people and ascribed trait labels to them with this type of methodology. However it is impossible to say whether a trait actually causes the behaviour. This brings in another point in relation to child molestation. It is difficult to accept that there was a particular trait in relation to deviant sexual behaviour towards children, more likely there existed another trait which had as a symptom the sexual abuse of vulnerable victims.

Another psychologist who used factor analysis in his theory was Eysenck. Eysenck incorporated biological, social and individual factors to form three personality types. In essence genetics determined an individual’s cortical and autonomic nervous system which affect that persons’ propensity to conditioning towards environmental stimuli. Eysenck initially defined 2 dimensions of personality, extraversion and neuroticism, later describing a third dimension, which he labelled psychotisism. Each was a continuum e.g. extraversion running to introversion, with most people corresponding in terms of a normal distribution model. In this way the introvert is cortically over-aroused and avoids stimulation in order to maintain an optimal level.

Eysenck has said there is a relationship between crime and personality. His belief is that children learn to control antisocial behaviour through the development of a conscience. Eysenck says this conscience is a set of conditioned emotional responses to environmental events associated with the antisocial behaviour, for example the
child misbehaves, is punished by parents and through this conditioning process is socialized. However, personality factors determine the child's conditionability with a high extraversion and high neuroticism combination leading to poor conditioning, resulting in the individual being less likely to learn social control and being over represented in offender populations. The psychotic dimension was also thought to be highly represented in offenders and although there was high P and N evidence, this was less for E. In essence, Eysenck was more subtle with his theory moving away from rigid distinctions towards dynamic continuums of behaviour.

Murray continued with a dispositional approach stating that people's behaviour could be predicted by understanding their needs and thereby knowing what motivates them. One such need addressed by McLelland (1975) was power. It was found that those subjects with a high requirement for power were more likely to be elected to university campus posts, more likely to participate or watch competitive sports, to consume more alcohol and interestingly to engage in exploitative sexual activity. It was further found that whereas small amounts of alcohol increased socially acceptable power themes, such as using power for the benefit of others, larger amounts brought out more primitive, selfish themes which included exploitative sexual and aggressive behaviour. Characteristics such as aggressiveness, and a high propensity to stress, correlate with an inability to delay gratification. Those who show an ability to delay gratification show resourcefulness, co-operation and social and academic competence.

What can personality theory reveal about the child molester? Freud was influential, he proposed that what an individual learnt as a child could influence the rest of their life, and this is the basis of maternal deprivation
theory. Similarly personality theory focuses not so much on sexual behaviour but on underlying etiologies which can form the basis for exploitative sexuality, highlighting concepts such as impulsiveness, power and aggression.

Learning theory

The second half of the 20th Century produced the concept of behaviourism, and Skinner. He stated that behaviour was determined by forces in the environment which either positively reinforce (reward) behaviour causing it to occur more frequently or negatively reinforce (punish) behaviour causing it to occur less frequently. The theory did not discount inner processes, such as emotion and thinking but said the potential for learning was genetic and the actual behaviour could be associated within the persons actual learning experience, which was formulated in the environment he/she existed. For example behaviourists would say that a person answered a ringing telephone because they had learned it was positively reinforcing, they did not pick it up because they thought, "there’s the telephone". Thought processes were not analyzed, because they could not be observed and speculation would only cause inaccuracy. Skinner did not feel we needed the recourse to thinking to understand a persons behaviour, he felt that the positive or negative response elicited after the behaviour would control its reemergence.

Bandura (1986) did acknowledge the importance of cognition when formulating his social cognitive theory. He used an amalgamation of other theories to state that the person, situation and behaviour all interact and modify each other. Bandura said that people engaging in
behaviour did not need to know it would be reinforced but they must at least expect it to be reinforced. He said that a great deal of behaviour was learnt by observing and imitating others therefore reinforcement could be vicariously experienced through others. He also emphasised the importance of self-efficacy, a cognitive process in which the person themselves judge how competent they would be at a given task resulting in their choice of task, the effort they gave it, and the stress of doing the task. Bandura felt that we learn at a cognitive level how to perform observed behaviour and, given the opportunity, behaviour can be practised and refined. Reinforcement can be external (reward) or internal (seeing someone suffer).

Learning theories do not postulate a person steals for money they emphasize the individual, saying there is a need to look at patterns of reinforcement and punishment. Certainly the victims who turn abuser can fit within the parameters of this theory. Having seen the power and dominance their abuser has had in committing the offence, they themselves take on the behaviour.

**Cognitive theory**

The shift from behavioral to cognitive theory became more and more apparent. Yochelson and Samenow (1976), interviewed 240 persistent offenders and concluded that there was indeed a criminal personality. Unfortunately their results were diluted on methodological grounds as many of the prisoners had been diagnosed insane, and there was no control group of other offenders or non offenders. Yochelson and Samenow asserted however that criminals had similar thinking patterns which involved concrete thinking, fragmentation, failure to empathize
with others, a lack of perspective of time, and irresponsible decision making. In a further study Ross and Fabiano (1985) stressed that a failure in self control leading to impulsiveness was significant. They suggested that impulsiveness was "a failure to insert between impulse and action a stage of reflection, a cognitive analysis of the situation." (1985:37); which may be due to a failure to learn to stop and think, a failure to learn "effective thinking", a failure to generate alternative responses, or a reflection of hopelessness. Further studies not corroborated have found offenders more impulsive and unable to delay reward.

In the last chapter the concept of consistency theories and cognitive distortion was discussed. Dryden (1987), says there are two types of thought which can promote cognitive distortion they are inferences and evaluations. Inferences were described loosely as the making of an educated guess. For instance a friendly wave could be interpreted as an abusive or hostile act. Blackburn & Lee-Evans(1985) saw an attributional bias in psychopaths who were more likely to interpret threats as an unwarranted attack. Dodge and Frame (1982) reported upon this attributional bias in aggressive boys. Lochman (1987) found such boys played down their aggression seeing their partners as more aggressive. Similarly Perry et al.(1986) discovered aggressive children perceived aggression as more likely to obtain reward than other means thus reinforcing such behaviour. Therefore research points to dysfunctional cognitive mediation and leads to an understanding how a stable and enduring disposition, such as aggression, can be seen in individuals from an early age, (Olweus, 1979,1980). Tulloch (1991:98) says these are as a result of attributional biases, poor problem solving skills and differences in self efficacy and outcome-expectancy judgements.
In contrast evaluations are judgements that a situation is either good or bad. Ellis (1962) reported that people make wrong judgements and not only go to extremes in their interpretation but they only translate events which conform with their own expectations, thereby reinforcing them. Snyder (1981), called this cognitive bolstering and as Trower (1981), reported simply leads to self reinforcing cycle exacerbating psychopathological patterns of thought, emotion, and action. It can also lead to learned helplessness as the subject continually blames himself rather than the situation for his or her failure in social skills and interaction.

The finding that offenders see situations only from their own perspective, not taking into account the views of other people has been reflected in low scores on measures of empathy and role taking ability, (Chandler, 1973; Kaplan and Arbuthnot, 1985); although variations have been reported according to length of criminal career (Deardroff et al., 1977) and type of offence (Ellis, 1982). Further work went on to investigate "cognitive problem solving" and the papers indicated some differences in social cognition between offenders and non offenders.

Other studies on a cognitive basis have looked towards the offender as a rational decision maker, making choices about crime. Cohen and Felson (1979) referred to burglary whilst Poyner (1981) looked at violence. The cognitive component related to the offenders consideration as to the risks and cost when the opportunity to offend arose. Risk is a concept which will be referred to in greater detail in a later chapter.

Cognitive theory has become increasingly popular in explaining a wide diversity of behaviour. It is particularly useful in explaining child molesters because
it can explain underlying processes which have already been reported.

**Developmental theory/Maternal deprivation**

It is extremely difficult to separate environment from the individual, both the previous sections relating to biological and cognitive factors have in some way been contaminated by social factors. It was reported earlier that relationships are important for a healthy life both physically and mentally. As Bowlby (1988:120) says...

"... the capacity to make intimate emotional bonds with other individuals, sometimes in the care seeking role and sometimes in the care giving one, is regarded as a principal feature of effective personality functioning and mental health."

Just as the relationship of the offender with the victim is significant, so is the relationship between the offender and his carer. There is significant evidence to support the fact that initial bonding affects the child's development. Ainsworth et al. (1971) spoke of three types: "secure attachment", where the child is confident to explore knowing there is a secure base to go back to; the "anxious resistant attachment" where the child is uncertain if the parent will be there to return to (sometimes she will sometimes she won't), which results in separation anxiety; thirdly the "anxious avoidant attachment" where the child expects to be rebuffed rather than helped resulting in the child attempting to become emotionally self-sufficient. There have been exceptions to these three patterns one of which has been a disorganized/disorientated interaction between mother and child which Main et al. (1985) reports is coupled mostly
to the anxious resistant pattern. Crittenden (1985) found this latter pattern in infants known to have been physically abused and/or neglected.

Studies have shown these patterns of caring to be constant and self-perpetuating as the "secure" child is easier and more gratifying to care for. In contrast the "anxious" child is likely to moan and cling and the "anxious-avoidant" child likely to keep his distance and bully others. There is no reason that these patterns should perpetuate, Sroufe (1985) has shown that it is not intrinsic to the child's temperament and can be changed if the child's caring input is changed. However the longer a specific trend continues the more likely the child will continue the pattern and impose it on new relationships. The patterns seen in the 12 months children have been identified in a series of studies by Main in 6 year old children. The securely attached children relate easily to their parent whereas the "anxious-resistant" show intimacy interspersed with aggression and the "anxious-avoidant" stay impersonal with their parent. The "disorientated/disorganized" child tend to control the parent either by humiliating or rejecting them or being solicitous or protective. Although no studies have gone past this 6 year age Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Cassidy & Kobak, 1988; and Hazan & Shaver 1987; assembled studies which showed that the features of these personality characteristics established during the early years are also found in young adults, thereby inferring that they have been present continuously.

In a study quoted earlier Lewis et al. (1979), found that sexually offending adolescents had behaved in a variety of violent antisocial ways since childhood, and it was this violence and aggression rather than sexual activity which personified them. All these sexual offenders had threatened family, friends, teachers, being continually
involved in fights. The histories of both groups also closely resembled each other. They had been physically abused (76.5% and 75.5% respectively), 46.2% of the sexual assaulters had been abused by their mothers and 58.3% by their fathers compared with 42.9% of violent juveniles (mother) and 54.8% (father). Finally both groups were as likely to have seen extreme acts of violence (78.6%), and were also likely to have seen frequent acts of violence committed on their mothers.

These violent tendencies were found to remain with juveniles as they entered adulthood which means that their own parenting styles were more abusive. Those aggressive subjects in West & Farrington’s study at the age of 32 said they were more likely to respond to aggression in their children with more aggression. There is a particular problem here with modelling. Those that are diagnosed as having antisocial personality disorders do show lower average scores on intelligence testing. Individuals who are therefore impulsive and antisocial have a performance which is at best only adequate, and as such they are found at the bottom of any societal group. The children of these individuals therefore have to try and escape this cycle without any financial or psychological help.

Bachmann et al.(1988) talked of a multi-generational pattern of emotionally unavailable caretakers who provide inadequate parenting models, neglect their children, and practice upon them physical and sexual abuse. Steele (1976) found that conditions of neglect and abuse happen more often in the background of abusive parents than any other variable. Also the family’s isolation, as well as childhood experiences of separation (i.e. desertion, death, relocation etc.) may contribute to dependency to others.
The same background is seen for wives who often had hostile relationships with their parents. Goodwin (1981) found that mothers with physically or sexually abused children had experienced 8 times as much physical or sexual abuse during their own childhoods when compared with controls, a study which replicated a previous finding. Such women relied heavily on their husbands, were often deserted in their own childhood, and frequently assumed a greater responsibility in their family due to desertion or other necessity. It was discovered that such women married early to escape this cycle but immediately became overburdened caretakers, fearful of separation, accustomed to abuse and neglect, and deprived of emotional support from friends and relatives.

Although the majority of research has focused on early development there are many changes or life crises which can affect a persons personality. This means people can change their thinking and behaviour throughout life. These changes may include divorce, children, employment or moving house. Levinson (1978) looked at development. He said that the young adult typically tried a number of jobs before choosing one in particular. This period is often accompanied by marriage and is followed by the "age-thirty transition", in which men particularly find that their choices were poor and required changing. The following stage which lasts until about 40 years is a settling down period, when a home is built and goals are attained. It is at this time the man asks himself whether they have achieved their goals, if he has not this could precipitate a mid-life crisis due to the fact that there remains insufficient time to achieve what they felt was really important. In "late adulthood" this crisis can become more extreme; it is only those who accept old age who can lead a full life.
Developmental theory is important because it can explain a deficiency found in dispositional theories which is why certain individuals, after a long and unblemished life, suddenly start offending. It shows how a person's life can slowly and relentlessly build up to form a scenario which the individual rebells against. All levels of life have their potential life crises, which can materialise in crime. Developmental theory can explain child molestation most easily from the perspective of the regressed molester.

A Sociological perspective

Whereas psychological theories were individually based and asked why a certain person became criminal, sociological theories asked wider questions; the rates of delinquency and why rates differed from one group to another. Further, sociological theories did not look just to singular causal processes which produced delinquency nor did they assume that factors which caused delinquency to begin were the same factors which caused them to continue. Although sociological theory was perhaps devised to account for dishonest and violent behaviour we will see that it has a useful part to explain in child sexual abuse.

The role of the state (hegemony and anomie)

Different sociologists have put different emphasis on the power or control exerted by the state. It was Marx who had previously said that the class which is the ruling
material force is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control over mental production. Not surprisingly people who lack this power are subject to the controllers. This is the basis of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony which provides the most adequate account of how dominance is sustained in advanced capitalist societies. This term refers to a situation where certain social groups can impose beliefs, values, and ideas over subordinate groups thereby obtaining "total social authority". This is done, not by coercion, but by being in a position to win and shape consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural. However hegemony is never total because there is class conflict. As Gramsci said, hegemony is a moving equilibrium containing forces favourable or unfavourable to this or that tendency.

Durkheim's theory of anomie (1897), similarly emphasised the power of the state. Durkheim stated that social needs unlike physical needs are never dissipated, he said "...no living being can be happy or even exist unless his needs are sufficiently proportioned to his means (p.246)". Such social needs i.e. power, status, and money are regulated by societal forces. Durkheim felt that individuals can never be released from the restraints society had on the individual, therefore the individual never had full control of his/her destiny. For Durkheim the central theme of how society affects the individual was one of regulation. Absence, or failure of this regulation to affect the individual caused delinquency.

Having outlined this philosophy it is easier to conceptualize how society is able to control the majority of its population.
Control theory

Control theories assume that people are initially morally neutral. Hirschi (1969) said the reason that more people do not commit crime is that a number of societal norms and values create bonds which produce conventional ways of behaving. If these bonds are not made or they are broken then there is the potential for a person to break the law.

Hirschi said these bonds were: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. Attachment is an emotional component which provided a sensitivity within the individual towards others. With it a sense of empathy grows. In this way other people affect what we do, therefore the fewer constraints of attachment, and the more insensitive the individual, the more the propensity for deviance. The second component is commitment which relates to cost benefit, that is what the individual would be prevented from achieving if he or she turned to delinquency. Therefore the more commitment a person has, such as reputation, mortgage, employment, the less likely the individual would think of risking it through deviance. The third bond is involvement; involvement in legal affairs prevents the individual becoming involved in less conforming goals. Finally there is "belief in societal values" a facet which perceives the individual as capable of distinguishing the legitimacy of conventional rules. If the rules have no credibility for the individual they do not prevent the person digressing from them. In this way those who are not as committed, attached, involved and believing in societal norms have less of a bond to society and are more likely to become delinquent.

The relationship between all the bonding elements is problematic. For instance is it possible for various
combinations of conformity and deviancy to exist together, or at different times with different people? Control theory does show that individuals can become disinhibited (a phrase most recently used by Finkelhor, 1986), to commit offenses because they have little commitment to the concept of society, and little concern for the punishment or control that it gives. One group in society where this trend is seen are the New Age Travellers who do not accommodate the constraints of mainstream society within their value system.

Although Control Theory cannot account for white collar crime it can account for sexual deviancy in terms of lack of attachment or maternal deprivation which results in a lack of empathy.

The Chicago school

In the 1920's in Chicago thousands of gangs formed and this energy triggered the formulation of The Chicago school of Criminology. Predominant in the work emanating from this school was the theory that the absence of social control led to delinquency. Thomas (1923) stated that people desired 4 things: security, new experience, response and recognition. It was the duty of an organised society to regulate the disharmony between individuals as they strived for these goals. Thomas postulated that as cities such as Chicago flourished they undergo social change resulting in social control, which normally manifested itself within the moral code, being destroyed. This resulted in informal control being replaced by formal control in the form of legislation, in an attempt to maintain order.

Shaw and McKay (1931; 1942; 1969), formulated a zonal
hypothesis in relation to social disorganization and delinquency. They found that measures such as adult/juvenile crime/antisocial behaviour, illness, economic dependency and depravity were most common in slums in inner city areas and became less frequent as they went out to more rural areas. The researchers felt that poverty, coupled with the high mobility and heterogeneity of the community led to weak control and therefore high delinquency.

Further studies in Chicago felt that there existed genuine deviant values. Thrasher (1937) explained that they formed because of the lack of social control in these thriving cities and the change in family structure freed adolescents, allowing them a vehicle within their gangs to fulfill their hedonistic needs. He said that only those who did not receive sufficient control from parents or society joined such gangs, however they were eventually tamed by society’s constraints such as marriage or employment. For Thrasher then delinquency was exciting and merely a natural response from the condition its participants found themselves in.

If this theory could be transposed to child abuse one would expect to find a larger frequency in areas of deprivation and indeed this has been supported in a recent survey compiled by the NSPCC. Criticisms of social disorganisation theory involves the fact that it sidesteps the issue of causality. It includes delinquency as an indicator of social disorganisation therefore the presence of this delinquency causes delinquency. Hagan (1987) says a more accurate assertion would be to say that poverty, heterogeneity and mobility causes social disorganisation and that crime and delinquency come from that. However Suttles (1968) in "The Social Order of the Slum" questions the basic premise of disorganisation theory saying that the area is organised in relation to
its own standards requiring self discipline.

Each of these American theories were devised through the weakness of previous ones. These theories were tested in the course of British field work and it was Peter Wilmot in the 1960’s who concluded that a classless perspective was meaningless. Downes had previously said that those in the U.K. were more class conscious than in the U.S.A. and the Birmingham Centre for cultural studies in the 1970’s brought in a structural dimension which sought to link deviance with class conflict. As there were no structured youth gangs they adopted a marxist framework to analyze the complex relationship of economic structures, class, cultural and sub-cultural meanings.

**British "class" theory**

Cohen (1972) said that working class community drew strength from the mutual articulation of 3 structures. Firstly the extended kinship network which offers mutual and cultural continuity; secondly local social ecology (the neighbourhood) which was a dense socio-cultural space, and which helped shape and support traditional working class life, its sense of solidarity, its local loyalties and traditions. Finally there was the local economy tying the neighbourhood to the work place. Cohen reports that post-war redevelopment broke up the neighbourhood through rehousing, speculative development and the introduction of immigrant labour. The traditional extended family network was replaced by a privatized nuclear family, interacting only with immediate kin and ceasing to be involved in neighbourhood life. Cohen argues that this resulted in working class family life to be not only isolated from the outside but undermined from within. The work force was polarized into routine low-
paid industry or rare specialized skills relating to the new technology depending on qualifications and apprenticeship. Local economies contracted and became less diverse. The young travelled out of the community to work, or moved away altogether. Those that were left were faced with deprivation of a material, social and economic nature. Willis (1976) in his study of working class school children reported on how they rebelled against school which caused them to underachieve, and paradoxically confirmed their conformity of existence to working class culture.

Miller (1958) said that there was actually a delinquency aspect to lower class culture therefore delinquents were actually conforming to working class culture in their delinquency. Miller saw working class life as fighting, drinking, and involving sexual exploits coupled with an emphasis to try and outsmart others. He said such behaviour produced an excitement which gave a release to the periods of repetition that their life normally brought. Again the problem in accommodating this theory is that not all working class citizens are delinquents.

Perhaps child molestation has been allowed to exist through the alienation of the individuals and families within the community it sits, with the chances of discovery being slight. Perhaps it is part of a particular culture? However available evidence negates this.

**Aggression within the environment**

Perhaps more directly linked to child abuse from a sociological perspective have been studies in relation to aggression.
Violence is no stranger in today’s society. As Storr (1968:9) states, "No other animal takes positive pleasure in the exercise of cruelty upon another of its own kind." Similarly, the offenses on young children have long been reported (cf DeMause, 1976). Historically, Criminal Courts in Britain have taken into account the violent backlash said to have been stimulated by the frustration and stress caused by a demanding baby from its carer often subjected to other societal pressures.

There have been many studies to confirm that aggression or violence is the outcome of the relationship between individuals involved within their environmental setting. Gelles (1987) and others have broadened this perspective to look how the power structures in society in general affect violence. In these studies it was theorised that problems with housing, overcrowding and mundane employment led to frustration and stress which was dissipated through family violence.

It does appear that most children are subjected to violence at an early stage and even come to accept it as a part of growing up. Aggression has been found in pre-school children, who exhibit dominance hierarchies (McGrew, 1978). It is only really when children go to secondary school that all these situational factors fuse together to contribute to violence. Willis (1980) outlined the importance violence had to play within this age group showing how it provided status and self-esteem. This has since been affirmed by Benyon (1989) who states that violence can be understood through the social structures of which school is a part. Violence is therefore a learnt behaviour; it is a used and accepted method from parents and teachers to provide status and dominance. It is not surprising that young boys also use it in the competitive atmosphere of the secondary school and when used is generally accepted by teachers and other...
adults as normal healthy behaviour.

The difference between gender is not surprising either. Males have been found to be more violent than females in many studies. Not surprisingly males are generally only violent to other males as attacking a female provides no self-esteem or status, neither do they appear in direct competition with females at schools. Why males are the more violent is a further question and it does seem that stereotypes are important in this. Fagot et al (1985) found that teachers in playgroups responded to 41% of boys' assertive acts, but only 10% of girls'. They interpreted this as teachers falling back on stereotypes when viewing ambiguous activity. This reinforcement towards boys, not only by teachers but also by the media and society in general, is self-perpetuating resulting in cultural pressure for boys to be aggressive.

Sanday (1981) felt that societies who legitimised or condoned violence, as a means to problem solving, and male domination with subsequent low values towards women, had higher incidents of rape. Curtis (1976) argued that the higher reporting of black men raping white women may be due to the increasing emancipation of both groups and improved interaction between them. As such the way society evolves has an effect on sexual crime.

Cohn (1986) said that sexual abuse exists in part because of the values and messages that are transmitted to everyone in this country through the media. Strongly voiced taboos in this society saying it is not okay to molest children, are lacking. Further she said that sexual abuse is a problem that is so deeply embedded in our societal values that there exists no single law and no single profession that can handle this problem.

Others have also highlighted the importance of the media
to violent behaviour. Ironically this acceptance has been rejected by many but as the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence reported in 1969,

"Each year advertisers spend (billions of dollars) in the belief that television can influence human behaviour. The television industry enthusiastically agrees with them, but nonetheless contends that its programs of violence do not have any such influence. The preponderance of the available research evidence strongly suggests, however, that violence in television programs can and does have adverse effects upon audiences."

Berkowitz (1993) reviewing a number of studies corroborated this saying violence on television increases the propensity for all types of audience to become more aggressive. He said that violence on television often has a modelling influence showing that violence is common and at times can be appropriate behaviour. He further said that generally speaking children growing up watching significantly violent shows will grow up to be unusually aggressive adults.

There are other social determinants of anti-social behaviour such as peer modelling. There is no doubt young people obtain respect, and a heightened self esteem from other members of deviant groups with whom they engage in anti-social behaviour. Similarly gang membership often relies on the overt display of masculinity to bestow acceptance and status. As we will see later the majority of victims who were abused by more than one offender were by those under 17 years of age.
Labelling theory

A sociological perspective also attempts to account for how societies response can perpetuate deviance, so increasing the potential for recidivism. Tannenbaum (1938) had discovered that acts done by juveniles in the normal course of their life, which they viewed as behaviour synonymous with play/adventure/mischief was seen by others in the community as deviant. He postulated that the first segregation of the child from others where he was labelled "deviant" had a significant impact on that person. Lemert (1951;1967), extended this philosophy saying that the primary deviation, that is the initial act committed by the individual, had little impact on him however the secondary deviation or reaction by society has a more fundamental affect. It affects the way the individual thinks and behaves, resulting in him taking on a more distinctive profile, which often forces a reaction from others. Lemert said this led to a deviancy amplification spiral which moulds the individual into a non-conformist entity. Labelling theory is particularly relevant to child molesters as they are a group who are labelled and isolated in this way. In prison their isolation from other prisoners results in closely knit groups with only other sexual offenders to speak to. There is no doubt that this increases reliance on each other and reinforces their sense of identity.

The problem with labelling theory was that it did not explain how deviancy initially occurred nor how a person came to stop committing crime when being propelled along this spiral. Similarly it also assumes that initial motivation for delinquency recedes as the spiral progresses and does not account for the possibility of natural choice.
In summary how do sociological explanations of crime contribute to the understanding of child sexual abuse? Sociological theories in the main lack empirical support and theorists may possibly interpret meanings not actually present. They have an inherent weakness or tendency to view all criminality or deviation as a form of political resistance. These theories can not account for non-criminality, they tend to concentrate on the dramatic and the spectacular. This romanticism sees crime as a resistance to capitalism which neglects the reality of it. Such sociological theory may be content to find meanings independent of the intent and awareness of those involved, although ultimately the danger is one of becoming lost in a forest of symbols. Similarly there appears no capacity for individual choice.

However these theories do give certain concepts to work from when the child molester is considered. The dominance in our society, although class orientated is also gender and age orientated and can account for relationships within dominance hierarchies. It has also pointed to the disintegration of working class culture allowing an anonymity which has facilitated abuse to take place within the family structure. It has also talked about the goals of working class culture and how society moulds certain individuals to form basic and impulsive hedonistic drives.
**Section Conclusion**

The last three chapters have revealed that research, be it on mainstream Criminological theory or relating specifically to child sex abuse, experience similar problems in relation to theory, methodology, and technique.

It has been shown that society can impose constraints on theory by the "Zeitgeist" or prevailing spirit of the age. As Freud established his theory on the principle of homeostasis so have other researchers constructed their thesis in line with how society thinks. This often determines how well the thesis is accepted, for instance, cell doctrine lasted for such a time because it was heresy to refute it. Similarly one wonders if the pathological model which has predominated thinking on the subject of child abuse has been indoctrinated by the assertion that it was an offence done by "abnormal" people because society wanted to distance these offenders from themselves. In this way simple dichotomies which fell into disrepute in the 19th Century for mainstream criminal theory (c.f. Lombroso) have lasted a much longer period for child sex offenders. These typologies are however inadequate, any explanation must take into account a whole myriad of perspectives. Criminality does not occur in a vacuum.

The neuropsychology section provided a useful analogy when looking at research direction. A neuropsychological perspective on brain localisation, as with the concept of child molesters, is only as good as the psychological theory upon which it is based. It is therefore imperative that scientists have a good understanding of what they are trying to locate. This is especially true of child sexual abuse as what was thought to be the cause, a pathological and exclusive sexual attraction towards
children, has now to be questioned. This can be further extended because a review of criminological theory suggests that the underlying processes used to describe the causes of criminal behaviour such as impulsiveness, hedonism, aggression, power, and control may be the same underlying principles which are seen to occur in child molesters. It therefore appears that there is strong support for the proposal that child molesters do have commonalities with other criminals, and there exists no child molester genetic predisposition. If this is the case and other characteristics provide the cause for abusive and exploitative behaviour then one would expect these themes to be evident in different degrees allowing offenses and offenders to be distinguished.

This section has shown that there is a real need for those researching such behaviour to separate cause from the symptom. Further any credible theory needs to be based on a suitable experimental hypothesis which can be tested by reliable methodology. Although neuropsychology has micro-technology which as it improves results in boundaries constantly being pushed back child molestation methodology has rested on the techniques of self-reporting, penile plethysmography, and assorted personality inventories, all of which have been shown to be unsafe.

Finally this section looked at criminological theory to see if it could accommodate child molesters within its framework. As has been seen it can, each aspect of a particular perspective allowing its own insight into processes which could allow the sexual abuse of children. There does appear to exist strong similarities between child sex offenders and other offenders. Many criminological theories can help in the understanding of child abuse. Perhaps the distinction between main stream criminals and child molesters has existed so long not
because of the exclusive differences between the offenders but in those individuals who have researched them.
Section 3

The results
CHAPTER 7

Introduction to the Data and Research hypotheses
The thesis has reviewed research appertaining to child molesters. The chapters in this section will look at the data obtained for this thesis and the results from the subsequent analyses. This particular chapter will specifically focus on the data set and the research hypotheses it is destined to test.

The origin of the data

An earlier section outlined three methods for obtaining data in respect of criminal offenses: victim reports, offender reports, and offenses reported to the Police. This thesis used the latter but in order to examine the quality of the data source will compare it in relation to these other categories.

Victim reports

Victim surveys were first used in the U.S.A. in the mid 1960's. Respondents were approached in person, or more often sent a mailed questionnaire invariably asking them whether they, or a member of their household, had been the victim of crime. Again methodological problems arise. One difficulty has been the diversity of criteria used to define the crime. In certain surveys, rather than the experimenter setting the criteria, it was the respondents who had to judge whether anyone had touched them sexually in a way which was unwarranted or unwanted. Similarly surveys have traditionally targeted geographically stable or well educated people. For instance a number have used as their sample University students. The methodological problems inherent in this is that 75% were 21 years or under, which was hardly representative of the population,
and if previous evidence was correct those who had been seriously damaged by child sexual abuse would be unlikely to evolve to higher education.

Such surveys had low returns often because respondents were either unavailable through work, or reluctant to divulge personal details. Those that did co-operate with the survey also had problems with selective memory, and the difficulty of interpreting whether a particular action should fall into a specific category. Incidents they were asked to recall could have happened a number of years earlier therefore contamination was possible because incidents were remembered earlier or later than they actually occurred. Having considered all these problems victim surveys are beneficial because they show that a large amount of crime goes unreported to the police.

Offender reports

Another perspective has looked towards the offender to supply the information. Again there are methodological problems, the most significant is whether offender reports are truthful; there is evidence to show that often they are not.

During 1977 the Training director of the F.B.I. authorised the behavioral science unit staff to conduct research to advance the knowledge available for law enforcement. One of its staff, Ressler, interviewed incarcerated offenders. Ressler felt by choosing those who had exhausted the appeal system would talk honestly because they were not in danger of any further punishment. One of these interviews was with David Richard Berkowitz, also known as "Son of Sam", a serial
murderer who over a period of 18 months was responsible for killing six people and shooting a further nine. There was considerable publicity at the trial because Berkowitz reported being haunted by demons who talked to him, one of which was his dog, Sam. Jeffers (1991) reports that Ressler became impatient with Berkowitz and challenged him strongly. Jeffers then reports that Berkowitz smiles and admits fully to the agent that his story was a lie and was amazed at the attention it received. The problem remains however is authenticating at what time Berkowitz was telling the truth. It is methodologically unsafe to place so much reliance on a person who distorts his story apparently for his own enjoyment and entertainment. It also serves as a graphic illustration to show that offenders do lie.

A Detective Sergeant from my force in recent years, as an educational excursion, visited a sexual offender clinic. There he took part in an honesty session where the offenders, who were all voluntary patients committed to their treatment, were discussing their past crimes. One of them confessed a previously undisclosed crime which involved the molestation and death of a young boy. The Detective later discovering no such crime had been committed and went back to the offender who admitted the story had been a fantasy. The Detective had been completely duped by the fabrication.

There is also a danger that offenders do become wise to the therapeutic procedure and adapt their behaviour to accommodate it. This is coupled with a further danger that a counsellor accepts a statement because it conforms to a particular theory. On the 18th May, 1993 a television documentary called "40 minutes" brought together a female rape victim and a rapist. The rape victim openly castigated the therapist for placing significance for the cause of his rapes on the fact that
the offender had been masturbated, with his consent, by an older woman when he was 11/12 years of age. It was enlightening to see that even though the rapist had not recognised any significance in the behaviour he later came to believe it was an underlying factor because the therapist had continually endorsed it as one.

There are numerous reasons why such offenders would mislead their interrogators. To outsmart them in order to enhance their own self esteem? To increase attention to themselves? To be taken out of their cell? Whatever the reason caution must be exercised when accepting offender reports. Murphy & Peters (1992) have shown that child sex offenders could mislead personality tests and penile plethysmograph tests.

Offenses reported to the Police: the data used for this thesis.

The data for this study comprised information from all detected sexual offenses, committed on children aged between 5-12 years, for a three year period (1987-1989), committed and reported in the Lancashire Constabulary Police area. This totalled 416 offenses.

The Lancashire Constabulary has 3,173 regular officers to police the administrative County of Lancashire which extends 51 miles north to south and 41 miles east to west, covering approximately 3,063 sq.km. It incorporates industrialised urban areas such as Blackburn and Preston, as well as tourist (Blackpool), and rural areas. In June 1989 the County had a recorded population of 1,497,121 of which 55,000 were ethnic. In February 1990 unemployment stood at 6% relating closely to the national average of 5.7% (9).
The sexual offenses the study looked at comprised indecent exposure, incitement to commit gross indecency, indecent assault, rape, incest, buggery, abduction, and murder. In relation to these offenses the detection rate ranged between 86-100%, depending on the age of the victim and type of offence. One notable exception to this was the offence of indecent exposure, which had a detection rate of 32%. No offenders were excluded from the sample and a very small proportion appeared twice in the data.

Consideration was given as to how the victim age sample should be determined. This decision was not made easier by Criminal legislation which differentiates sexual offenses into a number of age categories i.e. 12 years, 14 years, 16 years, 21 years, 24 years.

The upper age limit was determined as 12 years, and there were two main reasons for this. Firstly, and most importantly, this is an age viewed in the legislation as the onset of puberty; there is no Country which has attempted to set the legal age for sexual behaviour below this age group. Secondly after the age of 12 years there is a significant rise in sexual offenses on children, which can be particularly misleading for female victims. During the ages of 13-16 years females are constantly developing physically and are also becoming sexually aware. They start to relate to the opposite sex (Dunphy, 1963) and "date". The sexual offenses act however in 1956 attempted to protect the female adolescent. It deemed that no person under the age of 16 years could, in law, give legal consent to intercourse or any indecent assault. Sexual attitudes have changed considerably since 1956 and it would be preposterous to think that "petting" or sexual intercourse does not, from time to time, go on with people of this age group. Each time it does though the male commits a criminal offence and although few of
the sexual partners report the act there are many parents, social workers or police officers finding evidence of it who do. To cater for this the statutes have brought in offenses of unlawful intercourse with a girl under 16 years, and indecent assault with a girl under 16 years to protect the "offender" from a charge of rape.

Unlawful but informal consent to sexual behaviour does inflate sexual offence statistics. In Lancashire during 1988 it was observed, once females attained the age of legal consent (16 years) that sexual offenses descend from 71% of reported crime to 34% of reported crime.

The lower age for the sample to be used in this survey was 5 years. It was felt that those under this age would be closely supervised and any offender would predominantly come from a particular section of the community (i.e. parent or babysitter); it was a concern that this may give a false representation of the offender for this type of offence.

Sources of information from the offenses

The information obtained from these offenses, in relation to victim, offence, and offender came from the following sources

a) Crime reports- this was the account obtained by the police officer at the scene which outlined concise details of the offence. These are: name, address and age of victim; date and time of offence; modus operandi (brief details of how the offender committed the offence); and enquiries made by the police officer attending the scene of the crime.
b) Victim accounts - legislation has since required all accounts of child abuse to be video recorded. However at the time of this analysis victim accounts were transcribed onto statement forms by a Police officer, trained in child abuse.

c) Physical evidence - if the offence was invasive, that is there was an allegation of digital or penile penetration, if consented to, the child would invariably be examined by a doctor. This would then form part of the evidence tending to prove or disprove that an offence had taken place.

d) Forensic accounts - forensic evidence could come in the form of bodily fluid (i.e. semen or blood), footprints, fingerprints, or cross transference of fibres, again providing evidence to prove or disprove the offence.

e) Defendant accounts - in each offence the accused person has the option of giving his account of the incident. This account is audio taped and later transcribed onto paper to form part of the offence file.

f) Offender records - gave details of a full criminal record and details of domestic, employment, and social history. They were filled in by Police officers at the time the offender was charged with the offence.

The reliability of victim accounts

The nature of child sexual abuse means that quite often the only eye witness to the event is the victim themself. Heritage (1992) spoke of issues of concern regarding witness accounts of rape which included:
a) Inability to accurately recall events.
b) Reluctance to describe the more abhorrent acts.
c) Inaccuracy in recalling the sequence of events.
d) Inability to remember direct speech.
e) Minimising non-sexual, but criminal acts.

The apprehension voiced with regard to the reliability of adult accounts of deviant sexual behaviour is amplified with pre-pubertal children, and as a result considerable research has been completed to examine the truthfulness of children in these scenarios.

It was quickly accepted from this research that children could be disturbed emotionally from these offenses and the extent of this was clear when such victims were diagnosed as suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. This is an anxiety disorder, described in DSM-111, which was first diagnosed in combat veterans and those surviving civilian disaster. As adult rape victims children can withdraw, or be extremely nervous after being subjected to such offenses.

However research also found under specified circumstances that children's evidence can be as good, and in some respects better, than adults (Loftus & Davies, 1979). What was apparent from an early stage was that children are suggestible, being especially vulnerable to leading questions from authority figures. As a result police officers are trained to take special care over the questioning of the child. Special procedures are now in place so that time is spent assessing the child on his or her intellectual competence, on their ability to understand, their emotional state, demeanour, and attitude. With all these safeguards there is no suggestion that children aged between 5-12 years are any less accurate than adults in their offence accounts.
Processing the data

All offence documentation was then subjected to a process called "content analysis" to form the data matrix prior to statistical analysis. The sensitivity of the information together with legal and moral obligations, necessitated all offence details to be anonymous, and this was rigorously adhered to throughout this dissertation.

Content analysis has been defined as "...any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages", (Holsti, 1969). Messages, in this context relates to any written word or phrase which allows the transference of information.

Previous pilot studies performed at the University of Surrey had shown that a coding framework constructed from content analysis procedures was useful. It allowed a scientifically acceptable way to process information gleaned in a field setting. The process of obtaining a content category scheme does produce difficulties. An inherent problem in data taken from a field setting is that it can bring a certain degree of "noise". Noise was potentially a serious problem because the analysis was dealing with reports from victims which had in the past been associated with missing factors. An obvious example of this could be a witness not giving an accurate account because he or she were blindfolded during the offence, or confused as a result of it. There are other more subtle factors which can cause noise within the data, such as a victims' interpretation of an action. These are often unobservable and can distort findings.

As such certain safeguards have to be integrated within the analysis so that the "noise" can be reduced to a
minimum. Considerable benefit for the testing and preparation of definitions for variable categories came from two other research projects running at this time, one of which was on the offence of rape (Heritage, 1992), the other on the offence of murder (Holden-thesis ongoing).

There were three processes used to diminish noise in the data and to increase the accuracy of content analysis. They involved obtaining a large data set (in this case it was 416 offenses), making content category decision making dichotomous, and devising robust content categories which allowed a high degree of inter-rater reliability in the subsequent analysis.

Two data matrix were devised for this thesis, the variables of which are shown in appendix A. The first was for all 416 offenses over 114 content categories on objective criteria which generally required no interpretation by the rater i.e. age and previous convictions of the offender. The second data matrix related to 59 variables over 97 offenses. Although a smaller data matrix it was more problematic as it involved making decisions on offence behaviour or strategy.

Consensus in content category decision making can be difficult. Hazelwood (1983) and Heritage (1992) both reported finding this in failing to gain a consensus of agreement on conceptual variables such as intimacy. Not only was a subjective conceptual decision to be made by the victim that the act was intimate, but this decision also had to be made by the coder. Different people have different interpretations as to what they would class intimate or aggressive, as such no attempt was made to categorise these concepts during the initial coding.
For the behaviour matrix certain information did require interpretation to enable coding. For instance there were specific child molestation strategies, termed as grooming and minimisation. Minimisation involved acts done by the offender to lower the child’s threshold to abuse; one such action might include letting the child have access to pornographic material. A further reported strategy was the offender wrestling with the child and making it appear that a fleeting touch of the genitals was done by mistake, the rationale being that a more obvious touch at the following meeting would more likely be accepted. It proved inadequate to categorise each of these behaviours in turn because their individual frequencies could be extremely low; it was therefore necessary to generate a number of categories which were coded as present through the existence of one of a number of defined actions.

Once these categories were defined a further safeguard in the system, to make it as rigorous as possible, was by using dichotomous coding, and inter-rater reliability. It appeared from previous studies that dichotomous decisions as to the presence or absence of clearly identifiable and objective criteria provided the formula for accuracy. Holsti and Krippendorf both found dichotomous decisions in content analysis could raise inter-rater agreement from 60% to above 90%.

Inter-rater reliability tests were in place to establish whether different people could look at the content of the documentation and ascribe a particular behaviour to an identical category.

Heritage (1992) a detective had used a forensic biologist to separately code the behaviour into content categories. Both coders had been involved in law enforcement for over 20 years, and already had an in-depth knowledge of rape, and its constituents: aggression, control and sexual
activity. This study however used a non-investigative coder for two reasons. Firstly to see whether there would be any difference in the rater reliability that Heritage found and secondly because it was felt a number of myths existed in this field, and to use a layman would prevent any contamination from previous knowledge. Heritage (1992) found an inter-rater reliability of 97%.

In the main data matrix there were 416 offenses coded over 114 variables which required 47,424 decisions to be made. This covered very objective criteria. Rater reliability was checked in relation to 100 offenses. There were only 10 errors which were all due to coder fallibility where a lack of concentration made the coder miss the behaviour. This resulted in 99.9% reliability.

The second data matrix coded 97 offenses on 56 offence behaviour variables, which required 5,432 decisions. All these offenses were coded by two raters. There were 64 differences found between raters which gave a reliability rate of 98%. As with the analysis by Heritage (1992), there were three causes for inter-rater disagreement. These were: coder fallibility (as previously mentioned); definitional ambiguity, where the raters disagreed on the content which the definition sought to accommodate; and coder disagreement—where behaviour had been interpreted by one as present, and the other as not. Consensus was reached by agreement or by changing the definition of the behaviour. Previous studies had found that categories had to be unambiguous to facilitate accuracy; similarly Holsti (1969) also found that training also significantly increased inter-coder agreement.

It must be acknowledged at the commencement of this discussion that there are weaknesses in the data. Offenses reported to the Police does not include all offenses of this type committed in Lancashire.
As was mentioned the detection rate varied between 86-100%, with those offenses perceived as more serious (i.e. homicide and abduction) being subjected to the most investigative resources, therefore showing the highest detection rates. It is believed that all serious crimes such as these are reported to the Police. An investigation as to whether unreported crimes are different in format appears unlikely as there is no indication of this within academic circles; however this is a question which requires a further study.

Similarly it cannot be said that previous convictions give a totally accurate account of all the offenses that an offender has committed, or the entire range of offenses an offender has committed. The strength of the data is however that it covers a population of offenders showing no prejudice to any particular group, therefore the data is not subject to co-operative, non-violent offenders, as is often the case of sub-groups of offenders who are undergoing therapy. Further the data is obtained from a reliable and properly documented source which is arguably more robust than relying on an individuals account which is often non-verifiable, and which can suffer from defects in the offenders memory as well as his honesty.

**Statistical analysis of the data**

Once the data matrix was prepared it was analyzed in a number of ways using SPSS-X. This included traditional descriptive statistics as well as chi-square. A further test which was used was Smallest Space Analysis (SSA-I), which is part of Facet theory analyses. SSA-I will be outlined in more detail in the later results section. The results will be in four stages:
a) Descriptive statistics discriminating the offenses.
b) Background characteristics of the offender
b) An SSA of offence behaviour
c) A section linking offence behaviour to characteristics of the offender

Research hypotheses to be tested

It is perhaps of particular use to set out clearly the hypotheses this analysis is setting out to test.

A major thrust with previous research is that offenders molest children not because they are a vulnerable victim but because they have "a love of children" and a sexual preference, no matter how slight, towards the child. If this is the case then one would expect no significant differences within this population of offenders. One would expect them to be capable of a diversity of sexual acts to feed their insatiable sexual appetite for children (Abel, 1984; Lanning, 1987). Similarly one would expect these offenders to show sophisticated planning and targeting techniques (Conte, 1988), and an exclusive and recidivist criminal history relating only to sexual abuse on children.

In contrast this thesis contends that child sex-offenders are not inherently different to other criminals. That child sexual abuse is more accurately perceived as "an offence against the person", as are other sexual offenses, or acts of violence. It is further argued that, as with all crimes, offenders are capable of different degrees of behaviour. One method of conceptualizing this is in terms of risk or inhibitors that the crime produces. For instance those involving themselves in an armed robbery against cash in transit (i.e. Securicor van), must be capable of using extreme violence to the
point of firing a shotgun at an innocent worker. Not everyone fortunately is capable of this, therefore it is felt that offenders can be differentiated on the risk or level of inhibitors which need to be traversed to commit the offence. Relating this theme to child sexual abuse the father who strokes the chest of a young girl when legitimately bathing her is different to the stranger who violently assaults and buggers two young boys whilst they fish at an isolated pond. This is not a distinction prior research on child molesters has made. Considering these themes the results section would be expected to show significant differences between offenders in terms of:

a) Age and gender of victim: It is thought that as homosexual behaviour is less accepted than heterosexual behaviour this attitude will be even further highlighted when the partner is a child. The hypothesis is that offenses against male victims provide more inhibitors than those relating to older female victims. Therefore this aspect will distinguish offenders. It is thought that the most frequent offence would be on older, more developed females, comprising similar dynamics to adult rape.

b) Age and gender of offender: Criminal statistics compiled for the Home Office have consistently recorded since their inception that the most common age and gender in relation to offending are male juveniles (i.e. less than 17 years). It is thought that as this offence is not inherently different to other crimes this phenomenon will be reflected in the data and that young males will commit ad hoc deviant sexual offenses which will not be the onset of a determined series of offenses as a pathological model would predict.

c) Relationship between victim and offender: Stranger offenders do not have the control of the victim as do
parents or those acting in loco-parentis. To commit the
during the course of the offence they have therefore to overcome risk/inhibitors
which will differentiate that offender from others.

d) The degree of the offence committed: Previous
research has not differentiated between the type of
offence; the premise being that all offenders are capable
of committing all range of sexual offenses on children.
This dissertation disputes this hypothesis. Just as the
Criminal Justice System differentiates between offenses
it is felt that offenders will be distinguished in their
ability and willingness to commit particular types of
behaviour. In this the personality of the offender and
the dynamics of the situation will conspire to reflect in
the behaviour of the offender.

e) Offence behaviour: Previous research which
highlights the pathological model emphasises the planning
and targeting in offenses, and did not sufficiently
accommodate spontaneous or violent acts. This
dissertation states that if underlying causes of
exploitative sexual behaviour are related to individual
characteristics then all aspects of offence behaviour
will be exhibited in relation to levels of aggression and
this will further differentiate offenders.

f) Previous research which typified the fixation of
offenders with the sexual abuse of children suggests an
exclusive and extended history in respect of this type of
offence. This thesis postulates that as these offenders
are similar to other criminals they will differ within
levels and content of criminal histories. The level and
content of previous convictions will ultimately relate to
the individual offender and his propensity to abuse
others. However it is anticipated an offender’s previous
convictions will not predominantly relate to child sexual
abuse but show more general levels of criminality.
The second results chapter will use a particular statistical analysis from Facet theory, known as Smallest Space Analysis. Research has previously looked at a tangible factors such as age and gender, or more abstract notions such as the aim or intention of the impulse, or the psycho-sexual adjustment of the offender. This chapter will test the hypothesis that offenders are not differentiated by their exclusive motivation towards sexual gratification with children but on their general ability in relating to others in terms of aggression and intimacy. It will attempt this not by interviewing offenders but by analyzing offence behaviour, proposing that offenders can be most easily distinguished on behavioral criteria than any other. Again this is a concept which has had little or no significance in previous research on this subject.

The final results chapter concentrates upon the ideology of social interactive psychology (Canter,1989). This proposes that the offenders relationships with others, and society in general would be revealed in his known characteristics. In this way the propensity of offenders to abuse others will be seen in his domestic and criminal history. Therefore those who are the most abusive and aggressive will lack any consolidation in their domestic history and will possess an extended criminal history. If this hypothesis is supported it will provide a psychological framework to understand the offence capabilities of offenders never previously obtained.
CHAPTER 8

Descriptive statistics
**Victim gender and age**

Can offenders be differentiated in relation to the age and gender of their victim? Do they show a preference for the gender and age of their victim, or is it merely that the victim is a child? Understanding these questions is extremely important. Many assertions have been made to say that molesters target young children of a specific age and gender, an action which personifies their fixation. This thesis proposes a more pragmatic hypothesis involving general criminality. It is felt that because the predominant sexual orientation in this country is heterosexual then this will be reflected in the choice of victim here. Further because homosexual relationships are less accepted in mainstream society, and at times are even illegal between consenting adults, then there will be a significant difference between those choosing male victims than female victims. In essence because the theme to be addressed is that child sex offenders are exploitative individuals, similar to other criminals, then one would expect the most common victim to be an older child, having the closest physical resemblance to a young woman.

All previous studies have found a higher frequency of abuse in relation to females than males. Finkelhor (1986) quoting from 8 random surveys found on average 70% of females were abused compared with 30% of males. Groth (1979) in his study of 148 child molesters found 51% selected only girls, whereas 28% selected boys and girls. Female victims have dominated research on this subject providing a plethora of descriptive data. Briere & Runtz (1988), in a study of 278 female students found 14.7% had experienced abuse; which had occurred between the ages of 4-14 years, with a mean age of 9 years of age at the time of her first abuse. Herrenkhol et al. (1979) found younger
children (under 6 years) at greatest risk from re-abuse.

A recent survey reported as the most comprehensive enquiry of its kind in the U.K. looked at the 408 cases reported to the authorities in Belfast during 1987 (10). 330 (81%) of the victims were female, found to be most at risk from abuse between the ages of 15-17 years, whereas males were more at risk between the ages of 5-9 years.

The information on the sexual exploitation of males is more limited. There have been many suggestions why this is so, Nasjleti (1980), and Macfarlane et al. (1986) felt that professionals did not fully accept homosexual incest occurred. Similarly that the societal perception of masculinity i.e. independence, and "toughness" resulted in lesser reporting. Summit (1983) confirmed that boys were more likely to keep abuse secret.

Commentators who have looked at male victims have indicated that a gender difference does exist in relation to sexual abuse. Pierce & Pierce (1985) found that boys were abused at a younger age when compared to girls, and would be more likely to know their offender. Similarly Blanchard (1986) said boys were more likely to be included in assaults by an offender who involved multiple victims. Further they were more likely to suffer physical injury as a result of the abuse (Ellerstein & Canavan, 1980; Pearce & Pearce, 1985; Hobbs & Wynn, 1987).

Abel (1985) also intimated that those who chose male victims would be typified by their sexual fixation saying that they were more likely to start offenses at an earlier age, continue these molestation activities, refrain from sexual activity with adults, and to confine sexual interest to male children.

Analysis of the data in this study corroborated many of
these findings. In the sample there were 118 (28%) offenses on male victims and 298 (72%) offenses against female victims, which was close to the levels reported in Finkelhors’ (1986) survey. It can be added however that when juvenile offenders (10-16 years) were abstracted the male victim sample decreased to 24%.

The frequency of offenses in relation to the victims age is as follows:

- 5/6 years: 83 (20%)
- 7/8 years: 96 (23%)
- 9/10 years: 104 (25%)
- 11/12 years: 133 (32%)

Figure 8 above shows the frequency of offence in relation to age category of victim.
Figure 8 shows an initial trend, the older a child becomes the more likely he/she becomes a victim of sexual abuse. A number of pragmatic reasons could account for this; less surveillance by the parents, the sexual development of the child enticing a wider range of offender, even the sexual precociousness (for whatever reason) of the child itself.

This sample was then further differentiated in respect of victim gender:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5/6 years</td>
<td>53 (18%)</td>
<td>30 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/8 years</td>
<td>59 (20%)</td>
<td>37 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/10 years</td>
<td>77 (26%)</td>
<td>27 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/12 years</td>
<td>109 (37%)</td>
<td>24 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9 above, showing frequencies relating to age and gender of victim.

This raw data was transposed onto the graph shown overleaf at figure 10.
The findings give some support to the hypothesis that a gender difference exists in relation to victims' age. Whereas females are more often sexually abused in the 9-12 year age group, males are more often abused in the 5-8 year age group, this is statistically significant ($\chi^2=13$, df=1, $p<.0005$). With females, therefore, the maturational frequency is reinforced; the closer a female child approaches puberty, the more likely she is to be sexually abused. In fact, the hypothesis was confirmed in that older female victims do account for a significant proportion of victims, with 45% of all victims being females aged between 9-12 years. This means a significant proportion of offenders do commit their offence against children who are starting to physically develop as young women.
Male victims, who account for 28% of offenses, show a more even distribution although there is a slightly higher frequency of offenses when they are between 5 and 8 years. This preference for younger male victims has been found in a recent Greek study (11). 47 (11%) of offenders in this population committed an offence on both male and female children.

It could be hypothesised that the motivation to offend against each gender originates from distinct perspectives. Those that chose female victims do so looking at the child as a "normal" sexual partner. This is supported by the finding that the more sexually developed the female child becomes, the more likely she is to take on the characteristics of a young woman, the higher the frequency of offenses. In essence there are many offenses against older female children which closely fit the dynamics of adult rape. Those that choose male victims do not adhere to this process. Homosexual activity is not endorsed the way that heterosexual activity is. There is an obvious distinction between trends of offending in relation to male victims, this will be explored in greater detail in a later chapter.

**Gender of offender**

Child sexual abuse, as with all sexual crime, has traditionally been labelled as a masculine crime. This study confirmed this assertion by showing 97% of all offenses were committed by males.
Female offenders

There has been little research done on female offenders, Goldstein (1987) states that this is for two reasons: firstly because some believe that sexual activity between older women and adolescent boys is a "rite of passage"; secondly because there is difficulty in identifying sexual behaviour by females because of the role they adopt in society of primary care givers. Goldstein adds that there are cases where females actively participate in the sexual abuse of children with an adult male accomplice, although he has seen no offence where the female offender fits the dynamics of a preferential child molester.

Very recently Elliot (1993) focusing on this subject revealed that although it is widely held that 95% of sexual abusers are male this may grossly understate the abuse by females. Quoting from "Childline" statistics she said that 9% of cases related to female offenders. From a total of 127 quoted cases, 64 (50%) had involved the victims' mother acting alone, and a further 30 (24%) of cases involved the mother acting with another family member or associate.

The 12 offenses, committed by females in the sample for this thesis, included abduction, indecent assault, gross indecency and indecent exposure. Female victims accounted for 8 (67%) of the cases. This is an interesting distinction as same gender victims for male offenders only accounted for 28% of offenses. All offenses committed on males were by the victims' natural mother. 2 (17%) of the offenses were committed in conjunction with a male offender.

This small sample corroborates Goldstein's assertions that none of the women fit the dynamics of a preferential
child sex offender and that some women do act in concert with male offenders.

The fact that there are so few female sex-offenders does give credence to Snowdon’s (1982) argument that child abuse is a masculine entity. That men from birth are told that aggression is innate and that affection is expressed through sex. Also that women and children are possessions who belong to men and exist for male pleasure. The finding that women in this sample abused females and also joined forces with males to abuse children shows a much wider exploitation and perhaps highlights the concept of power and control, which many commentators say explains the causality of rape. Obviously more research needs to be done to answer these questions but the recent panic over women purporting to be child welfare officers in this country does show a concerning trend.

**Age of offender**

The age of the offender is significant in understanding child molestation. Previous clinical research has had as its subject matter recidivist adult offenders. This has understandably precipitated a perception that child molesters are older individuals in fact anecdotal evidence, often stimulated by media perceptions, suggests that there exists a stereotypical child sex-offender who is in middle or old age who frequents children’s playgrounds. However if the theme running through this thesis were correct, that the sexual abuse of children was a further symptom of abusive and criminal behaviour then one would expect the age distribution of child molesters to follow the general criminal trend.
Previous studies have shown that sexual abuse is committed by a wide range of ages. Briere & Runtz (1988) in a study of 278 female students, found their abusers were aged between 10-65 years of age, with the average abuser being 26 years old (offender had to be at least 5 years older than the victim).

In this sample ages of offender ranged between 8-77 years, with a mean age of 25 years. 100 (24%) of the population were aged below the age of 17 years; 77 (19%) were aged between 17 and 24 years; 64 (15%) were aged between 25 and 34 years; 82 (20%) aged between 35 and 45 years; and 93 (22%) were 46 years or over.

![AGE OF OFFENDERS](image)

Figure 11 above, showing frequency of offenses in relation to offender age.
The table below (figure 12), shows offence frequency distribution in respect of victim and offender age. In subsequent analysis no significant trends were found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5/6 yr</th>
<th>7/8 yr</th>
<th>9/10 yr</th>
<th>11/12 yr</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 17yr</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-24 yr</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34 yr</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-45 yr</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46+ yr</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12 above, showing raw data of offenses committed by offender age groups in relation to victim age groups.

The fact that juveniles account for the highest frequency of offenders has been corroborated by recent surveys compiled by the NSPCC (12).

In recent years the group of adolescent sex offenders has been subjected to considerable research which adds to the confirmation of the hypothesis that child molesters can be perceived as part of the general criminal population.
Adolescent offenders

An adolescent offender has been defined as a youth from puberty to the legal age of majority, who commits any sexual act with a person of any age, against the victim's will, without consent, or in an aggressive, exploitative or threatening manner (Ryan, 1987). The exact incidence of sexual crimes committed by adolescents is unknown but a National Crime Survey in the U.S.A. found that adolescent males committed 21% of all forcible rapes. Awad, Saunders & Levine (1979) quoted that the majority of 24 juvenile sex offenders committed their first sexual offence between 13 and 15 years of age. Abel et al. (1985) found 58.4% of 411 adult sexual offenders (seen as voluntary outpatients) reported the onset of deviant sexual arousal occurred prior to the age of 18 years. Others such as Groth & Birnbaum (1978), and Longo & Groth (1983) also found signs that a number of adult sex offenders had their onset of deviant sexual interest soon after puberty. Longo (1982) stated that 76% of his sample of 17 adolescent sex offenders admitted committing their first sexual act before they were 12 years.

Davis & Leitenberg (1987) concluded from their review of the literature on adolescent offenders, the following: they are responsible for a substantial number of sexual offenses committed in the U.S.A. (conservative estimates state 20% of all cases); the victims are most likely female, younger children, being acquaintances or relatives; almost all are male offenders (approximately 5% are female); they are more likely to have a history of physical/sexual abuse than other adolescent males; they have a history of behavioral and school problems, although no more than other deviant adolescents; they have had more sexual experiences, not necessarily all deviant, than other adolescents; recidivism is
approximately 10%, although such findings had not been verified.

Another of these studies showed that adolescent sex offenders were similar in characteristic to another criminal sub-group. Lewis et al (1979), looked at incarcerated juvenile male sexual offenders and compared them to incarcerated violent juvenile offenders. They found that sexually offending adolescents had behaved in a variety of violent antisocial ways since childhood, and it was this violence and aggression, rather than sexual activity, which personified them. All these sexual offenders had threatened family, friends, teachers and had continually been involved in fights. All but one of the seventeen subjects had a previous record other than the sexual offence he had been incarcerated for, although even the child who had no previous conviction had previously burned down his house and stabbed another child. Their behaviour closely resembled the histories found in the violent but non-sexually offending boys. Deviance for both groups was found to start around 6 years. The groups were also similar when analyzed on psychiatric, neurological, psychological, and educational factors. Depressive symptoms were very close as were auditory hallucinations, paranoid symptoms, and illogical thought processes. Both groups performed poorly on intelligence tests.

Previous studies have indicated however that adolescent sexual offenders had been subjected to poor and violent parenting and that there was little difference between violent and sexual adolescent offenders. This will be dealt with in some detail later in the thesis.

Two other opposing hypotheses have also been explored in relation to adolescent or juvenile sex-offenders. One perspective was in essence a naturalistic model
suggesting that early deviant sexual behaviour was a matter of innocent sex play, experimentation, or the normal aggressiveness of a sexually maturing adolescent (Reiss, 1960, Finkelhor, 1979). Since that time however this hypothesis has been displaced by the pathological model used to account for fixated adult offenders. Those viewing adolescent offenders from this perspective said it illustrates the start of a deviant sexual career which is learned and fixed, highlighting the possibility that offenses would progress both in gravity and frequency.

The difference in perspective between the models is extremely critical to this thesis. The hypothesis extended in this thesis would expect to find evidence for the naturalistic rather than the pathological model.

The evidence for the accuracy of the pathological model attempted to refute the arguments that underpinned the naturalistic model showing that the offenders already had sexual experience prior to committing unlawful offenses, and that they continued in committing sexual offenses.

Groth (1977), looked at 26 convicted adolescent sex offenders and found that 86% of them had previous interpersonal sexual experiences prior to committing an offence of sexual assault. Becker et al. (in press) also found that the onset of non deviant sexual behaviour pre-dated the onset of deviant sexual behaviour. The study also found that a number of adolescents repeatedly engaged in deviant sexual behaviour which contradicted an earlier study which showed that they rarely repeated their offenses.

This analysis produced no evidence which supported the hypothesis that juvenile sex-offenders were embarking on a deviant sexual career. As will be seen later very few of the adult offenders showed any history of committing
indecency offenses as a juvenile. Similarly there appeared no significant deviant sexual recidivism in juveniles. Further there appeared a flaw in the methodology operating in the previous studies; in this country any sexual behaviour by people 16 years or under is unlawful or deviant by definition. Therefore one cannot say that one type of sexual act by a person under 16 years is acceptable and another is deviant, the legislation makes no allowance for this (see later section on criminal offenses).

What the study showed was that juvenile offending in sexual offenses appeared to fit the trend of other criminal offenses. Offending was transient, the peak age of offending being 14/15 years of age.

Relationship of offender to victim

Intuitively the relationship of the offender to the victim must be significant. One would expect the majority of offenses to be committed by those who know the child, and different in format to those who do not know the child. Here is the concept of risk, the level that an offender will go to, to indecently assault a child and commit a criminal offence. The father who indecently touches the breasts of his daughter whilst legitimately bathing her and the stranger who attacks a boy at an isolated fishing pond demonstrate different levels of access to the child and different inhibitors to conquer prior to committing the offence.

Previous research has not adequately accommodated this distinction, focusing almost exclusively on familial abuse. Bagley (1969) felt child abuse could be understood
by dividing offenders dichotomously between incestuous and non-incestuous offenders. This assertion was later discredited however more and more research centred on abuse within the family. Bachmann et al. (1988) in a review stated that father-daughter incest and molestation accounted for 30-80% of reported cases in which the perpetrator is a family member. They also said that brother-sister incest may possibly be the most common form of incest although they are reported in fewer cases. They go on to say that it had been conservatively estimated that 1 girl in 100 had suffered non voluntary sexual contact with her father.

The review said there was a conflict in the extent of sexual abuse between biological fathers and step-fathers. Although biological fathers outnumber step-fathers in the population and usually account for the higher proportion of incest cases they said a child may be at greater risk from a step-father because these men had not seen the child's development and entered the family at periods of change and disorganization. Dejong et al. (1984) found 47% of children under 11 years had been abused by a relative whereas only 10% of cases involved a family member when the child had exceeded that age. Within the family 20-70% had been committed by a relative other than a father.

A warning as to the significance of other types of offenders came in the review by Bachmann et al. (1988). Although it was stated that the studies concentrated on the father as the primary assailant, the review found other assailants to be: parent substitutes (i.e. mothers' boyfriend), other family members (grandfathers, cousins, brothers and step-brothers), babysitters, neighbours, other acquaintances, and strangers. In the larger analysis (300 or more victims) at least 18% were by strangers with findings as high as 50-60%.
The relative disinterest for extra-familial abuse has had serious implications. No reviews have been found which have looked at different relationships as this dissertation has. Therefore explanations for familial offenders could not transcend to stranger attackers. Nor could they say whether an offender in one type of relationship could offend against another victim if not found in an identical relationship. Further the explanations were constrained to adopting pathological and sociological models in terms of one sub-set of offenders - the family. As such it provided no meaningful step in understanding child sex-offenders.

**RELATIONSHIP OF OFFENDER TO VICTIM**

![Diagram showing frequency of offenses in terms of offender-victim relationship.]

Figure 13 above, showing frequency of offenses in terms of offender-victim relationship.
In this analysis the data gave no accurate details of the length or quality of the relationship. The frequencies of offenses in these relationships can be seen above (figure 13). The diagram shows that parents account for more offenses than step-parents. This finding is not particularly significant as although one parent families are on the increase, the majority of children still live with parents rather than step-parents.

Relatives

Relatives included both natural and step-relatives. It did not include in this category a transient boyfriend of the mother, there needed to be evidence of permanency in the relationship. 32% of the offender population were related in some way to the victim. A further analysis showed that of this sample 39% consisted of natural parents, 25% step-parents, 10% natural brothers or sisters, 6% step-brothers or sisters, and 20% consisted of other relatives, which mainly involved grandfathers and uncles in that order of frequency. The offenses committed by the relatives showed no particular trend in relation to the age of victim (see figure 14).

Family friend

This category comprised a diverse range of family associates, such as baby-sitters, neighbours, boyfriends etc. Family friends accounted for 26% of the offender population. The analysis shows that as the child becomes older fewer offenses are committed by this group. As is
shown more offenses are committed on children in the 5-8 year age group than the 9-12 year age group, and this finding is significant; $x^2=11, \text{df}=1, p<.001$. This could be accounted for by situational factors such as the child being less vulnerable to coercion, more likely to disclose the abuse and be believed, and less likely to require a babysitter and so be placed in a vulnerable position.

Peer

This category predominantly related to juvenile offenders who knew the victim from school, and accounted for 7% of the offender population. In this category the child becomes more at risk from his/her peers the older (s)he gets. As is shown those in the 11-12 year age group are significantly more likely to be subjected to an offence; $x^2=10, \text{df}=1, p<.005$. This is probably due to offenders discovering their sexuality and being more prone to impulsive behaviour; exacerbated by their attraction to female victims who are approaching puberty and are more sexually attractive to males of that age.

Stranger

Although overall the victim is most likely to know the offender the stranger group was proportionately the largest group accounting for 35% of the offender population. Strangers were more likely to commit offenses on victims in the 9-12 year age group than the 5-8 year age group; $x^2=5, \text{df}=1, p<.05$. An opposing victim age trend is seen between the stranger and the family friend. Whereas more offenses are committed by strangers the
older the child becomes more offenses are committed by the family friend as the child is younger. This can be explained by the dynamics of the offence; family friends will have more opportunity to commit the offence because they will be called upon to babysit. When the child grows older he/she spends more time unsupervised and outside allowing greater potential for the stranger offender to commit offenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RELATIVE</th>
<th>FAM.FR.</th>
<th>PEER</th>
<th>STRANGER</th>
<th>ROW TOT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-6 yrs</td>
<td>22 (26%)</td>
<td>33 (40%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>26 (31%)</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 yrs</td>
<td>35 (36%)</td>
<td>29 (30%)</td>
<td>7 (7%)</td>
<td>25 (26%)</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 yrs</td>
<td>37 (36%)</td>
<td>23 (22%)</td>
<td>4 (4%)</td>
<td>40 (38%)</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12 yrs</td>
<td>37 (28%)</td>
<td>25 (19%)</td>
<td>18 (13%)</td>
<td>53 (40%)</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL.TOT.</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14 above, showing offenses committed on victim ages by those who have a specific relationship to the child.

The location of the offence

Child sex-offenders are held in contempt by large sections of society, and this is particularly true of the prison population, where such offenders often have to be placed on "rule 43" (isolation from other prisoners). Because of this it is an assumption made by this study that offenders do not want to be arrested and punished. It follows therefore that each time an offender commits an offence certain decisions have to be made which again relate to the concept of risk, of being both detected and
apprehended. For example if the offence is committed inside and in private there is little chance of interruption but invariably the child will know the assailant sufficiently well to identify him. Conversely if the offence is committed outside, although there is less chance of identification, there is unpredictability and lack of control whilst the offence is being committed.

The study showed that 276 (66%) of the offenses took place in private and 295 (71%) of all the offenses took place indoors, almost all of which occurred in either the offenders' or child's own home. As has been seen strangers accounted for 35% of offenses so it shows that not all stranger attacks are committed outside where one might expect.

Figure 15 above, shows the proportion of offenses which are committed inside and outside.
The fact that so many sexual offenses are committed in the offenders or victims home conflicts with other criminal offenses, including other sexual acts such as rape (Heritage, 1993). This would tend to support the hypothesis that either the offender has some other technique to prevent detection (i.e. intimidation), or that the main factor which determines the offence is the situation itself. The latter argument is supported by the fact that very few offenses appeared to demonstrate evidence of pre-planning or targeting, and were most often committed by those who were placed in a position of trust with a vulnerable victim.

The data was then categorised in relation to victim age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victim Age</th>
<th>Indoor (%)</th>
<th>Outdoor (%)</th>
<th>Row Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-6 yrs</td>
<td>65 (78%)</td>
<td>18 (22%)</td>
<td>83 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 yrs</td>
<td>76 (79%)</td>
<td>20 (20%)</td>
<td>96 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 yrs</td>
<td>68 (65%)</td>
<td>36 (35%)</td>
<td>104 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12 yrs</td>
<td>86 (64%)</td>
<td>47 (35%)</td>
<td>133 (32%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16 above, showing where the offence was committed in relation to victim age.

When closer analysis is made in relation to the age of the victim one sees that those aged between 5-8 years are most susceptible indoors, whereas victims aged between 9-12 years, whilst also more at risk indoors, do become more susceptible to outside offenses; x² = 9, df = 1, p < .005. Again a pragmatic explanation appears the most feasible,
one would expect that older children have more freedom to spend time out of doors, and are under less surveillance when doing so.

Address of offender in relation to where offence took place

The offender also needs to decide how far he can travel from home with the minimum risk.

Environmental psychologists have looked for some time at the distance the offender travels to commit his offence. Earlier work by Shaw & Mackay, (1929, 1931, 1969), stated that certain areas, especially those which were traditionally deprived, housed a larger number of criminals, which resulted in higher crime rates in nearby wealthy areas.

Brantingham & Brantingham following on from this have been central to the research concept that offence location can be predicted in terms of the residential location of the offender. Canter (1990) gave a summary of the principles involved in this crime pilgrimage, which included criminal range, temporal changes, and mental buffers.

Researchers have found that there exists a typical Criminal range of offending, that is the distance an offender travels to commit a crime. There are a number of features which affect this notion such as available transport, targeting and pre-planning of the offence. It does not just relate to how far an offender will travel, but how far he must travel. Involved in this is what has been termed the "Safety Range". Turner (1969) when interviewing juveniles in Philadelphia found they would
be unlikely to commit crimes in the immediate vicinity of their home. Philips (1980) also said that offenders did not want to be identified therefore they moved away from the immediate vicinity of their home. In physical distance this safety zone has been found to be approximately 0.5 mile.

In looking at the maximum distance an offender will travel researchers saw a phenomenon known as "Distance decay". Brantingham & Brantingham (1981) showed that offenses occur in less frequency the further the criminal strays from home. Involved in this is the familiarity or knowledge an offender has of his surroundings which he uses to his benefit in committing a crime. The home base is therefore important and Canter (1990) found that the rapists average distance of travel was 1 mile to 1.5 miles from their home address. However as he points out familiarity does not just relate to a home address but may include where he works, or who he legitimately visits.

Other variables can also affect the distance the Criminal is willing to travel. Canter (1991), found an indication that offenders were more likely to cover further distances in the later part of a series. A number of studies i.e. Philips (1980) found offenders travelled further distances to commit property offenses than those involving crimes against the person. Brantingham also said that distance could vary due to where the offender lived in relation to accessability of suitable targets. Confirming this hypothesis Canter found that a large number of burglars committing offenses in Surrey came from South London whereas Surrey burglars stayed in their own location. In conclusion Brantingham & Brantingham (1981) illustrated a circle hypothesis with the home base the focal point with offenses committed around it. Finally a variable which has also been found to affect
distance has been "Mental buffers". Cognitive psychologists have shown how minds distort distance and areas. Baker & Donnelly (1986) hypothesised that crossing boundaries such as rivers or train tracks may be symbolic and inhibit offenders.

This analysis formulated categories to analyze how far the offender travelled from his own address to commit the offence. These categories with a short explanation are as follows:

Own address: The offender had the choice to commit the act of sexual abuse within his own home. This could be facilitated by a number of situations. He may be the father of the child, so that address would also be the child’s home. Similarly it may be that he is caring for a child (i.e. babysitting) using his own home. The study also observed that a proportion of strangers managed to coax child victims into their own home to commit the offence.

Same Police sub-division/ same division: Sub-divisions or Divisions are geographical areas relating to the police command structure. A number of sub-divisions make up a division. Generally speaking a sub-division incorporates the offender’s local area, such as shops, doctors, schools etc. If the offender left his sub-divisional area and carried on into the divisional area depending on how urban the area he would probably require transportation. As a reference point at the time of this dissertation there were six Divisions in the Lancashire Constabulary.

Different area: This means that the offender went from the divisional area where he lives to another divisional area. For instance an offender living in the centre of
Lancashire's Western Division would be approximately 20 miles away from the next division.

No fixed abode: This relates to offenders who had no address at the time of their arrest.

The survey results agree with Brantingham's assertion that the distance offenders travel to commit their offence generally diminishes in frequency the further they wander from their own address. However, there is no safety zone. 337 (80%) of the offender sample are divided equally between those committing their offence at their own

figure 17 above, showing frequency of offenses committed in respect of offenders home address.
residence and those committing it within the same Police sub-division in which they live.

Offenses then fall dramatically in frequency with 34 (8%) of offenses taking place within the police divisional area (which would generally require transportation), and 31 (7%) committed in a completely different area to which the offender resides. The remaining 14 (3%) of offenders were of no fixed abode at the time of their arrest.

These results again refute the hypothesis promoted by the pathology model that says the majority of child sex-offenders use sophisticated strategies both to court the child and to evade detection. It shows that a large number are governed by the opportunity presented by the situation, and like other crime commit the offence close to their home address. In fact child molesters exhibit no reverence for the safety zone, committing 40% of their offenses in their own home. The fact that even though the child is most likely known to them, and they still commit the offence, points to the fact that such offenses are impulsive and exploitative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Same Add (%)</th>
<th>Sub-Div (%)</th>
<th>Div. (%)</th>
<th>Diff. Area (%)</th>
<th>N.F.A (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 &amp; und.</td>
<td>28 (28%)</td>
<td>59 (59%)</td>
<td>7 (7%)</td>
<td>6 (6%)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-24 yrs</td>
<td>14 (18%)</td>
<td>47 (61%)</td>
<td>5 (6%)</td>
<td>7 (9%)</td>
<td>4 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34 yrs</td>
<td>32 (50%)</td>
<td>15 (23%)</td>
<td>8 (12%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-45 yrs</td>
<td>43 (52%)</td>
<td>21 (25%)</td>
<td>9 (11%)</td>
<td>7 (8%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46+ yrs</td>
<td>51 (54%)</td>
<td>27 (29%)</td>
<td>5 (5%)</td>
<td>8 (8%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 18 above takes the address criteria and analyses it in relation to its distribution amongst the offender age groups. It is found that those who commit the offence at their own address are significantly more likely to be over the age of 25 years ($x^2=35, \ df=1, \ p=.0001$); although those under 17 years do account for a substantial proportion (16.7%). This appears logical; the younger age group are seen to commit the offence whilst visiting acquaintances or babysitting, the then upward trend would be seen with older offenders more likely to live at their own addresses and therefore having the capability to commit these offenses. When looking at those who commit the offence in the immediate vicinity where they live it can be seen that this more likely accounts for those under the age of 25 years ($x^2=47, \ df=1, \ p=.0001$); who probably do not have the mobility older age groups have.

There were no other significant trends in relation to offenders who travelled further distances to commit their offence.

**Offenses committed against the victim**

Before the results are analyzed in this section there is a moral point to be confronted. It has been said that one should not differentiate between child molesters, one is no worse than another and that once they invade the privacy of the child's body they are equally guilty. There appears two arguments against this suggestion. The first is that the Criminal Justice System differentiates crimes committed by child molesters with miscellaneous punishments theoretically and in real terms separating the offenders. Secondly any perspective which allows an
improved understanding of child molesters appears warranted as its objective is to protect future victims.

The hypothesis was that not all offenders would be prepared to commit the most serious types of offenses therefore this was another criteria which would differentiate molesters. There are a wide range of sexual offenses which can be committed on young children. These offenses are listed below together with a short note, which explains the offence, the maximum term of imprisonment it allows, and whether the offence is a "serious arrestable offence". The status "serious arrestable offence" was a term brought in by the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984. It confers on the Police powers, not available for other offenses, in relation to withholding the detained persons' rights, obtaining bodily samples for evidential purposes, and applications for search warrants.

a) Murder.

For the purposes of this study this only involved homicides where there was evidence of sexual interference prior to the death of the child. The offence is contrary to Common Law.

Life imprisonment
Serious arrestable offence.
b) Abduction.

This offence is covered by: Common Law, The Sexual Offenses Act, 1956, the Taking of Hostages Act, 1982, and the Child Abduction Act, 1984. The Common Law offence requires a physical taking of the victim using force or fraud. The latter however requires no such proof and it was brought in for those offenders who used no force or fraud but enticed or coaxed the child to accompany them, taking them away from areas such as school playgrounds. To prove this offence it has to be shown that the offender was not connected with the child and had no lawful authority or reasonable excuse to take or detain the child (child is defined as a person under 16 years).

Common Law: Life imprisonment, serious arrestable offence.
Child Abduction Act: 7 years imprisonment.

c) Buggery.

This is an offence contrary to Section 12, Sexual Offenses Act, 1956 and involves penetration by the offenders' penis, no matter how slight, into the victim's anus.

Against a boy under 16, or with a woman: Life imprisonment.
Against a boy under 16 years: Serious arrestable offence.

d) Rape.

This is an offence contrary to Section 1 of the Sexual Offenses Act 1956, which has been amended by Section 1 of
the Sexual Offenses (Amendment) Act, 1967. It requires the penetration of the offenders' penis, to any degree, into the vagina. It must be proved that at the time of the intercourse the female does not consent to the act, and at the time the offender knew she did not consent to it or was reckless as to whether she consented to it.

Life imprisonment.
Serious arrestable offence.

e) Incest.

It is an offence for a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman whom he knows to be his grand-daughter, daughter, sister or mother.

On a female under 13 years: Life imprisonment (if over 13 years - 7 years imprisonment)
On a female under 13 years: Serious arrestable offence.

f) Unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under 13 years.

Unlike rape which requires an explicit state of mind from the offender and victim regarding lack of consent, this offence is more suitable to those situations where the child makes no overt objection to the intercourse taking place, but because of her age cannot give lawful consent.

7 years imprisonment.
Serious arrestable offence
(between 13-16 years 2 years imprisonment, and is not a serious arrestable offence.)
g) Indecent assault on a female.

h) Indecent assault on a male.

An indecent assault requires two ingredients, the
assault itself, accompanied by circumstances of
indecency. For many cases in this survey the indecent act
was the actual assault i.e. the touching of the genitals.
Covered in this category are all manner of sexual acts
such as cunnilingus, fellatio, even kissing. Sections
14(2) and 15(2) of the Sexual Offences Act, 1956 which
cover these offenses state that no child under the age of
16 can in law give consent to any sexual act. Therefore
as with intercourse the fact that the child gave verbal
consent to the offender could not be used as a defence.

10 years imprisonment

i) Incitement of a child under 14 years to commit an
act of gross indecency.

There existed a loophole in the legislation that covered
indecent assault. In Fairclough v Whipp, 1951 a man was
urinating by a canal bank when a 9 year old girl
approached and touched his penis following his
invitation. It was decided that an invitation to touch,
by the accused to the aggrieved, did not amount to an
assault. Section 1 of the Indecency with Children
Act, 1960, later said that any person who commits an act
of gross indecency with or towards a child under the age
of 14 years, or who incites a child under that age to
commit such an act with him, or another, shall be guilty
of an offence. Gross indecency has not been defined but
has been found to include masturbation.

2 years imprisonment.
j) Indecent exposure.

This offence is covered by Common Law, Section 4 of the Vagrancy Act, 1824, and Section 28 of the Town Police Clauses Act, 1847. The evidence required to prove the offence differs in relation to which legislation is used. However the offence can be committed in private or public, by either gender, and requires the exposure of the person's body in an indecent way to some other person. In this study it mainly related to men exposing their penis to children.

3 months imprisonment.

As this section shows there are a myriad of offenses which are encompassed under the umbrella of child sexual abuse. All the listed offenses are differentiated by the Criminal Justice System which, generally, speaking correlates severer sentencing both with the child's immaturity and the invasiveness of the offence. In this way indecent exposure carries a maximum sentence of 3 months imprisonment whereas indecent assault, a more invasive offence carries a maximum of 10 years imprisonment, and rape, more invasive again, carries life imprisonment. As explained certain indecency offenses are exacerbated by age. An example of this is unlawful sexual intercourse, when committed on a female under 13 years it is classified as a "Serious arrestable offence", and carries a 7 year imprisonment sentence as opposed to 2 years imprisonment for offenses committed on those 13 years or over.

For analysis purposes this study differentiated offenses into 5 categories. These were: a) indecent exposure and incitement to commit gross indecency (where the child would not be touched but be subjected to a display of
words or behaviour from the offender); b) indecent assault (where the child would be physically touched in some way); c) penetration or attempt penetration of the vagina or anus (an offence which due to its extreme invasiveness could cause physical as well as psychological suffering); d) abduction (which involves some physical taking away of the child from the care and control of others); e) homicide (an offence of indecency which results in death). Some offenses would contain more than one of these variables, for instance an offender who snatched a young girl, who raped and then strangled her would contain variables a), b) and c).

Using the inhibitor model outlined earlier it was hypothesized that offenses would increase in frequency as they became less invasive or "less serious" from a punitive perspective. This hypothesis generally held true as can be seen below.

Death - 0.5% (2 cases)
Abduction - 9% (44 cases)
(Attempt) penetration of vagina or anus - 15% (72 cases)
Indecent assault - 63% (293) cases
Exposure with/without incitement - 12% (55 cases)

There were 2 murders committed against children in the 3 year period, both of which involved indecency; abduction was also seen relatively infrequently. Similarly as the offenses progressed along this hypothetical scale and became "less serious", they were seen more frequently. Offenses involving penetration were the second most common type of offence with the most frequent being indecent assault, although this category accommodated differing degrees of molestation.
Following this trend it was expected that indecent exposure would account for the highest number of offenses, as it did not involve touching the child nor did it merit serious punishment. Exposure however was seen to account for only 12% of all offenses. As was mentioned earlier offenses in this category are subject to a poor detection rate compared to other offenses. To combat this all reported offenses during 1987 were examined. Even after this the status of indecent exposure remained the same in terms of frequency of occurrence, being committed less than offenses of assault or penetration.
Figure 20 below shows frequency of offenses in relation to offence and victim age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEATH</th>
<th>ABDUCT.</th>
<th>PENET.</th>
<th>ASSAULT</th>
<th>EXPOSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-6 yrs</td>
<td>1(0.5%)</td>
<td>12(27%)</td>
<td>14(19%)</td>
<td>60(21%)</td>
<td>7(14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 yrs</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11(25%)</td>
<td>18(25%)</td>
<td>73(25%)</td>
<td>8(14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 yrs</td>
<td>1(0.5%)</td>
<td>10(23%)</td>
<td>14(19%)</td>
<td>78(27%)</td>
<td>14(25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12yr</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11(25%)</td>
<td>26(36%)</td>
<td>82(28%)</td>
<td>26(46%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2(0.5%)</td>
<td>44(9%)</td>
<td>72(15%)</td>
<td>293(63%)</td>
<td>55(12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table showed that indecent exposure accounted for the least of all offenses within the 5-6 year old victim category, discounting homicide. In contrast the offence showed a significant increase in frequency for 11-12 year old victims; \( x^2 = 7, df = 1, p = .01 \). This finding could support two hypotheses: firstly that the offender requires to see some reaction from the victim and that is why he offends against the older child; secondly it points to the fact that indecent exposure is not an offence which fits the form of the other sexual offenses depicted within the data, therefore one would not generally expect this type of offender to progress to other offenses, an assertion often refuted (11). There is a more detailed study of this type of offender enclosed in appendix B.

All other offenses show a more even distribution in respect of victim age. Although there appears a leap in respect of penetration offenses against victims in the 11-12 year age group, this finding is not statistically significant.
How the offence takes place

Briere and Runtz (1988), found 14.7% of 278 students (average age 19.8 years, age range 17-40 years), said they had been sexually assaulted by someone at least 5 years older, prior to reaching 15 years of age. Of these 41% of all victims experienced one abusive incident, 46% were abused on multiple occasions for up to one year, and 12% were abused for longer periods. The average victim was abused 7 times over a variable period. Completed intercourse occurred in 7% of all victims, and parental incest was present in 12% of the victim sample. The modal number of abusers per victim was 1, although 39% of the victim group were sexually abused by more than one person. Force or threat of force occurred on at least one occasion for 51% of all victims (Briere & Runtz, 1988).

Very often strategies to facilitate the offence were very implicit however in certain cases explicit force or fraud was used. Figure 16 overleaf shows explicit fraud techniques only accounted for 8.4% of the sample and explicit force only 14.4%.

One hypothesis would be that younger victims would be more susceptible to force or fraud due to the fact they were weaker and more naive.
Figure 22 below, shows the frequency of these type of offenses in respect of the child’s age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Fraud</th>
<th>Not Known</th>
<th>Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-6 yrs</td>
<td>4 (12%)</td>
<td>69 (21%)</td>
<td>10 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 yrs</td>
<td>8 (23%)</td>
<td>81 (25%)</td>
<td>7 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 yrs</td>
<td>10 (29%)</td>
<td>86 (26%)</td>
<td>8 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12 yrs</td>
<td>12 (35%)</td>
<td>93 (26%)</td>
<td>28 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>34 (8%)</td>
<td>329 (79%)</td>
<td>53 (13%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from the table the hypothesis is reversed. It appears the older the child becomes the more frequent the offenses where explicit force or fraud is used. Although this finding is not statistically significant in respect of fraud it is in respect of force especially in the 11-12 year group; $x^2=12$, df=1, $p<.0005$. It could be that the older the victim becomes the less vulnerable they are from implicit means, and less likely to be controlled, for instance, by coercive or implied force. In this way much more explicit strategies need to be used to gain control of the victim.

Another indicator of explicit force is whether the abuse is committed by more than one offender. Previous studies make no mention of this however in this sample 32 (8%) of offenses are committed by more than one offender. When categorised in terms of victim age (see figure 18) again it can be seen that victims aged between 11-12 years are more prone to this phenomenon, although this finding is not statistically significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ON OWN</th>
<th>WITH OTHERS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5/6 YEARS</td>
<td>75 (20%)</td>
<td>8 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/8 YEARS</td>
<td>88 (23%)</td>
<td>8 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/10 YEARS</td>
<td>101 (26%)</td>
<td>3 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/12 YEARS</td>
<td>120 (31%)</td>
<td>13 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLUMN TOTAL</td>
<td>384 (92%)</td>
<td>32 (8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 23 above, showing offenses committed by more than one offender in relation to age of victim.
A more detailed analysis of offence behaviour

Research on the way offenders have committed the offence has rested on offender explanations. As a result offenders have predominantly been in therapy, co-operative and non-violent. The results have reflected this methodology showing sexual abuse to generally be a carefully planned act by those with a fixated sexual preference. This research has highlighted the distorted view the offender has, conceptualizing an equity model where the offender fills a gap in the victims life which is devoid of love and affection, trading this for the victims sexual favours.

Conte et al. (1989:296), in a paper typical of this research showed how they would target their victims. The following is a quote from one of the offenders,

"..... I would choose the youngest one or the one I thought would not talk about it. I would probably pick the one who appeared more needy, the child hanging back from the others or feeling picked on by brothers or sisters. The one who liked to sit on my lap. The one who likes attention and stroking."

In the same paper such offenders explained the ways they targeted victims who they thought would not disclose. They then invested time and effort into the child coaxing them into a relationship before the abuse would start. A process of desensitization or lowering of the child’s resistance to sexual contact would then be implemented. This desensitization could take place in a number of ways and is referred to in this study by the terms "grooming" and "minimisation". The following quotes from offenders show how this takes place:
"Playing, talking, giving special attention, trying to get the child to initiate contact with me. From here I would initiate different kinds of contact, such as touching the child’s back, head. Testing the child to see how much she would take before she would pull away". (Conte et al., 1989: 296)

"Most of the time I would start by giving them a rubdown. When I got them aroused, I would take the chance and place my hand on their penis to masturbate them. If they would not object, I would take this to mean it was O.K. I would isolate them. I might spend the night with them. Physical isolation, closeness, contact are more important than verbal seduction". (Conte et al., 1989: 296)

The use of force and threats were denied by the offenders in Conte’s study however the researchers said that it was apparent that there was an implicit use of their superior size and strength. This would also be combined with implicit threats such as others being hurt through the knowledge of the abuse becoming known. As the final quote shows:

"Befriend them, be nice to them. Target children who appear not be close to their parents, or children who have already been victimized. Look for some kind of deficiency. (Conte et al., 1989: 290).

It was therefore decided to test these offender reports. The hypothesis was that these were not typical offenders and that the therapy based descriptions of offence behaviour built up a false scenario of intelligent and planned offending which diverted attention from a significant amount of offenses which were spontaneous, showed little or no planning, and which involved aggression."
To allow this a more detailed examination of offence behaviour was done on 97 cases. These were selected at random from the 416 offenses and were balanced to include stranger, relative and family friend offenders. Full accounts of each offence were then obtained from witness, victim and police reports. Offence behaviour was then distinguished into variables all of which were dichotomous with either a yes/no presence, to create accuracy of rater reliability. 59 dichotomous behaviour variables were then produced across all 97 offenses to provide the data matrix from which the subsequent analysis was conducted. The frequencies were as follows.

The sample was similar in content to the larger population with male victims accounting for 33%, and female victims accounting for 67% of offenses. In terms of age, 54% of the victims were 9 years or younger. All the offenders were 17 years or older, 58% had previous cautions or criminal convictions recorded against them.

The data also allowed for a closer analysis of the victim type. 7% of the victims attended special school (which was indicative of them being outside the day to day control of their parent(s)), 15% exhibited some behavioral difficulties (defined by criminality, or consistent and extreme disobedience to legitimate parental or other authority), and 44% had an absent parent, which was higher than the national average. It was therefore apparent that a significant amount of victims were vulnerable for a number of reasons and would make an interesting study within themselves.

Analysis was then done on how the offender approached the victim and if anyone else was present when the offence was committed. In 49% of cases the child was with others when the offender first meets them. In relation to the actual commission of the offence, 70% of the children
were on their own at the time of offence. As in the larger sample the majority of offenses were committed inside (71%), rather than outside (29%).

Further analysis was also done to see how well the child knew the offender, and how soon the offence was committed after the offender met the child. In 61% the offender had previously been alone with the child in a position of trust and had not committed any offence. 54% of the offenders had been left alone with the child in a position of control at the time of the offence, and 45% of the offenders were the child's carer. 20% of the offenses were committed by a complete stranger, a further 32% committed the offence after speaking to the child on a number of occasions only. 44% could be said to know the child well.

Only 8% of the offenders were disturbed by something which distracted them when they were committing the offence.

What of the strategy used to commit the offence? 43% showed grooming, this was when the child was taken out by the offender, or given money, presents, treats etc. 44% showed minimisation. This term referred to the lessening of a child's threshold towards sexual activity, for instance showing the child pornography, or wrestling with the child and making any indecent touch appear to be a legitimate mistake. In contrast 45% of the offenses were spontaneous and showed no pre-planning at all. 24% of offenders had drink/drugs prior to offence.

At the commission of the offence certain offenders exhibited affection (37%), reassured the victim (29%), showed remorse (4%), gave or promised a gift to the victim (26%), and exhibited a common interest to the child such as train-spotting, or cycling (18%).
Research has shown that certain offenders commit more than one offence against the child. In this analysis 60% committed more than one offence on the victim, 29% committed offenses on one particular victim for more than 6 months, and 32% of the offenders became progressively more abusive in their sexual activity in relation to the same victim.

In 64% of cases the victim explicitly told the offender to stop the sexual behaviour. In 37% of cases when this happened the offender was deterred, in 27% of cases the offender was not deterred.

In respect of the use of force or threat to facilitate the offence although the victim suffered physical injury in only 3% of cases, in 39% of cases the offender used initial force/threat to facilitate offence. 11% used force or threat even after the victim was under control. In respect of disclosing the incident 9% of victims were threatened explicitly with violence, although another non-aggressive threat which was directed more at the child’s emotions (i.e. you’ll get me in trouble, you’ll be taken away from home) was used more frequently (38%).

Sexual acts differed quite considerably in relation to the offenses. In only 16% of the offenses was the offender naked, although the victim was naked in 24% of cases.

Not all behaviour was as extreme in its sexuality and certain behaviour was less invasive than others. The least invasive behaviour included only rubbing outside the child’s clothing (7%), or rubbing inside the clothing but not digitally penetrating the vagina or masturbating the victim (16%). Other less invasive behaviour involved stroking the child in an area other than the child’s genitals, and this included chest, bottom, and in one
case ears (49%). Similarly 22% of offenders kissed the victim on the lips.

In 40% of cases the offender asked the victim to participate in the offence, in 39% of cases actually placing the child’s hand on his penis. 33% of victims masturbated the offender, and 20% performed fellatio on the offender.

Sexual acts that the offender committed on the child included masturbation (20%), and performing oral sex (16%). The offender was found to digitally penetrate the child's vagina in 25% of cases and anus in 10% of cases. Penile penetration (or attempt penetration) of the vagina occurred in 13% of cases, and penile anal penetration (or attempt) of the anus in 14%.

As to sexual arousal, 47% of offenders were said to have an erect penis at some time during the offence, and the offender ejaculated in 31% of cases.

Finally 23% of offenders used sexual or abusive language during the offence, and in 5% of cases the offender gave the child a name other than his own (alias).

To conclude this aspect of the results section it can clearly be seen that there are a number of things happening. The population of child molesters does not include an homogenous group of offenders. Although they show similarities to other criminal offenders there are differences within them reflected in the choice of victim, where the offence is committed, and how they commit their offence. Unlike other offender reports some offenses are spontaneous and do not show any planning. It is useful at this juncture to look specifically at the background characteristics of the offender to observe the diversity here.
CHAPTER 9

Background characteristics of the Offender
Domestic history

Bachmann et al. (1988) stated that abuse occurs regardless of socioeconomic status, occupation, urban or rural residence, educational attainment, religious preference, or ethnicity.

This is another perception of child sexual abuse promoted by the pathological model, that the crime is unlike other criminal behaviour and is likely to affect individuals at random, irrespective of their station in life. Richard Monk, Head of the Community Affairs and Crime Prevention Department of the Metropolitan Police Service said such offenders were sometimes wealthy, high ranking and influential (7). The direction of this thesis however is that sexual abuse is like other criminal behaviour. If this is so then one would expect the offenders' domestic history to reflect mainstream criminality, and few offenders, for example, to be engaged in professional employment.

Gagnon et al. (1965) found that the worse cases of abuse correlated with those individuals with a low socioeconomic status. Others found a higher incidence of alcoholism in parents whose children were removed from the home through physical or sexual abuse. Similarly there were indications that the antecedents of such offenders involved inadequate relationships between his/her parents and grandparents.

Ferleger (1981), looked at a sample of 45 abusive parents in a clinical setting. Variables of particular relevance associated with re-offending appeared to be: marital status, personal abuse history, and income source. Although no one variable appeared to be strongly associated with re-offending he thought that interactions of a number of these variables were linked to abuse. For
example while income source did not have a mitigating effect for subjects who had their own abuse history, having some earned income decreased the probability of abuse for those without a personal abuse history. Subjects without a personal abuse history who relied on some form of public assistance were more likely to abuse. Perhaps the absence of adequate economic support acted as an additional stressor for these individuals triggering abusive behaviour. The lack of a mitigating effect of income source for those with a personal abuse history suggests that negative early developmental experiences may have been too impairing to redress simply by a favourable change in their adult economic status.

The NSPCC during 1992 reported that physical abuse was a story of poverty, rootlessness, family breakdown, and disruption. As well as placing significance on marital stress, poor parenting, and coping skills they also pointed out that 40% of the fathers in such cases were unemployed.

In this study the offenders' antecedent background and domestic details were analyzed. Complete details for domestic details were only available for 412 offenders and certain offenders could legitimately be placed into more than one category.

Offenders in this sample were predominantly white, accounting for 403 (98%) of the sample. There were 2 (0.5%) afro-caribbean offenders and 7 (2%) asian offenders.

In respect of living arrangements 82 (20%) lived in their own house, and 170 (41%) lived in rented accommodation. 153 (37%) lived with a parent, 100 (24%) lived with their own family, 140 (34%) lived on their own, and 4 (1%) lived with a friend.
262 (64%) of offenders were single, 109 (26%) were married. 54 (13%) offenders at the time of the arrest were separated. 113 (27%) were a parent.

The majority (381 or 92%) went to comprehensive or secondary modern school, and 282 (68%) left school at the earliest opportunity.

33 (8%) had some military experience, 244 (59%) were in employment, of which only 49 (12%) had skilled employment. 131 (32%) were in short term employment, 197 (48%) had experienced a number of short term jobs and 163 (40%) had experienced steady employment, that is employment which had lasted over 5 years.

In relation to physical attributes 79 (19%) were less than 5’5” in height, 134 (33%) were between 5’5” and 5’9”, 199 (48%) were over 5’9” in height. Although a subjective judgement by the arresting officer, 17 (4%) had long hair, 76 (18%) had medium length hair and 319 (77%) had short hair. 21 (5%) of offenders had a mental disablement, and 15 (4%) had a physical deformity. 74 (18%) had a tattoo.

Although such descriptive statistics are difficult to interpret without a more involved analysis as to how they interrelate with the offenders’ age the initial implications are that the greater categories of child molesters involve people who are single, living on their own, and who come from a background involving minimal education, in contrast to offenders who are married parents living in their own home.
Previous convictions

Few studies have looked at the offenders previous criminal history. Those that have, have predominantly focused upon their previous child abuse. Studies have shown that the offenders who have committed the most serious offenses of child abuse are the ones most likely to re-offend. A review of studies has found that abusers in treatment have re-abused in 16-67% of cases, and suggest that re-abuse is seriously under reported (Ferleger et al. 1988). Other researchers have found that although the physical abuse may stop, emotional abuse and neglect as well as recurrent, excessive punishment can continue after treatment. Gabinet (1983), found a correlation with treatment over 12 months having the greatest effect. Cohn (1979) saw that 56% of those offenders on treatment who were initially regarded as serious offenders due to their prior abuse and severity of the abuse re-offended compared with 15% of "not serious" cases. Green et al. (1981), also found that offenders who inflicted injuries on the victim were also unlikely to respond successfully to the treatment. Herrenkhol et al. (1979) found that families reported for physical abuse were more likely to re-offend followed by those reported for neglect, sexual abuse, and emotional abuse. He also found that different combinations i.e. single, double, triple abuse types were again progressively correlated with re-offending i.e. 52%, 66%, 85% respectively). What these studies could be interpreted as saying was that the most serious offenders, that is the ones most likely to have the most victims, commit the most invasive offenses, and cause the most injuries, were the offenders most likely to re-offend.

Analysis showed that 233 (56%) of the 416 offenders had no previous conviction. This finding would have dropped
to 50% had all juvenile offenders been withdrawn from the sample. Of the remaining 183 (44%) who did exhibit previous criminal convictions, the highest frequency for any particular offender was 41. The mean number of convictions was 5.9 with a S.D. of 7.6. By categorising previous convictions into frequency bands the following results were found:

Offenders with 1 previous conviction .....51 (12%)
2-4 previous convictions.....64 (15%)
5-7 previous convictions.....24 (6%)
8+ previous convictions .....44 (11%)

Those offenders in the sample that came to the attention of the Police did so most frequently at an earlier age.

| 1st offence aged 10-16 years | 83 (20%) |
| 1st offence aged 17-34 years | 81 (19%) |
| 1st offence aged 35+ years   | 19 (5%)  |

Analysis was then done to ascertain the initial type of offence this population of child sex offenders came to the notice of the Criminal justice system for. Again this provided a test for the pathological model as if the offenders sexual fixation was the only characteristic that distinguished him then it followed he would only have convictions for indecency. If however child molestation was simply another exploitative and criminal behaviour one would expect the first criminal conviction or caution to mirror the general criminal population, which in this society would be for an offence of theft.
First previous conviction: theft/deception 88 (21%)
burglary 32 (8%)
indecency 25 (6%)
violence/disorder 20 (5%)
take motor veh. 11 (3%)
damage 7 (2%)

As can clearly be seen the majority of child molesters in this sample first came to the notice of the Criminal Justice System for offenses of dishonesty.

Offenders' criminal histories were then analyzed as to frequency and type. Such convictions were divided into those obtained as a juvenile (less than 17yrs) and those as an adult (17 years and over).

Previous convictions as a juvenile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 conviction</th>
<th>more 1 conviction</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft/deception</td>
<td>45 (11%)</td>
<td>23 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>32 (8%)</td>
<td>14 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take motor vehicle</td>
<td>7 (2%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage</td>
<td>8 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>9 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public disorder</td>
<td>5 (1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecency</td>
<td>11 (3%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprising.....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penetration</td>
<td>2 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indec.assault</td>
<td>5 (1%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indec.exposure</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
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165
Previous convictions as an adult

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>more 1 conviction</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft/deception</td>
<td>91 (22%)</td>
<td>62 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>49 (12%)</td>
<td>30 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take motor vehicle</td>
<td>20 (5%)</td>
<td>5 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage</td>
<td>37 (9%)</td>
<td>6 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>32 (8%)</td>
<td>7 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public disorder</td>
<td>39 (9%)</td>
<td>8 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecency</td>
<td>72 (18%)</td>
<td>42 (10%)</td>
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</table>

comprising....

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abduction</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penetration</td>
<td>9 (2%)</td>
<td>6 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ind.assault</td>
<td>38 (9%)</td>
<td>20 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ind.exposure</td>
<td>24 (6%)</td>
<td>16 (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All criminal conviction categories could be re-categorized under three general headings: dishonesty (involving all offenses where property was stolen); violence (which included violence against property as well as the person); indecency (which involved indecency offenses against all ages). The re-categorisation, purely for adult convictions, revealed that 58% of offenders in the population who were previously convicted of an indecency offence were convicted of a further indecency offence at a later stage of their lives. An identical recidivism rate was found for those adults who had a previous conviction for dishonesty. Violence showed a lesser recidivism rate of 20%.
Punishments which involve the adolescent offender going into the care of the local authority or an adult offender going into a prison establishment are a useful indicator as to an offender's level and frequency of criminality. The analysis found the following:

| 1st custody/care 10-16 years | 16 (4%) |
| 1st custody/care 17-34 years | 36 (9%) |
| 1st custody/care 35+ years | 5 (1%) |

The final part of this section gives a summary of criminal convictions for offenses which may be of particular significance:

44 offenders (11%) had previous convictions for indecency with children, mean conviction rate 2.47, SD 1.9.

9 offenders (2%) had only indecency with children offenses in their records.

26 offenders (6.4%) had previous convictions for indecency other than with a child.

2 offenders (0.5%) had a previous conviction for physical assault on a child, mean 1 conviction.

39 offenders (9%) had a previous conviction for physical assault, mean 1.3, SD 0.5.

42 (10%) offenders had previous convictions for disorder, mean 1.8, SD 3; one offender had 20 convictions for disorder.
Of those with previous convictions 108 (60%) had a conviction for assault/indecency/threatening behaviour/disorderly conduct.

157 (38.9%) had a previous conviction for dishonesty. Which means 86% of all those who had previous conviction had one for dishonesty.

A further analysis was then made as to whether offenders within the population progressed to more serious offenses. The offence model used earlier was implemented again. In this way homicide was the most serious offence, followed by abduction, intercourse per vagina/anus, indecent assault and indecent exposure. In this way an offender whose first sexual offence was indecent assault would only be coded as progressing to a more serious offence if he committed a further sexual act involving penetration, abduction or homicide. The results showed no significant progressive trend. Only 24 (6%) of the offender population who had committed a sexual offence on a child were later convicted of a more serious offence on a child, as viewed by this simple model.

It is a perception within most police circles, and some academic circles that those who progress to serious indecency offenses commence their deviant sexual history committing indecent exposure. A further analysis therefore looked at two samples of offenders, 37 who had committed unlawful intercourse per anus/vagina with their victim, and 95 who had indecently assaulted their victim, to discover whether any had indecent exposure convictions in their history. The analysis showed that both groups had a mean previous conviction rate of 6 convictions. The analysis which looked at adult and juvenile convictions found that although 14 (38%) of the intercourse group had previously indecently assaulted someone, only 1 offender
in this sample had a conviction for indecent exposure. Similarly 34 (36%) of offenders who were in the sample of indecent assault had been convicted of a previous indecent assault whereas only 4 (4%) of the sample had a conviction for indecent exposure.

To summarise in relation to offender characteristics the results did not corroborate certain assertions that child molesters were middle class and professionally successful. In fact the antecedents of the molesters mirrored the general criminal population, that is they were predominantly working class, had a minimal level of education and were likely to have had periods of unemployment. Those that had previous convictions were most likely to have convictions for dishonesty rather than indecency.
Section Conclusion

The main hypothesis running through this dissertation is that child molestation is not the domain of a clearly identifiable sub-set of individuals bonded by a pathological fixation for young children. It is postulated that the sexual exploitation of children is another form of criminal behaviour committed by individuals who capitalise on, manipulate, and abuse other situations and individuals when the opportunity arises.

This initial results section has to some degree confirmed these thoughts showing that offenses follow general criminal trends. For instance female victims are most likely to be offended against, especially as they approach puberty.

Similarly the offence is committed almost entirely by males, with the mean age of offenders being 25 years, although the largest category of offenders were juveniles. Again this mirrors the general criminal population.

Like the majority of criminal offenses, and in contrast to many commentators reports, the majority of such offenses showed little planning and appeared opportunistic. The child was more likely to become a victim to a person they knew, although strangers did account for a significant proportion of offenses. The offence is most likely to be committed inside and in private with the vast majority of offenses being committed either in the offenders own home or within two miles of his address.
Offenses occurred in greater frequency the less invasive they became, except for indecent exposure which appears to follow a different process than "hands on" offenses. Indecent assault was the most common offence.

Offenders were more likely to be single and have had a minimal education history. Half of the offender population had previous convictions although these ranged dramatically in number between offender. The most common offence was for dishonesty and only a tiny proportion had previous offenses exclusively for child indecency.

These results showed that offenders were not constrained by an exclusive sexual preference for children. But a further element was also seen. Although these offenders could be said to be similar to more general criminal offenders, within the group there was considerable diversity. As was shown offenders could be differentiated as to age and gender of victim, age and gender of the offender, relationship of the offender to the victim, type of offence and how it was committed, and previous domestic and criminal history. There is obviously a considerable disparity between two similarly aged offenders, one of which has no previous convictions and the other who has over twenty convictions. It is to this differentiation the dissertation now turns.
CHAPTER 10

Smallest Space Analysis of Offence Behaviour
One aspect of the initial analysis was to illustrate the considerable diversity of strategies that an offender can use to facilitate offence. Some bizarre cases have been reported on, notably the choirmaster who persuaded one of his choristers to suck his penis because of its therapeutic quality to tired vocal cords. Although there have been less outlandish offenses there have been equally inconceivable ones. In one offence an offender after buggering the victim used a plank of wood to beat the child who was naked and posed no threat. These offenses hopefully illustrate that even a cosmetic perusal of the offenses illustrates the potential for offenders to be differentiated in relation to their behaviour. How the offender brings a specific behaviour into affect, how he interacts with the victim, are all aspects which must also leak information about his own personality.

Rather than speculating that all offenders are distinguished by a sexual fixation towards children a more challenging hypothesis is that the observable behaviour an individual discloses from his interaction with a victim reveals his other characteristics.

The initial step is to understand the underlying themes behind the behaviour committed by the offender during the offence. There is such a diversity of observable behaviour that it is an immense task to determine what underlying structure, if any, binds or differentiates these offenders. It is here that traditional statistical procedure has difficulty; offence behaviour cannot be accounted for adequately by explaining individual variables separately. Even conventional multivariate statistical analysis is constrained by this situation with cross-tabulations only able to test distinct subsets. Similarly such findings only say whether a variable is significant, it gives no understanding as to its
involvement in a particular phenomena. What is required is a multivariate classification system sensitive enough to conceptualize what may appear insignificant aspects of offence behaviour into larger facets, that is mutually exclusive categories.

The Facet approach

The Facet approach to social and behavioral research emerged from Multi Dimensional Scaling literature which has links as far back as the 1940’s. Since that time the approach has remained in relative obscurity until the 1980’s when it was revitalised by research at the University of Surrey. From there Professor Canter and others developed the work of Guttman and colleagues, who originally promoted this statistical analysis having been concerned with terms selected for test construction and the weakness of factor-analysis procedures (Guttman, 1958).

One of the strengths of the approach is its flexibility, having been used for research analysis on subjects as diverse as nursing (Kenny & Canter, 1981), parachute jumping, (Shalit et al. 1983), child development, (Hans et al., 1985), and slimming, (Gough, 1985). As Canter (1985:vii) says, "Once the researcher has identified the domain in which a study is being conducted then if models already exist for that domain, it is possible to move ahead very rapidly by drawing directly upon those models to shape further research endeavour." Most importantly for this dissertation during 1990 Canter & Heritage reported that rapists demonstrated behaviour which had coherence to it and which could be interpreted into facets of behaviour.
The approach encompasses a multi-dimensional scaling procedure which allows a spatial geographical representation of the data. Its research aim is to reveal "laws" (Shye, 1978). The researcher is then able to interpret the elements of the chart and label any facets that exist. As Brown (1985:22) says, "The facets are proposed by the investigator and are comprised of elements which define the different values that logically and completely describe all of the variations within any facet." This also highlights a particular strength of the procedure because it does not calculate a figure immediately seen as significant or non-significant but creates a plot which relies upon the skills of the researcher to view and interpret it as such.

For these circumstances Smallest Space Analysis from the Facet approach to statistical analysis was used. Canter (1985), and Canter & Heritage (1990), have reported in detail on this test. Although it was first used a number of years ago (Guttman, 1954), only recently have developments in computers made it readily available for general use.

SSA-I (Lingoes, 1973) is a non-metric multi-dimensional scaling procedure, based upon the assumption that the underlying structure, or system of behaviour, will most readily be appreciated if the relationship between every other variable is examined. As an inspection of the raw mathematical relationships between all the variables would be difficult to interpret a visual geometric representation of the relationships is produced. SSA-I is one of a number of procedures that represents the correlations between variables as distances in a statistically derived geometric space.

This is primarily because it operates on the rank order of the original correlations rather than their absolute
values. The SSA-I program computes correlation coefficients between all variables, then rank orders these correlations. It is these correlation coefficients rather than the absolute values that are used to form a spatial representation of items with points representing variables, the rank order of the distances between points being inversely related to the rank order of the correlations.

The SSA-I program analyses each variable against each other variable to obtain the closest fit in which to accommodate them all. With this resultant fit, the more highly correlated 2 variables are, the closer will be the points representing those variables in the SSA space. Conversely if two points are distanced from each other then there is no support to the assertion that they belong to the same underlying facet. Since the configuration is developed in respect to the relationships between each variable rather than a relationship in a given axis the orientation in space of the axes of the resulting geometric representation are arbitrary, even though the relationships between the points are replicably determined. Therefore the pattern of points (regions) can be examined directly without the need to assume underlying orthogonal dimensions.

The themes to be explored

There are numerous themes which have been said to cause the sexual molestation of children. Researchers have concentrated more on the sexually motivated aspects perceiving the victims as love objects. From a review of the literature and the 416 cases in this database three themes emerge more prominently than others. These are: aggression, intimacy, and sexual gratification.
Overt violence and aggression

As has been reported Groth (1982a) dichotomously distinguished the child molester from the child rapist who used force. Others have also reported this violence aspect: Dietz (1983) in the "morally discriminate regressed" and "sadistic preferential offender"; Knight et al. (1989), in the sadistic and non-sadistic; and Hendry (1989) who spoke of a repetitive aggressiveness which aroused victims to abuse others.

Similarly aggression and violence are also seen in offenses used in this database. One of the more extreme cases involved a 27 year old man who whilst out driving saw two pre-pubertal girls walking across a park. Unbeknown to the offender the children had just left girl-guides and were walking the short distance to their home. The offender ran towards them and as they attempted to escape he caught one and forced her to the floor. Although the victim pleaded with him to let her go he ripped away her underwear and forced an object into her anal orifice. He then left the child warning that if she disclosed the incident he would find her and kill her. On superficial inspection this extreme violence does not appear to have any association with sexual gratification. In fact the offender, when apprehended, stated he had no erection, or other sexual impulse, when committing the offence. The offender said he wanted to hurt someone, to dominate them, and it did not matter who the victim was.

Such behaviour does require some explanation. How can such violence and aggression be explained? Although aggression has been widely reported commentators have had difficulty in coming to a consensus in a definition. Berkowitz (1993:p3) uses a common definition of aggression saying "..it is any form of behaviour that is intended to injure someone physically or
However Tulloch (1991) says that there should be an extension to this definition to include "social coercion" whereby the intention of action may not just be to cause physical harm but to gain power or impose will. This definition suggests that different types of aggression exist. Firstly there is "emotional" aggression, also known as hostile or angry aggression where the sole objective is to injure. Secondly there exists "instrumental" aggression, where the goal is other than injury, possibly committed to enhance such concepts as status, self esteem, power or dominance. These two types of aggression are not mutually exclusive and are seen acting together most commonly in sexual offenses. Rape has been described as much a crime of violence as it is one of sexuality. The insult and assault towards the female victim carry beyond the actual physical event of the rape itself (Becker et al., 1982).

There are a number of affects of aggression. As well as reducing arousal or stopping the aversive stimuli it could also create a guilty or anxious emotion. In contrast it could increase self esteem in an individual or a feeling of power.

Anger and aggression is a normal state in our well being however it becomes a problem when it is used habitually in some maladaptive way. It needs to be looked at in terms of its frequency, intensity, duration and mode of expression. We can therefore have two different types, for instance a middle aged man who has been experiencing considerable tension in either social or personal life may have stretched his coping ability to the limit. This person would be different to a similarly aged man who has displayed chronic anger and aggression throughout his life. These contrasts showing the balance going from the...
situation (ego-dystonic) to the individual (ego-syntonic). Tulloch says that once an individual sees a situation as anger arousing then he/she will be hypersensitive to interpreting other similar experiences in the same way, thereby increasing the possibility that an anger response acts as a reinforcing mechanism if rewarded. Tulloch (1991) therefore says that medium term anger is as the result of stressful situations whereas long term anger would be likely to be as the result of ingrained cognitive structures such as schemata.

Intimacy or emotional gratification

The second theme that has emerged has been intimacy or emotional gratification. Previous researchers, although approaching the subject from a variety of perspectives, often highlighted a central theme of intimacy and emotional gratification which the offender experienced from his association with the child. Justice & Justice (1979), reported a category of incestuous offenders as symbiotic. Groth (1982) when defining child molestation as distinct from rape said that it was non-threatening, involving courtship of a child by a person seeking an ongoing relationship. Dietz (1983) and Finkelhor (1986) spoke of the child as a source of emotional gratification.

Again there were numerous cases in the offence database to give as an example of this behaviour. One such case was interestingly reported in a local Lancashire newspaper under the heading... "Man 87, in sex attack on girl". In this offence a 9 year old female reported that whilst walking along the canal with a friend she saw the offender on his boat. The girl said the offender invited them on board and they accepted, leaving after about 30
minutes. No sexual behaviour took place on this visit and when they left the offender asked them to revisit, which they did a few days later. On the second visit the offender took them for a ride on the boat, during which he started tickling them. On a future date one of the girls returned with another friend to see the offender. On this occasion the offender touched her bottom although he stopped at the request of the victim. Another victim reported how he tried to kiss her, again after the third visit, and tried to put his hand down her trousers again stopping when told to (13).

It is difficult to comprehend that the prime motivation for the offence was sexual gratification; if it was that offender, and many like him were particularly unsuccessful. The story also creates an impression of the offender himself. Perhaps a lonely old man who enjoys the company of others, and although having the children in his control on a boat is deterred from further sexual assault when rebuked by the child. Although not mitigating the offence it is interesting to note that the child returned to the boat after one indecent assault and it is as if the child is in control of the situation rather than the offender.

**Sexual gratification**

There is no doubt that sexual gratification is the major motivating factor for many of the offenders in this sample and this is the core explanation for the majority of research into child sexual abuse. This thesis differs in the slant of this sexual motivation. Groth in the opening definition of this paper spoke of conscious sexual desires and actions, no matter how transient towards children. Finkelhor (1986) also talks of sexual
arousal which he sees as a primary component of any offence being committed. This thesis agrees that sexual acts are a prime component of child molestation but are not committed in a caring way as certain literature suggests. The offenses are committed in an exploitative and demeaning way facilitated by the offender’s power over the child.

The variables

The generation of variables for the three themes for subsequent analysis did prove initially problematic. Initial perusal of the data showed distinctive patterns of behaviour which appeared infrequently. Behaviour variables with very low frequencies were not included as the analysis was motivated to develop general principles, and infrequently occurring variables could distort this. However the fact that an offender used some type of lubricant before penetrating the child’s anus, or forcing the child to swallow his semen, or taking the child for a ride in his car, were all behaviours indicative of a very small proportion of offenders but would be of considerable benefit, because of their distinctiveness, when linking offenses to the same offender.

The behaviour variables finally chosen are outlined in an appendix A. The variables used in this analysis incorporated 36 of the 59 existing behavioral variables which have already been described in the initial analysis chapter. These were as follows:

Offender previously alone with child (when no offence committed) ........................................61%
Grooming........................................................................43%
Minimisation.................................................................44%
Offender had drink/drugs prior to offence...............24%
Offender committed more than 1 offence on victim...60%
Had committed offenses on that victim for more than 6 months..............................29%
Offenses had become progressively worse against victim.........................................32%
Offender showed affection to victim.................................................................37%
Offender reassures victim.......................................................................................29%
Offender asks victim to participate in offence.........................................................40%
Offender not deterred by adverse reaction from the victim.......................................27%

Offender uses initial force/threat to facilitate offence.............................................39%
Offender uses force/threat other than to facilitate the offence.................................11%
Offender threatens violence if child reports............................................................9%
Offender uses threat other than violence to stop child reporting............................38%
Offender gives or promises gift to victim.................................................................26%
Offender naked at time of offence............................................................................16%
Victim naked at time of offence...............................................................................24%
Offender uses sexual or abusive language during offence........................................23%
Offender kisses victim..............................................................................................22%
Offenders' penis is erect..........................................................................................47%
Offender places victim's hand on his penis..............................................................39%
Victim masturbates offender......................................................................................33%
Victim performs fellatio on offender.........................................................................20%
Offender performs oral sex on victim......................................................................16%
Offender rubs outside victim's clothing only............................................................7%
Offender rubs inside clothing only...........................................................................16%
Offender masturbates victim....................................................................................20%
Offender digitally penetrates vagina.........................................................................25%
Offender digitally penetrates anus...........................................................................10%
Penile penetration (or attempt) of vagina.................................................................13%
Penile penetration (or attempt) of anus....................................................................14%
Offender ejaculates....................................................................................................31%
Offender strokes child other than genital area.........................................................49%
Offender is stranger to victim.....................20%
Offender exhibits common interest with child.......18%

Once the data matrix was obtained the SSA analysis was carried out on SSA-1, a computer program in the Guttman-Lingoes series of Multi Dimensional Scalogram. The analysis produces a stress measure known as the coefficient of alienation which is a rank order correlation between the variable inter-correlations and their corresponding spatial distances.

Therefore the smaller the correlation the better the fit. The 2-dimensional solution in this analysis has a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation which equals .16 with 40 iterations, indicating a good fit for this type of data. Figure 24, shows the resulting figuration. A brief title for each behaviour variable has been placed near to the point on the plot. The closer any two points are the more likely the actions they represent co-occur in offenses, in comparison with points that are further apart.

The approach taken to hypothesis test and generation, then, is to establish whether the SSA plot, shown in figure 24, has any interpretable regional structure to it in terms of aggression, intimacy, and sexual behaviour. The general hypothesis (null) being tested here is that the variations amongst offenders as discussed above are so diffuse that no coherent interpretation of the SSA plot is possible.

Unlike Canter & Heritage (1990) when frequencies are assigned to the variables (see figure 25), there is no contouring effect, with the more frequently observed variables in a central position, and less frequently observed variables emanating out towards the periphery.
The fact that there are no variables conceptually central to child molestation as there are with rape merely illustrate the complexity of child molestation. Rape is defined within the constraints of one gender (female) and one sexual act (intercourse, although it is accepted other sexual and violent acts may take place); child molestation is not as easily defined and includes a number of acts on both genders. This is indicated with the observed frequencies in each of the studies. Canter and Heritage's most prominent behaviour was vaginal penetration (83%), in contrast the most prominent behaviour in this study related to an offender previously being alone with the child and not committing an offence (61%).

The plot shows a linear pattern. This division of variables does give support that there is a structured behaviour to the offenses in the sample. Similarly that different types of behaviour are taking place depending on a particular style of offender.

The plot is most easily interpretable in a linear horizontal format and allows for the development of the ideology that offenders approach the sexual act from two different perspectives intimacy or emotional gratification and violent or aggressive arousal. In this the victim is either seen as an individual or as an object.

If the SSA was conceptually and statistically accurate one would expect variables associated with violence and aggression to be closely related. There were 5 variables which related explicitly to violence and aggression, these were:

a) violence used to control the victim
b) other violence not used to control the victim
c) not deterred even if there is an adverse reaction from the victim
d) victim threatened with violence if he/she discloses the offence

All variables did manifest themselves in a linear plane to the left hand side of the plot. It is as if the victim is perceived rather as an object than an individual, the offender appears to lack any empathy for the child. Also in this association is the variable that the offender has consumed alcohol or a controlled drug prior to the offence being committed which again indicates the lack of control and impulsiveness of the offender.

There were 6 particular variables in the analysis which referred to the intimate or emotional element which revolved around the child, these were:

a) Grooming (bestowing gifts, playing with the child etc for a period prior to any sexual initiation).

b) Minimisation (touching the child in play, showing pornography or engaging in other behaviour which minimises the abnormality and shock of the forthcoming sexual act)

c) Strokes the child in an area other than the genitals

d) Shows affection to the child

e) Reassures the child

f) Previously been alone with the child and not committed an offence
The SSA analysis shows all these variables are distributed within the right linear plane exhibiting a cohesive relationship between one another. They were also directly opposed to the aggressive facet therefore the SSA supports the hypothesis that intimacy is not only in itself a facet of behaviour but is directly opposed to the aggressive facet, supporting the premise that they do not occur simultaneously. These variables were demonstrated by offenders irrespective of their relationship to the victim (i.e. stranger/ father). This type of offender appeared to enjoy the company of children and managed to gain their confidence over a period of time using a number of strategies to convey their interest and affection to the child. These offenders showed considerable affection and did not appear predominantly motivated by sexual gratification. Sexual acts associated with this behaviour comprised, in the main, minor indecent assaults; as can be seen behaviours where the offender rubs over the genitals of the child but does not actually touch them correlate with this behaviour. This supports the hypothesis that an intimacy facet is a significant feature of offence behaviour for certain offenders. One would expect other non-threatening behaviour to extend to other social interaction.

The remaining variables between the extremes of intimacy and aggression related predominantly to sexual behaviour. This thesis argues that the offender is exploitative and would engage indiscriminately in sexual actions with any available individual. Therefore it does not accept that offenders are motivated by their love for children only by their need for sexual gratification. Berkowitz (1993) has argued that there was a continuum between the aggressive and non-aggressive individual with the majority of individuals existing between the extremes. One can therefore argue that the more demanding the
sexual act the more coercive the offender must be towards the victim. If this is true then sexual acts could be distinguished by the level of aggression and force which facilitates their commission. This is a concept not previously reported by other studies as offenders describing their intimate strategies appear to feel that the care and attention they show to the child eventually makes the victim implicitly acquiesce to the sexual behaviour.

The remaining 21 variables which dealt with predominantly sexual acts in this analysis were orientated linearly on a horizontal pattern in the following order:

a) Offender has a similar interest to the victim
b) Offender committed more 1 sexual offence on victim
c) Offender commits offenses on victim for more than 6 months
d) Sexual offenses have gone progressively worse
e) Offender warns the child unaggressively not to disclose
f) Offender commits oral sex on the victim
g) Offender gives child gift
h) Offender asks the victim to participate
i) Offender takes clothing off rather than displacing them
j) Victim is naked rather than clothes displaced
k) Offender masturbates victim
l) (Attempt) Penile anal penetration
m) Digital vaginal penetration
n) Offender places victim's hand on penis
o) Instructs victim to perform fellatio
p) Victim masturbates offender
q) Offender ejaculates
r) Offender's penis is erect
s) (Attempt) Penile vaginal penetration
Berkowitz (1993) hypothesis is supported. There is a progressive spatial orientation of these variables extending between the extremes of violence and intimacy. In this way sexual offenses build up from the intimacy facet, where the victim is initially viewed as an individual. From here the SSA shows that the offender becomes progressively more abusive in his treatment of the victim. Full sexual acts are then committed with the offender and victim naked. Digital penetration of the vagina progresses to penile penetration, culminating in the child being asked to participate and engage in sexual acts upon the offender. Here the emphasis continues to become more coercive, as the child is treated more as an object. The variables become more closely associated with the violent facet as the offender abuses the child verbally, using sexual expletives, getting the victim to provide him with sexual gratification in the form of fellatio or masturbation.

Although sexual gratification can be said the product of two methods of facilitation; the spontaneous and aggressive act or the planned and more implicitly controlled behaviour, if sexual gratification is obtained this correlates with the most coercive behaviour from the offender; the fact that the offender forces the child to masturbate him or perform fellatio. As the SSA graphically illustrates all acts which correlate with sexual gratification are associated with highly abusive, violent and aggressive behaviour.

A closer examination of the Smallest Space Analysis also allows for some interpretation linearly on a vertical plane. As can be seen behaviour which can be interpreted
as involving the victim, for instance showing interest in the child, giving a gift, or performing a sexual behaviour allegedly for the child’s gratification (masturbation/oral sex), are seen in the lower level of the plot. In contrast sexual behaviour solely for the sexual gratification of the offender are seen in the upper vertical level of the plot.

In summary a review of the literature and cases obtained for this study disclosed three main aspects of behaviour in the dynamics of child molestation. These were intimacy or emotional gratification, violence or aggression, and sexual arousal.

The Smallest Space Analysis showed spatial association of variables along a linear plane giving a clear picture of offence behaviour. It showed that the facet of intimacy treated the child as an individual who had more to offer than sexual gratification. This behaviour was completely in contrast to the violent offender who was seen to treat the child as an object and who was motivated through aggression rather than sexuality.

Sexual arousal and gratification provided the central plane through the SSA although sexual behaviours were shown to be related in different degrees to the violence or intimate facet. The SSA therefore allows a continuum, rather than a rigid typology of offence behaviour. This is sophisticated enough to account for degrees of aggressiveness rather than postulating that rigid boundaries exist between offence behaviour. In this way behaviour can be viewed more pragmatically as becoming more aggressive or more intimate.

Is there an aggressive or intimate disposition? The SSA has shown a correlation in relation to aggressive and intimate types of behaviour. Significant research has
recently been done to ascertain whether an aggressive personality exists, whether a person shows a propensity for aggression over a period of time. Mischel was of the opinion that behavioral similarity was only consistent in situations which were extremely close in content, however Mischel’s research did not look at aggression. Berkowitz (1993) states that there are individuals who have an aggressive disposition who interpret and act in an aggressive fashion. He says likewise there is a non-aggressive personality, and these two types are at extremes of a continuum with the majority of individuals lying between the two. There is evidence here in this analysis to support this view.

There does appear empirical data to substantiate an aggressive personality. Farrington (1978, 1982, 1989a, b) extending previous work by his colleague Professor West reported on a longitudinal study of over 400 males from a working class area of London. The study looked at males’ aggressive propensity at 9, 13, 17, and 32 years of age. Out of the 25% marked as most aggressive at the age 9 years 40% were still in the top 25% when they had reached 17 years. Out of the other 75% only 27% had moved into the aggressive group at 17 years. From this it can be seen that all types of youths had changed to some degree, however the more aggressive initially were the ones least likely to change. 14% of the 9 year old aggressive group had been convicted of a violent offence by the age of 21 years compared with 4% who were categorized as non-aggressive at 9 years. This trend continued and 22% of males who were extremely aggressive in adolescence had been convicted of a violent crime by the age of 32 years compared with 7% of the less aggressive group.

Tulloch (1991) reports there has been a resurgence in personality theory now stability and consistency has been
observed in behaviour. He further states the explanation to be found in cognitive motivational constructs rather (schemata) rather than trait labels (extraversion) which just describe average behaviour. We need to understand core constructs, why people are who they are, why they differ in aggression.

If this is true that offenders have revealed aspects of their personality in this offence then one might expect that the orientation they have disclosed will be consistent in other aspects of their social life. It is to this question the results section finally turns.
figure 24

SSA OF OFFENCE BEHAVIOUR

rub inside

kisses

dig.vag

drink/drugs
pen.anal

lang.sex
partic.
places hand
fellatio
mast.

not det.
init/oth.
force

threat
pen.vag

dig.anal

6 months
prog.
mast.
more1
alone

prev.
stroke

off
naked
oral sex

minimise

affection

reassure

rub out

stranger
off.mast.vic

interest

192
figure 25

SSA SHOWING FREQUENCY
CHAPTER 11

Linking offence behaviour to Offender Characteristics
During the earlier part of this section it was reported that Cohen (1979), and Green et al. (1981) found that those offenders who were responsible for the most serious offenses of child abuse were the ones most likely to re-offend. There is an intuitive pragmatism in the philosophy that the most evil, immoral or wicked people are the ones who commit the most serious offenses and are the ones least likely to reform. The final part of this analysis is to separate offenders on relevant offence criteria and test it against the philosophy postulated in social interactive theory. This philosophy asserts that an offenders relationships with others, and society in general, would be revealed in his known characteristics (Canter, 1989).

The most significant contrast in offender behaviour was distinguished by the SSA plot as the use of aggressive and intimate behaviour in the offence. It was therefore decided to obtain two groups of offenders who personified aggressive and intimate behaviour in order to establish if their background characteristics could also be distinguished.

In constructing these groups it was thought unwise to rely on any one variable, but to obtain variables which explored the themes of violence and intimacy. The reason for this was clear when in the dynamics of the offence a person could be seen to behave initially in a way which was completely unrepresentative of all other offence behaviour. One particular example involves the "undeterred" variable. A small proportion of offenders were seen to be undeterred on occasions even when they showed a high degree of other "intimate" behaviour. This is perhaps due to the offender believing the child really wants the offence to take place, and not taking the objection seriously.
Attempts to find suitable variables were constrained due to the insignificance these themes have had in the past. For instance although an offender apologising to the victim now appears meaningful it is unlikely that the victim or the interviewing officer placed particular emphasis to it, being pre-occupied with the sexual behaviour. It is felt that as the significance of intimacy and aggression is understood within investigative circles then the more precise content analysis can be.

Although the thesis will argue that there is a continuum between aggressive and intimate behaviour there was methodological concern over the small number of offenders potentially available for this aspect of the analysis (N=97). Therefore it was decided to place each offender into either an aggressive or intimate category, and variables central to each theme were compiled. It was discovered that, generally speaking, offenders only showed either intimate or aggressive behaviour. The minority who exhibited aspects from both elements were categorised into the group in which they showed predominant behaviour. In this way if an offender exhibited 5% aggressive and 95% intimate behaviour he was placed in the intimate group. There were 7 offenders who did not exhibit at least an 80% - 20% division between the categories, they were considered unsafe and discounted from the analysis.

This left 90 offenders for the analysis, 66 (73%) of whom were placed in the intimate group and 24 (27%) who were placed in the aggressive group. Although there was no accurate assessment of how this distribution related to the entire sample (n=416), anecdotal opinion was that this mirrored the population of offenders.
It was expected that the intimate group would account for the largest sample of offenders. It was also of concern that this group would consist of a number of offenders who would take part in abusive sexual acts which had progressed from seemingly innocuous, intimate origins. Again there was the danger that by withdrawing this sample of offenders the number for analysis would again contract, it was therefore decided to allow these into the group as it was felt that the aggressive group was so distinct a subset of offenders that it would be robust enough to withstand any contamination.

The intimate variables used were:

a) Previously alone with the child without committing an offence.
b) Grooming.
c) Minimisation.
d) Shows affection.
e) Reassures the victim.
f) Is deterred when the child objects.
g) Shows remorse after committing the offence.
h) Kisses the child.
i) Rubs outside the clothing only.
j) Rubs inside the clothing but does not touch genitals.
k) Strokes the child other than on the genital area.
l) Knows the child well before committing the offence.

There was no one variable which characterised the intimate offender, nor was there a correlation found between the number of intimate behaviour variables exhibited and the number of previous convictions.
The variables used to depict the aggressive offender were:

a) Initial force or threat of force to control the victim.

b) Uses force, other than for the purposes of control.

c) Threat of violence to prevent the child reporting.

d) Not deterred when the child objects.

e) Offender had drink/drugs prior to the offence.

The fact that the offender used initial force or the threat of force to facilitate the offence was found to be the most common behaviour observed in this type of offender, accounting for 96% of the offenses. As with the "intimate" type of behaviour there was no correlation between the number of behaviour variables exhibited and the level of previous offending.

The hypothesis was that the "aggressive" offender would differ from the "intimate" type of offender in a number of key areas, consistent with a social interactive perspective. The "aggressive" offender is understood as an individual who exhibits more impulsive, antisocial behaviour and has little empathy for the victim, treating him/her as a vehicle for his hedonistic desires. In contrast the "intimate" offender lacks spontaneity, would not be willing to take risks and would display more empathy towards the child treating him/her more as an individual.

Specifically it was felt that the "aggressive" offender would show more criminal convictions especially for impulsive offenses such as public disorder, violence, and car crime. Similarly he would show a marked inability to form social ties of any description, be it marriage or employment.
It was thought that the "intimate" offender would exist as a contrast to the "aggressive" offender. He would be less likely to show previous convictions, and if he did these would be much fewer than the "aggressive" type of offender. His social antecedents would more likely include such aspects as marriage and steady employment.

All statistical analysis used the chi-square test, with Yates' correction.

One of the main indicators used in this study to highlight a particular trend in lifestyle has been previous convictions. In the "intimate" offender the mean conviction rate was 1.56, with a SD of 3.7 convictions (N=66). Mentioned earlier was the concern that this group would also incorporate offenders who although particularly exploitative, facilitated their sexual activity by initially using an intimate style. This concern was confirmed by the data particularly for those "intimate" offenders who targeted males. When victim gender was differentiated the mean conviction rate for those who offended against males was 3.45, SD 5.84 (N=22). For female victims the mean conviction rate was 0.61, SD 1.14 (N=44).

Within the intimate behaviour group there were 7 offenders, all of whom committed offenses on males, who grossed 70 previous convictions between themselves. On closer inspection this sub-set of offenders were differentiated from others because each used numerous intimate strategies to facilitate the offence i.e. having a common interest to the victim, giving the victim a gift. They also all obtained sexual gratification from the act i.e. erection, ejaculation, and attempted to take part in an interactive sexual relationship with the male child. All of these offenders had at least one previous conviction for indecency and if withdrawn from the subset
it would have left a mean conviction rate of 0.58 for the "intimate offenders", SD of 1.06 (N=59). Here was obviously a sub-set of offenders which later research should look to differentiate from the more genuine type of intimate behaviour.

However even with this recidivist group of "intimate" offenders the level of offending was much higher for the "aggressive" group. There were only 24 offenders in this sample, mean 8.7 convictions, SD 9.9 convictions. When differentiated in respect of gender a distinction was observed in the frequency of previous convictions, although this was not as distinct as in the intimate offender. Male victims n=10, mean = 11 convictions, SD 13.9 convictions. Females n=14, mean = 7 convictions, SD 5.7 convictions.

Further analysis followed this theme, showing that offenders could legitimately be differentiated in respect of their offence behaviour. In fact the differences provided for an extremely stark contrast.

The most significant difference between the types of offenders was the offence behaviour in which they were divided. 84% of the "intimate" offenders committed the offence indoors, compared with 42% of "aggressive" offenders, \( \chi^2=17, \) df=1, \( p<.0001 \). Similarly although 79% of the "intimate" offenders had previously been alone with the child they had not offended, compared with only 29% of "aggressive" offenders, \( \chi^2=19, \) df=1, \( p<.0001 \). It appears that offenders who are personified through aggressive behaviour are more impulsive and more likely to attack the child outside, having little regard for his surroundings or the consequences. The more "intimate" offender however is much more reserved and will only take the opportunity to offend after a period of consideration.
The "intimate" offenders were more likely to show affection (52%) compared with "aggressive" offenders (8%), $\chi^2=13$, df=1, p<.0005. Whereas "intimate" offenders were likely to be deterred if requested to stop (86%), this was not true for the "aggressive" offender (29%), $\chi^2=28$, df=1, p<.0001. Again this illustrated the "intimate" offenders’ concern for the victim and the "aggressive" offenders’ lack of empathy.

As has been shown "intimate" offenders were more likely to have no previous convictions (55%) when compared to "aggressive offenders" (8%). Similarly the "aggressive" offenders were more likely to have 4 or more convictions (62.5%) than "intimate" offenders (14%). Both of these findings were statistically significant, ($\chi^2=15$, df=1, p<.0001; $\chi^2=21$, df=1, p<.0001 respectively), and would have been more distinctive if the subset of male victim "intimate" offenders had been withdrawn. It does show that the "aggressive" offender by committing this act of child molestation is no stranger to criminal behaviour, and that he is likely to have built up a considerable list of previous convictions which signify previous hedonistic and abusive acts.

In relation to the previous offenses the hypothesis postulated that there would be a difference in the crimes each group committed with more significant levels of offending in abusive and impulsive crime for the "aggressive" rather than the "intimate" offender. Again this hypothesis was confirmed showing a stark distinction between the two groups. "Aggressive" offenders were more likely to have a conviction as a juvenile for public disorder (42%, intimate-11%), $\chi^2=11$, df=1, p<.001. Similarly although there were only 3 indecency convictions for any of the offenders as a juvenile, these were all found in the "aggressive" group, $\chi^2=8$, df=1, p<.005. As adults, "aggressive" offenders were more
likely to have been convicted of violence (38%, intimate-3%, \(x^2=19, \text{df}=1, p<.0001\)), damage (46%, intimate-6%, \(x^2=19, \text{df}=1, p<.0001\)), disorder (33%, intimate-2%, \(x^2=20, \text{df}=1, p<.0001\)), and theft from or of cars (38%, intimate-3%, \(x^2=19, \text{df}=1, p<.0001\)). Those in the "aggressive" group were also found most likely to have been convicted as an adult of indecency (50%, intimate-17%), \(x^2=10, \text{df}=1, p<.005\).

It was also felt that the effect of the offenders underlying behavioral characteristics would be detected in his domestic background. For instance it was believed that the "aggressive" offenders, because of their impulsive and exploitative behaviours, would be unable to sustain personal relationships or maintain other types of security in aspect of their lifestyle. Again this hypothesis was substantiated. Although 73% of "intimate" offenders had a fixed address, 63% of "aggressive" offenders had a frequent change of address, \(x^2=9, \text{df}=1, p<.005\). Although 52% of "intimate" offenders were married or co-habiting, 79% of "aggressive" offenders were single, \(x^2=7, \text{df}=1, p<.0098\).

Finally although the majority (56%) of "intimate" offenders were employed, only 17% of "aggressive" offenders were in employment, \(x^2=11, \text{df}=1, p<.001\). Extending this, although 62% of "intimate" offenders do have, or have had, a history of steady employment; this is true for only 4% of "aggressive" offenders, \(x^2=23, \text{df}=1, p<.0001\).

It is clear therefore that the aggressive nature of the offender observed in the offence behaviour extends to other areas of his life. Not surprisingly these characteristics such as selfishness and abusiveness prevent the offender from a steady relationship. Similarly the concern the offender has for himself and
the lack of empathy he is capable of extending to an employer would make him a poor worker and prevent him from establishing steady employment.

The summary are shown in the following tables:

Figure 26 below, showing differences in offence history between aggressive and intimate group of offenders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AGGRESSIVE GROUP</th>
<th>INTIMATE GROUP</th>
<th>LEVEL OF SIGNIF.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No prev. conv.</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>36 (55%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=15$ df=1, $p&lt;.0001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ prev. conv.</td>
<td>15 (63%)</td>
<td>9 (14%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=21$ df=1, $p&lt;.0001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Disorder</td>
<td>10 (42%)</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=11$ df=1, $p&lt;.001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Indecency</td>
<td>3 (13%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>$\chi^2=8$ df=1, $p&lt;.005$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Violence</td>
<td>9 (38%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=19$ df=1, $p&lt;.0001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Damage</td>
<td>11 (46%)</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=19$ df=1, $p&lt;.0001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Disorder</td>
<td>8 (33%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=20$ df=1, $p&lt;.0001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Car crime</td>
<td>9 (38%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=19$ df=1, $p&lt;.0001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Indecency</td>
<td>12 (50%)</td>
<td>11 (17%)</td>
<td>$\chi^2=10$ df=1, $p&lt;.005$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 27 below, showing results of domestic characteristics in respect of intimate and aggressive groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AGGRESSIVE GROUP</th>
<th>INTIMATE GROUP</th>
<th>LEVEL OF SIGNIF.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed address</td>
<td>9 (37%)</td>
<td>48 (73%)</td>
<td>x²=9, df=1, p=&lt;.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent change of</td>
<td>15 (63%)</td>
<td>18 (27%)</td>
<td>x²=9, df=1, p=&lt;.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>address</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married/Cohabit</td>
<td>5 (26%)</td>
<td>34 (52%)</td>
<td>x²=7, df=1, p=&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>19 (79%)</td>
<td>32 (48%)</td>
<td>x²=7, df=1, p=&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>4 (17%)</td>
<td>37 (56%)</td>
<td>x²=11, df=1, p=&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steady Employment</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>41 (62%)</td>
<td>x²=23, df=1, p=&lt;.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before this section is finished mention can be made of one further analysis between the two groups, this time on interview response. The hypothesis was that those who were in the aggressive group would be more disruptive in interview, whereas the intimate offender would be deferent to the interviewer. This knowledge is extremely important to the interviewing officer as he needs to know what techniques to adopt to enable him or her the best chance of obtaining the truth. For this analysis an interview was classed as aggressive if the interviewee became abusive, shouted, challenged or interrupted the
interviewer. In contrast the offender was considered deferent if he did none of these things, only spoke in answer to a question, and was polite. Not surprisingly 68% of those classed as "intimate" were deferential during the interview, compared with 21% of aggressive offenders, $x^2=16$, $df=1$, $p<.0001$. In contrast 25% of aggressive offenders were overtly aggressive in interview, compared with 5% of the intimate group, $x^2=8$, $df=1$, $p<.005$. 
Extending the analysis

The last series of analyses has shown how characteristics of an offender could be interpreted from understanding his offence behaviour. It is believed that there are other aspects to the offence which can reveal information about the offender.

It was shown in the initial results sections that offenders could be differentiated as to the gender of the victim, the relationship they had with the victim, the degree of behaviour which they displayed in committing the offence, and their previous criminal history. The hypothesis set out that the most extreme offenses involved those who were a stranger to the victim, who committed offenses on males, who committed their offenses outside, and who used force. If this were correct, and again extending the philosophy of social interactive theory one would expect this excessive behaviour to be shown in other aspects of their background.

Again all statistical analysis used the chi-square test, which used Yates' correction.

Age and gender of victim

It was shown in this study that boys were the victims of more serious offenses; 30 of the 70 cases involving penetration of the anus or the vagina by the offenders' penis involved males ($\chi^2 = 9$, df=1, p $< .005$), perhaps confirming Blanchard's (1986) hypothesis that male victims are more likely to suffer physical injury.

22 of the 56 offenders who had one previous conviction for indecency, and 14 out of the 30 offenders who
exhibited more than one previous conviction for indecency had committed their offence on a male victim \( (x^2=4, df=1, p<.05; x^2=5, df=1, p<.05, \text{ respectively}) \).

Similarly offenders who chose male victims were more likely to be single, and live alone \( (x^2=7, df=1, p<.01; x^2=5, df=1, p<.05, \text{ respectively}) \).

Offenses committed on male victims show a number of significant findings. The fact that strangers commit relatively more offenses on males than females; that male victims are subject to more serious offenses; that offenders are more likely to be single and live alone; and that those who have a history of indecency are more likely to commit offenses on males together intimate that certain male victim offenses exhibit targeting and pre-planning rather than being opportunistic. This theory is further compounded when one looks at previous convictions. Although those who committed offenses on males were more likely to have previous convictions than those who chose females, this was not statistically significant. However as has been seen there exists a particular type of intimate offender who does target males and who is distinct by the considerable amount of previous convictions.

**Relationship of victim to offender**

The hypothesis was that strangers who committed the offence had more inhibitors to conquer than those who had immediate control over the child therefore they would show this in previous offence behaviour. The following table shows the raw data in respect of previous convictions for this type of offenders. The figures in brackets show the column percentage for each cell.
From the original hypothesis one would have expected strangers (n=144), to have proportionately more convictions than a group who knew the child and included fathers and family friends (n=163). However the data shows no significance between these groups (x²=.25, df=1, p=>.05).

Although not fitting the original hypothesis this can be understood. As has been mentioned in the aggressive/intimate analysis of behaviour, individual characteristics are an important feature in the dynamics of the offence. Therefore if a particularly abusive and aggressive individual has access to a child in his own home, who he can control and intimidate, then he will not go to the inconvenience and risk of venturing outside this relatively secure environment to abuse a stranger.
However if that individual does not have access to a vulnerable victim then he is more likely to go outside the family and target one. This theory is supported by the "aggressive offender" type seen earlier who are not distinguished by their relationship to the victim, which means that there can be aggressive fathers, aggressive family friends, and aggressive strangers; the same is obviously true for intimate behaviour.

This finding is extremely important for two reasons. Firstly that public attitude perceives extra-familial abuse and its offenders to be a different concept to other types of sexual abuse on children. This dissertation shows that this is not the case and that certain offenders (determinant on their characteristics, and the scenario they find themselves in), can transcend offence boundaries from stranger to acquaintance. This leads on to a second point which means that offenders who commit offenses on strangers may have already committed offenses on their own family (or step-family). As a result these individuals may already be known by Social Services or the Police; however the unco-ordinated approach to different types of abuse may mean that those who are serial offenders, but who commit their offenses on different "types" of victim may be missed.

Previous convictions do not show any indication that biological or stepfathers could be differentiated in terms of their abuse. 3 of the 46 biological fathers used overt force compared with 4 of the 33 stepfathers, which was not statistically significant. Similarly 12 of the 46 biological fathers chose a male victim compared with 4 of the 33 step-fathers. One thing that did differentiate these offenders was the offence they committed. 12 of the 33 step-fathers involved penetrative sex in their offence compared with only 9 out of the 46 biological fathers ($\chi^2=11$, df=1, p=<.001).
Further 47% of the offenders who committed offenses on strangers lived alone compared to 26% who chose acquaintances as their victims, $x^2=19, df=1, p<.0001$.

**Type of offence and how committed**

There are other significant findings in relation to the stranger offender. Although previous convictions do not distinguish them from other offenders the fact that they often have to resort to an explicit strategy to facilitate the offence does. Strangers were more likely to be involved in offenses involving force (30 of the 53 offenses, $x^2=11, df=1, p<.001$); fraud (30 of the 34 offenses, $x^2=43, df=1, p<.0001$); exposure (48 of the 55 offenses, $x^2=73, df=1, p<.0001$); and abduction (all of the 12 offenses, $x^2=23, df=1, p<.0001$). Similarly they were more likely to commit indecent assault (77 of the 133 offenses, $x^2=22, df=1, p<.0001$); whilst they were less likely to commit an offence involving penetration (10 of 70 offenses, $x^2=16, df=1, p<.0005$).

Figure 29 below shows the level of frequencies for force and fraud in relation to offender age. The figures in brackets show the column percentages.
Fraud, when used is more likely to be used by the older offender whereas force is more likely to be used by the younger offender. This is corroborated from a chi-square analysis which compared the three older offender groups against the three younger groups; $x^2=17$, df=1, $p<.0001$. It can therefore be proposed that younger offenders possess the attributes and impulsiveness to use violence whereas some older offenders may not have the strength or confidence to physically overcome older children, therefore they evolve more subtle techniques to manipulate their victims.

Looking at the characteristics attributed to the offender it is seen that those who use fraud are more likely to live alone ($x^2=32$, df=1, $p<.0001$); and be single ($x^2=44$, df=1, $p<.0001$); although this is not significant for those who use force (see figure 30).
The final hypothesis to be tested was that offenders who have the willingness to commit offenses against the person rather than against property have the ability to commit any type of offence and this will be demonstrated in their level of previous criminal convictions. Further those who abuse others, either violently or sexually, have difficulty relating to others and this again will be seen in their backgrounds.

The tables shown overleaf (figures 31, 32) lend support to this hypothesis. Those who exhibit an adult previous conviction for violence show that they are likely to have more than 5 previous convictions ($x^2=103$, df=1, $p=<.0001$); be unemployed ($x^2=15$, df=1, $p=<.01$); and have a frequent change of address ($x^2=39$, df=1, $p=<.0001$).
Those attributes are even further highlighted for those with a history of indecency. For those with a prior adult conviction for indecency offenders were more likely to live alone (x²=5, df=1, p=<.05); have a frequent change of address (x²=29, df=1, p=<.0005); be unemployed (x²=12, df=1, p=<.005); have more than 5 previous convictions (x²=68, df=1, p=<.0001. Those with a conviction for indecency were also more likely in this sample to have chosen a male (x²=4, df=1, p=<.05); and a stranger as a victim (x²=13, df=1, p=<.001. It can be seen from

![Table with data](image-url)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st offence violence</th>
<th>Adult conviction violence</th>
<th>More than one adult conviction violence</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>37 (51%)</td>
<td>8 (57%)</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live alone</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
<td>33 (45%)</td>
<td>6 (43%)</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent change address</td>
<td>7 (35%)</td>
<td>39 (53%)</td>
<td>12 (86%)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>10 (50%)</td>
<td>46 (63%)</td>
<td>13 (93%)</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>5 (25%)</td>
<td>31 (42%)</td>
<td>6 (43%)</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male victim</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>25 (34%)</td>
<td>6 (43%)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ previous convictions</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>41 (56%)</td>
<td>13 (93%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 31
the table that if an offender has more than one previous indecency conviction the probability of him being showing all these characteristics is enhanced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st offence indecency</th>
<th>Adult conv. indecency</th>
<th>More than 1 adult conv. indecency</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>20 (80%)</td>
<td>34 (59%)</td>
<td>23 (74%)</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives alone</td>
<td>15 (60%)</td>
<td>33 (57%)</td>
<td>22 (71%)</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent change of address</td>
<td>15 (60%)</td>
<td>32 (55%)</td>
<td>21 (68%)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>21 (84%)</td>
<td>36 (62%)</td>
<td>26 (84%)</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>9 (36%)</td>
<td>32 (55%)</td>
<td>18 (58%)</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male victim</td>
<td>9 (36%)</td>
<td>22 (38%)</td>
<td>14 (45%)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ previous convictions</td>
<td>8 (32%)</td>
<td>30 (46%)</td>
<td>22 (71%)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 32
CHAPTER 12

A case study
**Offender Profiling**

The thesis which has been developing over the preceding pages has direct relevance to the field of crime investigation. A criticism of previous research has related to its inability to transcend from a theoretical to an applied setting. Psychology since the work of Wilhelm Wundt has attempted to scientifically validate theory in the most vigorous fashion possible, and this can only lead to more robust psychological theory.

The linking of offence behaviour to the characteristics of the offender is a process which is more commonly known as "offender profiling". Before this chapter subjects the analysis results to a validation test an overview of this technique will be given.

Profiling is defined by the F.B.I. as an investigative technique by which to identify the major personality and behavioral characteristics of the offender based upon an analysis of the crime(s) he or she has committed (Douglas & Burgess, 1989). Indeed Douglas & Burgess (1989) go on to emphasize the importance of this process....

"Quickly apprehending a perpetrator of a violent crime – rape, homicide, child abduction – is a major goal of all law enforcement agencies. Unlike other disciplines concerned with human violence, law enforcement does not, as a primary objective, seek to explain the actions of a violent offender. Instead, its task is to ascertain the identity of the offender based on what is known of his actions. Described by one author as an emitter of signals during commission of a crime, the criminal must be identified as quickly as possible to prevent further violence. While studies explaining why certain individuals commit violent crimes may aid them in their search, law enforcement investigators must adapt the study findings to
suit their own particular needs. Criminal profiling is a tool law enforcement may use to combine the results of studies in other disciplines with more traditional techniques in an effort to combat violent crime"

Criminal Profiling has a long history. One of the first profiles was prepared by James Brussel, a criminal psychiatrist who analyzed the behavior and writings of the "Mad Bomber" a man who was responsible for causing explosions in New York theatres and stations in 1951. Brussel wrote of him.....

"He goes out of his way to seem perfectly proper, a regular man. He may attend church regularly. He wears no ornament, no jewellery, no flashy ties or clothes. He is quiet, polite methodical, prompt." (reported in Jeffers, 1991).

Brussel went on to say that the offender would be an eastern european, between 40-50 years of age. He would have experienced at least two years of high school, and would live with either a maiden aunt or sister in Connecticut. Brussel injected a psychodynamic theme placing significance on the offender’s handwriting, postulating that the rounded W’s which resembled heart shapes betrayed a deep love for his mother. Further he said the offender would be paranoid and have a deep seated resentment against his father. Brussel even said that he would be wearing a buttoned up double breasted suit. The Mad Bomber, who was later identified as George Metesky, was reported to resemble the profile extremely closely.

From these early days of Criminal profiling the process has been refined considerably. Profiling has been associated predominantly with the United States of America, where it is now well established. In 1972 informal discussion regarding specific crimes discovered that similar types of offenders committed similar acts. In 1978 the process was
formalised under the label of 'psychological profiling'. In 1981, 55 special agents from the F.B.I. were given 100 hours instruction to become Profile Co-ordinators, in specific geographical locations, forwarding items suitable for profiling to the National Centre. In 1982 the name was changed to "Criminal Investigative Analysis" and in 1984 the National Centre for the Analysis of Violent Crime was instituted at the Behavioral Unit at Quantico.

The F.B.I. have looked at offenders ranging from arsonists, rapists, bombers, murderers, sexual sadists and assassins. There are two major criteria for a profiler to take on a case. Firstly that it is a violent crime, and secondly that all major investigative leads are exhausted (perhaps an astute requirement should the profile be found inaccurate). The profiler then armed with a commercial map of the area in which the crime took place, takes the following steps:

1. The profiler looks for behavioral significant factors in relation to:

a) The victim: the profiler requires the age, race, nationality, educational level, personality, employment, and socio-economic details of the victim so that he can understand why the offender picked this woman and also to understand why certain variables occurred in the offence.

b) The crime: the profiler examines the statement from the doctor and the victim very closely. Although to maintain objectivity the profiler does not speak to the victim directly. The F.B.I. have formulated their own questions which can be asked of the victim by the interviewing officer.

c) The autopsy (if applicable).
2) The profiler attempts to discover the sequence of how the crime occurred.

3. The profiler then infers the characteristics and traits of the offender.

4. The profiler looks for significant post-offence behaviour.

5. The profiler produces investigative suggestions: gives advice on interview techniques and the use of the media in manipulating the offender.

In essence the investigator goes through two basic steps. Initially he or she finds out what happened in the minutest detail, before asking themselves why an offender exhibited a behaviour in a particular way.

The profile itself can be produced in two formats. An outline which allows for a quick understanding of the type of offender, or a narrative style which is more detailed and which could possibly include the following:

a. approximate age
b. sex
c. race
d. marital status
e. occupational level
f. educational background
g. military history
h. socio-economic level
i. pastimes/hobbies
j. approximate year and style of vehicle
k. arrest history
l. appearance and grooming
m. habits
n. resident information
victim-offender relationships
personality characteristics (i.e. temperament, emotional adjustment, ability to interact socially)

(Hazelwood and Burgess, 1986:137)

The F.B.I. state that to become a profiler a background in the behavioral sciences is helpful. However they emphasize the need for investigative and research experience, common sense, intuitiveness, an ability to isolate emotions, and an ability to analyze a situation and arrive at a logical conclusion. In effect the ability to reconstruct a crime using the criminal's reasoning processes. The profilers in fact engage in looking at numerous studies of crime scenes and, using approaches from various social and behavioral sciences examine how people's characteristics can be left at the scene. A lot therefore depends on the application of the theory and on the profilers knowledge of the scene.

The American system is looked upon as an art rather than a statistically driven science. As will be discussed later this research dissertation was originated from the inadequacy American research was found to have within a field setting. It was thought imperative that any findings this study expounded should be tested in this way.

The following details relate to actual offenses which occurred in Lancashire. It must be emphasized that the profile of the offender was formed and passed to the investigating officers approximately one week prior to the offender's arrest. The format of the profile reflects the format of the briefing given to the investigating officers.
The offenses

Offence 1

About 4.30 p.m. on Saturday 20th March, 1993, two 10 year old boys were playing golf in the grounds of a school in the northern part of Preston. Whilst there the boys saw a man ride past them on a mountain bike. The same man then approached them, some fifteen minutes later from the direction of the school complex.

The individual then engaged the boys in conversation explaining to them that there had been vandalism at the school. He then asked them to follow him so he could point out the damage. The children followed the offender who then cornered them in a covered area at the rear of the school. The offender then produced a small handgun and ordered the boys to take off their trousers and masturbate each other. A refusal by one of the boys to suck his friends penis was met by a slap across the face. Shortly afterwards the offender positioned one of the boys on his hands and knees and touched him between his buttocks, although no anal penetration took place. The offender then left the scene.

The research done as a result of this dissertation intimated that this type of offence did not occur in isolation. As such a trawl of other sexual offenses were made using the variables used in the SSA analysis. One further offence was found which matched on 53 of 55 offence behaviour variables displayed in the original offence. This offence had occurred a week previously and the similarities suggested that the offenses were committed by the same offender.
Offence 2

The circumstances of this further offence were that approximately 5.30 p.m. on Sunday 14th March, 1993, three boys aged 12, 11, and 8 years were in the grounds of a college near to the centre of Preston. They were approached by a man who was in possession of a racing bike who asked them to leave the area, explaining that there had been a lot of vandalism. As the boys started to walk away the man stated the Police wanted to question them and they voluntarily went with him into a joiners shed within the grounds of the college.

At this point the offender became aggressive and ordered the 12 and 11 year old boys to remove their upper clothing, which they did. After running his hands over the boys’ upper body and over their trousers, the man ordered them to take off their trousers. They did so but refused to take off their underpants. The offender then forcibly pushed one of the boys against the wall of the shed and told them to leave, which they did. During the offence the 8 year old was told to stand in the corner of the shed with his face to the wall, when he started crying the offender said to him "Are you all right little un."

From the research I linked both offenses to the same offender and used both to attribute characteristics to that offender. As in the results section the profile was formed using the following categories:

Age and sex of offender

The offender was obviously male, his age was described differently by the victims as between 30 years and 36
years. From the research strangers who use force in the offence are most commonly committed by those in the 17-29 year age bracket. In this case there is a deception strategy used to get the children into a position where they could be controlled. Numerous analyses, some which are not shown in this dissertation, were then conducted analyzing the variables of: offender and victim age, stranger, force, deception, and offence committed outside. From these results the age range of the offender was estimated as between 25 to 34 years.

Age and sex of victim

As research has shown 70% of all victims are females. Sexual offenses against males show trends. In this case the offender shows distinct targeting for males who are just pre-pubertal. He has shown this because he has loitered in areas where children of this age group play, secondly when faced with three youths during the first offence he has told the 8 year old to turn away, in fact he exhibited some degree of concern towards him. Although only 45% of offenders have previous convictions, the fact he shows a preference for young males at this level indicates he will show this in his background. He would be likely to have a previous conviction for indecency as well as assault.

Relationship to victim

In this case the offender is a stranger to the child. Although strangers are not differentiated in terms of previous convictions they are often differentiated because of a subsequent requirement to use a distinct strategy to facilitate the offence, in effect to direct the child into
a position of control where they can offend. These strategies are mainly distinguished through elements of force and fraud. In this case although both are used, force is the most predominant. This indicates the offender will have numerous previous convictions.

**Type of offence and how committed**

There are three major ingredients to each offence:

a) Intimacy, here the motivation is the company of the child. There is a slow build up, he is easily deterred, and there are less serious offenses committed.

b) Sexual, here the motivation is for sexual gratification. The further this goes the more violent and abusive the offender becomes.

c) Violence, here the motivation is anger and aggression. There might not be any overt sexual gratification by the offender but merely signs of control and domination over the victim.

The motivations in any particular offence rarely cross any of these three boundaries. For instance if the offender initially strikes the victim he does not engage the child with friendly discourse afterwards. Similarly if the offender spends a long period of time with the child, taking him/her out and spending money on the child he won’t suddenly become violent, or suddenly vaginally or anally penetrate the child.

In this offence a number of interesting things happen

i) Rather than attacking them in a "blitz" style the
offender initially engages the children in conversation. However once he has done that there is no further attempt to seduce them and clearly his motivation is to use coercion and power. This transference from initial discourse to force has been seen in the older end of those who use force who appear to evaluate the situation before committing the offence; it is less spontaneous than other force offenses and shows targeting and planning.

ii) The offender shows initial force and threat and continued force/threat when any request is not obeyed. This was seen in both offenses: in the first he put his hand over the victims mouth and pushed him back against the wall; in the second he slapped the victim across the cheek. However there are some things which do not conform to this pattern. First he does show some sign of being able to be deterred. Secondly he does show concern for the 8 year old victim; and finally he does not commit the level of sexual act normally associated with this level of force i.e. anal penetration/oral sex.

These inconsistencies caused considerable concern. I feel that for certain offenders extreme situations trigger offenses on strangers. I feel it is true of this offender that he has just started to show this particular series of offenses on strangers, validated by the fact he does appear to show confused behaviour. The offender does show an ability to evolve. After being deterred in the first offence, perhaps by the unexpected defiance of the victim, he committed the second offence carrying an imitation weapon to counter any possible disobedience, and was prepared to use more violence to maintain control.

Other offence behaviour provided an indication of other characteristics. The offender showed high confidence and control when approaching the victims and telling them what to do. Secondly he lubricated his hand using his own saliva.
prior to committing offence 1, research shows this indicates prior anal sexual experience. Finally he was reported also by the victim in the offence 1 that he mopped up a small pool of water with his sleeve. None of the victims reported him ejaculating however it is possible he did so or it is possible he was wiping up his saliva, or traces of bodily fluid from a previous period in that area. It does point to forensic consciousness, and with it prior criminal history.

In conclusion to this section due to the predominant, and at times extreme levels of aggression and control the offender was ascribed the characteristics of the "aggressive" offender.

Where he lives and who he lives with

80% of all offenses of child molestation occurs within approximately 2 miles of where that person lives. However the fact that he is targeting areas and the fact he is on a cycle shows that he could have come from a further distance. However witnesses have said that they have seen him prior to that offence and the fact that he knows the area so well points to the fact that he has spent considerable time at these locations prior to the attacks and has a residential base within 2 miles of the offenses. Further the fact he told the children to wait 20 minutes for him to get away possibly shows the length of time after which he would feel safe.

His aggression and the fact that he chose a male victim indicates he will be single or divorced not having formed any recent heterosexual relationship. He would not be a parent. He would most likely live alone, however if he did live with anybody that would be most likely a relative,
i.e. parent. He was most likely to live in a lower class
neighbourhood, living in rented accommodation. He would
also have had a frequent change of address.

Other domestic characteristics

The aggressive and exploitative circumstances of the
offenses reveal he would most likely have attended a
comprehensive/secondary school leaving at the earliest
opportunity. Since that time he would have had a number of
unskilled jobs. He was most likely to be unemployed or if
employed would be in a manual job which he had started
recently.

Previous convictions

The facets of male/stranger victim, outdoor offence using
force indicate he will show the following in previous
offence behaviour.

* He will have previous convictions.
* They will not be for indecency only.
* He would have over 5 previous convictions.
* His offending would have commenced as a juvenile.
* He would have been placed in care or received custodial
  sentence prior to 17 years of age.
* He would have convictions for dishonesty as a juvenile
  and adult.
* He would have a conviction for indecency and violent
  behaviour.
* His first sexual offence was likely to have been
  committed between 21-25 years.
Other notes

The offender approached the different offenses on different pedal cycles. Although reservations were made by investigating officers as to whether this meant the offenses were not linked or that the child witnesses were inaccurate I felt that the victims had given an accurate account. I believed that the offender would have a high level of criminality and had stolen at least one of the cycles.

Overleaf (figure 33), are 21 characteristics which were attributed to the offender, as a result of offence behaviour. These were predicted prior to the offender’s arrest. As can be seen from the chart overleaf all 21 were extremely accurate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROFILE</th>
<th>OFFENDER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male, 25-34 years of age.</td>
<td>Male, 33 years of age.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single or divorced, no recent heterosexual</td>
<td>Divorced, no recent heterosexual relationship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives alone or with relative</td>
<td>Lives on his own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in working class area</td>
<td>Lives in rented council flat in working class area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in rented accommodation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has had frequent change of address.</td>
<td>Lived in 3 Counties and abroad, has had frequent and recent change of address.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has residential base within two miles of</td>
<td>Has residential base within two miles of both offenses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offenses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Went to comp/ secondary school, leaving</td>
<td>Went to residential school in another County, left at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earliest opportunity.</td>
<td>earliest opportunity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had number unskilled jobs since leaving</td>
<td>Had number short term unskilled jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most likely be unemployed if employed</td>
<td>Unemployed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short term only.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has previous convictions</td>
<td>Has previous convictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has more than 5 previous convictions.</td>
<td>Full details not known but has at least 8 convictions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offending commenced as juvenile.</td>
<td>Full details not known but suffered behavioral difficulties which involved arson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care or custodial sentence as juvenile.</td>
<td>Attended residential school as juvenile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convictions for dishonesty as juvenile and</td>
<td>No details as juvenile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult.</td>
<td>Numerous convictions as adult for dishonesty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likely have conviction for indecency/violence.</td>
<td>Has 1 conviction for indecency on boy, 2 convictions for assault.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st offence indecency 21-25 years.</td>
<td>1st offence indecency when 24 years of age.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stole bikes he approached the victims on.</td>
<td>Arrested in possession of stolen bike.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 4

The Conclusions
CHAPTER 13

Theoretical Conclusions
How can the person who sexually abuses children between the age of 5 and 12 years be explained?

Previous research had put forward a somewhat simplistic explanation saying it was due to an individual's exclusive sexual preference, no matter how transient, towards children. Reports that such offenders cannot be cured merely controlled created a perception that these offenders were different to other criminals, and that they were ill. This no doubt placated the majority of society who could therefore visualise the child molester as isolated, and distinct from themselves.

The concept of disease, of course, allows no predictive power to differentiate offenders; therefore if a sexual preference for children was the only significant variable little variance would be shown within any sample group. This particular study has given no support for the existence of a group of offenders with an exclusive sexual preference for children. Many of the offenders engage in normal heterosexual relationships, with only 2% exhibiting previous convictions relating only to indecency offenses against children. As a result the terms "paedophile", "fixated" or "preferential" offender are little use to understanding offenders who come to the notice of the Police in Lancashire.

Previous studies, reported in this dissertation, intimated that adolescents who committed sexual crime against younger children were not significantly different to other violent adolescents. There is a precedent for this perception, rape on adult women has for some time looked towards power, control, and aggression to explain offender behaviour.
It was Alder 1984: 158 who said,

"Contrary to the prior understanding of rape as the sexually motivated behaviour of a sexually maladjusted male who is likely to repeat the offense, present evidence suggests that rape may be more appropriately conceived of as one violent action in a repertoire of other nonsexual criminal behaviour."

Indecent offenses against children however have for some reason always been segregated from other criminal offenses, even sexual, and are continually eclipsed within a cloak of emotiveness and sensationalism which only serves to distort an objective debate on the issue.

By eradicating this emotiveness the offence can be viewed as similar to other "offenses against the person". An integral component to this type of offence is an individual who, when relating to another individual in society, is both willing and capable of assaulting them in some way, be it sexually or violently orientated. A child is perhaps one of the more vulnerable types of victim but perhaps no more vulnerable a victim than an old age pensioner, for which there is no suggestion of a fixated sexual preference.

Indeed the study has shown, often for pragmatic reasons how these offenders can be distinguished. This criteria has included: offender age and gender; victim age and gender; type of offence and where committed; relationship of offender to victim; domestic and criminal antecedents of the offender.

Prior research attempting to differentiate offenders on this topic had looked at tangible criteria, such as gender and age of victim, or on motivational factors, but
had not looked in any detail at the offence behaviour. This thesis found that it was levels of aggression and intimacy that personified offenders, not deviant sexual fetish or fixation. Most importantly how an offender behaved towards his victim leaked information as to how he dealt with other individuals in society.

For very clear signals were being emitted as to how that offender related to other individuals around him, for instance the aggressive offender treated the child simply as a disposable object to dissipate any hedonistic desires, whilst the intimate offender was more empathetic and socially directed. The results showed that central concepts of offence behaviour are mirrored in other aspects of the individual’s lifestyle. The "aggressive" offender was seen less able to maintain relationships and was more prolific in criminal activity. This type of behaviour provides the major indicator in understanding different types of child molester; more so than the terms "paedophile", or "haebophile" which are merely descriptive of the offence rather than the offender.

The central focus to the thesis therefore is the interpersonal relationship the offender forms with the child victim. Therefore after explaining the concept of relationships this conclusion will examine the three relationship orientated behaviours inherent in these offenders: intimate, sexual, and aggressive.

**Interpersonal relationships**

Personal relationships are very important, we live, work, relax, fight wars and survive crises in small closely knit groups. Chance (1988) and Gilbert (1989), have given strong support to the philosophy that humans are a social
species and that if these relationships are not maintained both physical and mental health can be threatened. There have been many studies to endorse this testimony, one example related to a group perceived to suffer from loneliness. They were found, when compared with a control group, to display an increased likelihood to succumb to alcohol abuse, have psychosomatic disorders, have self-deprecatory beliefs and generally be more depressive and prone to psychiatric problems (Peplau & Perlman 1982). Throughout life, as in the early years it appears we require good emotional as well as practical support.

What is it that relationship formation with others provides? Weiss (1969) said relationships met 5 integral needs;

a) Intimacy; to have someone with which to share our feelings freely.
b) Social integration; someone to share our worries/concerns with.
c) Nurturant; we need someone who we can take care of.
d) Assistance; we need someone we can go and help.
e) Reassurance of our own self worth; we need someone to tell us/show us that we matter.

Others have reported that the two main motives which precipitate individuals to seek social contact are the need for affiliation, and the need for intimacy, that is the preference for warm, close, communicative relationships. It is difficult to comprehend the aggressive type of offenders within these parameters as they have illustrated no motivation to engage in a caring relationship merely to engage in an abusive relationship which will lead towards sexual gratification. Brehm (1993), accommodates this saying that intimate relationships vary in dimensions on the following points:
a) Intensity  
b) Commitment  
c) Emotion  
d) Gender  
e) Sexuality - sexual acts and physical intimacy can be mutually exclusive. One can occur without the other.

In this way one offender can engage in a highly sexualized act which lacks intimacy, or emotional commitment, whereas another can engage in an extremely low level sexual act which is high in commitment and emotion. A concept which can accommodate all aspects of offender behaviour. As Brehm(1993:5) says,

"There is then, no one kind of intimate relationship. Indeed perhaps the most fundamental lesson about relationships is one we can learn at the outset: They come in all shapes and sizes. This variety is a source of great complexity; it is also a source of endless fascination."

The difficulty in forming relationships

There is then a need to form a relationship. The question is why individuals chose to form inappropriate relationships with children? This thesis will argue that the formation of a relationship with a child is, for many individuals, easier in regard to many aspects than forming a more appropriate relationship with a peer.

Commentators have reported that rules which govern the formulation of relationships are often complicated. Argyle (1986:23), spoke of the skills, rules and goals which comprised relationships. He defined rules as
"behaviour which members of a group believe should or should not, or may be, performed in some situation or range of situations". Such rules allowed the functioning of interactions, which not only helped avoid conflict but allowed the settling of a dispute if it arose.

Trower, (1980, 1982), concurred with this theory that social skills are needed to allow relationships to evolve. He distinguished between social skills; one type of social skill consisted of behavioral components, such as nods, and smiles. The second type of social skill required the bringing together a number of these components, competently, in the correct situation. Examples where this problem can be particularly magnified are inter-cultural situations where signs are ascribed different meanings.

Problems can occur in either of two main ways. As Trower (1980, 1982), mentioned it can be with the components, that is the subject lacks the repertoire i.e. the laugh, nod etc. in which to use at the appropriate time. Secondly it can be the processing which fails; McFall (1982), describing this in terms of decoding, decision making and selection. Tulloch (1991) described earlier how a person with an aggressive disposition could interpret innocuous acts as hostile. These inaccurate interpretations caused through distorted cognitive processes can also as easily occur from those who are shy or lonely. The inappropriate behaviours which follow, lead to the learning of dysfunctional skills which in turn results in failure to achieve goals. Indeed as Trower and Dryden (1991) state cognitive distortions may precipitate dysfunctional goals initially. However theoretically as well as interpreting a friendly sign as hostile, presumably the reverse could be true and a person may misinterpret a child’s friendly demeanour as an attempt to stimulate a more meaningful relationship.
The analysis showed that there was a wide diversity of perspectives in the way offenders attempted to involve the child in a relationship. What was interesting was that aggressive offenders would generally not show intimacy, and vice-versa. This meant that particular offenses, and therefore offenders could be differentiated as to their motivation in committing the offence, and the lengths they would go to commit it. Child sexual abuse was therefore committed for different reasons by different types of offenders. Whereas the aggressive offender was extremely abusive and showed no empathy for the victim, the intimate offender showed considerable concern and appeared to want company and emotional support rather than sexual gratification. The study will now look at each aspect of that continuum in an attempt to construct a psychological framework which allows the discrimination between different types of abuse and different types of offenders.

**Intimate behaviour patterns**

A previous researcher spoke of a dichotomy of an aggressive as opposed to a non-aggressive personality. This was not completely accurate for the SSA, as although levels of aggression differed in degree from high aggression to low aggression a non-aggressive label was insufficient to account for behaviour found at this extreme end of the continuum. Although there was a suppression of aggression the behaviour was more accurately described as intimate behaviour, as it appeared socially motivated.

As a Detective I dealt with certain types of offender whose indecent assault, committed on his own or a neighbours child, was the first time he had come to the
notice of the Police, even though he was invariably middle aged. Although such an offender expressed deep remorse and said that it would not happen again this was difficult to accommodate when previous research findings commonly believed: a) offence behaviour did not occur in isolation; b) that the offender would have some fixation no matter how transient towards children; c) the deviance would be exhibited, amongst other things in a pornography collection.

Considerably less research has been done on this type of offender. This is not surprising, as such offenders who appear to be kind and friendly are often perceived, if anything as a nuisance and the fact that they can be easily deterred means they do not provide the danger that more aggressive offenders do. Secondly these offenders are not incarcerated and invariably do not go to treatment centres, therefore they are not found within clinical samples. Such offenders become more of a problem when this nuisance carries on. When the socially orientated relationship continues and develops there is evidence to suggest the offender contemplates the possibility that the relationship can generate towards a sexual aspect.

Relationship inadequacy

To understand why a child may be considered as a partner one needs to understand why a relationship void can occur in a person's life. This can be accommodated from both situational and dispositional factors.

a) Dispositional

Many interpersonal problems appear in early life. Daniels
and Plomin, (1985) found shyness was the result of genetic and social development, in that parents who avoided social interaction and did not encourage it in others were more likely to have shy children. A review in Trower and Dryden showed that parental style affected this, Allaman et al.1972 found a rejecting or overprotective style led to an over-sensitized need for approval, a preoccupation with others' remarks and a fear of negative evaluation. It has been found that those children who are shy are more likely to suffer from minor illness (Briggs and Cheadle 1986), and rather than being disliked by other children are neglected by them, a factor which lasts into adulthood (Gilmartin,1987). This no doubt continues their lack of appropriate relationship involvement and development.

Jones et al. (1986), found international surveys revealed 30% of young people perceived themselves as shy, whilst 70% stated that shyness had affected them socially to their detriment. Researchers have said loneliness is both an individual trait, for instance children who are shy are more likely to be first born (Zimbardo 1977); as well as being a transient state of life. Perlman & Peplau (1982), found that separated, divorced and widowed people were the most lonely. Shultz & Moore, 1986, found that men had higher loneliness scores than women.

Loneliness is associated with low self esteem (Peplau, Miceli & Morasch, 1982) The way we see ourselves affects way we interact and in this self esteem is very important. If individuals have a low esteem this can become self reinforcing especially if people think it is their own fault. Loneliness and the symptoms of it are also associated with shy and socially anxious people. They display passive and unresponsive behaviour towards others (Gurtman, Martin & Hintzman,1990), which becomes self-reinforcing.
b) Situational: The loss of a partner

A review of studies by Brehm (1993) found psychiatric admissions, road traffic accidents, alcohol abuse, homicide, suicide have all been reported as having a higher frequency for separated, and divorced people than those who are married or who have never married.

Heterosexual men rely on female partners for intimacy and social support. Stroebe & Stroebe (1986), said that men after divorce, in contrast to women, found it difficult to maintain emotional ties emerging from the relationship feeling more socially and emotionally isolated. Is it that males find themselves in an emotional vacuum after relationship fragmentation?

Inevitably a large proportion of individuals will experience the death or divorce of a very close partner. Each divorce places an incredible strain on coping mechanisms as there is a necessity to form a new social identity which goes from the plural to the singular. As Stroebe and Stroebe (1986:224) say...

"The deficits accompanying death or divorce deliver a shattering blow to the self-concept. Loss of information or task functions leads to a reassessment of one's own competence. Loss of validation support leads to loss of confidence in one's own judgements. Loss of emotional and companionship support leads to loss of self worth, esteem and feelings of personal security. Most centrally, loss of social identity leads to loss of the stabilized and definite self-concept that had emerged through interaction with the spouse over the years. The resultant depressed and hopeless psychological state of the grieving spouse is one of high risk for psychological and physical ailments."
Perhaps most important however, and empirical research supports this, is the presence of, and interaction with, substitute support figures who, by taking on some of the functions of the lost spouse, guide and help the bereaved or divorced person toward a new, positive self concept that is in line with the changed circumstances in which the bereaved or divorced find themselves. Loss of a loved partner in many ways, is equivalent to a loss of the self. For many the substitute support figure may be a peer, and as social statistics show those who are divorced or widowed are likely to marry again.

The child as the victim for relationship deficiency

A survey conducted upon prostitutes found that most of their clients wanted "cuddles" rather than anything else. The men who used their services came from all walks of life. The age range stretched from 17-80 years, with many men aged 60 or above citing loneliness as their motivation for choosing such a relationship. Shyness accounted for 21% of all people going to prostitutes (14). As can be seen an inability to form relationships can precipitate ill health both physically and psychologically. There is a need to remedy this particularly for males who appear more susceptible but as has been reported there are dispositional and situational factors can prevent this being done with appropriate partners. As a result there is a temptation to use inappropriate partners, such as children.

There is a general requirement to be with others when under stress. However certain stressful situations which are embarrassing means that confiding in someone who is already well known can produce more stress. Perhaps if an appropriate partner cannot be found or are available but
too embarrassing to speak to then an inappropriate relationship is tempting.

The child is a perfect answer to this. Often non-threatening, eager to please, and easily pleased. The factors which make a youngster a "good child", such as manners and compliance also make it an ideal victim. The child is therefore seen as non-threatening, available, and pure and certain individuals take advantage of this when the child is in a vulnerable position. This individual is motivated from a different perspective than the aggressive type. Rather than treating and perceiving the victim as an object, he or she is viewed as a partner to be treated with some sort of respect. Just as this type of offender would not consider being violent with the child, he would not consider being violent to others he interacts with in general society. The background of the offender reflects this attitude.

One model used consistently to explain relationship development has been the social exchange model. In effect it is an economic model which views relationships from the perspective that people attempt to maximise profits and minimise loss. One such model was devised by Brehm & Kassin, (1990).

There are a number of stages to go through. The rewards of the relationship (companionship, love, help, possible sexual gratification) are initially analyzed minus possible losses (time, compromises, expense). Expectations of the relationship are then evaluated in relation to what can be expected of it. This is then taken away from the possible outcomes of other relationships potentially open to the individual. The person then balances this with the investments which will be lost if the relationship fails. All these add up to the level of commitment the individual has to the
relationship.

For the intimate offender the components of the relationship are there: companionship, love, help, and the longer the relationship lasts the higher the probability of sexual gratification. The loss undoubtedly surrounds the possibility of getting caught however if the offender balances this against other avenues open to him and concludes that no other appropriate relationship is feasible, then the temptation is amplified.

**Between the extremes of the continuum**

There is an expanse of behaviour between intimacy and aggression where the majority of sexual acts take place; it is to that the dissertation now turns.

There is no doubt that sexual gratification does play an important part of the offence for many of the offenders. It has been argued throughout this dissertation that sexual offending against children is not the result of an exclusive sexual fixation but an indiscriminate requirement for sexual gratification. In this the child is a vulnerable victim to which the offender takes advantage. Although it has been possible to accommodate female victims as a duplicate adult partner, the same was not true for male victims.

A recent conversation with a number of recidivist child molesters who chose male victims suggested that these relationships may simply be homosexual relationships which would normally have been undertaken with adult males, if available. All of these offenders (who comprised a small number, insufficient for statistical analysis), said that they were predominantly homosexual.
and had past experience of adult male partners, which has since been verified in their antecedents. One of these offenders who was particularly graphic in his accounts said he saw young males as more attractive than older men for the simple reason that they were unblemished by being overweight or the other negative consequences age brought. He said he used the same techniques that he would use to seduce any other potential partner, analyzing their personality and concentrating on any particular weaknesses they had. He then went on to say that the most important reason for choosing a child was that in adult homosexual relationships he was expected to accommodate anal intercourse as well as perform it himself. He said with young boys he was the dominant partner and although he could bugger them he would not allow them to do the same to him. Another revealing aspect of the conversation was that he conceded that although he was not overtly aggressive, if he committed considerable time, effort, and money in "courting" a young boy then he would strongly coerce that child to engage in sexual behaviour if when the time came the boy was reticent. Again we come back to the concept of force, power, and domination which governs the majority of all child molestation acts, be they towards male or female victims.

The use of coercion

"Social power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others and to resist their influences on us."

(Brehm, 1993)
Between two people in any relationship, power and dependency are inversely related. If someone is dependant on another for a particular resource then the person holding that resource, especially if held exclusively, holds power over the one who wants it. Safilios-Rothschild, (1976b) said power resources could be socio-economic, or they could revolve around love and affection, expressions of understanding and support, companionship, or sexual services. Fao, (1971) and Fao & Fao (1980), agreed saying such resources could involve status, money, goods, love services, and information.

The diversity of strategies which can be used to allow an individual to assume power in a relationship are wide ranging. For some, seen in aggressive offenders, it is likely to be physical violence. Others use more subtle non-aggressive methods, such as silence, passivity, hinting or pouting which are all extremely powerful behaviours when used in the correct context. Again the propensity of the individual equates with the regulation of coercion.

Research has found support for the concept of power correlating with certain personalities, as some individuals have been found to have an especially strong power motive whilst others a weak power motive. Studies have differentiated men from women saying male motivation for power is overtly displayed in intimate relationship behaviour as well as other masculine irresponsible demeanour, such as drinking, drug abuse, aggression and gambling (Winter, 1988). Men’s, as opposed to women’s, high need for power was also associated with low relationship satisfaction, low love for their partners, and a high number of anticipated problems in their relationship.

Males could also be distinguished from each other as to
individual power requirements. Men high in their need for power were more likely than others to indicate being interested in someone else, having already experienced a large number of relationships, and being more likely to split up in their existing relationships (Brehm, 1993). Mason & Blankenship (1987) have shown that men with high power need may inflict more physical abuse on a female partner than men low in the need for power.

In fact spouse abuse was associated with a number of factors. A review of studies by Brehm (1993) discovered such stressors included unemployment, unplanned pregnancy, low socio-economic status (i.e. low-income and inadequate education), and a violent family background. Research on violence in intimate relationships also found coercive methods were used to obtain sex whether through physical or psychological means (Poppen & Segal, 1988). It appears male sexuality is still seen as form of conquest.

This section therefore shows that males differ from women and between themselves in their power drive. They display this need for power in intimate relationships whereby coercive methods may be used to obtain sex, even with their legitimate partners. Such exploitative and abusive drives result in relationship dissatisfaction and breakdown, and non relationship orientated behaviours such as gambling and drinking. It is also seen to correlate with other variables found earlier in this study such as unemployment and poor education. The continuum of power and exploitation leads on to the most extreme form of coercive behaviour in child molestation, the aggressive offender.
Aggressive behaviour

In the earlier section two types of aggression were found. Firstly where the sole object was to injure a person, labelled "emotional", "hostile", or "angry" aggression. Secondly "social coercion" or "instrumental" aggression whereby the intention of the action may not just be to cause physical harm but to gain power or impose will, or to enhance such concepts as status, self esteem, power or dominance. These two divisions of aggression are not mutually exclusive and are seen acting together most commonly in sexual offenses.

Earlier studies also showed that there was evidence to support the existence of an aggressive disposition. More importantly for this dissertation West and Farrington (1977) said that this type of aggressiveness was only one element of a more pervasive antisocial tendency. In their study such offenders also engaged in drinking, gambling, drug use, sexual promiscuity, reckless driving and vandalism. In this vein Berkowitz (1993) gives anecdotal evidence of a youth who exhibits aggression in a myriad of ways, attacking policemen, committing rape and theft, and physically and verbally abusing others. Berkowitz states that violence prone people do not specialize in the way they injure others having little respect for social norms or laws.

Eron (1981) also found that aggressiveness was indicative of general antisocial behaviour. His study found that the most aggressive 8 year olds were three times more likely to have been convicted of any crime by the age of 19 years. Similarly they were found to have more convictions when they had reached 30 years of age than had controls. On this theme clinical applications of anger control have been used to deal with a diversity of problems which have included criminal offenders, marital violence,
adolescents, abusive parents, and anti-social behaviour in children. Kazdin et al. (1989:103), reported that between third to half of all children referred to U.S.A. clinics were for aggressive or antisocial behaviour.

The antisocial personality

The concept of antisocial personality has evolved from Cleckley's (1976) concept of psychopathy and sociopathy which was first muted in DSM-1 back in 1952. DSM-III which allows diagnosis from observed behavioral criteria explains such types as exhibiting:

a) evidence of a pattern before adulthood.
b) several indications of problematic vocational or academic performance.
c) manifestations of more than one type of asocial or antisocial behaviour.
d) impaired interpersonal relationships and the violations of the rights of others.

As was illustrated earlier these are the main components of behaviour displayed by the more aggressive type of individual who commits child molestation. This inability to relate generally to others and the exploitation of a vulnerable victim clearly displays this pattern of behaviour. However what evidence is there to say a specific anti-social personality exists or is it that people who engage in "abnormal" behaviours need to be labelled and made to fit such parameters for ease of classification. A further investigation as to other symptoms will be useful in understanding this type of individual.
Symptoms of the anti-social personality

An anecdote I can relay is a phenomena I continually came across when I was working as a uniformed Police Inspector in a Lancashire industrialized town; to me it showed an important characteristic of the "antisocial personality". The Uniformed Inspector was responsible for reviewing an arrested persons' detention at specific intervals, in accordance with the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984. Some of these youths monotonously banged on the cell door to cause disruption. Whilst exhibiting such aggressive and disruptive behaviour they could not be released for their own or others safety. When told this explicitly, although indicating that they fully understood the instruction, after a few seconds they would continue to bang, a behaviour which only resulted in their self-imposed detention. Such individuals did not appear able to go from behaviour A to behaviour B merely to facilitate behaviour C. If any behaviour was not immediately reinforced they would leave it and go back to behaviour A, even though they must have known it was self-defeating.

This phenomenon has been reported by other commentators researching antisocial personality. As well as being attributed with characteristics which included being amoral and impulsive, they are also reported as being narcissistic, showing an inability either to delay gratification or deal effectively with authority, and experiencing interpersonal relationships which are at best shallow. Meyer and Salmon (1984) go on to say that such individuals require an excessive need for environmental stimulation and lack a normal response to societal control. They say that this pattern is reflected in an inability to profit from experience.
The formulation of the antisocial personality

Research points to a multi-disciplinary explanation to account for the antisocial personality, the main components being biological, cognitive and social.

As has been mentioned Olweus (1979, 1984) has found evidence that angry reactions to insulting stimulus correlate with high testosterone levels. Dabbs and Morris (1990), looking at conscripts of the Vietnam war found high level groups were more likely to take part in antisocial actions such as assaulting their partners, committing other types of assault, taking drugs, and getting into trouble at work, all this occurring prior to the age of 18 years. This phenomena was exacerbated when coupled with low socioeconomic, financial and educational status.

Gorenstein (1991) says that the acts antisocial personality types involve themselves in do not appear properly motivated as there appears inadequate benefit for the high risk that is displayed; similarly the acts appear spontaneous showing little thought to avoid detection. The behaviour appears impulsive and aimed at immediate gratification. Lykken (1957) said that psychopaths were unable to fully evolve correct conditioned fear responses, as a result they could not learn techniques of avoidance. Previous experiments in prison on those diagnosed as psychopathic personalities (said to account for 1/4 of the prison population) found they avoided shock significantly less than non-prison controls, although other experiments discovered this personality type could be taught to avoid the loss of reinforcement.

Gorenstein (1991) believes that there is a useful analogy to be seen in the central nervous system of animals. He
states that the septal-hippocampal frontal system when exhibiting a lesion shows that avoidance is only seen at the last possible moment. He says that this gives an indication as to the lack of impulse control in the antisocial personality, as the central nervous system presents events for mediation weakly for more abstract notions. In this way the antisocial personality perceives the sex drive or impulse as immediate, a tangible experience which requires response. In the antisocial personality there is insufficient ability to look beyond that desire and to accommodate problematic consequences which may result through deviant and impulsive responses. The reward seeking behaviour requires less mediation than avoidance behaviour and the model shows not only how the individual has a diminished avoidance learning to punishment but has an improved responsiveness to reward.

What is also very interesting is that there has been reported a relationship between alcoholism and antisocial personality which is also seen within the sample of "aggressive" child molesters. Alcohol is believed to act in the same way suppressing the mediation process therefore preventing an understanding of the consequences resulting from an immediate response to the stimulus. Studies suggest that alcohol restricts the range of information that an individual can accommodate for any given situation making the individual unable to bring in and evaluate other information available from experience. Therefore the inebriated individual can only focus on the central theme and not on peripheral matters, such as the consequences of his impulsive action.

Blackburn & Lee-Evans (1985) saw an attributional bias in psychopaths who were more likely to interpret threats as an unwarranted attack. Dodge and Frame (1982) reported upon this attributional bias in aggressive boys. Research points to dysfunctional cognitive mediation and leads to
an understanding how a stable and enduring disposition, such as aggression, can be seen in individuals from an early age, (Olweus, 1979,1980). Tulloch (1991:98) says these are as a result of attributional biases, poor problem solving skills and differences in self efficacy and outcome-expectancy judgements.

Myself, and colleagues I have been present with, when interviewing offenders on a variety of matters have often been amazed at the distorted thinking which culminates in their motivation or reasons for offence behaviour. One offender who had a long and exploitative history for indecently assaulting young boys castigated another molester on his cell corridor because he was overtly gay, saying that this type of offender gave other sex offenders a bad name. Their propensity to minimise their offenses, always referring to other sex-offenders as worse than themselves is another example of Turner’s (1981) Social Identity theory mentioned in the introduction. It appears that as adult sex-offenders isolate child sex-offenders to enhance their own self esteem, so child molesters isolate other offenders within their own sub-set of offenders.

Other support for the importance of a cognitive explanation came from Green et al.(1981), who found the ability for the offender to successfully stand treatment was his ability to understand the child’s, as well as his own feelings and behaviour. This obviously points to the ability of the individual to empathise with the victim. Antisocial personalities show less of this ability than do the intimate offenders. The importance of social background does indicate how this lack of empathy and willingness to abuse others can take place.

A number of these studies have shown how difficult it is to separate environment from the individual, both the
previous explanations relating to biological and cognitive factors have in some way been contaminated by social factors. It was reported earlier that relationships are important for a healthy life both physically and mentally. As Bowlby (1988:120) says...

".. the capacity to make intimate emotional bonds with other individuals, sometimes in the care seeking role and sometimes in the care giving one, is regarded as a principal feature of effective personality functioning and mental health."

A study quoted earlier Lewis et al. (1979), found that sexually offending adolescents had behaved in a variety of violent antisocial ways since childhood, and it was this violence and aggression rather than sexual activity which personified them. All these sexual offenders had threatened family, friends, teachers, being continually involved in fights. The histories of both groups also closely resembled each other. They had been physically abused (76.5% and 75.5% respectively), 46.2% of the sexual assaulters had been abused by their mothers and 58.3% by their fathers compared with 42.9% of violent juveniles (mother) and 54.8% (father). Finally both groups were as likely to have seen extreme acts of violence (78.6%), and were also likely to have seen frequent acts of violence committed on their mothers.

These violent tendencies were found to remain with juveniles as they entered adulthood which means that their own parenting styles were more abusive. Those aggressive subjects in West & Farrington’s study at the age of 32 said they were more likely to respond to aggression in their children with more aggression. There is a particular problem here with modelling. Those that are diagnosed as having antisocial personality disorders do show lower average scores on intelligence testing.
Individuals who are therefore impulsive and antisocial have a performance which is at best only adequate, and as such they are found at the bottom of any societal group. The children of these individuals therefore have to try and escape this cycle without any financial or psychological help.

The same background is seen for wives who often had hostile relationships with their parents. Goodwin (1981) found that mothers with physically or sexually abused children had experienced 8 times as much physical or sexual abuse during their own childhoods when compared with controls, a study which replicated a previous finding. Such women relied heavily on their husbands, were often deserted in their own childhood, and frequently assumed a greater responsibility in their family due to desertion or other necessity. It was discovered that such women married early to escape this cycle but immediately became overburdened caretakers, fearful of separation, accustomed to abuse and neglect, and deprived of emotional support from friends and relatives.

Bachmann et al. (1988) talked of a multi-generational pattern of emotionally unavailable caretakers who provide inadequate parenting models, neglect their children, and practice upon them physical and sexual abuse. Steele (1976) found that conditions of neglect and abuse happen more often in the background of abusive parents than any other variable. Also the family’s isolation, as well as childhood experiences of separation (i.e. desertion, death, relocation etc.) may contribute to dependency to others.
Conclusion

Trower and Dryden (1991:259), said ....

"Most psychological disorder exhibit a component concerned with interpersonal problems....and that these difficulties may be either a cause or an effect of the psychological disorder itself"

Child sexual abuse, by definition is a relationship in itself. There are three important constructs within the dynamics of this relationship: the offender, the victim, and the situation. Any of these aspects could be low or high risk. For instance a high risk victim could be young, female, naive, and compliant; a high risk situation could involve such a victim being left in an isolated position both physically and psychologically with no place to run to away from the abuse and no-one to disclose it to. A high risk offender would be an antisocial personality who is impulsive, aggressive, and gives no thought as to the victim’s perspective.

It is the offender who is the most important element of this equation. Child molestation can be viewed as an offence arising from five aspects all of which the offender controls: age and gender of victim; relationship of offender to victim; place where the offence is committed; what offence is committed; and how the offence is committed. Each of these components can have aggravating features, which no doubt a Criminal Court would take into account before passing sentence. To use the example quoted during this dissertation the stranger who violently attacked and buggered a young boy whilst he was fishing at an isolated pond would receive a much harsher sentence than the father who touched the breasts of his daughter whilst bathing her. Clearly there is nothing to suggest the father is capable of the attack on
the young boy, but the suggestion that the stranger is capable of the offence on the young girl is more easily accommodated, having read this dissertation.

Here is the crux of the dissertation. Once the offence can be understood in terms of these criteria one can understand what the offender is capable of not only in relation to indecency offenses but in relation to other criminal offenses. As has been shown the antisocial personality is capable of committing assault, indecency, burglary, in fact it is difficult to comprehend an offence which he is incapable of committing.

The most abusive offenders are the ones capable of any offence. That does not mean they will overtly show that abuse. The antisocial personality will not stalk a stranger if he already has access to his girlfriend’s children. Similarly he would use less force as the child would know he or she was isolated, having no-one to turn to. In the same way the incest offender would not want to bruise the child as this would only precipitate questions outside the family.

It is the extent to which that offender is willing to go which determines his propensity to abuse others and which will be observed in his background. The "intimate" and "aggressive" type graphically show these extreme differences. The "intimate" type will engage the child in conversation, will be predominantly socially motivated, will be easily deterred, and will engage only in minor sexual offenses. The "aggressive anti-social" type will be impulsive, be willing to injure the victim and will be willing to perform any level of sexual act on the victim.

Sexual abuse on children is therefore a symptom of personality characteristics which are formed within the individual from a variety of biological, cognitive and
social aspects. As such paedophile, haebophile and incestuous do not describe the offender they merely describe the offence.
CHAPTER 14

Practical Conclusions
There have been many advancements in Criminal Investigation, including fingerprints, toxicology, DNA, even the ability to produce human facial features from the remnants of a skull. The advent of Offender profiling has added to that investigative armoury. What must now be asked is what has this particular dissertation added to the profiling of child sex offenders.

Profiling is limited, as Richard Ault of the NCVAVC said, "Criminal Profiling will never take the place of a thorough and well planned investigation, nor will it ever eliminate the seasoned highly trained and skilled detective but it has provided another weapon in the arsenal of those who must deal with violent crime." (reported in Jeffers p.92).

One obvious limitation, and one I am sure that would be accepted by those who have prepared a "Criminal Profile" in Britain is that it could not be produced at Court and be viewed as conclusive evidence to convict an offender; the profile only provides an investigative lead to expose the general characteristics the offender is likely to have. In America however this limitation is not in place and F.B.I. officers are able to appear before the Court and give evidence as to their profile and the similarity of it to the suspect.

A less obvious limitation of the profile, and something Police Forces using the service have appeared disinterested in, is the database which allowed a researcher to come to his or her conclusion. This is especially salient as a number of bona-fide researchers notably Conte (1985), Cohn (1986), and more recently Murphy & Peters (1992) have said that there is no currently verified profile of the typical adult who
sexually abuses children. Any attempt to provide a profile in this sphere must therefore be rigorously tested.

One of the original reasons for embarking on this research emanated from a practical perspective. In 1988, as a Detective Sergeant recently graduating in Psychology I attempted to put a cerebral slant on an investigation. Briefly the offence involved a man who had masturbated himself in a children’s play area in the presence of a 7 year old female, further whilst she had run past him he had touched her chest. Having recently read some of the F.B.I. orientated conclusions on the subject I was in no doubt that I was dealing with a fixated offender who would have an extensive, and possibly well hidden pornography collection relating exclusively to children. The subsequent search of that offenders house was one of the most thorough I have ever conducted; needless to say there was no pornography collection. Also other aspects of the investigation which I undertook as a result of reading the literature was, at best of no use to the investigation and at worse counterproductive. There is a need therefore to understand and evaluate on what criteria the profile is based.

The data used in this study evolved from a different perspective to that used by the FBI and I believe it is useful to compare the two approaches.

An American perspective in profiling child molestation

The F.B.I. state that to become a profiler a background in the behavioral sciences is helpful. However they highlight more the need for investigative and research experience, common sense, intuitiveness, an ability to
isolate emotions, and an ability to analyze a situation
and arrive at a logical conclusion. In effect the ability
to reconstruct a crime using the criminal's reasoning
processes. The profilers in fact engage in looking at
numerous studies of crime scenes and using various social
and behavioral sciences approaches, determine how
people's characteristics can be left behind at the scene.
A lot therefore depends on the application of the theory
and on the profilers knowledge of the scene. It is the
importance of this inductive and deductive reasoning that
is now examined.

Hazelwood and Burgess (1987) state that in profiling one
must make conclusions based upon what has been observed
heard or read. Hazelwood gives a number of examples how
this is done. For instance if the age of the offender is
between 45-50 years he says it is quite reasonable to
assume that the offender is a military veteran (U.S.A),
in so much as most males within that age range served in
the army because of the military draft. Another example
of this application of inference might involve a rapist
who is believed to be employed in a white collar
occupation. It is then logical to assume that he will
operate a vehicle less than 5 years of age, in that his
socio-economic status would allow him to own one. As
Hazelwood (1987) states.."profiling is an art not a
science".

There appears no statistical evaluation to establish
whether the inference can extend to this individual, who
by very definition is atypical from the general
population. Are rapists for instance more likely to be
conscientious objectors or non-drivers?

The F.B.I. draw heavily on a few key individuals in
producing their profiles. If the data from which they
extract their inferences is flawed then in consequence
the profile is defective. Because the data does not appear to be taken from a scientifically validated source there is nothing to say this data is not flawed, and if gone unchallenged may be quoted resulting in its implicit verification. It must be emphasized that inferences are open to cognitive processes that can be contaminated in the following ways.

**Intuition**

People faced with any repetitive task, with practice, find the easiest way in which that job can be done successfully. They are able to find shortcuts and strategies which alleviate some of the more laborious and mundane aspects the job can bring. Police Officers are no different, they need to develop finely grained cognitive maps of the social world so that they can readily predict and cope with a wide range of behaviour they find themselves having to deal with. In this way experience acts as a valuable and inevitable tool. However the problem investigators must constantly ask when using heuristics in their inferences is whether they are based on reality or whether they are based on such things as prejudices, or widely held but misguided stereotypes, which are all counter-productive to crime investigation.

Intuition or "gut reaction" as mentioned by Special Agent Hazelwood earlier certainly has status within Police forces. Anecdotal evidence exists that certain officers have an intuition, which enables them to stop the right person, in the right place, at the right time.

Such intuition is often put down to luck rather than any rational process however it can be explained. Dixon(1972), discussing subliminal perception proposed
the existence of two separate systems for human information processing; one which produces such perceptual experiences as dreams, with no external stimulation. The second which could receive, classify and respond to incoming sensory information below the level of conscious awareness. To substantiate this hypothesis Dixon cited an experiment on the exposed cortex of a fully conscious patient. In the study clear electrical responses were obtained to brief external stimuli, of which the recipient was totally unaware. It seems probable that Police Officers perceive cues outside or below conscious awareness but nevertheless interpret the information these cues provide. This is done either as the basis for attitudinal or behavioral responses or the more basic "gut feeling" of suspicion. As Hazelwood (1987) states, intuition is born from experienced but forgotten experiences.

The following anecdote serves as a good example of this phenomena. Some years ago a Constable, on football duty outside Liverpool’s ground, came across a Manchester United supporter badly injured on the ground, clutching a green and white coloured scarf. Three youths were stood over him and on the arrival of the Police officer ran off in different directions. The officer could only chase one youth, which he caught. Later enquiries revealed that the officer had apprehended the correct person and although initially appearing a 1 in 3 chance, closer analysis of the suspects contended otherwise. The first suspect was seen merely to carry a Liverpool F.C. scarf. The second had no scarf but two tattoo’s, one which read L.F.C. the other which depicted a dragon. The final and correctly apprehended suspect had no scarf either. He did have two tattoo’s one which read "Anny Road" the other which depicted a red hand. The fact that the final suspect was deduced as the offender could be processed logically. Firstly the victims green and white scarf (Glasgow Celtic
F.C.) denotes Catholic association and this is in contrast to the tattoo of the red hand (red hand of Ulster) which depicts Protestant affiliation found on the Liverpool supporter. Secondly the tattoo "Anny Road" depicts a further affiliation to a specific area of the ground in which Liverpool supporters went some years ago intending to cause trouble with the visiting supporters. This processing of information was probably made quickly and below the officers' level of awareness, however when explained it appears both logical and reasonable. It seems from this that intuition has a role to play in crime investigation but how much time is lost to an investigation while officers wait for their forgotten experiences to be triggered? Also how many of these intuitive statements will be correct?

The problem undoubtedly arises when cues are processed subconsciously as important but which in actual fact are misleading. This misleading processing is not just the fault of Police Officers but is endemic in society. For example Clifford & Bull (1978), said that abnormality of appearance was taken by the public to be indicative of abnormalities in personality and behaviour. In medieval times when two people were suspected of a crime it was the most unattractive who was selected for punishment. This concept still holds true today as research has shown that judges and jurors are more likely to convict and give more punitive sentences to defendants who are unattractive.

When intuition goes wrong

It does appear social cognition is a key aspect of daily life and can be extremely beneficial to crime investigation. In recent years psychological research has
attempted to explain the processes in terms of schemata which exist as "richly interconnected networks of information relevant to various concepts." (Baron & Byrne, 1984). In essence this means that humans have frameworks built up from experience that provide order, structure and organization for new incoming information. Researchers feel there are many types of schemata, there are "event schema" which refer to traits and characteristics of a specific person regardless of their membership of a particular group. Similarly there are "role schema", which provide frameworks for handling information about members of broad social groups. Once such schemata are developed they spare intricate analysis of similar stimuli, however efficiency cannot be equated with accuracy. Role schema are particularly important as they relate closely to stereotypes.

Stereotyping fails to account for individual differences and are therefore inaccurate. Schneider et al. (1979) discussed how stereotypes are culture derived, reinforced by parents, peers and the mass media. This can be dangerous because once someone is given a pre-determined label they are perceived and treated in a specific way. This in turn can lead to a self fulfilling prophesy where firmly entrenched expectations can be confirmed.

Decision making is also affected by a phenomenon explained in attribution theory. As was indicated earlier processing information is not done passively. F.B.I. offender profiling itself depends on attributing characteristics to behaviour. This further anecdote of Police behaviour serves as an explicit example how this can go wrong.

During the summer of 1981, Liverpool was the scene of an inner city riot. About 4 a.m. one morning officers from neighbouring forces were deployed in conjunction with
Merseyside officers in patrolling nearby streets to look for stored petrol bombs or identify any further sign of trouble. At this time a boy of about 12 years came up to two such officers carrying a flask and explained that his mother had made them some coffee. Before the visiting officer could accept and thank the boy the local officer rudely refused it, telling the boy to go home. The strange decision for not accepting the flask serves as a graphic illustration of Heider's (1958) attribution theory. In this way once a context is established the perceiver makes attributions relating to the cause of the behaviour on situational or dispositional factors (i.e. the personal character of the actor). This logical process can often be contaminated by schemata and stereotyping. In this way the officer may have made the decision to reject the coffee by processing the information in the following way:

1. The stimulus (boy) approaches him. Two hours earlier boys of a similar age and appearance had thrown missiles at him. The boy fits the stereotype of a young hooligan.

2. The boy offers him coffee. This altruistic behaviour does not fit the officer's role schemata of hooligan behaviour.

3. The officer has to make a snap decision. He discounts the dispositional theory of altruism, the boy is obviously a hooligan and therefore an enemy.

4. What other reason can he attribute the behaviour to? The officer thinks that the coffee could contain urine and he convinces himself that is the only logical reason the boy is there.

In this way stereotypes are both reinforced and born. The assumption of "urine" becomes fact not fiction when it is
relayed by the officers to his colleagues. This is highlighted through the fact that memories are not passive and we can more readily recall things which are distinctive.

An individual's attitude, values, and attitudes are also affected by the media. The F.B.I. stress the need for objectivity and to keep away from possible suspects. However, the bizarre and sensational ways journalists appear to describe atrocious behaviour has important consequences. If we take the portrayal of youth for instance it can be argued that the press pursues a simple dichotomy, the young offender (negative image) in contrast to the young media star, a product of the American dream (positive image). Possibly these constantly reinforced boundary lines between conformist and deviant are there to tell the public what remains good by showing them what is bad.

Many people would believe the popular press merely mirror reality. However, press reports can never be a true reflection as they can only select a proportion of news to broadcast. The Bradford University Social Work Research Unit scanned 8 national daily newspapers during June 1979 and came to the conclusion that a degree of imbalance exists in reporting. What makes the popular press report in this way? It can be seen that to have news one must have change, normally a change for the worse; in fact the bigger, the more dramatic, startling, and violent the change the more newsworthy it is. Crime is newsworthy because it stands out from conformity and although perpetually present is reported as unpredictable.

As Young (1971) states the media select events which are typical, present them in a stereotypical fashion and contrast them against a backdrop of normality which is
overtypical. By using "working class rhetoric" they seek to assume "the public voice" and once completed the press can actively shape public opinion on issues of crime. The press therefore turn certain groups into a series of folk devils or clearly identifiable scapegoats. Cohen (1972) states the labelling of specific deviant groups isolates them from society and makes them find refuge in identifying with it, in this way deviancy increases in real terms. This is known as an amplification spiral, and although there are important reservations associated with the model, such as why it initially starts and how it eventually stops it remains a graphic reminder of the power of the media. This is true of child molesters. Lanning's typologies appear an exaggerated account of certain offenders who possibly appear in insignificant numbers. Similarly child molesters in general have been subjected to sensationalist reporting which has effectively isolated them from society and mainstream criminals. It merits serious consideration that media reported anecdotes can be imported into the minds of those that deal with such phenomenon and regurgitate it in a legalised format. There is a need to get away from quasi-scientific models.

In conclusion in comparison to inference and deductive reasoning the database produced for this dissertation allows for a clearly identified process where offence behaviour can simply be categorised and offender characteristics ascribed to that criteria. This is in contrast to the F.B.I. process where there is no identifiable database and the offender has initially to be classified into an aspect of the typology (i.e. inadequate situational) from where characteristics can be ascribed.
Limitations in respect of this data

There are obvious limitations to data which is based only on observable behaviour. But as John Watson, the founder of behaviourism, changed the focus of psychology from introspective self-reports relating to inner thoughts and sensations to behaviour observable by others, so this methodology has made a similar conversion in how it has looked at producing explanations of offenders. The fact that this data has not included any explanations from the offenders themselves was a conscious decision, in fact the dissertation has been openly critical of the perspective that clinical and therapeutic work has contributed towards child molesters. This said it is openly accepted that the work of clinicians is invaluable towards the rehabilitation of such offenders and contributing towards "Offender Profiling".

In respect of this data although subsequent profiles could accommodate confidence ratings there will be occasions when the profile will be inaccurate. Whilst compiling these offenses I was struck by an unusually violent attack from an offender who appeared to obtain no sexual gratification. The aggression and violence was such that one would have confidently have placed this individual with other anti-social personalities. Unfortunately I would have been wrong, he had only one previous conviction for theft even though he was in his late twenties. I had seen this before in a series of attacks on young females aged 14 years and upwards. Again the offenses were overtly aggressive emanating from a blitz attack. This offender was a University Student and like the previous offender had a middle class background although he had no previous convictions.

To fully understand the attacks would no doubt be more competently done by clinicians. However my curiosity
would not allow me to leave it by accepting a small minority would not fit the profile and I attempted to understand this individual in greater detail. I therefore spoke at great length with the initial offender and listened to him recount his background which was a strict, non-eventful, and middle class. The individual was very much a loner and there were extreme periods in his life which culminated in extremely violent outbursts. Leading up to his offence there could be seen a culmination of events which overtly diminished his self-esteem. He said he committed the offence for a feeling of power and to re-affirm his ability to control. Although once in possession of all the facts leading to the offence, and a number are not written here, such an indecent assault can be understood, these details are not normally available to a profile which is based on a behavioral orientated database.

Such a database produced only from observable behaviour is not sophisticated enough to encapsulate the intricacies of a person’s life history. Canter (1994) spoke of the inner-narrative of evil, the sometimes subtle causal factors which orientate an individual’s mind and behaviour towards criminality.

Patience in Profiling

Although this research allows a degree of confidence when profiling child sex offenses caution must be voiced in terms of research in this field. A small number of high profile successful cases has stimulated media interest in such a way that they have exerted pressure on Police Forces to use this technique. Understandably Forces have gone to these "experts" without knowing their basis for providing the profile. Such attempts, I feel have proved
counter-productive to the image of "Offender Profiling". Those with no research training must understand that robust results take a considerable period to obtain. This research for instance has taken 4 years to amass, and is nowhere near definitive.

The benefits of Criminal Profiling

In essence, the benefits of offender profiling are:

Direction of investigation

(i) To provide the Police Senior Investigating Officer (S.I.O.) with a focus for the investigation, when no direct lead exists.

(ii) To allow the S.I.O. to match his most able officers to those tasks which provide the most potential for success.

(iii) To predict whether the offender would offend again, and if so how.

(iv) To provide a crime pattern analysis which is a more sensitive method than modus operandi to link various offenses. This was most graphically shown in a Manchester investigation some years ago where one man was charged with a series of rapes on the basis of M.O. The Surrey statistical package was sensitive enough to show that these offenses were committed by two serial rapists and not one. D.N.A. analysis later showed the Surrey computer analysis to be accurate.
Safeguards to the investigation

(vi) To give at an early stage in the enquiry the best chance statistically to apprehend the offender, which has the potential to save considerable cost/time.

(vii) To provide an investigation which could be scrutinised by any critic (which is often the case in high-profile offenses), which would find that the basis for the investigation was formulated from an objective decision making process. This would minimise time wasting distractions in having to explain why a particular avenue was being explored.

(viii) To confirm, or otherwise, that a particular line of enquiry is consistent with other similar offenses and to corroborate witness accounts when in doubt. The latter was shown in an example some months prior to the completion of this dissertation. Two young girls were reported missing from home one morning and several hours later phoned their parents that they had been abducted and left in a city 50 miles away. To precis, the girls described the offender behaviour both in terms of intimate and aggressive behaviour which had not been seen in any of the offenders in this database. Because of this information the girls were further questioned and admitted they had fabricated the entire story to cover up a shopping trip.

Training and prevention

(ix) Such research has implications for prevention in that it is known who is most at risk as well as who is likely to be most dangerous. Similarly it goes some way to discount previously held myths, as well as providing
training guidelines for successful strategies to interview victims in providing the information most relevant to the offence. The more information about such offenders enables investigations to be undertaken in the most effective and efficient way. As Canter (1994) explains even if the offender were to know which behaviours could be linked to his characteristics he would not be able to disguise them.

(ix) In a large investigation some years ago Detectives were looking for an offender who committed a serious offence on a young boy. They were unsure of what type of individual they were looking for, whether he would have previous convictions for indecency, and if so what type. Offenders are aware of the myths that surround child sexual abuse and they will use any strategy they can to manoeuvre away from suspicion. The following is a verbal statement made by a child molester who after initially being released was later convicted for the offence when further evidence came to light......,"

I’ve looked after them (referring to young girls on his street) for their mums. I’ve taken them to the park and played with them, I’ve given them piggy backs and that, but I’ve never done anything bad to them. I don’t do that sort of thing. I’ve never done anything like that. That sort of thing is inbuilt in people. They do it for life. I’m 40...I’ve been done for robbery, and that sort of stuff, but never for anything like that. You ask my son. He’s heard them, they’re trying to set me up and I don’t know why."

It is imperative that investigating officers know all they can about the type of offenders they deal with. As has been shown in the earlier results section different strategies are needed for aggressive and
In conclusion I believe profiling will only evolve as a useful tool for criminal investigations when further efforts are made to examine it in a field setting.

This dissertation has provided a psychological framework in which to analyze every component part of the offence and ascribe an offenders' characteristics to it. Hopefully it has reversed the statement of Conte (1986), and latterly Murphy & Peters (1992), who say no profile exists of the typical adult who sexually abuses children.
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289


294


Suttles, (1968) *The social order of the slum*. Chicago.


Appendices
Appendix A
VARIABLES USED IN FIRST DATA MATRIX

1) Juvenile dishonesty (any offence involving theft/deception).
2) Juvenile burglary (in or other than dwelling).
3) Juvenile violence (any offence involving physical assault).
4) Juvenile damage (including arson).
5) Juvenile disorder (including breach of the peace and offenses contravening the public order act).
6) Juvenile indecency (including any sexual crime against any type of victim).
7) Juvenile indecency on male child.
8) Juvenile indecency female child.
9) Adult dishonesty.
10) Adult burglary.
11) Adult violence.
12) Adult damage.
13) Adult disorder.
14) Adult indecency.
15) Adult indecency male child.
16) Adult indecency female child.
17) Previous conviction for indecent exposure.
18) Previous conviction for ind.exposure male child.
19) Previous conviction for ind.exposure female child.
20) Previous conviction for indecent exposure adult.
21) Previous conviction for indecent assault.
22) Previous conviction for indecent assault male child.
23) Previous conviction for ind.assault female child.
24) Previous conviction for ind.assault adult (17 yrs+).
25) Previous conviction for buggery.
26) Previous conviction for buggery male child.
27) Previous conviction for buggery female child.
28) Previous conviction for buggery adult.
29) Previous conviction for intercourse female child.
30) Previous conviction for intercourse adult.
31) Previous conviction for gross indecency male child.
32) Previous conviction for gross indecency, female child.
33) Previous conviction for gross indecency, adult.
34) Previous conviction for deception.
35) Previous conviction for offensive weapon.
36) Previous conviction for car crime (theft of or from a motor vehicle).
37) Previous conviction for robbery (any theft involving violence).
38) Previous conviction for firearm (any illegal possession or use of a firearm or imitation).
39) Previous conviction for traffic offenses (the only traffic offenses generally appearing on a criminal conviction sheet would be offenses relating to drinking and driving whilst unfit through drink or drugs).
40) Previous conviction for burglary dwelling.
41) Burglary non-dwelling.
42) Possession of controlled drugs.
43) Major crime (any offence receiving a custodial sentence of 5 years or more).
44) Extensive police history (at least 4 previous convictions).
45) Fixed residence (has evidence for a settled address i.e. owner/occupier, has lived there for a considerable period).
46) Rented accommodation.
47) Frequent change of address (has moved twice in the last three year period).
48) Lives with parent.
49) Offender alleges he has been sexually abused.
50) Offender has a tattoo.
51) Married/co-habiting (in some form of consenting relationship).
52) Offender is a single man.
53) Offender has had previous marriage.
54) Offender is a parent.
55) Offender lives on own.
56) Offender has had further education.
57) Offender at some stage attended a special schools.
58) Offender at time of offence was unemployed.
59) Offender was at time of offence in unskilled employment (i.e. required no training prior to implementation).
60) Offender has had steady employment (evidence that 75% of offenders working life has been in employment).
61) Frequent change of employment (offender has had number of jobs, no job having lasted longer than 12 months).
62) Offender has been in armed services.
63) Lives outside police sub-division offence has been committed in.
64) Offender shows evidence that he is familiar with location of offence (i.e. has lived there or has visited the area prior to offence).
65) Persistent sex-offender (At least 2 previous convictions for indecency).
66) Has offended only against males.
67) Has offended only against females.
68) Loner (no peer friends).
69) Low self-esteem (evidence taken from interview).
70) Offender doesn’t admit the offence to the police.
71) Offender admits the offence but blames the child for it (i.e. the child asked me to do it, she wanted it).
72) Offender admits the offence stating it was done because of domestic pressure (i.e. my wife won’t let me have sex with her).
73) Offender admits and blames no-one but himself.
74) Offender shows deference to police (does not argue, interrupt or be aggressive).
75) Offender is aggressive to police (shouts, interrupts, and is generally aggressive).
78) Age offender first came to notice of Criminal Justice System.
79) Age first of offenders first custodial sentence or care proceeding.
80) Age offenders first came to notice for sex offence.
81) Was offender under 17 yrs.
82) Was offender aged 17-29 yrs.
83) Was offender aged 30-45 yrs.
84) Was offender aged 46+ yrs.
85) Was offender single.
86) Does the offender live alone.
87) Does the offender have frequent change of address.
88) Was the offender employed at time of offence.
89) Has offender committed acts of indecency against more than 1 sex.
90) Was offender known to child.*
91) Was offence committed indoors.
92) Does offender live in close proximity to offence.**
93) Did offender use force at any time during offence.
94) Did offender use fraud (i.e. misrepresent himself or sexual act) at any time during offence.
95) Was offence indecent exposure or gross indecency.
96) Was offence indecent assault.
97) Was offence penetration of anus/vagina.
98) Was offence abduction.
99) Was victim male.
100) Was victim 5-6 yrs.
101) Was victim 7-8 yrs.
102) Was victim 9-10 yrs.
103) Was victim 11-12 yrs.
104) Did offender have no previous convictions.
105) Did offender have 1-4 previous convictions.
106) Did offender have 5+ previous convictions.
107) Was offenders 1st offence for theft/deception/UTMV.
108) Was offenders 1st offence burglary (in or other than dwelling).
109) Was offenders 1st offence violence (including public order offenses)
110) Was offenders 1st offence indecency.
111) Was offenders 1st offence at the age 10-16 yrs.
112) 1st offence at age 17-34 yrs.
113) 1st offence at age 35+ yrs.
114) Age of first custodial sentence.

**Note:**

* = If person befriended child solely to abuse then treated as stranger.

** = Either S/A or sub-division.

UTMV = Unauthorized taking of a motor vehicle.
VARIABLES USED IN SECOND DATA MATRIX

1) Child on own when offender first meets.
This is most often the case when the offender approaches victim who is unsupervised.

2) Child with others when off first meets.
Child may be with parents, or friends when offender is first introduced.

3) Child on own at time of offence.
When the offence is committed only the victim and the offender are present.

4) Child with others at time of offence.
When the offence is committed, other people are present, as well as the offender.

5) Child inside at the time of the offence.
The child is enclosed within some permanent structure (including a caravan) at the time of the offence.

6) Child outside at the time of the offence.

7) Offender had been previously alone with child in a position of control and was physically capable of committing an offence but didn’t.

8) Grooming. A form of seduction by the offender who gradually builds up a level of trust with the child. The child chooses to be with the adult because he displays some or all of the following behaviour: he gives the child money or other presents, he takes the child out to certain attractions (park, funfair, railway station), child is the centre of attention.

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9) Minimisation. The lowering of a child’s threshold to sexual behaviour. Can include the following: allowing the child to observe sexual behaviour taking place physically (ie offender with child’s mother, or between offender with other younger children), or through pictures (ie pornographic magazines or video cassettes). Or by physically touching the child, making any indecent action appear as a legitimate mistake.

10) Through physical/social interaction gets the child in position control. Manages to move the child into an area which he chooses, rather than committing the offence where he actually meets the child.

11) Spontaneous. The offence shows no planning, nor any attempt to avoid detection.

12) Offender was child’s carer at time of offence. At the time of the offence the offender was legitimately in charge of the child.

13) Offender had taken alcohol/drugs prior to offence.

14) Victim male.

15) Victim female.

16) Has committed more than 1 offence against child. Offender had committed other indecent acts against the victim prior to being arrested for the offence with which he was convicted.

17) Committed offenses against child over 6 months. Had committed indecent acts with that victim for at least 6 months prior to being arrested for the offence with which he was convicted.
18) Offenses progressively got worse.
The offender’s sexual behaviour became progressively more invasive/serious as time went on.

19) Offender shows affection towards child.
Compliments the child, hugs the child, spends time with the child, other than for sexual gratification.

20) Offender reassured explains/speaks victim.
At the time of the offence the offender explains what he is doing in order to minimise the victim’s fear.

21) Victim asked to participate.
The victim is asked to engage in some sort of behaviour with the offender.

22) Adverse reaction deters.
If the victim shows explicitly he/she is not consenting to the behaviour the offender stops his course of conduct.

23) Adverse reaction no effect on offender.
Although the victim shows he/she is not consenting the offender carries on to commit the offence.

24) Offence facilitated use initial force/threat.
To commit the offence the offender uses initial violence or force, or the threat of it, to control the victim and allow the offence to be committed.

25) Force/threat used other than to facilitate offence.
Although the victim has been controlled by the offender, and the offence can be committed further force or its threat is used gratuitously.
26) Offender shows remorse to victim. 
Once the offence has been committed the offender shows that he regrets committing the offence to the victim.

27) Threat of violence if child reports. 
The offender attempts to prevent the child disclosing the offence by telling him/her that they, or someone the victim cares for, will be subjected to violence.

28) Told not to report - reasons other than threat. The offender appeals to the victim’s conscience i.e. if you report me: I’ll get into trouble/ you will get into trouble/ you will split the family up/ you will be put into care/ no-one will believe you.

29) Offender gives or promises the victim money some other present.

30) Offender, at the time of the offence, takes clothes off rather than displaces them.

31) Victim naked at the time of the offence rather than clothes displaced.

32) Language used by the offender during the offence was sexually explicit.

33) Offender kisses the victim on the lips.
34) Offender’s penis erect.
35) Offender places victims hand on his penis.
36) Victim masturbates the offender.
37) Victim performs fellatio on the offender.
38) Offender performs oral sex on the victim.
39) Offender rubs victims’ genitalia outside his/her clothing only.
40) Offender rubs the outside of the victims' vagina but does not digitally penetrate.
41) Offender masturbates male victim.
42) Digital vaginal penetration.
43) Digital anal penetration.
44) (Attempt) penile vaginal penetration.
45) (Attempt) penile anal penetration.
46) Offender ejaculates.
47) Victim touched, or stroked elsewhere sexually, (hit sexually).
48) Victim receives physical injury.
49) Offender disturbed/interrupted during the offence.
50) Offender is a complete stranger to the victim.
51) Offender has spoken to the victim a small number of times prior to committing the offence.
52) Victim knows the offender well.
53) Offender has a common interest with child, such as cycling, train spotting.
54) Offender gives the child an alias.
55) Child aged 9 or under (when offenses start).
56) Victim goes to a special school because of behavioral or academic difficulty.
57) Victim has behavioural difficulties i.e. regularly goes missing from home, has criminal convictions, does not adhere to any form of parental control.
58) Victim has absent parent.
59) Offender has no previous convictions.
Appendix B
EXHIBITIONISTS

It has been mentioned earlier that indecent exposure is by definition not a "hands on" offence, and is thought to be different in format than other offenses examined in this study. It was therefore decided to look at this type of offender separate from other offenders.

The exhibitionist’s or "flasher’s" are another offender who fit a clearly defined stereotype. Before the results of this study are analyzed it would therefore be useful if previous academic theories be recorded in order that they be tested later on. McDonald(1973:90), states the following points:

a) The exhibitionist is usually a young man under the age of 30 years at the time of his arrest. The majority expose for sexual pleasure without any further sexual contact.

b) He may have started exposing at the age of 19 but he was probably not arrested until he was about the age of 25 years.

c) After the age of 30 years there is a decline with each decade in the incidence of exhibitionism.

d) Older men who start exposing themselves for the first time after 40 years often have organic brain disease, from alcoholism, head injury or other cause.

e) The majority of exhibitionists over the age of 20 years are married or have separated. Many are childless or have only one child.

f) The tendency is that they have a higher intelligence than other sex offenders. Mohr(1964) found that the
majority of exhibitionists are engaged in skilled trades or as labourers with a preference for "manly" occupations.

g) 3 out of 4 cases of indecent exposure occur in a public place, outdoors and in daylight.

h) Exhibitionists are most active between 8-9 a.m. and between 3-5 p.m. the hours when children are going to and from school.

A study was then done solely into those who indecently exposed themselves to children. The basic database was supplemented on a random basis from offender sources within the Lancashire area to allow 59 offenders to be analyzed.

There was only 1 female in the sample, who was aged 57 years. The age ranged between 12-58 years of age with a mean of 30.3 years, and a S.D. of 13.3 years. The distribution of ages was as follows:

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As such there are a significant amount over the age of 30 years, contrary to McDonald’s assertion.

The age of the victim which in this study was focused between 5 and 12 years had a mean age of 9.71 years with a D.D. of 2 years. 61 % of the offenses took part on victims aged between 10 and 12 years. 55 (93%) of the victims were female.

In 27 (46%) of the cases the offender masturbated in front of the child when the offence was committed. Only
39 offenses had sufficient details to allow the analysis of most common time for such an offence; however this found June and October, Wednesday and Saturdays, and 8am-9am and 3pm-4pm were the most popular times for the offenses to be committed. The raw data is shown below.

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<th>2-3pm</th>
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<th>6-7pm</th>
<th>7-8pm</th>
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</table>

In relation to details about the offender, employment details were only available for 90% of the cases. Of these 32 (60%) were unemployed, 13 (25%) were employed, and 8 (15%) were of school age. The jobs of those who were in employment were as follows: labourer (2), driver (2), fireman, joiner, scaffolder, cabinet maker, health physician, painter, auditor, shop assistant, aircraft mechanic.
Details of any previous convictions was only available for 28 offenders. Of these 13 (46%) did have convictions, 7 of them having more than 5 convictions. The number of each convictions for any offender ranged between 0 and 46, with a mean number for those who had convictions as 11.6. However this is inaccurate as a number of offenders had an unusually high number of convictions i.e. 21, 33, 46. One offender committed his first offence of indecent exposure after 33 previous offenses, none of which were for indecency.

Of the 13 with previous convictions:

6 had a juvenile conviction for dishonesty
2 had a juvenile conviction for violence
0 had a juvenile conviction for indecency
11 had an adult conviction for dishonesty
9 had an adult conviction for violence/disorder
9 had an adult conviction for indecency
8 had an adult conviction for ind.exposure
2 had an adult conviction for ind.assault on child
6 had an adult conviction for ind.exposure on child
Appendix C
### DATA PROCESSING & RESEARCH METHODS

**FESSAL**

Faceted Smallest Space Analysis

Version 2.0 1986

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**Input Matrix**

|   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  | 8  | 9  | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |
| prev alone | 100 | 61 | 88 | 34 | 77 | 87 | 59 | 76 | 33 | -6 | -19 | -91 | 55 | 76 | 13 | 14 | 34 | 50 | 30 | 8 | 42 | 9 | 81 | 44 | 34 | 70 |
| grooming | 61 | 100 | 51 | -66 | 49 | 9 | 24 | 91 | 54 | 18 | -03 | -83 | 100 | -34 | 60 | -14 | 13 | -18 | -1 | -16 | -54 | -95 | -43 | 30 |
| minimise | 85 | 92 | 98 | 68 | 67 | 68 | 83 | 62 | 52 | 13 | -66 | -69 | -61 | -76 | 31 | 31 | 28 | 81 | 3 | 43 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 20 | 28 |
| drink / drug | -34 | -46 | -56 | -100 | -21 | -9 | -24 | -36 | -29 | -9 | 31 | 57 | 71 | 77 | 36 | 32 | -1 | -62 | -42 | 56 | 0 | 34 | 34 | 40 | 25 | 17 |
| sex off | 77 | 40 | 65 | 81 | 100 | 98 | 96 | 24 | 32 | -26 | -32 | -18 | 33 | 1 | 0 | 66 | 73 | 23 | 21 | 37 | 61 | 63 | 77 | 71 |
| 6 months | 67 | 9 | 87 | -34 | 100 | 89 | 57 | 33 | 28 | 30 | 11 | -14 | -3 | 41 | -16 | 62 | 76 | 34 | 38 | 51 | 69 | 76 | 80 | 78 |
| pro-gen | 59 | 24 | 66 | 18 | 95 | 89 | 99 | 34 | 33 | 57 | 29 | 8 | 11 | 3 | 39 | 0 | 45 | 56 | 30 | 69 | 67 | 88 | 74 |
| affection | 76 | 91 | 80 | 69 | 29 | 27 | 34 | 100 | 61 | 14 | 92 | -93 | 79 | 100 | 21 | 19 | 15 | 41 | 38 | -29 | -10 | -29 | -15 | 31 |
| reassures | 12 | 54 | 51 | 30 | 24 | 33 | 33 | 61 | 100 | 57 | -20 | -14 | 14 | 33 | 51 | 30 | 8 | 30 | -32 | -3 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 42 |
| asked part | -5 | 10 | 15 | 21 | 32 | 28 | 57 | 14 | 37 | 100 | 6 | -20 | 49 | 33 | 43 | 31 | 57 | 20 | 46 | 42 | 38 | 67 | 66 | 79 | 37 |
| not deter | -19 | -38 | -66 | 57 | -6 | 20 | 20 | -92 | -20 | 6 | 100 | 98 | 96 | -42 | -22 | -10 | 66 | 57 | 58 | 20 | 77 | 64 | 75 | 62 | 29 |
| int. forces | -81 | -93 | -89 | 69 | -61 | -24 | 11 | 8 | -62 | -32 | -22 | 100 | 109 | 100 | -100 | -23 | 20 | 39 | 66 | -3 | -48 | 57 | 63 | 65 | 11 |
| oth. forces | -81 | -100 | -81 | 77 | -32 | -4 | 11 | -17 | -4 | 49 | 26 | 100 | 100 | 100 | -81 | -21 | 36 | 31 | 84 | -17 | 54 | 51 | 62 | 74 | 36 |
| thr. viol | -56 | -49 | -76 | 26 | -10 | 12 | 3 | 100 | -19 | 33 | 94 | 100 | 100 | 100 | -69 | -11 | 49 | 51 | 21 | 33 | 40 | 49 | 59 | 49 |
| oth. threat | 23 | 34 | 31 | 23 | 32 | 25 | 39 | 14 | 24 | 33 | -23 | -22 | -23 | -51 | -99 | 100 | 64 | 26 | 26 | 31 | 0 | 39 | 6 | 44 | 47 | 94 | 54 |
| lift | -24 | 80 | 51 | 1 | 1 | -1 | 6 | 19 | 33 | 31 | -10 | 21 | -24 | -11 | 46 | 100 | -47 | -14 | -27 | -9 | -23 | -52 | 9 | 16 | 58 |
| off naked | 83 | -14 | -66 | 28 | 62 | 96 | 68 | 69 | -42 | 81 | 37 | 66 | 29 | 40 | 28 | 67 | 100 | 98 | 77 | 64 | 75 | 62 | 29 |
| vio naked | 69 | 12 | 4 | 62 | 73 | 84 | 68 | 17 | 30 | 20 | 27 | 88 | 34 | 49 | 26 | -14 | 96 | 100 | 29 | 16 | 71 | 69 | 66 | 63 |
| lang. sex | 8 | -13 | -50 | 23 | 34 | 36 | 46 | -51 | 46 | 68 | 58 | 54 | 51 | 20 | 27 | 32 | 42 | 39 | 100 | 20 | 69 | 66 | 92 | 78 |
| kisses | 42 | -4 | 43 | 0 | 31 | 38 | 30 | 36 | -52 | 42 | 20 | -3 | 17 | 2 | 0 | -7 | -11 | 16 | 20 | 20 | 26 | 33 | 38 | 45 | 11 |
| erect | 21 | 9 | -16 | 9 | 74 | 67 | 62 | 69 | -76 | -7 | 98 | 77 | 49 | 83 | 59 | 29 | 73 | 71 | 69 | 24 | 100 | 82 | 96 | 100 | 61 |
| hand penis | 22 | 31 | -10 | 1 | 24 | 61 | 69 | 66 | -10 | 0 | 67 | 64 | 87 | 81 | 39 | 34 | -3 | 62 | 11 | 66 | 23 | 82 | 100 | 98 | 92 | 52 |
| v. mast off | 44 | -45 | 8 | 50 | 67 | 73 | 78 | 76 | -29 | 9 | 60 | 75 | 63 | 62 | 48 | 44 | 9 | 73 | 56 | 59 | 38 | 96 | 98 | 100 | 98 | 63 |
| fellatio | 34 | 43 | -44 | 20 | 25 | 77 | 80 | 87 | -15 | 8 | 79 | 62 | 55 | 74 | 56 | 47 | -16 | 52 | 59 | 72 | 45 | 100 | 92 | 98 | 100 | 80 |
| oral sex | 29 | 70 | 33 | -28 | 71 | 78 | 74 | 31 | 23 | 37 | 29 | 11 | 26 | 49 | 94 | 58 | -19 | 63 | 6 | 11 | 61 | 52 | 63 | 80 | 100 |

*The original coefficients were multiplied by 100 and rounded into integer numbers.*

**Number of tied classes:** 319
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SPACE DIAGRAM FOR DIMENSIONALITY 2. AXIS 1 VERSUS AXIS 2.