DEDICATION

To my wife, Carole, who has aged more graciously than I during the project, and whose encouragement, help and support has sustained me throughout.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to all those with whom I have had contact during this research project. There are too many to fully list their contributions to the project, and the following are representatives of the support and assistance that I have received.

I am extremely grateful to Professor David Canter for his support, enthusiasm, advice and for allowing me to absorb some of his knowledge.

My gratitude also goes to my past and present Chief Constables, Mr Brian Hayes, Q.P.M., B.A.(Hons) and Mr David Williams LLB, for their support of the project. Their support was equalled by all senior ranks of my force, the Surrey Constabulary, as it was by members of the Association of Chief Police Officers.

For their support and enthusiasm, I thank Detective Chief Superintendent Vince McFadden, now retired, and my current head of CID, Detective Chief Superintendent John Hurst, whose initial prompting was the cause of my involvement in the entire project.

Within the Psychology Department of Surrey University, I thank everyone who has assisted me during the years of research. Particularly, Dr's, Ian Donald, Margaret Wilson and Sean Hammond. Janice Pearce gets a special thank you for her skills in handling senior police officers, and others, so relieving me of considerable administrative duties.

To Anne Davies and Emma John, a sincere thank you for the work you carried out in tedious coding of material.

Finally, to those whose names have been omitted, my gratitude for a period of personal and professional development in the Psychology Department.
CONTENTS

Dedication .......................................... i
Acknowledgements ..................................... ii
Contents ........................................ iii to iv
Appendices .......................................... v
List of figures .................................. vi to viii
List of tables .................................. ix to x
Synopsis ........................................ xi to xiii

Chapter 1 Offender Profiling: American and British perspectives........ 1 to 10
Chapter 2 Perspectives of rape ............... 11 to 54
Chapter 3 Research objectives .............. 55 to 64
Chapter 4 Research design ................. 65 to 82
Chapter 5 Content analysis .................. 83 to 122
Chapter 6 Sex crime sample ............... 123 to 147
Chapter 7 Sexual offender sample ....... 148 to 192
Chapter 8 Smallest Space Analysis of sexual offence behaviour.... 193 to 238
Chapter 9 A Multivariate Model of sexual offence behaviour .... 239 to 248
Chapter 10 Investigative classification:
first steps towards exploratory types of offenders .......... 249 to 267
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 11</th>
<th>Exploration of typical sexual crimes: Conceptual and theoretical considerations</th>
<th>268 to 281</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 12</td>
<td>Exploration of Types: Variation and consistency between types of rapist</td>
<td>282 to 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 13</td>
<td>Concept and theory: Exploring investigative types of Rapist</td>
<td>325 to 350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 14</td>
<td>Discussion, Summary and Conclusions</td>
<td>351 to 366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td></td>
<td>367 to 373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDICES

Appendix "A"  Overview of related crimes.....374 to 385
Appendix "B"  Matrix of offence data.........386 to 389
Appendix "C"  Definitions of offence
behaviour.........................390 to 435
Appendix "D"  Definitions of offender
history.............................436 to 472
Appendix "E"  Association matrix for SSA.....473 to 476
Appendix "F"  Criminal record, NIB document. 477 to 483
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Example of part data matrix ............. 70
Figure 2 Reduction/loss of data .................... 72
Figure 3 Content analysis example ................. 104
Figure 4 Inter-rater agreement ..................... 109
Figure 5 Frequency of observed behaviour
and coding discrepancies .................... 117

The index crime characteristics

Figure 6 Temporal characteristics of rape ....... 125
Figure 7 Outside locational characteristics
of rape ..................................... 127
Figure 8 Specific residential locations
of rape ..................................... 129
Figure 9 Ages of rape victims ..................... 130
Figure 10 Sexual activity in the assault ........... 134
Figure 11 Aggressive/criminal language used ... 136
Figure 12 Sexual language portrayed in rape .... 139
Figure 13 Interpersonal language ................. 142

The sexual criminal

Figure 14 General criminal history of
sex offenders ................................ 154
Figure 15 Juvenile offence history ................ 157
Figure 16 Adult offence history .................... 159
Figure 17 Offenders age to police notice ....... 161
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Age at first sex crime</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Age at index crime</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Specific crime history</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Specific and sexual crime history</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Previous crime factors</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Familial factors</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Education and employment</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mental health</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Variables of sexual assault behaviour in SSA-I</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>SSA configuration with variable names</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>&quot;Lawful roles of Facets in Social Theories&quot;</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>SSA configuration of variable numbers</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>SSA Facet of Frequency</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>SSA configuration partitioned in &quot;Aggression, Criminality, Sexuality and Intimacy&quot; facet</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>SSA configuration partitioned in the &quot;Exploiter/Abuser&quot; facet</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>SSA configuration with transposed serial offender behaviour</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Exploration of types of rapist

Figure 34 Mapping sentence for classification of rapist types................. 261
Figure 35 Weighting by consistency, assignment to type.......................... 264
Figure 36 Verbal and physical behaviours of the proposed Abuser type....... 266
Figure 37 Verbal and physical behaviours of the proposed Exploiter type..... 267
Figure 38 Significant "typical" behaviours associated with the proposed Abuser type offender............... 280
Figure 39 Significant "typical" behaviours associated with the proposed Exploiter type offender.......... 281
Figure 40 Paradigm of Abuser characteristics.. 322
Figure 41 Paradigm of Exploiter, Exploitative Intimate and Exploitative Sexual characteristics...................... 324
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1  Example of categorisation from observed behaviours .................. 259

Exploring relationships of "typical" sexual crime behaviours by Abuser/Exploiter classification

Table 2  The Surprise attack .......................... 272
Table 3  Control by a weapon .......................... 273
Table 4  Weapon of intent ............................. 273
Table 5  Demand for cash or goods ...................... 274
Table 6  Stealing unidentifiable property ............... 275
Table 7  Inquisitive of the victim ..................... 276
Table 8  Identifies the victim by name ................. 276
Table 9  Reveals self detail ......................... 277
Table 10 Extends time with victim ...................... 278

Correlations of antecedents. The Abuser/Exploiter subgroups.

Table 11 Correlations of age related crime history by classification ............ 286
Table 12 Specific crime history correlated with classification .................... 289
Table 13 Correlations of prior and index crime characteristics .............................................. 291

Table 14 Correlations of Social, Familial and Interpersonal History ................................. 294

Relationship of antecedents. Abuser/Exploiter sub-groups.

Table 15 General crime history ................................................................. 297
Table 16 Juvenile and Adult offence history ................................................. 300
Table 17 Specific crime history ................................................................. 301
Table 18 Other offender characteristics .................................................... 304
Table 19 Familial and Education history .................................................... 307
Table 20 Mental Health and Psychiatric history ........................................... 309

Relationships of antecedents. Exploiter sub-groups Exploitive Sexual/Exploitive Intimate.

Table 21 Violent crime and potential for aggression ........................................ 315
Table 22 Sexual crime and potential to re-offend ........................................ 317
Table 23 Familial factors ................................................................. 318
FACETS OF SEXUAL ASSAULT:
First steps in Investigative Classifications

SYNOPSIS

This thesis describes research into the sexual assault of female strangers, victims attacked by men unknown to them, and the offenders who committed those crimes.

The statements of 209 victims were content analysed, (Krippendorf 1980), using a definitional categorisation process and data thus produced analysed by a multidimensional scaling procedure.

Smallest Space Analysis, (Lingoes 1973), of sexual offence behaviour revealed a faceted explanation of rape characteristics in which the elements of criminal, aggressive, sexual and pseudo-intimate behaviour could be observed.

The facet structure, (Canter 1985), provided a model of sexual offence behaviour by which serial, and non-serial sex offenders could be classified by examination of their physical and verbal activities exhibited in the sexual crimes.
The model of sexual assault behaviour supported some of the conceptual classifications of rapists, such as that of Groth, (1977), and provided empirical support for the classification of rapists used by the FBI, Hazelwood (1987).

Motivational classifications pervade the approaches to profiling the unknown sexual offender, however this thesis proposes that an "investigative classification" of sexual assault is required as a preliminary process in providing assistance to detectives. In so doing, the derived model of sexual assault behaviour revealed interpretable traits which could be associated with known characteristics of sexual offenders.

The criminal records of 76 sex offenders were content analysed, and from the descriptions of their sexual crimes each was assigned to an exploratory classification system. The classified types were then examined using information about their criminal, social, interpersonal and familial characteristics.
Variations between the proposed exploratory types were observed in many of the background data, leading to the first steps in producing investigative classifications of rapists from their sex crime behaviour, a process of extrapolation from the crime to a psycho-social profile of the offender responsible.
CHAPTER ONE

OFFENDER PROFILING

GENESIS

American and British perspectives
THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE ANALYST

The American perspective

Perhaps the first use of crime and criminal profiling as an integrated feature of police investigations originated at the Federal Bureau of Investigation training academy in Quantico Virginia.

The process of Criminal Personality Profiling and its application has been described by FBI Supervisory Special Agent Horn, (1988): "Criminal Personality Profiling is the study of unsolved crimes in an attempt to provide the behavioral and personality characteristics of unidentified offenders".

Supervisory Special Agent Hazelwood described the manner in which "Criminal Personality Profiling" came into being:-

"Criminal personality profiling was initiated within the BSU, [Behavioral Science Unit], on an informal basis in 1972 at the FBI Academy. Faculty members would encourage their students to discuss solved and unsolved cases with which they were familiar, and as a result of such discussions, the instructors would
note that in similar crimes, the offenders were a
great deal alike. In subsequent classes when a student
presented an unsolved crime similar to ones previously
discussed, the instructors would provide verbal
profiles for the student", (Hazelwood 1987).

Although the FBI personnel were the first to bring an
integrated law enforcement perspective, which involved
behavioural science, to bear on unsolved crimes of
violence, they were not the first police agency to
have used social scientists or the first to attempt to
describe an offender by the crimes he committed.

In the 19th century, Cesare Lombroso worked on the
theory that a relationship existed between the
criminals' physical attributes and his predisposition
to commit certain types of crime.

In 1888, during the police hunt for "Jack the Ripper"
and from the characteristics of his East London street
crimes, a Dr. Thomas Bond produced a description of
the sort of man he thought may be responsible, (in
Rumbelows 1987). Couched almost in lay terms the
Doctor described the individual in a way that would
now be recognised as a "profile" of the murderer.
Prior to the FBI behavioral science involvement with the investigation of violent crimes, New York police sought help from psychiatrist James Brussell in their hunt for the city's "Mad Bomber", George Metesky, who when arrested closely fitted the psychiatrist's predicted description, or "profile".

However, from a small beginning in serendipity, FBI agents began using their experience of numerous cases to feed ongoing and difficult crime investigations with the most likely characteristics of the unknown offender. Although they insist that profiling is experiential, in the 1980's Special Agents began interviewing some notorious offenders in their prisons.

This development of their expertise was helped considerably by the unique Law Enforcement circumstances in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation operates. As Federal officers, inmates of many larger Federal Prisons were available to them as potential sources of information.

Research conducted by the FBI, at this time of the late 70's to early 80's, appears to have been focused on "thirty six convicted, incarcerated sexual murderers......these men had exhausted their initial appeals and had consented to participate in the
project", (Ressler et al 1988), and ".....interviews with 41 incarcerated serial rapists responsible for 837 rapes and more than 400 attempted rapes", (Hazelwood 1987).

The results of this FBI research were generally disseminated to the law enforcement community by way of the Federal Bureau law enforcement bulletins, which contained descriptive statistics and anecdotal examples of the men interviewed.

By this time however, FBI agents were overtly working with other non-police professionals to further their goal of providing assistance to the investigation of major crime.

As a general rule, the FBI approach to the analysis of violent crime is by way of group "brain storming" sessions, in which the proposed characteristics of an unknown offender are drawn from the details of crime circumstances experientially. Predominantly, that is by law enforcement personnel trained as "profilers" at the FBI Academy at Quantico, Virginia.
Profiling in the United Kingdom

Until comparatively recent times, assistance to police enquiries provided by Psychologists or Psychiatrists has been on a much more informal basis than the apparently organised FBI approach would imply. Senior police officers appear to have decided for themselves when and where they would seek assistance on an ad hoc basis, however in 1985 some senior police officers were proposing that UK law enforcement should start to consider offender profiling as a process of investigation, (Grieve 1985).

The 1986 contribution by psychology to a multi-jurisdictional investigation into a series of rapes and sexual murders, (Canter 1988), focused police attention to the viability of a scientific approach to the analysis and interpretation of major crime material which had perceived benefits to police enquiries.

Gradually, recognition that the process, which originated under the title of "Psychological Offender Profiling", had something to offer was adopted by police forces, the National Police Staff college at Bramshill, and by the Association of Chief Police Officers who now oversee proposed developments through
a steering committee. At the academic level a new discipline of Investigative Psychology emerged, (Canter 1991).

Pilot studies, mainly at Surrey University, began to apply scientific rigour to the ideas and proposals that the FBI, amongst others, had postulated as the way in which profiling could assist the investigator.

Some changing American concepts of this investigative process are revealed in how the title, used by the FBI, has changed over the years, from Psychological Offender Profiling, through Criminal Personality Profiling to the current term of Criminal Investigative Analysis.

To reduce possible confusion, the title of offender profiling used in this thesis is meant to express the process, and procedures by which serious sexual assault and rape behaviour may be analysed, and the results used to infer the characteristics of the sexual criminal responsible.

Although sexual crime was the focus of this research, the development of methodology and scientific principles is conceptually applicable to other types of crime, particularly those of interpersonal violence.
Conceptual consistency between the FBI and Surrey Approaches

There are similarities between the FBI approach to crime analysis and that proposed by the research described in this thesis. What a "profile" conveys to the police detective, and how it may be used, are conceptually the same on both sides of the Atlantic.

Given that the "profile" of an unknown offender is a description of a "type" of person who may be responsible for a certain crime, or crimes, then a) it needs to be written in terms that the police officer understands, and b) used to identify the most probable suspects that appear in the investigation.

The "profile" may be used to prioritise suspects, for example in a case of sexual crime where there may be 200 possible suspects, should a profile fit ten of them, then those ten should be the first to be subject of rigorous enquiries.
Variation between approaches

The way in which behavioural science may assist the police investigation in either America or the United Kingdom is determined by differing methodological approaches to the analyses of crime behaviour and criminal background.

In the case of rape, the FBI approach to research was to carry out extensive interviews of a relatively small number of convicted serial rapists. The criterion for inclusion in their sample was that the individual must have committed at least ten rapes, (Hazelwood and Burgess 1987).

The exploration described in this thesis made no such demand, serial and apparent "one-time" rapists were included in the samples of rape offence material, and the records of their personal histories.

The fundamental difference between the FBI approach and this project was that of applied methodology, where the Americans sought information from the offender, this project sought coherent scientific examination of the sexual offence to reveal relationships between sexual crime activities and the background of the offender.
It was proposed in earlier pilot studies, (Canter & Heritage 1990), that relationships of offence behaviour, consistency and variation between observed behaviour, and the relationship of such with the background of the offender, could be derived from a more rigorous scientific approach to the analyses of sexual crimes and the background of offenders who commit them.
CHAPTER TWO

PERSPECTIVES OF RAPE

Psychological and sociological classifications
TAXONOMY OR INVESTIGATIVE CLASSIFICATION

In order to develop "profiles" of sexual offenders, some form of classification of those offenders is necessary. The most usual way to classify them is by means of taxonomies.

There have been many attempts to produce classification schemes and many appear to have used psychiatric or psychoanalytical distinctions by which the individual rapist can be described as part of a group or sub-group.

Sociological, criminological, and legal perspectives are also expressed within the literature dealing with the sexual criminal.

Although generally the approaches have taken classification systems to the creation of described "types" of rapist, each approach involves two closely related processes, Taxonomies, "any systematic set of principles for classification and arrangement" or Typologies, "generally, the study of types and of the processes of classification into types", (Reber 1985).

Amongst many questions that classification schemes raise, several matters requiring discussion stand out as relevant to the objectives set out in this project;
LEGAL CLASSIFICATIONS

The term rapist in itself implies a legal classification of a particular sexual criminal, especially in the United Kingdom where rape is a crime which can only be committed against females, and must have penetration of the vagina by the penis as constituent behaviour.

Although legal classifications such as rape, indecent assault, or buggery could have been used as a basis for an investigative taxonomy, there are varieties of possible sexual behaviour which an offender may exhibit in the same crime.

Appendix "A" outlines some of the statutory requirements necessary for a charge of any sexual crime to be preferred against an offender, and makes the point that legal classifications are not exclusive.

Knight et al, (1985), reviewed sex offender classifications and discussed "Legal, offense-focusing Categorization", identifying a number of methodological difficulties.
One such difficulty related directly to the "offence-related criteria for group assignment", criticized as "neither hierarchically organized nor consistently applied". They found that "In the most common strategy, membership in one group was determined by the presence or absence of a particular offense characteristic and in another group by a different criterion variable. Such a procedure may result in the serious confounding of important variables".

TREATMENT AND MANAGEMENT BASED CLASSIFICATIONS

Apart from criminological research, such as Amir's study of Philadelphia rapists, (Amir 1971), the majority of relevant literature has been produced by those whose role and professional function has been in the treatment, management or rehabilitation of "sex offenders", an all encompassing term that at times seems at odds with the motivational concept of rape.

Rape was conceptualised by Groth and his colleagues, "Rape... is a Pseudosexual act, a pattern of sexual behaviour that is concerned much more with status, hostility, control and dominance than with sensual pleasure or sexual satisfaction", (Groth 1977).
A number of persistent themes appear in the literature, those of aggression and sexuality, to which Groth et.al. added the component of anger, postulating that in all rapes those components were present.

A second common feature in the various studies of rapists is the understandable bias towards the examination of what characteristically describes the offence, combined with the internal dynamics of the offender in order to assess what causes him to rape.

A third point is the declaration or inference that the major written work on rapist types have been derived from clinical experience, (Groth 1977, Rada 1978, Prentky 1985).

The pressing need to know why, is understandable given that the perspective of most authors in the field appears to be from a requirement to determine policies and procedures that are primarily concerned with interventionist programmes, changing attitudes, prison, or special unit management, and humane confinement.
In those circumstances trying to understand why a man rapes has to be fundamental to the treatment, rehabilitation or continued confinement of the more sexually dangerous.

There appears four common motivational themes; (Cohen et al 1971, Groth et al 1977, Prentky et al 1985, Rada 1977);

1. Focused anger or displaced aggression
2. Power either as compensation for a weak masculine identity or confirmation of masculinity
3. Hostility and sadism, being close to the Anger theme except for the infliction of suffering in order to obtain sexual gratification
4. Impulsive, antisocial and criminal features of some rapists

SOCILOGICAL APPROACHES

From the sociological and criminological perspective, the large scale study of Philadelphia sexual crime and offenders by Amir, (1971), produced descriptions of offenders based on their social role functions both internally in the crime, and as they existed in society.
In dealing with predominant crime characteristics, Amir sought patterns in sexual offending in the social context of interaction and, although he minimised the framework of types, his discussions are focused around race, as Negro and White, and offending as single attackers (SR), multiple rape (MR), Pair rape (PR), or Group Rape (GR).

A number of social issues underlie Amir's studies, in particular the differences in patterns produced by examining the race of both offenders and victims, the relationships between the rapists and their victims, the number of offenders involved in the assault and the locational significance of victim, offender and offence locations.

Amir studied 646 cases which had occurred in Philadelphia in the years 1958 and 1960 and drew source material from the documents held in the files of the "morals squad of the Philadelphia Police Department".

In a very complex summary, Amir makes the point that; "While the study was approached from a sociological viewpoint - that is, crimes as socioculturally learned behaviour, committed within socioculturally defined
situations - it was not guided by a specific theoretical system for explaining the offense studied”.

Although Amir stated that cause and specific explanation of the crime of rape were not the intention of the research, in some areas Amir's work indicated great potential to the police investigator.

The Philadelphia sample was examined for the offender's previous offence histories and spatial patterns of offending were described. Amir found that of 1,292 offenders, 637 (49%) had a previous arrest record.

Unfortunately the frequency of such a record was not described by reference to whether the attackers were known to the victims or strangers, and therefore the immediate relevance to investigative processes involved in "stranger" assaults cannot be determined.

In spatial terms where the crime occurred and where the victim and offender lived in Philadelphia, were described by vicinity, defined as an "area of five city blocks". Amir assumed that such an area was
"small enough to allow offenders or victims at least to see each other and perhaps even for the offender to have some specific knowledge of the victim's reputation".

Although from a very different perspective, for example one of the variables introduced to the Amir study was the victim's "bad" reputation, the findings do have some direct relevance to the investigation of crime. In 82% of the known cases, Amir found that the victim and offender lived in the same neighbourhood or vicinity, and in 68%, the victim, offender and crime scene were all in the same area.

In respect of neighbourhood sexual crime, Amir alludes to a near 30% of victims who could give the police an indication that the offender was from nearby. These proximity factors, if transferable across the Atlantic, have important implications in the investigative process of identifying and prioritising suspects in a rape enquiry.

The differing sociological perspectives within the literature can be clearly seen in reviewing other authors work:
"...rape became not only a male prerogative, but man's basic weapon of force against women, the principal agent of his will and her fear". "It is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear", (Brownmiller 1975).

This essentially feminist viewpoint is shared to an extent by the sociological perspective of such authors as Scully and Marolla, (1985), whose dichotomy of admitters, said to rape as a result of life crises, and deniers who were said to rape because their societal values provide no reason for them not to.

Their work implies that in some circumstances, the offence of rape against an adult female is viewed in society as less deviant than for example the same activity committed against a child.

Such studies from very general perspectives, reveal little other than condemnation of male attitudes and little of investigative usefulness because of the lack of distinction between groups.
Beyond Amir's study of city rapists, psychologically determined typologies have been produced by interviewing incarcerated offenders, either as patients in special corrective units, or prisoners in the typical prison setting.

Guttmacher and Weihofen, (1952), produced a typology of offenders in which a three part classification was proposed, the True Sex Offender, The Sadist and the Aggressive.

Gebhard, (1965), proposed two types of offender, those whose aggression in the crime served as the means to the end, and those whose aggression and violence was either the primary or secondary end itself.

One of the most frequently quoted classification is that presented by A.N.Groth and his colleagues, (1977), in which all rape offences are described as having the components of Anger, Power and Sexuality.

In this work the authors proposed that the two dominant features in rape are Anger and Power. This motivational dichotomy produced four sub-types:-
POWER assertive, whose attacks were seen to be expressions of dominance.

POWER re-assurance, whose rapes were seen as some alleviation of perceived sexual inadequacy and to confirm his own masculinity.

ANGER retaliation, which was seen as revenge seeking, where the rape is a furtherance of the humiliation of the victim.

ANGER excitation, was described as the brutal and sadistic rape in which sexual gratification is obtained by the combination of aggression and sexuality.

Discussing the sexual expression of aggression, Groth later wrote, (1981), of a taxonomic trilogy, in which he described more generally the sub-types of rapist previously classified under headings of Anger and Power.

Groth proposed that "Three basic patterns of rape can be distinguished in regard to the aggressive themes characterising them":-

In the Anger attack, the crime is predominantly characterised as the excessive use of brutal force. Typically, more force is used than would be necessary to control the victim or to penetrate, and with the sexual acts, reflect aggression.
The actions are used to debase and demean the victim. "...such a man considers rape the ultimate offense [sic] he can commit against another person. Sex becomes his weapon, and rape constitutes the ultimate expression of his anger".

The Power rapist in his attack, is characterised in using only sufficient force to accomplish the object of sexual "conquest". He typically does not wish to harm the victim but to possess her sexually. "Physical aggression is used to overpower and subdue the victim, and its use is directed toward achieving sexual submission".

In the context of rape, "sexuality is said to compensate for underlying feelings of inadequacy and serves to express issues of mastery, strength, control, authority, identity, and capability".

The Sadistic type, contains those offenders who by their actions appear to have fused sexuality with aggression.

These offender's crimes display the transformation of anger and power so that aggression itself becomes erotic. The rapist's intense gratification in the maltreatment of the victim is uppermost in the crime characteristics.
The assault often involves bondage, torture and ritualistic acts. Sexually specific areas of the victim's body become the focus of injury and abuse.

In summary Groth, (1981), explained that proposed from the chapter was "...a theoretical framework for the conceptualization of sexual assault derived from clinical experience with over 500 identified offenders..".

Groth and his colleagues, (1977), appear to have extended the earlier work of Cohen et al, (1971), in which a three type classification scheme was discussed.

Cohen et al. proposed the first type of offender in their "Clinical Classification of Rape", as those whose crime is of the "Rape-Aggressive Aim".

In these offences the sexual assault is seen as being in the service of aggression in order to humiliate, dirty and defile the victim.

Aggressive acts against the victim in this type of rape were said to range from simple assault to a high degree of brutality, occasionally to the point of fatality. Where directed against sexually significant
areas of the body, the actions were of biting, cutting, tearing, insertion of some foreign object and other sexually mutilating acts.

Cohens' second type of rapist was seen as those whose assault are of the "Rape-Sexual Aim", and was proposed as quite different from the first. In these attacks, which "...almost always take place out of doors in isolated places...", the rape was said to be clearly motivated by sexual wishes and the aggression sufficient only to enable the offender to carry out his attack.

In these cases, "There is a relative absence of violence and the act lacks any of the characteristics of brutality"

The third group of rapists discussed by Cohen and his fellow workers was that of the "Rape-Sexual-Aggression diffusion" type of offender.

The attacks carried out by these offenders are typified as having strong sadistic components. The offenders are described as having an inability to experience sexual excitement without a degree of violence being present.
The acts of sadism were described loosely as "Quite variable" with the extreme seen in excess in lust murder, and where brutality and mutilation occur before, during and after the death.

However, those offence characteristics were described as rare, and the "most usual behavioural pattern is forcible rape where violence is used to excite the offender, and after intercourse there is no further aggression".

Later, Rada, (1978), produced a five way typology of rapists, which included, as a separate type, the Psychotic Rapist. In his chapter "Classification of the Rapist", Rada made clear that the chapter summarised some classification systems including: - ".....one devised by the author for use in clinical work and courtroom testimony".

He also commented on the individualistic nature of classification schemes, by writing that however the classifications were derived, and from whatever the perspective, "All of these systems are to some extent arbitrary and artificial. Classifications can be harmful when they are used in a manner that obscures the individuality of each offender. Yet everyone who
is involved with rapists, whether psychiatrist, ward attendant, lawyer, or judge, has developed a personal system of classification, and many have some validity".

The Rada types were described as:-

"The Psychotic Rapist" was presented as a classification which included rapists "..defined as psychotic according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual II".

Rada stated, "Although an association between psychosis and rape has not been established, some rapists suffer from severe mental illness and may be acutely psychotic at the time of the commission of the offense".

In explanation, "This category is not large, less than 10% of all rapists........". Three reasons for the importance of the category were given, two dealing with the possible cessation of the rape activity and the legal implications of psychosis on the finding of guilt or otherwise. The third described the attacks carried out by such rapists as "likely to be bizarre, violent and exceedingly terrifying experiences for the victims."
The psychotic rapist was typified as being unable to give a lucid account of his crime, "...often...only aware of an overwhelming rage and anger at the time of the rape and can give no other motivation for the crime".

The offence activity for this type of rapist was described as particularly terrifying, as neither the victim nor the offender are in control of the situation.

The anecdotal exemplars used to typify the rapes of the psychotic were those of bizarre rape scenes within view of others, or where the offender spent considerable time with his victims whilst in a psychotic state.

"The Situational Stress Rapist", Rada characterised as presenting a "history of severe situational stress and a general downhill course in their lives during the period immediately preceding the actual rape event".

In the commission of their crimes some of these offenders were said to rape impulsively without a careful plan and others were angry and defiant at the time of the rape. This type of rapist rarely uses
excessive violence and was said to be potentially less dangerous than the psychotic rapist or the masculine identity conflict rapist, of the authors' typology.

The offence behaviour in this rapist extends to post offence, when he was said to involve the victim in lengthy conversation, almost placing the victim in the role of "therapist". Guilt, shame and depression were often expressed, followed by repeat penetration during which the offender believed the victim to be a willing partner.

"The Masculine Identity Conflict Rapist" was described as including a broad spectrum of Rapists, "all of whom share in common an actual or felt deficiency in their masculine roles".

The majority of these rapists were heterosexual, with some having covert homosexual inclinations. The type was presented as numerically large being second only to the sociopathic rapist. Rada presented them as being among the most dangerous and violent attackers because of the excessive use of violence and the lack of feeling for the pain and suffering of the victim.
In their offence characteristics, the masculine identity conflict rapist was said to be likely to be progressively more aggressive and violent as... "In the more typical case, he may not be arrested until he has raped many times".

"The Sadistic Rapist" was described as comprising a very small percentage of the sample, explained by the postulation that the true sadist derives more pleasure with a partner who is masochistic. Rada's point was that this relationship was therefore more likely to be satisfied in marriage or some consenting relationship.

Of the classification of Sadistic Rapist, Rada characterised him as one who ".. carefully plans his rapes. He will often demand that the victim perform a variety of humiliating activities and appears to derive greater satisfaction from his ritualistic degrading of the victim than from the actual intercourse".

Presented as anecdotes, the history of the sadistic rapist was described as either experiencing childhood beatings during which aggressive sexual fantasy grew and continued into adult life, or, where aggressive sexual fantasy developed later in a consenting sadomasochistic partnership which failed.
Rada made the point that "...variety can be seen in the development of sadistic fantasies and behaviour in certain rapists".

"The Sociopathic Rapist", was described as the largest group of between 30 and 40 percent of the rapists in the study, however Rada postulated that these sociopathic rapists were not the majority of rapists.

His offending was characterised as one who "...engages in a variety of criminal activities and has had frequent encounters with the law. Rape is frequently just one of his antisocial aggressive and sexual acts". Rada proposed that this rapist had less interpersonal or intrapersonal conflict which would lead to rape and that the sexual assault had less personal significance.

Rada presented the sociopathic rapist as more of an opportunistic offender stating, "In contrast to some other rapists, the sociopathic rapist may rape impulsively. Nevertheless, because he is an experienced criminal he may be more cautious and cunning about the act and less likely to be apprehended". 
Although this type of rapist was described as possibly less dangerous than some others, the anecdotal exemplar was that of circumstances in which the offender was described as having a long history of antisocial and criminal behaviour, at incarceration admitting several forcible rapes without prior conviction for any.

Rada, as many others who have attempted typological classification of rapists, clearly states that his five categories of rapists are not mutually exclusive and that there is overlap between them.

A number of these classification schemes have been produced using source material from the Massachusetts Treatment Centre, (Cohen et al 1971, Groth et al 1977, Prentky et al 1985), a facility established at Bridgewater Mass. in 1959, "for the evaluation and treatment of sexually dangerous persons", (Prentky et al 1985).

"The classifications of Cohen and Groth are in fact similar in their derivation from clinical interviews with virtually no systematic analysis of data even though they differ in their hypotheses about underlying motivations", (Canter et al 1989).
The extensive, systematic and ongoing attempt to produce a classification system of rapists is the work of Prentky and his colleagues, (Prentky 1985), in which they used a hierarchical decision making approach to the meaning of aggression and sexuality in the commission of the rape, and life impulsivity as a background characteristic of the offender.

Based on a sample of 108 incarcerated rapists, meaning adult males whose sexual offences were committed against adult women, (i.e. 16 years or over although this age parameter had been modified on occasions to fourteen and fifteen year olds), the Massachusetts Treatment Center System was intended to "...organise an extensive data base on sexually aggressive offenders into homogeneous and reliable scales and dimensions for the purpose of generating and validating a useful classification system."

Decision making in the assignment of offenders to eventual sub-types, required senior clinicians to make independent assessments at each level of a three level hierarchical process leading to:—

At level A, an initial diagnosis of the meaning of aggression in the assault, either Instrumental where the amount of aggression did not exceed that necessary
to force compliance, or *Expressive* where aggression was evidenced to a greater degree, sexuality in the crime being secondary to, or in the service of hurting or humiliating the victim.

At level B, the meaning of sexuality, the decision was whether the Instrumental type was *Compensatory*, where sexual behaviour was an expression of fantasy, or *Exploitative* where it was expressed as an impulsive, predatory act. For the Expressive, the decision was based on whether sexuality was an expression of *Displaced Anger*, where it was used in the service of a primary aggressive aim, with the victim representing the hated individual, or *Sadistic* in which sexuality was noted as an expression of sadistic fantasy. Sexual and aggressive arousal having a synergistic quality, as one increases so does the other.

At decision level C, the *low v high impulsivity* decision was made on each of the offenders assigned to the four subgroups attained from the first two levels. Using the history and life style of each offender the sample was further sub-typed, the result being an eight way classification system.
Prentky and his colleagues in providing profiles of their eight subtypes appear to have moved to the comparatively rare situation where extrapolation from crime characteristics to offender characteristics has been attempted. The way in which the offender characteristics are presented however, reveals the clinical perspective from which the classifications were derived.

Extrapolation of offender characteristics in clinical terms, ie written by clinician for the understanding of clinician, does not focus attention on the most probable suspects because the offenders are characterised in terms that are possible to derive only in the clinical setting.

For example the "machismo" rapist described by Prentky and his colleagues as "Instrumental Aggression - Rape as Exploitation - Non impulsive life style" is characterised as having "no obvious developmental pathology and no general or gross psychological, behavioural, or social disorder. There is, however, what may be called an excessive phallic narcissism and an attitude toward women marked by feelings of superiority, disdain, and scorn".
The production of clinical vignettes, describing individual offenders, and what they have done in the commission of their sexual crime, are of little help. Rape and serious sexual assault are multivariate crimes and every case, as with every offender, will be in some way different.

Authors of predominantly North American origin, have sought to produce explanations for the crime of rape, (in this project synonymous with serious sexual assault), in which "WHY" is, in some way related to the characteristics of the offenders.

Commonality in clinical classification schemes exists in the etiological approach, however why some rape and others do not appears to remain largely an enigma in understanding sexual assault.

The causal factors of sexual assault, although possibly relevant at the later stage of an investigation, typically during the interrogation of a strong suspect, are unlikely to be of great assistance in the task of identifying the perpetrator from many possible suspects who come to attention during a police enquiry.
Authors appear to have detected difference and commonality between groups of rapists by their behaviour, and have produced classifications of the offenders in relation to their inferred motivations.

No one approach appears invalid, all may have something to offer, and, regardless of the particular orientation of the researcher, many appear to have found sufficient detail on which to classify the different offenders within their samples, from their own perspective.

However virtually all the studies have been either directly or indirectly linked with the treatment, management, rehabilitation of offenders or the requirements of the judicial process in providing explanations of a particular individual's activities.

In the main, those classifications that have been produced were derived from conceptual models giving rise to theories about why men rape, and appear to have validity to those who have produced them.

These conceptual approaches, particularly those where the offender's internalised mental processes are used as explanation for the deviant act, do not seem to have been subjected to any rigorous testing.
It therefore appears that with some exceptions, classification schemes do not yet have empirical support.

THE FBI APPROACH

A more practical offender classification comes from the FBI Criminal Investigative Analysts perspective in the classification of Selfish v Pseudo-Unselfish rapists described by Supervisory Special Agent R. Hazelwood, (Hazelwood et al. 1987).

Hazelwood explains that in the examination of rape accounts, the first decisions as to possible offender characteristics are made upon consideration of the rapists dominant behaviour, orientated to himself and assigned the Selfish label, or in displaying probably false consideration for the victim, expressed concern for her wellbeing etc., assigned the label of Pseudo-Unselfish.

In respect of this dichotomous classification, Hazelwood makes clear that this process is one of experience in looking at rape crime and is carried out with a view to "profiling" the offender. He continues, "Once the rapist is broadly categorised as being either selfish or pseudo unselfish, he may then be
further classified in an attempt to learn his motivation. For this purpose I have chosen to utilize the categories of rapist developed by Groth, Burgess & Holmstrom 1977".

The FBI rape classification of Selfish v Pseudo-unselfish appears to be that of the pragmatist, experientially determined and derived from exposure to "more than 1000 rape cases". The caveat of overlapping behaviours is again expressed and there is no discussion of any systematic analysis from which the described types may be validated.
TOWARDS INVESTIGATIVE CLASSIFICATION

A number of difficulties are apparent in attempting to assign offenders to groups by their offence behaviour in some way resembling the clinically derived types drawn from any of the literature, or indeed by assigning offenders to types by predominant behaviour without empirical support for the existence of such types in the first place.

Anyone involved in dealing with rape as a crime can examine the behaviour exhibited in the incidents and will be able to see aggression, sexuality, domination, control, humiliation, bizarre expressions of intimacy, non-sexual criminal activity etc., in fact the whole range of offence behaviour described by the authors of classification systems.

Perhaps with one exception, the work of Prentky and his colleagues in which some inter-rater agreement was attempted, assignment of the offender to a type description appears to be made on the basis of the meaning which underlies the behaviour, and assessment of what the individual clinician considers as prevalent, a process of derived inference based on clinical experience.
This appears to be a methodological problem rather than one of philosophy, in that the offence activity of rapists appears to follow similar patterns, and that although the classification systems use different titles, they appear to be describing the same groups, most notably of course the sadist.

However, in some typologies one or more of the common themes were missing and in others, types were included but were not common to all, for instance Groth had no type that indicates the impulsive anti social offender, and Rada included the psychotic or borderline psychotic rapist as a distinct type. This may be the consequence of the particular samples to which they had access and from which their typologies were produced.

"The literature is very unclear on the classification of rapists and much more specific about types of rape. Broadly all authors recognise a distinction between rapes that have some sexual emphasis and those that are more aggressive", (Canter et al 1989).
The Relationship of Aggression

This research project focused on stranger rape/sexual assault and proposed that there are important investigative differences between those whose sexual activity was directed at females who were known to them and those who attacked strangers.

There can be little doubt that crimes in which the victim could identify her attacker pose less of an investigative problem, i.e. the identification of the perpetrator, than the latter, although the issue of consent may make criminal proceedings more difficult to pursue.

In relation to the existing classification schemes, the lack of description in what form data were collected, and from which types of offenders were proposed, raises some questions concerning the multivariate nature of sexual assault and the offenders who commit such crime.

In most of the literature there is little detail concerning the relationship between offender and victim, although Amir indicated the proportions of true stranger v acquaintance/friend rapes, he did so
in the social role contexts of race, age, alcohol, violence and the locations of both initial contact and offence.

In the Philadelphia sample of 646 cases only 42% were those where the offender was a complete stranger to the victim. In the use of violence, Amir, (1971 p245), discussed his findings in respect of an assumption that "...the closer the relationship between victim and offender, the less violent be the rapes".

He continued, "The data do not support the hypothesis and the differences are significant in reverse, i.e. the closer the relationship between victim and offender, the greater is the violence used against the victim".

To some extent further empirical support for this finding is starting to materialise and can be found in a small pilot study at Surrey University's Investigative Psychology Research Unit, (Canter 1992). Data were collected from the assessment of victims of sexual assault who were appraised by medical examiners when they were examined immediately following report of the attack on them.
Although too early to treat as anything more than first indications, similar phenomena as those hypothesised by Amir are noticeable. Victims of sexual assault committed by men that are known to them, present with more overt trauma, more injury, and more distress than those whose attacks were by strangers.

These indications raise the possibility that where overt aggression, described as ranging from minor to major brutalization, subsumes the described "Anger" rapist, it may have correlation with the relationship between the victim and offender, and by implication may change the nature, meaning and relevance of aggression in attacks on strangers.

Changes over Time

The second question relates to the methodology associated with data reduction. There are both assumptions and indications within the literature that at least some of the subject men were serial rapists.

For example, Prentky, (1985), gives the average of almost three victims per rapist in the Massachusetts sample, whereas in Amir's study the identification of serial offenders is again compounded by the role descriptions of Single Rape, and Group Rape.
This additional problem is that of applied methodology, if rape is to be classified as motivated by any of the common themes, how may the series attacker and any change over time be classified.

Some offenders do change and develop over time, both in their treatment of the victim and in respect of where they commit their sexual crimes. The development of criminals, criminal careers, changes over time and locational development has been the subject of considerable study, (Farrington 1990, Brantingham 1981).

People change through their experiences, and for the criminally orientated those changes may include behaviour which minimises their own risk whilst enabling them to continue their criminal activities.

This pragmatic assumption throws doubt on the roles of predominant and determining motivation being viable as the single description of a type of rapist.

In sexual crime Modus Operandi may change, and can change dramatically from rape to rape murder, or less sensationaly, the development of a series rapist, not infrequently, may show for example, that the first victim resisted, and as a consequence subsequent victims were bound or handcuffed.
The Serial Rapist and Typicality

The problem of multiple offending has been addressed by few authors, although Knight and his colleagues proposed that; "Some studies make the implicit and untested assumption that the particular offence coded is typical of all the offender's sexual crime", (Knight et al 1985). They themselves, however, appear to make the same assumption.

How series crime may be identified, and more importantly in respect of Investigative Classifications, how a number of sexual crimes in series can be reduced to a composite picture that is representative of the offender, and makes no one offence an assumption of typicality, is fundamental to identifying the characteristics of the offender.

Extrapolation from the Crime Behaviour

In the major literature, extrapolation from the crime behaviour to describing the characteristics of the offender takes the clinical form. Classification of rape and hence to a typology of rapists appears to have been derived from the clinicians' experience of working with convicted rapists.
Groth et al, (1977, 1981), and Prentky et al (1985), state unequivocally that their own taxonomies are drawn from such experience, Prentky further explained that "Determinations of criminal and psychiatric history were made from the patient's clinical files".

Thus a central issue of the different approaches to classification are revealed, clinical experience compared with investigative requirement. The clinical approach infers that behaviour exhibited in the sexual crime is categorised by what the offender/patient has to say about it.

The proposed investigative approach was to use the exhibited crime behaviour to classify offenders, and seek relationships between what happens in sexual assault and the individual's known history.

In the process of extrapolation, a few authors have claimed validity in applying the same clinically derived characteristics of the offender directly to the processes of the police investigation. However, the caveat of linguistic interpretation remains, clinically described characteristics do not necessarily translate to the understanding of the detective.
The objectives of this research are that for the principles of Investigative Psychology to have an impact on the investigation of crime, theoretical classifications of sexual criminals needs to be replaced by characteristics of the offender which are recognisable to the detective, and related directly to the offence behaviour.

Without systematic methodology applied to material consistently collected in the course of a police enquiry, and extrapolation in real life and relevant terms to the offender, it is unlikely that treatment based typologies will benefit the investigation as a form of profiling.

The effect of Criminal History

".....of even more significance to profiling, is the lack of discussion of the criminal antecedents to a rapist's activities. This is clearly because such matters are of little relevance to clinicians". Together with the other point raised about the development of the serial rapist....."They serve, thus, to indicate the need to develop classification schemes specifically as a basis for profiling", (Canter et al 1989).
In the United Kingdom the most consistently recorded detail of convicted offenders is that of their criminal history. In the main, detected crimes of violence, property crime such as theft and burglary, criminal damage according to value, and most sexual crime etc. are recorded nationally and reporting is mandatory. In effect this means that the most accurate detail about an offender will be that of his previous and index offending.

Although various authors describe their samples of sexual offenders and mention the incidence of criminal history, generally these data are not seen as highly relevant in the context of motivation or causal factors. Yet authors consistently report the presence of previous offending as percentages between, for example the 49% of Amir, (1971), and 94% of Prentky, (1985).

Although there are some common motivational themes in what existing classification schemes propose, each has a different focus tending to minimise the important variability of the offender/patient's criminal history. This may indicate that sexual assault is multi-determined and open to wide interpretation, but
in terms of the police investigation there is little
doubt about the usefulness of a "Profile" which
assesses the likelihood of the unknown offender's
criminal history.

Classifications in an Investigative Context

There are further issues in attempting to apply
clinical typologies to the process of the
investigation. From some analyses of criminal
behaviour particularly in rape, serious sexual assault
and murder, what became known as "Criminal personality
profiling", (Horn 1988), or "Psychological Profiling",
(Porter 1983), emerged as a viable procedure to
assist the detective.

Described as a process by which unsolved crime
behaviour is examined in order to produce a set of
characteristics which are proposed as those of the
perpetrator, "Profiling" is in fact an exercise of
extrapolation from the crime characteristics to
hypothesised identifying characteristics of the type
of person who may have committed the crime.

In the 1970's, the process of "profiling" unsolved
serious crimes was adopted by the FBI in their
Behavioural Science Unit, (Porter 1983). Then it was
probably carried out totally by law enforcement
officers, in later years law enforcement has increasingly cooperated with social scientists in attempts to improve the technique that the FBI still regard as an art rather than a science, (Hazelwood et al 1983).

Pilot studies, (Canter & Heritage 1990), suggested that a science based approach to identifying key behavioural features exhibited in sexual assault would be a fruitful approach to classifying offenders by their sex offence behaviour. The hypothesis generated from this earlier work is that there will be relationships between what the offender does in the sexual assault and aspects of his social and personal background.

If that were not true, and all rapists were alike, then any sort of offender profiling would be impossible. A suggestion that the effectiveness of the FBI profiling, now known as Criminal Investigative Analysis, would appear to refute, (Pinnizotto 1984).

One major issue for example, is the applicability of existing clinically orientated studies, many without strong empirical foundation, to the processes of criminal investigation. The issue is further
complicated by the probability that those who have produced the classification systems have little or no knowledge of the criminal investigative process itself.

Quite obviously the individuality of approaches to classification are themselves dependent on the research requirement and the context in which the work is carried out. It would be expected that if treatment were the determinant then the focus would be on aspects of the offender's psychopathology, whereas, if as in this project, the criminal investigation were the focus, then different aspects of the offence and offender characteristics would be examined.

During the investigation of an unsolved sexual assault and with relative consistency, the detective has at his or her disposal, the circumstances of the crime and the reported behaviour of the offender. Even if there is strong forensic evidence by which suspects may be eliminated or implicated, the identification of possible suspects for comparison has to be achieved.

As a function of the investigation, amongst other things, the detective will try and assess from the crime material what may be relevant in the behaviour so as to identify the offender. In such circumstances
a wrong interpretation may lead to many innocent persons being treated as suspects, or within the investigation many potential suspects to be eliminated, or more potentially dangerous, a failure to identify the offender.

Therefore, if useful investigative typologies are to be produced, they must originate from an empirical understanding of behavioural relationships within the offence itself, which may lead to, or assist as decision support, in linking the crime to the most likely background, criminal history and residential location of the type of person responsible. In effect, from the most relevant social and environmental psychological perspectives.

**Summary**

The review of some major sex offender classification schemes led to the identification of important issues that the current research needed to address at the design stage. Methodological differences, omissions, and assumptions which were implicit in existing classification schemes were considered to have a potential effect on "profiling" sexual criminals.
The science based approach discussed in this thesis set out by specifying research objectives and a research design, intending that the current project addressed the difficulties expressed as the measure of aggression, changes over time, typicality of sexual assault behaviour, and the effect of prior criminal history on the extrapolation from sexual assault behaviour to meaningful and empirically derived characteristics of the sexual offender.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Approaches in decision making
RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objective of this research project was to examine the procedures known as "Psychological Offender Profiling" (Porter 1983), and currently, Criminal Investigative Analysis (Hazelwood 1987).

However, the FBI style of profiling appears inextricably linked to personality derived from the psycho-dynamic theories, in that internal processes are inferred as the causal dynamics operating on the offender.

The major constraint imposed on this reported research project was the non-accessability of the offenders, and therefore, the approach was to utilise the information available in the commission of sexual crime and to maintain an eclectic stance in relation to "personality" inferences.

The common theme of both the FBI approach and this research project is revealed by the discussion of fundamental issues in Criminal Personality Profiling, "One of the foundations of profiling is that different offenders in different locations commit similar crimes in similar ways because of similarities in their personalities", (Horn 1988).
This statement generated the hypothesis that became central to the present research objective; *If different offenders commit their crimes in similar ways and have similar characteristics, then unsolved crimes can be examined by seeking the relationships between known offenders and their known crimes.* In simple terms, a study of offenders and the crimes they have committed, may lead to an investigative classification system by which undetected crimes may be analysed in order to predict the most probable characteristics of the unknown offender.

The primary research objective was to seek classification by which offence and offender characteristics could be examined in a process of extrapolation, from one to the other. This process required definition of the conditions under which the research was to be undertaken and the sub-objectives to be fulfilled.
1. The research would focus on the sexual assault of females, generally more information being available about those crimes than many other criminal acts.

2. Classification systems dealing with similar crime and criminals have generally approached the subject as an examination of the etiology of rape. This project was not to be an exploration of why men rape!

3. Etiological approaches tend to deal with rape as phenomena and make little or no distinction between those who attacked strangers, and those who sexually assault people known to them. In the process of investigation, crimes where the victim knows her attacker present less of a problem, in terms of identifying the person responsible, than the stranger to stranger assaults. This project focuses on those crimes where the victim did not know her attacker.

Conditions:-
4. In psychological terms personality is complex, Allport in 1927 was said to have "culled nearly 50 different definitions from the literature" (Reber 1985). Major contributors to the sexual assault literature appear to have approached the subject from the psychodynamic or psychoanalytical perspective of "why", which is then linked to descriptions of personality.

The police investigator may be better served, initially, by the relationships of what, where, when and to whom, than why. Although at the stage of questioning a suspect, some understanding of the possible motivations may be useful to the interviewer.

This project adopted the perspectives of social interactive psychology, (Canter 1989), that the offender's relationships with others, and society in general would, a) be revealed in his known history and, b) be recognisable to the detective, c) reveal the locality of his probable residence and d) may correlate with described clinical "types" whereby his motivation may be assessed.
5. Although literature dealing with the subject of sexual offending is replete with approaches that seek explanation of the crime, there is a dearth of those whose application is directly focused on the processes of sexual crime investigation. This project had only the admitted non-scientific approach adopted by the FBI as a conceptual model of sex crime classifications, notably the Selfish v Pseudo-Unselfish rapist proposed by Hazelwood, (1987).

Sub-objectives:-

It was recognised that the following sub-objectives would have to be fulfilled before the principal objective could be attempted.

1. As the rape of strangers is usually an event that takes place out of public view, the only information concerning the behaviour of the offender generally comes from the victim, that is where the crime was reported to the police.
Each victim statement, the written narrative of what had happened to her would require examination, and from it the production of data, by content analysis techniques. Scores assigned to defined behaviours thus forming a numerical profile of the attack.

The "q" matrix of sexual assault behaviour was then to be analysed using Multidimensional Scaling procedures to reveal possible behavioural relationships in sexual offending.

2. Background characteristics of the sexual offender were drawn by content analysis from their national records, documentary sources that detail previous criminal offending, as well as some personal and social aspects of their lives.

Scores were to be assigned on pre-defined variables, creating the "p" matrix of offender history prior to the index offence. The index crime(s) being that from which the victim statement would reveal his behaviour.
This would then provide an historical account of each offender, as if he was unknown at the index crime, and thus emulating the investigative position.

Such detail of the offender would provide descriptive profiles of the sexual offenders as individuals and as hypothesised groups from which personal traits and group trends could be examined.

3. The final sub-objective, and the one most central to the fulfilment of the principal objective, was to be the common analyses of both the "p" and "q" matrix.

This process was predicted to be the most difficult, on the basis of one offender history to one crime, the true "p" to "q" mapping, analyses could be expected to follow a conventional analysis pattern.
However the "q" matrix in origin would be distorted by the serial offender, any number of attacks in excess of one, which were his index crimes. The sub-objective was to be fulfilled by data reduction of the "q" matrix to a single classification for each offender.

To complete the principal objective, i.e. the identification of offender characteristics revealed by how the offender behaved during the sexual crime, required scientific analyses of all the source material and the application of statistical procedures that minimised the expected "noise" that would be inherent in converting documents prepared for non-scientific purposes to numerical representation of behaviour.

To that end, the categorical matrices derived from content analysis were to be analysed using the Facet Approach, (Canter 1985), a procedure "especially appropriate for fields of research where there are no clear existing structures known to exist within the data and for which the data itself may be rather low level." (Canter 1989).
The scientific approach to what previously appears to have been an art, (Hazelwood 1987), generated the hypothesis that the process of investigative profiling could be defined as the systematic examination of unsolved crime constituents and the application of scientific method to supply investigative support.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN

Decision support & application in design
RESEARCH DESIGN

"A research design is a plan for collecting and analyzing data in order to answer the investigator's question", (Holsti 1969).

The research plan for the analyses of violent sexual crimes and the offenders who commit them took the shape of a logical sequence of events that were to take place. Effectively the application of scientific methods to the process of what the FBI had termed an art, i.e. latterly, criminal investigative analysis, first required a sequential process of a priori decision making.

To accord with the objective of the current research, i.e. to seek support for a socio-psychological model of sexual crime behaviour by which sexual offenders could be classified, the research design was to focus on the material available, and the appropriate analysis procedures to be applied to essentially qualitative data.
1. Source material:

**Stranger to stranger;**
The focus of the research project was to be on the sexual assault of strangers, i.e. attacks that had been carried out against victims who did not know their attackers. Stranger attacks have different implications for the police officers investigating the crime in which the victim can give no immediate evidence of identification.

**Female victims;**
Although sexual assault is not confined by gender of the victim, the project was to concentrate on the sexual assault of females without limitation of age. Various authors have discussed the term and psychology of the "paedophile" or "situational v preferential child molester", (Dietz 1983, Lanning 1987), those with a sexual preference for children. However, vaginal penetration by force, fear or fraud of a female of any age is rape.

**Police documents;**
Conceptually, if the analysis and scientific rigour applied to sexual offending was to be of value to the detective then using material commonly available to investigators was thought to be most suitable.
Detail of the crime and descriptions of what the offender did, and said, during the assault are generally revealed in the form of a written victim statement.

Background details of the offenders who carry out these attacks can be found in the individual's national criminal record. These two sets of documents were to be the primary sources of information from which data were to be drawn.

Police forces throughout the mainland United Kingdom were requested to nominate sexual offenders who they believed fitted the criteria of the research project. Considerable effort then went into retrieving the crime documents and the national records of the offenders.

2. Data acquisition.

**Sexual crime behaviour**

Research planning at this stage was to create a data matrix of sexual offence behaviour and crime characteristics by using the principles and procedures of content analysis, drawing data from each reported sexual offence description of the behaviour exhibited by the offender.
Data thus produced was written to the "q" matrix, a matrix being, "Any arrangement of data (or numbers or symbols) into a table of rows and columns", (Reber 1985). The research matrix represented the population, that is in this matrix each reported crime, as the rows of the matrix, whilst the columns were formed by the described behaviour, coded numerically to represent the absence or presence of predefined actions.

Figure one shows an example of part of the "q" matrix formed in this way and shows that each crime, or row, has the predefined behaviour, the column, represented as a number indicating the absence of such behaviour, coded as 1, or its presence as 2.

In the example, case one can be interpreted as an attack in which the victim was subjected to a "surprise attack", blindfolded, bound, and gagged. There was no "confidence trick" approach, no "blitz" attack and no compliments offered to the victim.

Each row creates a numerical profile of the behaviour and other crime characteristics of that particular crime. The complete matrix extended to 67 columns, or crime characteristics, by 209 rows or cases.
EXAMPLE PART MATRIX

Figure one
Thus the "q" matrix of behaviour exhibited in all sexual crimes committed by a sample of offenders would be produced as a rectangular raw matrix of observed behavioural variables.

A fuller description of how each aspect of the crime characteristics and behaviour was defined can be found at appendix "C".

**Background detail of the sex offender**

In similar analyses, the offender history or "p" matrix was created. The "p" matrix consisted of the rows representing each offender, and the columns as aspects of his history. A full definitional system for the content analysis of offender background can be found at appendix "D".

3. Data reduction;

Data reduction and the potential reduction in data acquisition were processes either forced on the research project by non-availability of documents, or designed reduction in accord with the research plan.

Figure two shows the flow chart of non-available or incompatible archive documents leading through to the situation where common analyses were planned.
DATA REDUCTION

The criminal
162 Offenders
NIB Records

Filtered on the basis of available documents

92 Offenders
Police forces

Record examination
Filtered out incomplete records

76 Offenders with
criminal & antecedent histories

The crime
More than 400 sexual assaults

A

257 Statements
Police forces

B

209 Statements
with sexual activity

C

Compatible Data-sets

D

Figure two
Initial identification of 162 offenders by their unique National Identification Bureau numbers revealed a potential of more than four hundred sexual crimes committed by them. Between the levels of A and B indicated on the figure, a "filtering" process became necessary, either because the criminal record was not available or that victims statements were not recoverable.

At level B, 257 statements were obtained in respect of the assaults carried out by 92 offenders. The statements were scanned for completeness and a research decision made in respect of those attacks which were incomplete, having ceased before any sexual activity could be carried out. These attempted crimes were removed from the statements that would be the information source used to create the "q" matrix.

Level C shows that 209 statements of victims who had been subjected to attacks in which some sexual activity had occurred were available for the process of content analysis, leaving 76 offenders whose records were available to form the "P" matrix.

Those records were obtained, screened for content, and were sufficiently documented to permit them to be content analysed, and so construct the raw matrix of offender background.
4. The Facet Approach

**Preparatory stage**

Figure two indicates the final preparatory stage of the research plan where at level D, 76 offenders personal and prior criminal characteristics could be compared with a classification scheme derived from analyses of sexual crime behaviour, using Multidimensional Scaling methods and the Facet Approach.

Earlier pilot studies, (Canter & Heritage 1990), using Smallest Space Analysis, (Lingoes 1973), indicated that statistically derived relationships between behaviours could be interpreted from "noisy" qualitative data by using non-metric multidimensional scaling procedures.

The applicability and use of Multivariate Analyses procedures, such as Smallest Space Analysis associated with Facet Theory, was discussed by Canter, (1983), who stated that the origins of Facet Theory, "Developed out of the work of Guttman and his colleagues [who] were concerned with the selection of items for test construction and with the weakness in factor-analytic procedures as well as the lack of clarity of existing approaches to the definition of research problems."
**Action research**

Derived from a real situation, that of "offender profiling", as this research project was, a major issue was the imposed requirement to use police material in action research, where data were to be drawn from the reported accounts of sexual crime which had not primarily been prepared for scientific examination.

Canter, (1989), suggested that there had been accomplishments in the field of offender profiling by the FBI as an art, and that, "...it is therefore appropriate to seek directions for its development into a field of scientific psychology. These directions reflect an action research framework. But that does not imply that they will be purely pragmatic".

**Facets of sexual crime**

Brown, (1985), said "Facet theory is an approach to research....it offers a set of principles to guide research design; has a companion set of multivariate statistical procedures to analyze data; and establishes a framework within which to construct theories."
She also commented on the flexibility of Facet theory describing the diversity of studies such as nursing, (Kenny & Canter 1981), or parachute jumping, (Shalit et al.1983), and postulated that the procedure could deal with any subject population and any form of data.

Shye, (1978), defined a Facet as "A set playing the role of component set of a cartesian set", which was simplified by Brown, (1985), who said "What this means in practice is the labelling of a conceptual categorization underlying a group of observations as a facet. 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".

The facets of sexual crime, meaning both the offence behaviour and details of the offender, were derived from two sources, a review of the literature and earlier exploratory analyses, (Canter & Heritage 1990).

Generally the literature suggested that behaviour in sexual assault was likely to be expressed both physically and verbally, a point particularly made by Hazelwood, (1987), and which suggested a facet of behavioural style.
The activity described by the authors reviewed previously, such as Groth et al. (1979), suggests that sexual behaviour in the rape offence was accompanied by varying degrees and forms of violence. Pilot studies, (Canter & Heritage 1990), also revealed a number of aspects in sexual crime that have non-sexual criminal components, thus suggesting that a facet of offence activity could be identified that contained elements of sexual, violent, and criminal behaviour.

As a principle of offender profiling was expressed as the process of extrapolation from the crime behaviour to the most probable characteristics of the offender, and all classification literature attempts to describe the offenders by their background, a facet of personal history was conceptualised. The elements of such a facet were produced by the anticipated content of an offender's criminal record and what was likely to be recorded as their antecedent histories. (See appendix D).

The facet of offender history was conceptualised as having elements of prior criminal offending, with some social, interpersonal, and familial factors.
The facets identified could be expressed as;

**Facet A**  
Behavioural style  
A1 Verbal  
A2 Physical

**Facet B**  
Behavioural action  
B1 Sexual  
B2 Violent  
B3 Criminal

**Facet C**  
Offender history  
C1 Criminal  
C2 Social  
C3 Interpersonal  
C4 Familial

**Facet D**  
The response range  
D1 Absent  
D2 Present

Specifying the facets of sexual crime, and identifying the underlying elements, allows the investigator to define the universe of observations, "The set of observations obtained on a population with respect to a universe of items", (Shye 1978). The order and content of the facets can more easily be seen in a mapping sentence where the elements are arranged so as to indicate the variety of possible hypotheses.
The General Mapping Sentence

Shye, (1978), defined the mapping sentence as "A verbal statement of the domain and of the range of a mapping including connectives between facets as in ordinary language".

As a component of the Facet Approach, the "mapping sentence" has to have present "...three major types of facets... The common range, population and content domain", (Canter 1985).

GENERAL MAPPING SENTENCE

Facet A
1 [Verbal] Does offender "x" by his
2 [Physical]

Facet B
1 [Sexual] behaviour which is
2 [Violent]
3 [Criminal]

Facet C
1 [Criminal] reveal aspects of his
2 [Social]
3 [Interpersonal]
4 [Familial]

Facet D
1 [Absent] history which is
2 [Present] in his record
A mapping sentence once constructed, allows the researcher to examine what he or she would otherwise have to loosely conceptualise before the generation and test of hypotheses. It is a statement of intent in which a combination of single elements drawn from each facet represents a clearly defined hypothesis, even though initially the mapping sentence may be in the most general of terms.

The mapping sentence also represents the initial research design and makes explicit the population being examined, the domain of observations and the range of hypothesised responses. The population "x" are those sexual offenders whose records and crimes have been collected, the three domain facets are Facet A as behavioural style, verbal or physical; Facet B as the activity, sexual, violent, or criminal; and aspects of history, (Facet C).

The expected response range at this initial stage is revealed as only observable presence or absence in the criminal record of offender(s) "x", (Facet D).

Thus a great number of possible hypotheses are generated even at the design stage, for example every combination of single elements from each facet represents an hypothesis.
These are revealed by questions such as, 'does offender "x" by his physical (A2) behaviour which is criminal (B3) reveal aspects of his criminal (C1) history which is present (D2) in his record'. In more focused language if the rapist also steals something from his victim does it reveal that he has a criminal record for other stealing or dishonesty, e.g. the presence of such a person.

In terms of generated hypotheses, at the design stage the mapping sentence is capable of dealing with 48 empirical questions such as the above example.

The mapping sentence also reveals the conduct of the inquiry. The first two content domain facets, A and B, could be conceptualised as being represented in the "q" matrix, the last domain facet, C, as part of the "p" matrix. The range, D, refers to the existence or not of the full set of combinations.

Such a generalised mapping sentence, used as a device to help formulate or clarify a research problem, must be subject to change, "If, for example, the range is the existence or not of a particular profile of responses (a particular structuple), then the mapping sentence may act as a loose framework to be tightened up and elaborated on the basis of the content analysis of open-ended data", (Canter 1985).
Research design, in a field of such "noisy" and sometimes subjective material, must have a sufficiently robust nature to allow the mapping sentence technique to be adjusted due to the particular complexity of sexual crime.

The structure of research design
The current research was to focus on particular aspects of sexual offending, the sexual assault of females who were strangers to the offender. The reports from victims of sexual assault, and the recorded histories of sexual offenders were to be examined by content analysis procedures.

Data thus produced was to be analysed using Smallest Space Analysis in a Facet Approach to classification of the offender by his behaviour in the sexual assault.

The Facet Approach of a mapping sentence clarified the research position and revealed the design structure, and as such, "Unlike purely exploratory approaches to research a very clear statement is being made a priori rather than post hoc", (Donald 1985).
CHAPTER FIVE

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Crime material and the offender
CONTENT ANALYSIS

Sexual offence characteristics

The key information, from which sexual offence data were to be drawn, came from the written statements made to police officers by victims of rape and serious sexual assault.

Content analyses principles were used to define, and rationalise the decision making process, necessary to draw data from these written accounts of sexual offences.

The statement of a victim

Although in practice police procedures recognise only two types of statement, those of witnesses and those of defendants, the term "victim statement" has been used in this research project to describe the written account that a victim of sexual assault provides by way of explaining what happened to her.
She is in fact a witness on her own behalf describing the assault on her, often she is the only direct witness, although in some of what she describes, forensic science, medical observation and medical opinion can be used to corroborate her testimony.

Judicial and investigative practice normally expect a written statement as an allegation that some wrongdoing has been perpetrated against the victim of sexual assault, or indeed any crime against a surviving, conscious victim. In practical terms of course, the statement made by the victim serves many purposes, from assisting forensic and scenes of crime examination, to producing evidence from which a particular formal charge is preferred against the assailant.

Statements, produced by interviewing the victim, take the form of a monologue in which the victim/witness recounts the events. It is more often the result of at least a dialogue where the police or other interviewer may be seeking a clear and concise record of her attack.
The narrative generally attempts to follow the chronology of the crime, as there is a broad sequence of events in the attack on strangers particularly, for example the offender has to get to a position where he can exercise control on the victim, by whatever means, he has to secure her compliance or overcome resistance, carry out the sexual, and sometimes criminal non-sexual activity, and leave.

Along this continuum however there are other activities present in the assault, upon which the victim may comment about that which, by any of her senses, she is competent in law so to do.

In this "statement taking" event some potential problems emerge, not least because of the constraints placed on all witnesses by the rules of evidence in United Kingdom courts. The victim may give evidence on what she knows or believes to be true, she can say how she felt, what she saw, what was said etc. but not opinion on how she perceived her attacker was himself feeling, or why he did some actions.
Nor can she give in evidence, details that may be obvious but which she did not see, hear, touch or smell and therefore, for example, she may say "my handbag was missing after he assaulted me" and not "He stole my handbag" if she did not see him actually take it. This somewhat trivial example may indicate the situation that an investigative profiler would find revealing but which the victim can only infer.

In practice, experienced interviewers try and include everything that the victim can remember, secure in the knowledge that in judicial process the statement can be edited to avoid placing the victim in a situation at court where she may give evidence that would effectively jeopardise the trial of those alleged to have assaulted her, even to the point of forcing acquittal.

Another form of jeopardy, in respect of using these documents as a research source, exists in the victim's ability to remember, recall and recount fully what has been done to her. Rape Trauma, a condition acknowledged as part of post traumatic stress disorder, (Burgess & Holmstrom 1979), may affect any or all of the narrative.
In more modern times, and certainly in the UK generally since the early 80's, intensified training of rape victim interviewers has been adopted by all police forces and with the more widespread knowledge, although not necessarily use, of cognitive interview techniques, the detail and content of victim statements appears to have improved.

The victim's statement is many things to many people, to the investigative profiler, police officer or researcher the narrative is a means by which characteristics of the offender may be inferred. To the judiciary, what was done to the victim supports the decision to specify a certain charge, detailing the Act of Parliament and the Section of the act that the offender has contravened.

Almost without exception the effect of memory loss or a blurring of detail can be found in what rape victims are able to say. Any number of statements may be taken from one victim as she recalls events that happened in the attack on her, further written statements being taken so as to ensure accuracy and evidential value.
In any content analysis procedure applied to the statements, this factor adds unique problems to be resolved on a case by case basis. Coders, acting on the statement content, must be aware that later statements may alter the context in which offender behaviour was described, may describe additional behaviours, or change an earlier description of activities in the attack.

Details of the assault obtained from a victim by interviewing police officers may also be affected by the ability of the officer in interview techniques, experience, and their ability to record what the victim says happened to her.

Although now there is a greater awareness in respect of training specialised sex crime interviewers, some of the documents collected as research source material were completed at a time when the interviewer may not have received any specialist training at all.

Eventually the written statements of the victim/witness may be used as a court document at committal proceedings, the hearing before magistrates at which the evidence against a person charged with an offence is examined before committal to a Crown Court for trial or at which the case may be dismissed.
Often committal proceedings are no more than a formality in which the written statements of witnesses, including the victim, are tendered to the Magistrates Court as evidence, dispensing with the need for the victim/witness herself to give oral evidence at that stage. Thus the statement also serves another more formal role.

"Content analysis" has been defined as "...any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages", (Holsti 1969). The term "messages" was interpreted as the written word, phrase or sentence by which information is transferred from one person to others.

In this project the information transferral about the offence would be from the reported actions and behaviours exhibited by an offender during his sexual assault on a victim, described in narrative form by the victim's statement.

At the initial stage of the proposed content analysis process of these documents, a number of factors required consideration due to the sensitivity of the source material.
These were not documents that could be universally examined, nor were they of sufficiently sterile content to allow transportation from a secure environment. These factors had a great influence on the approach to preparing a definitional system of coding, training coders and cross validation of inter-rater agreement.

The ideal situation was that expressed in the content analysis literature, (Holsti 1969, Krippendorf 1980), prior training of coders, independent formulation of definitions, and by test re-test processes of using such definitions, final ratification of an agreed definitional system was proposed as the best preparatory procedure for content analysis. Final coding, reliability and inter-rater agreement are then more likely to be reached.

Error potential in victim statements

The way in which a victim’s account of the attack was represented, greatly increased the potential for error. Such potential was present both in the report of offender behaviour, and the circumstances of the crime described by the victim, and then transcribed by a police officer.
Similar error potential was present in the interpretation of events and conversation during the process of content analysis.

Some issues of concern are listed below and may be the result of either the victim's, or the interviewing police officer's, cognitive processes;

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
f) By crime circumstances, such as a blindfold, an inability to fully describe the offender's behaviour
g) Unconsciousness, with similar constraints of descriptive ability

The list of potential "error causing" factors is not exclusive, and serves as an indication of the problems that required consideration in devising a content category scheme by which "noisy" information could be used to create data suitable for statistical analyses.
There was an expectation that "noise" would transfer to data drawn from the statements, "noise" in the sense that factors beyond the control of the researcher may contaminate the process of content analysis.

As a consequence there was a need to use analysis techniques that were robust enough to show trends without being unduly biased by the inherent unreliability of the data. However, previous exploratory and pilot studies of rapist behaviour, (Canter et al 1989, Canter & Heritage 1990), suggested that a coding framework derived from some content analysis principles and applied in action research circumstances was both possible and productive.

To achieve this objective, and to adhere as closely as practicable to content analysis principles, the research adopted a phased approach.
Codings Offence Characteristics

Phase one created a content category scheme to accommodate the variety of behaviour and sexual assault circumstances which could be identified from the written statements. The scheme also stipulated the types of variables to be used, the conditions under which the variable scores were to be assigned and the form in which the data were to be written.

Thus, a content analysis procedure was defined by imposition of rules that conceptually minimised the possible "noise" in data.

Creating content categories

The categorisation scheme was devised by reviewing relevant literature, particularly that of Hazelwood, (1985), and earlier studies by Canter & Heritage (1990), where a content category scheme had been used to explore the behavioural relationships in 66 rape offences.

Hazelwood, (1985), extensively reviewed the verbal and physical behaviour of rapists by which he assigned them to a pragmatic classification of "Selfish" or "Pseudo-unselfish" on the basis of their offence behaviour. The
variables defined in this research project were those of a similar approach, and bore some of the descriptive titles of Hazelwood, but were however, conceptually different, as reflected in the definitions at appendix C.

Similar variables were used in pilot studies, (Canter & Heritage 1990), in which the same approach to categorisation was adopted. Variables in the pilot study and current research were produced as dichotomies, and assignment of behaviour was on the basis of absence, or presence, of specified activities.

Variable titles reflect that each was a summary of behaviour, which included several possible ways of expressing the defined variable. Thus the content category scheme was intended to produce a qualitative analysis, using an interpretive system that allowed exploration of data.

The fully defined content category scheme is contained within Appendix C.

Defined types of variables

Three types of variables were identified:-
Thematic variables, a general description or title assigned to cover many possible variations of observed behaviour or phenomena, similar to the description by Holsti, "The theme, a single assertion about some subject, is the most useful unit of content analysis", e.g. verbally demeaning the victim or her sex, approach and control of the victim etc.

Unit specific variables, a focused description of observed behaviour or the result of such behaviour, similar to the "Single word or symbol" described by Holsti, "...generally the smallest unit that is used in content analysis research", e.g. all sexual activity including kissing the victim.

Category variables, represented by unique measurement of observation where each category is independent of others although common in origin, and, in comparison with the previous two content specific variables, to which every crime in the sample had to fit one of the variable categories, "...all relevant items in the sample...must be capable of being placed into a category", e.g. age categories, or offence location.
Thus, variables were created for different purposes, inter-variable analyses, descriptive properties, and "handling" variables built into the coding scheme so that manipulation of the data matrix could be more easily achieved.

Assigning "scores"

Assigning "scores" of observed behaviour, or crime characteristics, to variables representing those behaviours etc. was carried out by noting the presence or absence of the defined activity. Preliminary studies had indicated that this was the most reliable approach for this kind of data.

The conditions under which assignment was to be made were stated as "presence not cause", in other words the rater was to be asked to identify aspects of the offender's behaviour and record its' presence without influence by subjective decision criteria as to why such behaviour was exhibited.

However, the context in which the behaviour occurred was an extremely important aid in assignment. Krippendorf, (1980), recognised that content analysis is not merely the recording of quantities, it is "...a research
technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context". (Further explanation of the role of context is elaborated in considering a detailed example, in figure three, (page 104).

Dichotomous coding

Data drawn from the analysis of offender behaviour in the context of sexual assault and under the provisions of the coding scheme were assigned to qualitative dichotomies of presence and absence, initially represented in the order of absence assigned the "score" of 1, and presence assigned the "score" of 2.

As already mentioned, the decision to restrict the process to coding as dichotomous variables was influenced by prior attempts to conceptualise scaled or ordered category data which would encapsulate the meaning and range of sexual, aggressive, and criminal activity in rape.

These conceptual approaches failed at the first definitional stage, for example, the behaviour which one rater saw as extremely aggressive failed to obtain agreement by others, a factor which has parallels in the work of Hazelwood and his colleague, (1983).
Hazelwood and Burgess were discussing the relativity of background and perception of victims in relation to sexual and physical assault, indicating that how accustomed the victim was to violence affected how she measured the degree of aggression used against her.

Similarly, manifested in this failure to agree on conceptualised scalar or ordinal category variables, the coders reflected their own individual perceptions of intensity or degree of activity. Dichotomous coding was therefore hypothesised as a means of removing coder subjectivity, and compensating for possible error introduced by using the victim statement as the information source.

Both Holsti and Krippendorf, (op.cit), recognised that dichotomous decision making in content analysis had the tendency to raise inter-rater agreement from around 60% to a figure above 90%.
Schultz, (1958) phrased the approach more precisely, "A solution more generally applicable to decisions of categorisation - but not to unitising or scaling for intensity - consists of defining the task as a series of dichotomous decisions; i.e. coding is broken down into a sequence of judgements, each of which requires the coder to make a choice between only two alternatives".

Appropriate association coefficients

A further important factor, in relation to the dichotomous form in which data were to be prepared, was the analyses procedures to which the derived data were to be applied. Smallest Space Analysis, (Lingoes 1973), a non parametric analysis procedure was to be used to explore the hypothesised existence of interpretable relationships between offence behaviour variables.

"A feature preliminary to Smallest Space Analysis is, of course, the choice of a pairwise similarity coefficient between items. Often when items are variables observed on a population, Pearson correlation coefficients, monotonicity coefficients, and other similarity
coefficients are used; but judgemental measures of similarity and other procedures are also created to suit the research purposes in specific applications". (Shye 1978).

Shye was alluding to the importance of deciding which of many similarity coefficients would be most suitable to apply to particular data. With dichotomies a clear choice could be made, but for any attempt at an ordered variable there would be some doubt as to which level of measurement was actually being employed.

Because of the expected qualitative nature of data drawn from crime victim statements, and the inherent "noise" that such data would contain, the similarity coefficient intended for use in the first stages of Smallest Space Analysis was Jaccard's similarity coefficient, which has certain properties for dealing with dichotomous data, (See chapter Smallest Space Analysis).

Phase two involved the raters applying the definitions to the actual statements which in turn involved aspects of training and revision of the coding scheme.
Training coders

The subject of training coders in content analysis techniques has been positively identified in content analysis literature, for example, in Holsti (1969), "Experimental studies have demonstrated that training prior to coding can significantly increase the level of intercoder agreement" (Kaplan & Goldsen 1949, Woodward & Frantzen 1948).

However, because of the nature of this research, training and clarification of the definitional system were parallel features in the second phase. Training presented less of a problem than could have been expected, the two main coders, one female and one male, had each been involved with law enforcement for more than twenty years.

The female coder, who worked with an assistant, was a forensic biologist whose role in a police laboratory, in addition to forensic benchwork, was to maintain the Metropolitan Police sexual assault index, a data base of London's sexual crime, providing analytical service to the laboratory and intelligence to the police.
The male coder, (the present author), was a serving detective with experience in major police enquiries. Importantly both had experienced the use of victim statements and were well acquainted with the composition of those written documents.

Training focused on the concept of what the coding scheme represented, rape and serious sexual assault are crimes in which there are always degrees of aggression and sexual behaviour. The attack is, to the victim, a hostile, demeaning and degrading event, but that means to the research investigator a level of aggressive, controlling and sexual activity is always present.

The coders were to accept the underlying aggressive feature of the crimes, and conceptualise the coding scheme as a means of identifying certain behaviours that appear to "peak" above that "base level" of control.

The second feature of training was that mentioned earlier, the coders were to avoid assigning scores to variables on the basis of what they thought had caused certain activity and use the context in which the actions occurred to clarify the coding.
Figure three illustrates the coding process by using four aspects of sexual crime drawn from actual statements, the authors of which of course remain anonymous.

Excerpts represented at A, B, C and D indicate the data acquisition from the written word, mainly thematic variables are shown here with the exception of "kiss" which is a unit specific variable.
Thematic variables incidentally represented almost three quarters of the coding scheme, with unit specific variables making up 18%, and categories represented in seven variables.

The reported conversation at "D" illustrates the relevance of context, the phrase "What is this called what [Sic] I'm doing to you?" may appear to be sexual rather than demeaning as indicated. The context in which it was said however, included previous multiple vaginal penetration in circumstances where the victim was totally submissive, the offenders' verbal behaviour which emphasised penetration in this context was therefore coded as additionally demeaning the victim.

The scope of coding

First independent coding of 257 victim statements then took place with intermittent coder collaboration to establish the definitional system as a rational representation of the information required to be drawn from the text.
Every statement was examined and coded independently by the female "team" and by the author. Sample coding was considered, but rejected in favour of global accuracy. This approach was conceptualised as being further compensation in respect of possible error prone information within the victim statements.

Once independent coding had taken place cross validity of data assignment was carried out by comparing each numerical matrix with the other.

**Inter-rater reliability**

Cross checking the global variable assignment indicated 524 coding disagreements from a total coding scheme involving 17,219 coding decisions, an overall disagreement of 3.04%.

Score assignment to specific variables was examined by the percentage of disagreement apparently revealed in comparing the two relevant matrix scores. Two fundamental research issues then required decisions before content analysis could proceed further.
The first was to remove those statements which described attempted sexual assault, where the attack had ceased before completion of any sexual activity, 48 cases in which the attacks would have contained less behaviour by which agreement or disagreement could have been judged.

Much of the defined behaviours would have had to be assigned "absent" in the attack. Rater agreement fell marginally in respect of the 209 retained statements, to 477 coding errors in 14,003 coding decisions giving a global percentage coding disagreement of 3.4%.

The consensus approach

The second decision was to address discrepant coding by a consensus approach, although that would render inter-rater reliability measures invalid, accuracy of coding was presumed to be more important. Reliability measures indicate the degree of agreement between independent coding and assume that accuracy is also measured, that does not seem to be the case where coding is dichotomous in which there are only three reasons for discrepancy.
1. **Definitional obscurity or ambiguity**, thought to be the most fundamental of coding disagreement or error. Consensus reached on the reason for discrepant coding was expected to address the "useability" of the variable definitions.

2. **Coder fallibility**, simply that the coders had failed to see aspects of the crime behaviour that could be coded as present but which in fact had been coded absent, or vice versa, or had wrongly assigned crime circumstances. The consensus approach would address these issues.

3. **Coder disagreement**, where behaviour or circumstances had been interpreted by one coder as present and by the other as absent, or vice versa, each coder expressing an interpretation of what they had read. Consensus would be applied to resolve issues, but if that were not possible then the final decision would be that of the research investigator. "Even the simplest and most mechanical forms of content analysis require the investigator to use his judgement in making decisions about his data", (Holsti op.cit).
Figure Four - Inter-rater agreement
Variable names and numbers refer to Appendix C
Column A is percentage discrepancy n=209 statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 CON</td>
<td>3.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SURPRISE</td>
<td>3.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 BLITZ</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 BLINDFOLD</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 BINDING</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 GAGGING</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 DETERRED</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 RESISTS</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 COMPLIMENT</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 INQUISIT</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 DEMEANS</td>
<td>4.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 REASSURE</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 CLOTHING</td>
<td>5.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 TORN</td>
<td>6.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 THREAT</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 WEAPON</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 DEMAND</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 V. COMM</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 O.COMM</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 V.PART</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 DISGUISE</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 KNOWING</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 REPORT</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 STEALS</td>
<td>4.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 IDENT V.</td>
<td>6.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 SIN VIOL</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 MULT VIOL</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 VERB VIOL</td>
<td>7.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 VAG PEN</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 FRONT</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 REAR</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 FELLATIO</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 F. IN SEQ</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34 CUNNILING</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 ANAL PEN</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 A. IN SEQ</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 APOLOGY</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 VICTIM AGE</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 FOREIGN OBJ</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 WEAPON CONV</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 WEAPON INT</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 STEAL PERS</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 STEAL UID</td>
<td>4.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 STEAL IDEN</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 INSIDE</td>
<td>4.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 VEH SCENE</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 VEH ACCESS</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 FORENSIC</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 RAPIST</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 TIME</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 REVEALS</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 KISS</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 DAYLIGHT</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 DARKNESS</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 WEEKDAY</td>
<td>3.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 WEEKEND</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 OFF STREET</td>
<td>4.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 OFF PATH</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 RES OFFEND</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 RES VICTIM</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 TOWERS ETC.</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 V.DRINKING</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 O.DRINKING</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 LAY IN WAIT</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 VIC WHITE</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 VIC BLACK</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 VIC OTHER</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each discrepant coding was checked by reference to the relevant statement and the definition which created the variable. Consensus was reached to address the discrepancy either by inference drawn from the statement, or by adjusting the definition.

Fourteen, more than one fifth of the variables, required some change in definition, including those where high percentages of disagreement were observed such as variables 7, 8, 20, 26 etc. Changing the definition of a variable did not alter what the coding was intended to address but generally tightened the explanation, removing ambiguity.

Canter (1990), summarised content analysis of crime behaviour, "Content analysis is the development of a series of hypotheses. Each categorisation being postulated as creating a distinct sub group within the population of attackers and their activities".

In a few variables the higher frequency of disagreement revealed little support for how they were originally hypothesised, new hypotheses were formulated based on the original meaning of the variable but at a more precise level.
For example, variable seven, (14.8% disagreement), was intended to identify those offences in which the offender was deterred from activities by the victims' resistance or reaction. In its original form, one coder took the meaning of the definition as implying that the offender was deterred if he ceased sexual activity in those circumstances, in fact the variable was meant to address any change on the part of the offender brought about by the victims' behaviour.

Adding the instruction, "This variable deals with the offender who is deterred, and who changes or negotiates any intended act upon victim reaction", removed ambiguity and opened the categorisation to other acts of deterrence as originally intended. Consensus was reached on the re-coding of this variable by applying the new definition, resulting in 16% of the crime sample, (n=209), being identified as having that behaviour present.

In similar ways each variable and each discrepancy was checked against the information contained within the relevant statement and more precise definitions applied against apparent disagreement. Coding consensus was then reached throughout the sample and the main data matrix constructed.
Consensus allowed each definitional categorisation to be checked against the statement content, in an approach that deemed accuracy vital at this stage of research for two main reasons;

1. The future potential in deriving data from the statements of victims of sexual assault was hypothesised as being important to the development of systems that may, in the future, be directly accessible by police officers. For example, Canter et al, (1989), discussed the possibility of an "...offender profiling decision support (expert) system" being guided by "...facet criteria already identified".

2. The first steps in a science based approach to offender profiling, as reported in this thesis, required accurate development of categories with which others could work.

Discrepancies in the category variables, 38, victim age, 45, 46, and 47, dealing with the location of assault, and 65, 66, and 67 the victims race by skin colour, were virtually all coding errors and not disagreement. Although they indicated coder fallibility, the mis-codes were easily addressed with the exception of victim colour.
Almost a third of the codings in variable 65, (32.5%), showed disagreement between coders, examination revealed that in 68 cases one coder had assumed the victim to be white, although the relevant documents did not contain references to the victim's race. These discrepancies could not be resolved, and in fact the variables dealing with race were all held to be unsafe due to missing data, and therefore removed from subsequent analysis.

Unit specific variables, mainly those depicting the sexual behaviour, had general disagreement below the average except for variable 31, vaginal penetration from the rear, and 52 kissing the victim. Discrepancies in the variable of "kissing" were resolved by making the definition more specific in that the coding was only correct if the offender was reported to have kissed the victim on the lips. Consensus assigned the presence of this activity to 37% of the cases.

Figure five shows the frequencies of identified behaviours from the sample statements in column B.
Of the fourteen variables requiring re-definition, nine were thematic variables such as variable 3, the Blitz attack or 22, implied knowledge of the victim. More precise definitions and consensus agreement resolved the assignment difficulties.

Thematic variables involved the most time intensive reclassification process but coding problems were resolved by consensus, although three contained coding disagreements which could not be resolved by consensus and were subject of the authors decision.

The three variables specifying what was stolen by the offender, 42 "stealing of personal items", 43 "stealing unidentifiable property", and 44 "stealing identifiable property", caused the non-police coders the most problems.

The description assigned to each of these variables was drawn from police terminology and intended to identify the offender by what he steals, personal low value property suggesting the taking of a souvenir or trophy, stealing unidentifiable property which may indicate more criminal sophistication than those who steal goods that may directly link them to the sexual crime.
Stealing from the victims of sexual assault had been the subject of comment by Hazelwood, (1985), in which he examined the size and value of property stolen with a view to identifying the probable age of an unknown offender. In the current research sample, it was known that the majority, (80% of n=76), of offenders had some prior arrest record, thus variables were created to explore the relationship, if any, between stealing and particular offence histories.

Coding disagreements were individually checked, and by experience, the categories were assigned as present or absent. Stealing unidentifiable property was the more common, (29%) and other stealing occurred in less than 10% of the cases.

Supporting the consensus approach

In support of the consensus approach and in particular where accuracy was determined to be of the higher priority, examination of the agreed frequencies of behaviour present during the assaults, revealed that only four behavioural variables had high frequencies. The rest had occurrence generally below 50%, and more often below 30%, indicating that overall coder agreement was likely to be reached on absence of behaviour.
Content validity, "...the extent to which an instrument is measuring what it is intended to measure", (Holsti op.cit), was addressed by the formula of define, code, re-define, consensus and re-code to ensure that the variable content accurately expressed that which was contained in the statements.

The importance of accuracy and the potential for drawing misleading inferences can be illustrated by looking at initial coder disagreement with frequencies assigned by the consensus approach. Figure five overleaf compares the two features.
Figure Five - Inter-rater agreement
Variable names and numbers refer to Appendix C
Column A is percentage discrepancy n=209 statements
Column B is observed frequency in same population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 CON</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SURPRISE</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>86.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 BLITZ</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 BLINDFOLD</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 BINDING</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 GAGGING</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 DETERRED</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 RESISTS</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 COMPLIMENT</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 INQUISIT</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 DEMEANS</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 REASURE</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 CLOTHING</td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 TORN</td>
<td>6.22</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 THREAT</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 WEAPON</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 DEMAND</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 V. COMM</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 O.COMM</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 V.PART</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 DISGUISE</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 KNOWING</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 REPORT</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 STEALS</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 IDENT V.</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 SIN VIOL</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 MUlt VIOL</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 VERB VIOL</td>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 VAG PEN</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 FRONT</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 REAR</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 FELLATIO</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 P.IN SEQ</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34 CUNNILING</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 ANAL PEN</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 A. IN SEQ</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 APOLOGY</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 VICTIM AGE</td>
<td>CATEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 FOREIGN OBJ</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 WEAPON CONV</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 WEAPON INT</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 STEAL PERS</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 STEAL UID</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 STEAL IDEN</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 INSIDE</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 VEH SCENE</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 VEH ACCESS</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 FORENSIC</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 RAPIST</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>95.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 TIME</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 REVEALS</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 KISS</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 DAYLIGHT</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 DARKNESS</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>65.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 WEEKDAY</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 WEEKEND</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 OFF STREET</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 OFF PATH</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 RES OFFEND</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 RES VICTIM</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 TOWERS ETC.</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 V.DRINKING</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 O.DRINKING</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 LAY IN WAIT</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Accuracy, in respect of deriving data from the victims' statements, was the most important feature of content analysis and the relevance can be illustrated in the previous figure. The blitz attack, a very rare attack phenomenon in this sample, was found by consensus to be present in only three of the attacks, as a percentile slightly more than 1%.

Inter-coder agreement for that variable was in 99% of the cases, agreement reached in fact by the recognition of absence of such behaviour. The percentage disagreement of 0.95 shows that two of the three blitz attacks had failed to reach agreement, only when consensus had been reached after re-definition were the cases accurately identified.

Acceptable levels of reliability, and in this research accuracy, appear to be a matter of choosing the most fruitful way of representing data without information loss. It is "...one of the many problems in content analysis for which there is no single solution", (Holsti op Cit).
The final raw data matrix, derived by some content analysis techniques and agreed by consensus is reproduced at appendix "B".
THE OFFENDER'S BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

A different content analysis approach was applied to the examination of police records, procedurally not that distant from the study of victim statements, but with a focus that incorporated knowledge of what was likely to be found in the National Identification Bureau records, (NIB).

The records of known sexual criminals were used to compile the data matrix of offender history, 76 individual NIB records having been selected on the basis of content. These offenders had all committed sexual crime against strangers, and their victims provided the statements from which crime characteristics were drawn, i.e. those referred to in the previous paragraphs.

Having been scanned for apparent completeness, the NIB content was therefore, that of a full criminal record and details about their domestic, employment and social history. "In any content analysis it must be clear which data are analysed, how they are defined, and from which population", (Krippendorf 1980).
The NIB documents in this study were all completed by police officers, they are replete with police terminology but they do have some imposed structure, unlike the victim statement.

Content categories were derived from the documents forming each offenders' criminal record, but not so much from theoretical considerations as were the behavioural categories.

Categories were defined on an ad hoc basis given that the contents of a National Criminal Record have a structure, although how they were completed, and the descriptions that they contained, varied.

The hypothesis that aspects of the offenders' histories would correlate with reported behaviour would then be open to test. However no model exists by which this general hypothesis could be made more specific. The use of criminal record documents in the current research was a first exploratory step towards useful extrapolation.

Variable types paralleled the analysis of the victim statements, thematic variables were represented, for example, by age related crime types contained in the individuals criminal record such as juvenile and adult
dishonesty. Unit specific variables dealt with particular crimes, arson or offensive weapon etc, and categories were represented, for example, by the ages at which the offender first came to police notice or when he committed the index crime(s).

The definitional classification scheme was derived from what content could be expected from the NIB records, and at the definitional stage assessed by a senior police detective whose own work in murder crime scene analysis used similar documents.

The classification of offender history was agreed as useable and sufficiently broad to capture the aspects of criminal and personal history contained in the records, the coding definitions are reproduced at appendix "D"

A fuller description, and examples, of the National Criminal Record documents can be found at Appendix "F".
CHAPTER SIX

SEXUAL CRIME SAMPLE

Descriptive statistics of sexual assault
SEXUAL CRIME BY DESCRIPTION

In order to have a fuller appreciation of the types and variety of sexual crime characteristics with which this thesis is concerned, some summary descriptive statistics will be presented. It is emphasised however, that the cases of rape and sexual assault described in this chapter came from a "trawl" of United Kingdom police forces on an ad hoc basis. There exists no definitive list from which such a sample could readily be drawn.

Temporal Factors

In the research sample of 209 sexual assaults, rape was a weekday event occurring more frequently during the hours of darkness. Temporal characteristics of the sexual assault are shown in figure six below, but it may be fruitful to remember that the term "weekend" included the Friday evening.
TEMPORAL CHARACTERISTICS

Percent in sample

![Bar chart showing percent in sample for different time and day categories: Weekend, Weekday, Darkness, Daylight. The chart indicates a higher percentage during Darkness and Daylight compared to Weekend and Weekday.]

Time and day

**Figure six**
The place of attack

By a small majority, (52%), 108 of the sexual crimes took place outside, meaning other than in residential premises, mostly in the open although a few 17, (16% of "outside" attacks n=108), were carried out in the "no man's land" of stairwells, lift halls, and lobbies of multi occupancy buildings such as tower blocks etc.

Generally the outside attacks were those in which the sexual assault and first contact with the victim were the same site or close by, (figure seven). One hundred and fifteen victims were first approached in the open, 73 in streets or thoroughfares, 42 in areas away from recognised streets such as parkland fields. Seven victims approached in the open were then taken to premises where the sexual assault took place.
OUTSIDE ATTACKS-DETAIL OF LOCATION

Percent in sample

Assault/first contact by location

Figure seven
Inside attacks, in which the sexual assault site was generally the same as first contact or close by, occurred in 72 cases, (34% \( n=209 \)), where it took place in the home of the victim or other premises over which she had some residential control.

Forty-two attacks, (11.5% of total), were in premises controlled by the offender, either residential or to which he had access and control. Generally, first contact with the victim was at other locations, however, all the victims were unknown to the offenders before first contact.

Seven inside attacks, (3% of sample and 7% of inside offences \( n=101 \)), occurred in other premises such as public or derelict buildings, figure eight.
INSIDE ATTACKS-DETAIL OF RESIDENCE

Percent in sample

Victim residence  Offender residence  Other premises

Figure eight
Ages of victims

The highest age frequency of victims was 19 to 25 years, (94 or 45% n=209), with the 13 to 18 year old being the next range most at risk. Two thirds of the victims were younger than 30 years, (67%), the frequency range of victim ages were from 2, (1%), under 12 years of age to 5, (2%), over the age of 61, figure nine.

**DISTRIBUTION OF VICTIM AGES**

Percent in sample

![Bar chart showing distribution of victim ages](image)

Figure nine
Exhibited behaviour

The dominant and identifiable behaviours reported in rape attacks are those of sexual activity, verbal interchange or expression, and aggression, much in accord with the proposals in various literature. Controlling aggression, meaning the way in which the victims were controlled in the initial stages of the attack, was immeasurable. In all such assaults this aggression was present and therefore underlies all subsequent activities.

Slightly less than half, 97, (46%), of the sample were offences in which a weapon was seen by the victim, the remainder were those attacks where either the threat of a weapon, or physical and verbal menace reduced the victim into the control of her attacker. Although varying degrees of control were exercised on the victims, almost identical proportions of them, (45%) resisted their attackers at some stage during the crime.

Further physical behaviour in controlling the victim were the acts of blindfolding, binding or gagging her. Although these could be seen as separate behaviours, any or all could be employed by the offender in combination. In frequency they occurred in 20%, 23% and 17% of the cases respectively.
A relatively low incidence of occurrence, given that the ability to control their victims must have been paramount in the offenders "success" in achieving his aims.

This low frequency of such activity gave the impression that it was other acts by these stranger attackers which focused on the control they exercised on their victims.

Sexual activity in terms of directly interpretable behaviour that has overt sexual connotation was measured in frequencies that went beyond vaginal penetration. Penetration of the vagina by the penis or determined attempts to so penetrate, were present in 88% of the cases and penetration from the front in 78%. These common rape/sexual assault objectives were of such frequency that it was proposed that neither would have an effect of truly describing differences in offenders.

Vaginal penetration from the rear however suggests a different victim/offender relationship, and that act was found in 21% of the cases, n=209.
Figure ten shows the frequency of sexual acts and indicated the multivariate nature of these sexual assault cases, and shows that vaginal penetration is often accompanied by other overtly sexual behaviours.

Fellatio was the most common sexual act, (30%), after vaginal penetration, more frequently committed as an act in sequence with other sexual behaviour, (23%). Thirteen cases from the sample, (6%), involved oral penetration of the victim by the offenders' penis as isolated acts. This appeared more as an alternative to vaginal rape than a preferred sexual perversion in the context of stranger attacks.

Cunnilingus was observed in 29 cases, (14%), and was always accompanied by other sexual activity, the act of oral stimulation of the victim appearing as a circumstantially bizarre attempt to sexually arouse her.

Anal rape was present in almost equal proportions to cunnilingus, appearing in 27 cases, 26 of them in sequence with other sexual activity. Only one offence indicating an offender's sexual preference for buggery.
The insertion of a foreign object into the vaginal or anal orifice occurred in 3 cases, less than 2% of the sample.

**ASPECTS OF SEXUAL PENETRATION**

- Fellatio
- Fellatio in sequence
- Cunnilingus
- Anal penetration
- Anal in sequence
- With foreign object

![Bar chart showing aspects of sexual penetration](image)

Percent in sample

**Figure ten**
Verbal and physical behaviour

Verbal behaviours in these rape cases were either interchange between victim and offender, mostly originated by the offender in the sense that he was the one seeking verbal responses from her, but occasionally originated by the victim herself as an apparent attempt to persuade the offender to desist, or to rationalise a life threatening situation.

The process of data extraction focused on particular items of speech used by the offender towards and with the victim, and victim responses. Later analysis revealed relationships between the speech variables themselves and other non-verbal behaviour.

The following figures, eleven to thirteen, display the verbal behaviour in broad groups;
Figure eleven

Percent in sample

Aggressive and Criminal Language

- Threat not to report
- Demand for property
- Diseases the victim
- Implied knowing ill
Aggressive and criminal verbal behaviour were considerably less than the physical activities displayed in these offences. Of behaviour assigned to the labels of "Aggressive" and "Criminal", verbalisation represented one quarter of the assault constituents, 4 variables of 16 so assigned.

Non-verbal aggressive behaviour included tearing the victim's clothing (17%), blitz attack (1%), stealing identifiable property (5%), and the physical violence of single and multiple acts, (21% and 11% respectively).

The violent acts were generally exhibited in the context of "non-controlling", in that they were inflicted on the victim in circumstances of actual anger or perceived disobedience. They tended to be reactive behaviours on the part of the offender.

Activities labelled "Criminal" included the variables of binding, gagging, and blindfolding the victims, as well as the deployment of a weapon in 97 cases, (46%). In 82 of these weapon deployments, the offender brought with him an article intended to be used as the weapon, the rest produced weapons of convenience, knives or implements obtained from the scene or nearby.
The most common attack variable of "Surprise" occurred in 86% of the sample (n=209), and the most common non-sexual criminal activity of stealing unidentifiable property in 30% of the cases.

Non-verbal sexual activity, discounting vaginal penetration, were summarised in figure ten, the verbal behaviours associated with sexual activity are represented overleaf, figure twelve.

There appeared large differences in frequency between the offender's actions in sexual comment made to the victim or wanting her to take some active part in her own assault, and the expression of verbal violence, generally a threat to maim or disfigure and wanting the victim to make sexually related comments.
Language with Sexual Orientation

Figure twelve

Sexual language directed at or from the victim

Percent in sample
In 34 cases, (16%), the offender was deterred by some resistance or expressed displeasure on the part of the victim, the variable of deterred did not solely relate to overt sexual activity as mentioned earlier.

A verbal, but not overtly sexual, variable was that of reassurance, 11% of the cases, (24 in number), contained a verbal expression of reassurance by the offender telling the victim that he did not intend to do any act, sexual or non-sexual. Generally the reassurance was false and the offender continued to do what he wanted.

Ten percent of the crimes contained actions of the offender that indicated his awareness of the forensic importance to the police of semen left in, or on, the body of the victim, or on articles from the scene.

A variable often both verbal and physical was the "Con approach", a way by which the offender approached the victim in a manner that appeared to hide any signal of his intentions.
Adopted in 35% of the cases, the variable indicated some story told to the victim, or an offer to help her, or a request for assistance from her. These were obviously verbalised but were accompanied by the offender moving into a closer physical situation by which control over her could be initiated.

Figure thirteen shows the verbal variables which may be regarded as part of what would be in other circumstances "normal" conversation.

The behaviours indicated were observed in nearly a third of the cases for each of the linguistic expressions of; revealing of detail, inquisitiveness, and identifying the victim. Compliments to the victim occurred in only 12% of the cases, and apologies in only 5%.

Of the sample cases, 37% included action by the offenders who wanted to kiss their victims, kiss having the conventional meaning of lip contact.
Interpersonal language

Figure thirteen
In 14, (7%), of the sample crimes, personal items were stolen from the victim. These articles were always of little value and could only be described as personal to the victim. They included underwear, documents and items such as photographs etc.

In some cases the stealing could be seen as the taking of a trophy or souvenir, in others there may have been an element of threat reinforcement by the offender, particularly where the victims address was on items taken.

Factors of alcohol and circumstance

Thirty three of the cases involved an extension of the time spent with the victim. These cases, (16%) were those where the offender extended the time he spent with the victim beyond that which was necessary to complete the rape assault. In some, repeat penetration occurred and in others the offender simply stayed with the victim, or forced her to stay with him, engaging only in conversation.
The offender's use of a vehicle was not always contained within the archive documents, however in 9 cases, (4%), a vehicle was recorded as being used as the scene of the assault. In 18 other cases sufficient information was included in the source documents to allow accurate interpretation that a vehicle had been used to access the victim.

On equally less certain terms, 55 victims, (26%), reported having consumed alcohol before they were attacked. No measure of quantity was produced in this variable although, perhaps understandably, only one reported that the amount she had consumed had made her drunkenly disorientated.

Twenty eight victims were able to say that their attackers smelled of alcohol. To state unequivocally that this 13% frequency of probable alcohol use by the offender was accurate, would of course ignore the possibility that it could be as high as 40%. Victims own consumption of alcohol may have had a masking effect on their ability to detect alcohol on their attacker, or the offender's use of alcohol higher still if the fact had not been mentioned.
Stranger rape can be described as an act of predation, the offenders seeking victims in circumstances of vulnerability, whether in the home or on the street. However only 15 victims were able to report the crime circumstances that would permit accurate interpretation of the offender "laying in wait".

In outside attacks, the coding was only applied where there was clear evidence that the victim, or rarely another witness, had seen the offender hiding immediately before the attack. In residential assault there must have been clear evidence that the offender had been in the premises prior to the victim's arrival.

There was noticeable absence from the archive material forming the sexual offence sample, in that the race/colour of the victims was not routinely recorded in the statements they made to the police.

The Question of Modality

The crime of rape, and the circumstances in which it was committed, could be summarised by considering the most common activities reported in the sample.
As such, rape could be described as a crime most commonly committed against female strangers between the ages of 19 and 25 years. The attack taking place in the street, or in the residence of the victim, during the hours of darkness, on a weekday.

The most common reported strategy employed by the offender was the surprise attack, where the victim was only aware of her attacker at the time he struck.

Vaginal penetration was the most common sexual activity, with fellatio the next highest sexual act. In terms of sexual conversation, sexual comment made by the offender was the most reported.

The most reported inter-personal conversation consisted of the offender revealing things about himself and questioning the victim about her lifestyle, acquaintances and family etc..

Aggressive language was more frequently reported as the threat made by the offender to induce the victim not to report the attack on her. Single acts of violence appeared to have been used more often than multiple "bursts" of violence.

Apparently non-sexual criminal activity was most commonly the stealing of unidentifiable property.
A multi-modal approach to describing rape may be useful as a backdrop of what may be typical in the commission of the crime. However, the approach fails to address the possible range and variation of behaviours, and the offender's scope for variability, in carrying out his crime.

Analyses that could reveal the underlying themes of sexual assault behaviour were needed to address the multivariate question that this research posed.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SEX OFFENDER SAMPLE

Descriptive statistics of the sexual criminal
SEXUAL OFFENDERS - DESCRIPTION

Seventy six offenders were selected from available criminal records. Data compatibility was the major criterion for selection, the criminal record of each offender needed to be available and contain some detail of their personal as well as criminal history.

It was also necessary that the crime material was available, i.e. victim statements about the attack on them and for which the sample offender was responsible.

Considerable loss of potentially suitable cases was experienced at this stage. Of 162 criminal records identifying stranger on stranger sexual attackers, only the sample of 76 were found to have that data compatibility.

Comparison with other studies appearing in rape and sexual assault literature presented some difficulty, as mainly the previous work has not focused so completely on stranger attacks. For example, Amir (1971), described complete stranger attacks as being 42% of the 646 cases he examined in Philadelphia, while the work of some others failed to indicate the proportion of stranger v acquaintance attacks in their samples.
Where samples had been described in the variety of approaches to sexual crime studies, the percentages of stranger and known victim attacks reported fell generally around or below the 50% level. For example, Smith (1989), observed a stranger attack in 32% of the 421 cases she examined from reported rape in two London boroughs.

This disparity in reporting the relationship between victim and offender raised considerable doubts as to the value of sample comparison between this research, and its' investigative focus, and other studies of the phenomena or etiology of rape.

Racial identification of the sample was slightly biased towards the case material of white offenders, 42 (55% n=76), being described in the records as White Europeans.

Thirty, (40%), were described as black, or in the terms of national identification documents, of Afro-Caribbean appearance. Only four, (5%), were recorded as other race, exclusively dark skinned Europeans in the terminology of the standard criminal record documents.
Regardless of race, all the attackers were domiciled in the United Kingdom, and although some were born in other countries, the sample appeared to be of stable residential status within this country. This was not necessarily stability of actual residence. There were no identifiable itinerant visitors to the British Isles.

The sample contained both serial and apparent "one-time" sexual offenders, 44 (58%) were coded as responsible for series assaults. Series meaning more than one attack in a time period unbroken by their identification and arrest for the index crime(s). The index crimes were held to be the last unlawful sexual activity in which these offenders engaged.

This decision placed the current research into sexual offending in a similar situation to that which the detective would experience in the investigation of an alleged rape or sexual assault. In some ways emulating the decision making that would be considered in the investigation of the crime.

The hypothesis being that the index crime behaviour would reveal characteristics of the offender as they existed before the index crime, and that they would be revealed by the examination of their crimes as though they were undetected.
The most consistently recorded detail of each offender was that of their criminal history. A factor of consistency because the notification of an individual's criminal offending is, in most crime cases, mandatory. The police have a duty to record the conviction of the individual and to make that record available to the courts of justice when required to do so.

Such detail that was recorded about the offender's personal characteristics was anticipated to be not so consistent, the documents recording the information having been completed in a less systematic way and for purposes other than research.

Antecedent history forms, as they are universally known in police and judicial circles, would have been completed from the information given to police officers by the offender. The general use of such documents are as servicing information to the court at which the offender appears.

The expected "noise" in such documents was anticipated to be transposed to data drawn from them, and the approach to categorisation of presence v absence of pre-defined characteristics was therefore adopted for this data-set of offender background.
Criminal history - general

In general terms the criminal history of offenders in the sample is shown at figure fourteen, where property crime as a previous conviction was observed in 79% of the offenders. Violent crime, sexual crime and acts of criminal damage or disorderly conduct were present in the criminal records of almost half the offenders respectively.

Only four offenders, (5% of n=76), were without a criminal record at the time of their index offence, a figure which has parallels in the Massachusetts Treatment Center sample reported by Prentky and his colleagues (1985), as 94% of the offenders described as "Sexually dangerous" having a prior arrest record.

The importance of the sexual criminal's probable prior criminal record has often been understated. To the police investigator the probability that a stranger attack was carried out by someone whose record may be accessed is of extreme potential value.
Figure fourteen

Criminal History-General

Percent

100

PROPERTY CRIME

VIOLENT CRIME

SEXUAL CRIME

DAMAGE/DISORDER

N=76 OFFENDERS
Previous convictions, where referred to in published accounts, are described in relation to the focus of the work in which they appear. For example Alder, (1984), researched convicted rapists but did so in the context of measuring prior criminality by "prior times served" in prisons as an incarcerated offender. In the same paper the author acknowledged that observed differences in descriptive statistics may be as a result of the differing perspectives between incarceration and prior arrest record.

High levels of prior criminality have therefore not been ignored in some reports, but appear to have been drastically undervalued. Lloyd and Walmsley, (1989), compared the criminal records of rape offenders convicted in 1973 [n=324], and those convicted in 1985 [n=402]. They found "Seven out of every ten rape offenders convicted in 1973 had at least one previous criminal conviction; in 1985 this had risen to almost eight in every ten".

They made the point that, "...the older the offender the greater the chance of having acquired a long criminal record", and concentrated their discussion of previous convictions on mainly prior sexual offending.
In the current sample, five men, (7% n=76), had only prior sexual crime convictions, and examination of all the criminal records revealed that 67 offenders, (88%), were known to the police for non-sexual offending before they committed their first sexual crime.

Age related offence histories were examined in thematic detail as the coding definitions at appendix "D" imply. Figure fifteen below indicates the proportion of offenders with arrest records as juveniles, i.e. those who had not attained the age of 17 years.

The highest frequency of prior juvenile offending is that of dishonesty with 55% of the sample, (n=76), having some kind of dishonest activity in their records. Burglary was observed in less than 40% of the offender records, violence and indecency seen in less than 20% and 11% respectively.
Prior adult offending, figure sixteen, reveals that arrest records remained about the same for dishonesty, (50%), but other offending increased significantly. Burglary increased in sample frequency by nearly a quarter of the juvenile level, violence by more than half as much again, (45%), and sexual crime shown as indecency, at almost three times the juvenile level.

The comparison between the juvenile and adult criminal antecedents revealed some aspects of development in the types of crime for which the sample had arrest records. Sexual crime being the most dramatic increase in recorded arrests.

The term "arrest record" is synonymous with the descriptions of criminal conviction and formal charge. In the United Kingdom crime reaches "detected" status when a person or persons are formally charged with it.

Part of this research focus was on the criminal antecedents of rapists and whether, when, and for what type of crime, they had previously come to police attention. Arrest record, conviction or formal charge will be used as a summary titles for that potential police awareness.
ADULT OFFENCE HISTORY

Figure sixteen

N=76 OFFENDERS

Percent
Ages of offending

Although increased sexual crime appears to be a feature in the adult past of the offenders it may be that such a finding was to be expected considering the focus on sexual assault criminals. Other development appears to parallel that of the theories of a criminal career discussed by those of a more criminological discipline.

Farrington and his colleagues, (1988), observed that criminality can begin from the ages of ten and persist throughout adolescent development into adulthood, peaking in the late teens. Such universal approaches are useful as comparative material, particularly where the onset of offending is also observed outside the United Kingdom, suggesting that such criminal development may not be national phenomena.

Research into criminal careers carried out in Sweden implies the same early onset and the change of offence type as an age related condition in criminal career development.

Wikstrom (1991), reports on the longitudinal study of 15,177 individuals in Greater Stockholm; "The crime structure varies strongly with age. At the youngest ages crimes of stealing dominate almost totally. With
increasing age, the crime structure gets more diversified and traffic crimes, other crimes and fraud becomes important parts, while the dominance of stealing, although still an important section of the crimes, disappears."

**OFFENDERS AGE TO NOTICE**

- 16 years & under: 67.0%
- 17 to 20 years: 17.0%
- 21 to 25 years: 9.0%
- 26 to 30 years: 3.0%
- 31 to 35 years: 3.0%
- 41 years & over: 1.0%

*Figure seventeen*
In this sample, the large proportion of offenders whose first brush with law enforcement was before they attained the age of 21 years, (84%), reveals the criminal nature of these "stranger" rapists and the diversity of their previous offending.

They appear outwardly to differ little from those whose criminal career has been the longitudinal study of researchers perhaps more interested in crime prevention than detection. Farrington, (1989), observed the median ages of offending in the London survey as, stealing from automatic machines 16 years, 17 years for theft from vehicles, burglary, shoplifting, and stealing motor vehicles.

Vandalism, theft from a place of work, and drugs, were observed as having been committed at the median ages of 19, 20 and 20 years respectively. Fraud appeared to be committed at an older age of 23 years.

In the current sample, discounting the nine offenders, (12% n=76), whose previous and index offending was exclusively sexual, perhaps similar to the "true sex offender" of Guttmacher and Weihofen (1952), the global perspective of age related and offence specific
criminal history tends to support the viewpoint
expressed by authors such as Scully and Morolla,
(1983), that for some in the sample their value system
provided no compelling reason for them not to rape.

The age at which these offenders came to police notice
for their first sex crime is represented at figure
eighteen below. Sexual offending appears in this
sample to be the crime of the comparatively young man,
the distribution being skewed towards younger men with
the vast majority of sexual offending first occurring
before the age of 26 years.

The mode of 21 to 25 years tends to confirm that
regardless of the age that these individuals first
started offending, sexual crime was generally first
committed at a later age. The age range of 21 to 25
years also had direct similarity with the distribution
of ages at which the index crime(s) was committed.
Distribution by age at first sex crime

Figure eighteen
Index crimes committed by the serial offender were examined and the age category assigned to the offender on the basis of his age at the start of his serial sexual offending.

**OFFENDER-AGE AT INDEX CRIME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent in sample</th>
<th>16 years &amp; under</th>
<th>17 to 20 years</th>
<th>21 to 25 years</th>
<th>26 to 30 years</th>
<th>31 to 35 years</th>
<th>36 to 40 years</th>
<th>41 years &amp; above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure nineteen**
The index crime age categories generally show a more equal distribution, other than the 21 to 25 year old range which indicates that the general trend was for sexual offending to be most prevalent in the early twenties.

By visual comparison of the age distributions in respect of "first notice", "first sex crime" and "index crime", a picture emerges of a sexual assault criminal with early non-sexual history that endures into early adulthood when sexual offending begins.

Sub groups also appear as the "sexual crime only" group, the "criminal" and the "recidivist", who continues his sex crimes into his forties.

With such early onset of these offenders criminal history it was not surprising to find that over half, (53%), had an individual frequency of offending in that they had a record of more than three separate occasions where they had been arrested and charged with crimes.

Twenty-eight, (37%), had committed crimes which due to their nature would have been treated as major police enquiries, 18 of those offenders having a previous arrest record for rape or attempted rape.
Thirty-two offenders, (42%), had received custodial sentences before they had reached 20 years of age and exactly the same number had never been sentenced to any kind of imprisonment.

Criminal history - specific

The diversity of specific crime history is represented in figures twenty and twenty-one following:—

Examination of the offenders' criminal record revealed their propensity to commit crime which could be identified as specific offences some of which fell outside of the general thematic variables of "dishonesty" etc. Possession of an offensive weapon featured in 30% of the sample records, and coded separately, unlawful possession of a firearm was observed in as many cases as indecent exposure.

The offence history of indecent exposure could not be held as a particularly safe and consistently recorded variable. Prior to 1985, (Home Office 1985), the offence of exposure was not a mandatory reportable crime. Although many police forces appeared to have notified the criminal records office of such a conviction it was by no means certain that all such cases were recorded.
SPECIFIC CRIME HISTORY

Figure twenty

SPECIFIC CRIME HISTORY

Figure twenty-one
An example of the difficulties involved in assuming global recording of indecent exposure was the case of a man who sexually assaulted and murdered two young females in a shire county. His national record consisted only of notification of his arrest and formal charge in respect of the murders. He was in fact known to the police in his own area for a number of indecent exposures, none of which had ever been notified at a national level.

This situation has now been resolved but the effect prior to the change in 1985 had implications for the assumption of accuracy in a small part of the offender histories in this sample.

Criminal damage as a juvenile was present in the records of 12 offenders, (16%). Seventeen, (22%), had similar arrest records as adults. Damage by fire, or arson, observed in only two offender records, apparently supports the view that arson is not necessarily a sexual crime, (Rider 1980), or at least these rapists did not appear to commit arson. However a different focus, that is on those whose dominant crime history involved fire setting, may reveal some co-occurrence of overtly sexual offending.
Vehicle crime, stealing of vehicles or from them, was found in 31 of the offenders' background, (41%), and of a possibly less criminal nature, offences against traffic law appeared in 29% of the records.

Other offence activity, also of a less criminal nature, was the disorderly conduct of offenders in the sample. Such conduct ranged from "football hooliganism" through to non-focused fighting or swearing in the street, and to drunk and disorderly arrests. As juveniles only four, (5%), had such arrest records, a figure that as adults increased nearly fourfold with 15, (20%), having some disorderly conduct recorded.

From the less criminal past activities of some offenders to the far more serious nature of the sexual assaulter's background. This study deliberately focused on those men who had attacked strangers, however when the records were compared with the offence material, nearly a quarter of the sample, 18 men or (24%), had attacked and sexually assaulted females who were known to them.
In the conduct of a police enquiry, the "known victim" offenders who also attacks strangers, may have serious implications for the investigation of sexual crime. The rape of an ex-spouse or girlfriend is likely to be treated differently than the rape of a stranger.

Not that law enforcement or the judiciary necessarily believe that one is more or less serious than the other, although that belief may well be present in some individuals, in itself the attack on a person who can name her attacker presents less of an investigative problem.

Should such rapes be, a) reported to police, and b) viewed as different, it is unlikely that any determined attempt would be made to link stranger attacks to what may be considered as an inter-marital or ex-family/friend assault. In the process of so doing, losing what may be the identification of a series rapist.

On the subject of reporting, the "known victims" of these attackers include ex-wives, old school friends, friends of friends and "date rape" crimes. A prevailing feature of the known victim attacks carried out by the offenders in this sample was the non-report of the rape until the victim heard, or was made aware of the arrest of her attacker.
An even more serious characteristic of a small sub-group in the sample, was that 10 offenders, (13%), had murdered one or more of their female victims during the period of time classified as the index offences. To include them in the general sexual assault data required that they must have also raped victims who had remained alive.

The coding of offence behaviour which used the victim statement as the source document generally used the victim's ability to recall and recount events that were within her knowledge, by all the human senses.

A number of index crime characteristics could also be drawn from the records of offenders, details that were not found in victims statements, and therefore not coded from them.

The national record documents often contained summaries, prepared by police officers, in which the results of forensic and scenes of crime examination may have been noted.
Offender records revealed that 10, (13%), of the sample displayed activity at one or more of their index crimes which indicated their awareness of fingerprint evidence. This minority of offenders took active steps to remove or prevent fingerprints being left at the scene.

Slightly more, although still a minority of the sample, (14 men or 18%), displayed behaviour that indicated their awareness of "trace evidence". That evidence most frequently detected by medical or forensic examination which may link the offender to the victim or crime scene. Some appeared to consider the potential effect of leaving semen at the scene and attempted to remove it, others appeared to be equally aware of not leaving evidence such as fibres etc.

Although both of these activities suggest different levels of criminal knowledge, probably gained from exposure to the criminal justice processes, the majority of offenders displayed little in the way of such sophistication. Perhaps the minorities who used these apparently knowledge based activities reveal the true level of criminal sophistication of the majority.

Very few of the sample could be described as those whose criminal activity supplies them with a kind of nefarious living.
Consistency and variation in the venue of rape

Thirty-five, (46%), of the sample were coded as predominant inside attackers meaning that their sexual offending was within premises. Forty-six, (61%), were designated outside attackers where there attacks were carried out in the open. Five, (7%), of the offenders were coded positive on both variables, meaning that they were as likely to commit sexual crime in one location as another.

This venue consistency was also revealed in an earlier study, (Canter et al 1989), where sixty serial rapists histories were examined and venue preference noted, only 8% carrying out their assaults in both locations.

Consistency of location choice in this sample, was further supported by the observation that only 9 offenders, (12% n=76), changed location during their index series, (20% of series attackers n=44). These changes did not appear as an alternating pattern of venue choice, rather that an offender who, for example, started to attack in premises would continue his series assaults outside in the open, or vice versa.
Circumstances of prior offending

Examination of the national record documents indicated that some other criminal characteristics could be found in the way in which the information was recorded. These identifiable factors were coded as general themes as without the original crime documents no specificity could be established.

Figure twenty-two shows the previous crime factors of persistency, familiarity, and offending against the victim of any crime by gender. As a persistent offender, a little over a third of the sample, (34%), committed their index sexual crime(s) in a way that had similarity to earlier offending.

The persistent offender used behaviours and a style of attack which he had used previously, although the previous offence characteristics may not have been that of sexual assault. For example, the offender who carried out a street robbery against a female in circumstances where she was attacked on a footpath late at night, and had a handbag stolen, would be identified in this coding as a persistent offender if his index rape crime was carried out in a similar way.
PREVIOUS CRIME FACTORS

Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persistent Offender</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar with Area</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Against Female</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Against Male</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=78 Offenders

Figure twenty-two
Thus, although the coding of this 'Modus Operandi' phenomena was somewhat subjective, it became possible to observe those offenders whose sexual crime may have developed through some, apparently, non-sexual offence experience.

Criminal awareness of space and place

Familiarity, and particularly criminal familiarity has been the subject of both criminological and psychological studies both in the United Kingdom and in America.

The Brantinghams, (1981), reported the theories associated with criminal development and an awareness of potential space in which to offend, simply that the knowledge of an area will be used by a criminal in his offending.

Amir, (1971), recorded the high incidence of rape in Philadelphia occurring in close proximity to the homes of victim and offender.

Baker and Donnelly, (1986), approached research into the criminals knowledge and use of an area in offending, from comparisons of deterrence v non-deterrence in respect of differing neighbourhoods in Dayton, Ohio.
Contributions from the perspective of environmental psychology have produced some consistent research into the geographical relevance of offending in areas with which some offenders are inherently familiar, (LeBeau 1987, Canter 1989, Canter et al 1990, Canter et al 1991).

The variable of familiarity in this sample was to examine principally how accessible and relevant the description of "familiarity", i.e. that an offender was familiar with the area in which he attacked, was likely to be to the detective.

Slightly more than half of the records, (53% n=76), contained geographical references that coincided with the index attack locations. From these records, prepared without this specific focus in mind, forty offenders committed their index crimes at locations which were close to where they lived, or had lived, where they had worked, where clearly there were family connections in the shape of relatives homes, or where they had committed previous crime.
Previous victimisation

Two variables were created to examine offenders possible propensity to commit crimes against males or females. The focus was on the gender of the crime victim and not on the type of crime to which they were subjected. Female victims of any crime were observed in 43 offender records, (57%), whereas male victimisation appeared less frequently in 23 records, (30%).

The frequencies also suggested that there was a sub-group of offenders who had committed crimes before their index offence(s), in which both males and females, although not necessarily together, had been the victims.

Preparation and escape

When both the offence material and national record documents were scrutinised, analysis revealed that 20% of the offenders had, in one or more of their index crimes, prepared themselves in some way for the attack on their victim.
In detail the preparation extended beyond the earlier described "weapon of intent" and included bringing with them articles by which the victims could be bound or by which the victim could be more easily controlled, for example the handcuffs used by the media dubbed M4 rapist.

Similarly, although of slightly less frequency, 15% of the offenders having completed their attack displayed activity that indicated the planning of the rape had included some activity to ensure escape. For example the offender who, not unlike some non-sexual property crime offenders, would secure the front door against being surprised by someone entering, and open the rear door or a window in the first stages of the offence, to enable easy non-risk egress.

Social and interpersonal factors

Figure twenty-three indicates some of the background factors contained within the national criminal record documents.
Figure twenty-three
Information from the antecedent forms was content analysed and details of the offenders familial background recorded as present or absent, depending on the ordered direction of the variable to which the categorisation was applied.

Similarly other background detail was coded in the same way, the data thus produced having the potential hypothesised properties of observed traits or trends within the population of rapists, from which eventual inferences could be drawn.

Frequencies of almost one third were observed in the sample population in respect of parental absence, previous failed marriage, and whether the offender had children of his own somewhere. The general picture of family and life instability emerged from the descriptive statistics. Almost as many subjects were married at the time of their index offending as had previously been married, 27% were married at the time and 32% had been through some separation from a former partner.

Although parental absence was noted in 33% of the cases, the records indicated only 8% where a step-parent had succeeded the natural parent, generally the father being the absent one.
EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Percent

100

80

60

40

20

0

FURTHER EDUCATION  SPECIAL SCHOOLS  UNEMPLOYED  UNSKILLED

N=76 OFFENDERS

Figure twenty-four
Figure twenty-four depicts the education and employment frequencies of the sample. An equal number of these rapists attended special schools in respect of either behavioural or educational problems, as those who attended places of further education, both having the frequency of 8%, (6 males in each category).

Those few offenders who received some form of further education did so at colleges or night classes, as a matter of some relief perhaps, there were no present or past university students in the sample.

The few who received this further education appeared to benefit little from their efforts, all ended up as unskilled if they were employed. These may well be representative of the under achievers that are said to make up some proportion of the rapist population, e.g. The type 1 "Instrumental Aggressive, Compensatory, Non impulsive life style" rapist described by Prentky and his colleagues, (1985).

The level of employment training that these offenders were able to receive was revealed by the apparent high level of unskilled subjects in the sample, 58 offenders, (76%), had received no formal training for any kind of employment.
Unemployment, meaning the status at the time of the index crime(s), was recorded as a little more than half the sample, 40 of the subjects, (53% n=76), were unemployed at the time of their index offending.

Where employment could be seen as a relatively consistently recorded antecedent factor, probably because police officers completing the document have been encouraged to show the courts details of an offenders ability to pay a financial, rather than custodial sentence, other factors were not so consistently recorded.

Not one of the offender records showed an individual as an only child, however there was information in less than half of the records from which an individual's sibling status could be assessed. Oldest children were seen in 9% of records, youngest in 7%, and the presence of brothers and/or sisters could be seen in 30%.

A consistent phenomenon was the recording of tattoos, and probably for similar reasons of police training, because of their descriptive and identification quality, tattoos which were present at the time of a man's arrest were recorded generally in minute detail.
The coding of the presence of tattoos did not differentiate the pictorial or linguistic content nor the elegance, or lack of it, in how the tattoo was depicted. The presence of any such marking was observed in 19 criminal records, (25%).

Eleven offenders, (15% n=76), had at some time served in the armed forces. One was observed as a current member of a British Army regiment absent without leave at the time of the index crimes, one other non-white offender, reported that he was an absconder from the Iranian Army although domiciled in the United Kingdom for some years. Other than those individuals reported above there was no comment on discharge status in any of the records.

Military service in this sample and its' relevance would appear at odds with the early FBI profiling techniques, (Hazelwood et al 1987, Kessler et al 1988), in which military service and discharge circumstances appeared to be a consistent profile characteristic. However this should be seen in temporal and cultural terms, when the early FBI work commenced, the war in Vietnam and drafted military service was very recent, a completely different situation to many years of UK voluntary enlistment.
Mental Health

Mental health could only be measured from their records in which there was clear indications of specialist psychiatric or psychological treatment.

![Mental Health Diagram](image)

**Figure twenty-five**

N=76 OFFENDERS
Typically reported in the relevant record was the attendance of an offender to a recognised psychiatric outpatients department, or an institution. Eight of the sample, (11%), had such records.

In addition to the observation of some kind of psychiatric intervention, the court disposal of both the index crime(s) and previous crimes by way of Mental Health Act provisions allowed some measure of the mental state of the offenders.

Two offenders, (3%), had been subject of Mental Health Act orders in respect of previous crimes that they had committed. Mental Health Act disposal of offenders at the trial of their index crime(s) was applied to three subjects, (4%), who were made subject of orders directing them to special hospitals. The three index crime disposals were not of the same offenders who had previously been subject to similar orders.

The question of validity was raised both internally in the sample description of psychiatric or mental disorder, and externally in some comparisons and inferences which could be drawn from other studies.
It has to be acknowledged that the sample detail and the subsequent observation of psychiatric history, as an "umbrella" term, could not necessarily be relied upon as an exhaustive measurement. One or more of the sample could well have had an unrecorded psychiatric history or episodic disorder. However the very few committed by way of Mental Health Act orders may tend to indicate that this history could be accurately reflected in this variable.

Compared with other work however, the differences in sample content are quite revealing. Some of the most frequently quoted classification systems of rapists have been derived from archive material and interviews with inmates of special institutions.

Amongst others, the work of Cohen et al (1971), Groth et al (1977), and Prentky and his colleagues (1985), appeared to use the same offender source, that of the Massachusetts Treatment Center with a reported disparity from this research sample in observed psychiatric histories.
Although Prentky reported a very high prior arrest/conviction frequency of his sample, (94%), he also recorded a relatively high frequency of psychiatric history, "...64 percent had psychiatric histories prior to commitment to the Treatment Center". Prentky and his colleagues did make the point, by way of caveat, about "...the generalizability of the Treatment Center sample to other rapists".

It would appear that the "stranger" rapist encountered by the victim, as a victim, and by the police as investigators, may not be best described by reference to special institution inmates.

Evidence of Psychosis

The psychotic rapist described by Rada, (1978), as one who in the course of the crime is suffering from a psychotic episode, was not observed in this sample although a few gave indications that could have been interpreted as psychosis.
Two offenders were reported by their victims as carrying on conversations with other persons unseen and probably not there. The observers, in these cases operating as raters, could not make clear distinction between what may have been an apparent psychosis or whether those offenders were employing a strategy by which additional control could be maintained over the victim.

In summary, the majority in this sample of stranger rapists appear to have strong non-sexual criminal tendencies that developed as young adolescents and which continued into adulthood. A smaller group in number appear to have more sexual crime history or exclusively sexual offending as a criminal record.

The current sample appears to accord with earlier work, Gibbens et al, (1977), found "In the case of rape it seems to be general experience that the offender tends to be less often psychiatrically disordered and less often to have a previous record of sexual offence than other sex offenders". They alluded to the work of Karpman (1954), and Christiansen (1965), who both found that rapists "...appear to have a greater tendency towards criminal records of non-sexual crime than other sexual offenders".
It may appear that the current exploratory research sample may be more representative of "stranger" rapists than those from the more clinically orientated institutions. However, it must be emphasised that the same constraints applied to offender detail as to the offence material described previously, both samples resulted from a "trawl" for information, there being no organised list from which samples could be drawn.
CHAPTER EIGHT

SMALLEST SPACE ANALYSIS

OF SEXUAL OFFENCE BEHAVIOUR
Smallest Space Analysis (SSA-I), (Lingoes 1973), was used to determine the underlying structures in sexual assault behaviour. One of the large family of Multidimensional Scaling procedures, in which the input data consists of an inter-variable correlation or association matrix, from which the relationships between all variables are spatially displayed in geometric space.

As a powerful non-metric multivariate analysis procedure, Smallest Space Analysis combines a framework of hypotheses generation and test, applicable to qualitative data in which there may be low levels of measurement.

The complex set of inter-variable relationships are represented in geometric form with the programme making limited assumptions of scalar properties, linearity or dimensionality.

With an extensive range of correlation and association coefficients available, by which complex data sets can be represented as an inter-relational matrix, the objective in using SSA-I, part of the Facet Approach,
was to derive interpretable patterns of relationships from data written in dichotomous format and not necessarily applicable to conventional statistical procedures.

The Facet Approach "... enables explanatory models to be derived from data not readily amenable to conventional statistical analyses. More importantly it provides a basis for an evolving research programme, starting with schematic theories, evolving into specific hypotheses for close empirical test.", (Canter 1989).

Using Smallest Space Analysis however, two fundamental issues arise, how are data written and depending on their form, what correlation or association coefficient can be most appropriately applied to the raw data to avoid the possibility of spurious results.

The variables of behaviour selected for the analysis of sexual offending were originally written as ordered categories, the score of 1 representing absence of the behaviour, 2 representing the presence. Simple data transformation was carried out changing the numerical value but not the order, so that the figure 0 represented absence, and 1 the presence.
This data manipulation was carried out to enable a particular association matrix of co-occurrence to be produced, thus permitting the SSA programme to construct the distance matrix from which geometric orientation or mapping is reproduced. Preparing the raw data matrix in binary, 0 and 1, format made the data amenable to a suitable association coefficient.

Variables used in smallest Space Analysis

Thirty nine variables of behaviour, drawn by content analysis from the statements of 209 surviving sexual assault victims, were used to create the original numerical profile matrix.

The variables, drawn from the full list in appendix C, were selected for the examination of sexual assault behaviour and were those on which good inter-rater agreement had been attained, (Overall average agreement 96%). They were directly related to offender activity at the crime scene.

Other crime circumstance variables were deliberately excluded as possibly lacking reliability in assessment of the offender's true propensity, to attack for example at particular times or in particular places.
For example, only the offender would know of the occasions where he sought out victims but failed to find either an appropriate area or a victim in a vulnerable situation.

The variables are listed below, figure 26, with numerical title as those of the association matrix at appendix "B".

VARIABLES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Con (1)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>No report (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Surprise (2)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Identifies (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Blitz (3)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Single v (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Blindfold (4)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Multi v (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Binding (5)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Verbal v (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gagging (6)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Vaginal pen (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Deters (7)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Pen front (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Resistance (8)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Pen rear (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Compliments (9)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Fellatio (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Inquisitive (10)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Cunnilingus (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Demeaning (11)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Anal pen (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Reassures (12)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Apologises (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tearing (14)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Steal person (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Weapon (16)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Steal UID (43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Demand (17)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Steal ID (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Vic comment (18)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Forensic (48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Off comment (19)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Time (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Participate (20)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Reveals (51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Disguise (21)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Kisses (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Knowing (22)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 26
This thematic approach to describing such behaviour, above, assigned a score to the relevant variable, dependent on the offender having engaged in that particular action.

With some, particularly the serial offender, their repertoire of offence behaviour was limited only by the scope of defined behaviour to be observed, and in the way each was coded as absent or present, and not by frequency in individual cases.

All 209 retained cases were included in the analysis, as the incomplete, "attempted", assaults had been filtered at the content analysis stage.

Smallest Space Analysis, SSA-I

The SSA programme computes correlation, or in the case of this analysis of offence behaviour, association coefficients of co-occurrence, and then rank orders these correlations transforming the rectangular input matrix to a triangular inter-variable distance matrix.
The correlations from the distance matrix are then used to produce the SSA spatial display of variable relationships, so that the rank of the distance between points is inversely proportional to the rank order of strength or weakness of their original correlations.

"SSA treats each variable as a point in Euclidean space, in such a way that the higher the correlation between two variables, the closer they are in space", (Lingoes 1973, Levy 1981, Canter 1989).

Smallest Space Analysis represents the relationship between variables as distances in geometric space. "It is based on the assumption that the underlying structure will most readily be appreciated if the relationship between every variable and every other variable is examined", (Canter 1989).

"In SSA, the representation of the coefficients matrix is non metric; that is, no attempt is made to specify in advance a particular monotonic function that transforms the coefficients into distances. Only the rank order of the coefficients, not their numerical values is preserved by the SSA mapping", (Shye 1978).
Alternatively, the relationship between variables of behaviour could have been explored by the examination of their individual co-occurrence, variable by variable. In conventional terms cross tabulation would at least have shown co-occurrence.

However, the process of cross-tabulating every variable with every other, would have been not only laborious but difficult to interpret. The most frequently used forms of multivariate analyses overcome this by analysing the covariance between the variables.

Data which are produced as qualitative, non parametric categories in dichotomous form are also not amenable to examination by methods which assume distribution and mathematically manipulate the mean.

Even examination of the correlations from the original matrix of association coefficients would have been a very complex and inefficient way of seeking an explanatory model by purely mathematical comparisons.

The SSA programme performs iterations comparing the rank order between the correlation matrix and distance matrix, adjusting the spatial representation until the minimum of stress is reached within the designated number of iterations.
A stress measurement called the Coefficient of Alienation is used to end the iterations and "....can therefore be used as a general indication of the degree to which the variables' inter-correlations are represented by their corresponding spatial distances. The smaller the coefficient of alienation, the better the fit, i.e. the fit of the plot to the original correlation matrix.", (Canter 1989).

The original matrix of correlations is reproduced as appendix "D".

The first stage of SSA produced the association matrix in this analysis by using Jaccard's association coefficient, selected as being the most appropriate for the dichotomous data to which it was applied.

"If the variables are measured in dichotomous form it is assumed that a variable has two codes (0 and 1)...... ....Jaccard's coefficient is useful where the variables derive from content analyses or where joint absence, (coded zero), do not necessarily constitute agreement.", (Hammond 1989).
Jaccard's association coefficient, suitable for application with dichotomous data because of the non-assumption of relationships at the "0", as in these data, the "absence" level, produces a matrix in which the signs of correlation are always positive. The association coefficient produced between each variable is simply a measure of co-occurrence.

Where co-occurrence is the sole measure of relationship then frequency at the "1", or "presence", level plays a major role in any SSA produced by Jaccard's association coefficient, high frequency variables having the tendency to co-occur at the category level of "1".

In terms of anticipated SSA spatial configuration this means that the very high frequency variables may appear close together. However, their orientation in the SSA space remains subject to the rank order correlations of other variables included in the analysis. Variables of less high frequency are not constrained by the arithmetic of the process.
Smallest Space Analysis - Configuration

In the SSA-I of sexual offence behaviour, three dimensional representation produced the coefficient of alienation as 0.23, and the iterative process was extended to produce an analysis to four dimensions, improving interpretation, and having the effect of reducing the coefficient of alienation.

Figures 27 to 32 following, show the SSA-I solution having a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation at 0.19 in 16 iterations, indicating a reasonable fit within the four dimensional space predetermined for this analysis.

The coefficient of alienation indicates how well the programme represents the spatial distance and orientation of the variables to the association matrix. Interpretability of the structure remains the most important principle in Smallest Space Analysis.

"While the coefficient of alienation is taken as an indication of "goodness of fit" between the correlation matrix and the spatial plots, with an acceptable level being between 0.15 and 0.2, the essential criterion for acceptability is most often taken to be the interpretability of the solution." (Donald 1990).
The function of this type of analysis is to represent the inter-variable relationships in a low dimensionality so that patterns can be seen, hence the name of Smallest Space Analysis.

It was necessary to take the analysis procedure to four dimensions, possibly reflecting the "noise" of the data. "Guttman used to say that an additional dimension was often required to remove the noise from qualitative data", (Canter 1992).

The final stage of the SSA programme produces the multidimensional solution showing each plane as a two-dimensional configuration with the variables represented as points in Cartesian space, i.e. space that has no concrete units like length or weight, being just abstract dimensions.

Each two-dimensional projection represents a different "view" of the geometric positions, and hence relationships, of the items produced axis against axis in Cartesian form.
INTERPRETATION OF SSA-I CONFIGURATIONS

Multidimensional scaling methods, particularly Smallest Space Analysis are closely associated with Facet Theory. The principles of the Facet Approach, (Canter 1985, Canter 1989), were used in the interpretation of the spatially displayed variables, in order to determine whether any structure appeared in the analysis of sexual assault behaviour.

Given the somewhat unreliable nature of the victims statements, the null hypothesis was that the complexity of offence behaviour would reveal no identifiable consistency in offending, and hence no potential for discrimination between offenders by their actions.

The Principle of Contiguity

The hypothesis that more highly correlated items would appear as groups of variables with some common underlying themes or meanings is the facet principle of contiguity, (Shye 1978, Canter 1989). If no such interpretable regions can be found, then the null hypothesis is supported.
The principle of contiguity, then, states that because elements in a facet will be functionally related, their existence will be reflected in a corresponding empirical structure. ".....variables that share the same facet elements would be more highly correlated and thus should appear closer together in the multidimensional space than variables not sharing the same element", (Canter 1989).

Figure 27 shows the SSA-I sexual assault configuration with the variable labels transposed.
SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR
SMALLEST SPACE ANALYSIS SSA-1
Coefficient of Alienation = 0.192

implies knowing ■
Demeans ■
Tearing ■
No report ■
Steals identifiable ■
Single violence ■
Multi violence ■
Kiss ■
Steals personal ■
Reveals ■
Compliments ■
Inquisitive ■
The con ■
Detained ■
Verbal violence ■
Time with victim ■
Rear intercourse ■
Fellatio ■
Forensic ■
Reassures ■
Victim comment ■
Anal penetration ■
Apologises ■

n=209 Sexual Assaults

Figure twenty-seven
The assumption that elements in any facet of sexual offence behaviour would be revealed by variables, or items, with a common role or theme appearing in the same area of the multidimensional space, meant examining the plots for an identifiable regional structure.

Regional Hypotheses

Regional hypotheses were used to provide statistically derived distinctions between offender activity in the crimes of sexual assault. The SSA-I configuration was examined to identify regions of the SSA-I space in which variables appeared to have a coherent inter-relationship, and from which they could be described by element titles.

Regions of the SSA-I were identified and partitioned by imposing boundaries which indicate the elements of the facet. Three facets were identified and are explored in the following paragraphs.

The lines drawn on the configuration are to indicate conceptually distinct regions, or elements, that contain inter-related variables with a common theme. The boundaries, imposed by interpretation of the configuration, relate to the role played by the Facet.
"Regional hypotheses relate the several roles that the content facets of the variables can play in partitioning the SSA space of the empirical correlation matrix of those variables", (Levy 1981).

The following explanation of the partitioning roles played by facets was reproduced from "Lawful roles of Facets in Social Theories", (Levy 1981).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roles of facets</th>
<th>Partition of space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polar</td>
<td>wedgelike regions emanating from a common origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modular</td>
<td>spherical (circular) bands around a common origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axial</td>
<td>planar (hyper-planar) slices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>partial order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure twenty-eight
Regional Interpretation

Regional interpretability is the fundamental hypothesis that variables with a common psychological meaning share the same space.

Figures 27 to 32, represent one projection of the final SSA solution which was found to lend itself to a fruitful interpretation.

Figure 29 presents the variable numbers. Although represented as a two dimensional view, the three dimensional nature of the solution can be demonstrated by examination of the association matrix with the final configuration.

To understand this plot, it is appropriate to consider some variables in detail, in the centre are variables 26, 27 and 8. Appearing very close to each other are variables 26, vaginal penetration, and variable 27, vaginal penetration from the front. They occurred, in this sample, in 88% and 78% of the cases respectively. The matrix shows the association coefficient between the two as 0.88.
SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR

SMALLEST SPACE ANALYSIS SSA-1
Coefficient of Alienation = 0.192

n=209 Sexual Assaults

Figure twenty-nine
The relationship in respect of variable 8, victim resistance, is shown in the association matrix as 0.42 with vaginal penetration, and 0.40 with penetration from the front.

Although appearing to be closely arraigned with the penetration variables, examination of the three dimensional configuration revealed resistance as lying removed from them, best described in the two dimensional reproduction in figure 27 as positioned behind the central penetration variables.

Further explanation of the SSA process is that the further apart two points appear, the less likely they were to have co-occurred in the 209 sexual assaults. Variable 20, at the top of the figure and variable 12 at the bottom have an association coefficient of 0.03.

By interpretation this suggests that where an offender implied that he knew, or knew of, the victim before the attack (V20), he was less likely to offer her, most often false, reassurance (V12) that she was not going to be hurt or raped.
This inference coincides with the findings of Amir (1971), and is supported by the study within the Investigative Psychology unit at Surrey University, that more aggression is shown when the victim is in fact known by the offender, (Canter et al 1991).

Similarly, variable 1 to the right, and variable 19 to the left appear at opposite extremes of the SSA plot. This apparent lack of co-occurrence makes sense. The offenders who wore disguise, (V19), did not usually approach their victims by using the "Con approach" (V1). The association coefficient of .01 confirmed the spatial orientation of these variables.

**FACETS OF SEXUAL ASSAULT**

**THE CENTRAL ELEMENT**

Variables 26 and 27, vaginal penetration, and Variable 8, victim resistance, by their spatial position formed a central element in every proposed facet.

They were thus interpreted as the common origin, a set of observed items that were either shared by the majority of offenders, or related to the characteristics of the victim. As such they were not likely to have a discriminating function in describing offenders by variations of behaviour.
Although it is acknowledged that other aspects of victim resistance may have been present but passive, the difference between unstated passivity and abject terror proved impossible to gauge.

Thus the Central element, having a polarising effect on each of the facets, was discounted in the further discrimination of sexual assault activity.

THE MODULAR ROLE OF BEHAVIOURAL FREQUENCY

Figure Thirty: The First Facet

"A simply ordered facet can play a modular role, namely, have a correspondence with distance from the origin", (Levy 1981).

Frequency in the sample of rape and sexual assault cases has extreme relevance to the association coefficient used to compute the original matrix of correlations, and hence the distance matrix from which the SSA configuration was produced.

In this analysis, having the highest frequency variables located in the centre means that they have co-occurrence with each other and other variables that surround them.
SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR
SMALLEST SPACE ANALYSIS SSA-1
Coefficient of Alienation = 0.192
AGGRESSION

HIGH FREQUENCY

MID FREQUENCY

CRIMINALITY

INTIMACY

5%

12%

15%

35%

36%

50%

60%

67%

68%

70%

73%

77%

84%

86%

89%

91%

94%

95%

96%

97%

99%

100%

11%

12%

13%

14%

15%

16%

16%

17%

18%

19%

21%

24%

27%

6%

7%

10%

12%

15%

21%

25%

n=209 Sexual Assaults

Figure thirty

215
The centralisation of the high frequency items was a phenomenon of this data set, the centrality is not to be assumed as a function of the coefficient, simply that the higher frequency variables have greater co-occurrence.

Figure thirty shows the frequency distribution within the structure of the SSA configuration. The circles indicate the general tendency for the mid frequency, and then low frequency variables, to be ordered away from the polarising central element.

This facet of frequency has the potential of weighting in the decision as to the relevance of certain offence behaviour, however the current sample of offenders to whom the process of classification could be applied was too small to generate firm hypotheses.

The SSA-I of offence behaviour provides possibilities for heuristic interpretation which goes beyond just the analyses of crime behaviour. It can be noted that, except for the central element of vaginal penetration and "Surprise attack", all other behaviour occurs in less than 50% of the rape offence sample.
One implication of these empirical observations is that consistent specificity of behaviour in sexual assault may appear as less than many would expect. Certainly the very restricted view of Modus Operandi, implying some enduring method of operating, appears open to question.

THE POLAR ROLE OF THE FACET OF CRIMINAL, AGGRESSIVE, SEXUAL, AND PSEUDO-INTIMATE BEHAVIOUR

Figure Thirty-one: The Second Facet

"An unordered facet may play a polar role: each element of the facet corresponds to a different direction in the SSA space, emanating from a common origin", (Levy 1981).

Further interpretation of the SSA of sexual assault behaviour is reproduced at figure thirty-one, where the facet of offence behaviour consists of five elements. The "Central" region of penetration and victim resistance remain as a polarising and non-discriminating element.

Around this common origin of the "Central" element, the behaviours are arranged in four regions indicating an unordered facet having a polar role. (Levy 1981).
SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR

SMALLEST SPACE ANALYSIS SSA-1
Coefficient of Alienation = 0.192

AGGRESSION
- Demeans
- Steals identifiable
- Steals personal
- Single violence
- Multi violence
- Kiss
- Reveals
- The con
- Compliments
- Inquisitive
- Time with victim
- Verbally violent
- Fallatio
- Verbal

CRIMINALITY
- Demand
- Steals UID
- Single violence
- Multi violence
- Steals identifiable
- The con
- Reveals
- The con
- Compliments
- Inquisitive
- Time with victim
- Verbally violent
- Fallatio
- Verbal

INTIMACY
- Surprise
- Participate
- Identified
- Inquisitive
- The con
- Reveals
- The con
- Compliments
- Inquisitive
- Time with victim
- Verbally violent
- Fallatio
- Verbal

SEXUALITY
- Reassures
- Anal penetration
- Forensic
- Cunnilingus
- Victim comment
- Offender comment
- Deterring
- The con
- Reveals
- The con
- Compliments
- Inquisitive
- Time with victim
- Verbally violent
- Fallatio
- Verbal

n=209 Sexual Assaults

Figure thirty-one
These are elements of the second facet of sexual offence behaviour. The descriptions of *Aggression, Intimacy, Sexuality and Criminality* assigned to each region express a common origin of the element items. They are titles by which the elements have single descriptions indicating their underlying structure. Thus the element titles refer to a description of the offence activity, and may be seen as behavioural traits. They do not necessarily infer personality traits by nomenclature.

The Element of Aggression

The variables, listed below make up the *Aggression* element:

- Blitz attack
- Demeaning the victim
- Tearing clothing
- Implied knowledge of the victim
- Threat made not to report the rape
- Single acts of violence
- Multiple acts of violence
- Stealing identifiable property

All appear as expressions of the offender whose behaviour reflects a disposition to violence, both physically and verbally, directed at the victim.
The two verbal expressions of "implied knowledge of the victim before the attack" and the "threat associated with non-report of the assault" may be seen as having aggressive qualities.

The Element of Pseudo-Intimacy

The element of Intimacy, below and to the right contains the behaviour of the offenders which indicates a strong desire for interpersonal involvement with the victim. These variables, listed below, were more verbally expressed than physically:

- Confidence trick approach
- Compliments made about the victim
- Inquisitive of the victim
- Identifies the victim by name
- Apologises
- Steals personal items of no value
- Extends time with the victim
- Reveals details about himself
- Kisses the victim

All appear to depict behavioural interchange with the victim which reflects a wish or desire on the part of the offender to involve the victim at a personalised level.
Even the physical act of stealing personal items from the victim may be seen as an attempt by the offender to obtain some enduring relationship from the encounter.

The original coding did not differentiate the etiology of such acts, however there are comparisons between the observed behaviour and what has been described as the taking of "Souvenirs" or "Trophies" in sexual assault and sexual murder, (Ressler 1988, Hazelwood 1988, Holmes 1989, Hickey 1991).

The Element of Sexuality

Located at the bottom of the SSA configuration, the element of Sexuality depicts the range of sexual activity, physical and verbal, that offenders carry out. The element is of sexual penetration and manipulation of the victim, or possibly actions by the victim in respect of the variable indicating that she was required to participate in the assault.
Variables of the sexuality element are listed below;

- Offender who is deterred
- Reassurance to victim
- Sexual comment required of the victim
- Sexual comment made by the offender
- Wanting the victim to participate
- Verbally threatening to maim or kill
- Vaginal penetration from the rear
- Fellatio
- Cunnilingus
- Anal penetration
- An awareness of forensic evidence

The verbal behaviour of this element is expressed in the sexual nature of the offenders comments or the requirement that the victim herself makes some sexual comment. Usually this a phrase insisted on by the offender. In many respects this may be similar to the acts described as "scripting", the offender's wish that the victim uses particular words or phrases, theorised as being linked to his continuing sexual fantasies, (Hazelwood 1988).

Verbal exchange in addition to sexual comments are, reassurance (V12), attempting to reassure the victim that the offender does not intend carrying out certain actions even though that later proves false, and verbal violence directed at the victim, (V27).
Violence, in the context of verbal expression, is exclusively the threat to the victim of mutilation, disfigurement, or death in circumstances unrelated to the control exercised on her.

Appearing in the same region of multidimensional space are the sexual acts of fellatio and cunnilingus, (V32 & V34), both of which offer to the offender forms of stimuli. Inference can be drawn that the violent verbal expressions are manifestly a sexual stimulus to those who make them.

Overall, the "Sexuality" element remains a region of the SSA space denoting the offender's requirement for interpersonal relationships but with different emphases.

Overtly sexual in nature the element indicates that the offender requires the participation of the victim in sexual activity, but in which he may be prepared to negotiate activities with the victim. He is able to change focus as the variable of "Deterred", (V7), suggests, and upon failure to involve the victim in a particular act, the offender moves on to another sexual strategy.
Appearing in the middle of the sexual act variables of Cunnilingus, Fellatio, Anal penetration and Vaginal intercourse from the rear, the variable title "Forensic", (V48), appears. Depicting the offender whose activities in the sexual assault reveals knowledge of the importance of trace evidence, this regional positioning would appear illogical.

However, the spatial location of the variable and the hypothesised relationships with the variables which surround it, tends to support the computer generated configuration.

Almost invariably the "Forensic awareness" classification, on which offence material was coded, was drawn from the offender's behaviour in removing semen from the victim. This activity included washing or bathing the victim, or removing semen from the scene by wiping, or taking stained articles with him. In that context, forensic awareness relates to sexual activity and the spatial orientation was to be expected.
The Element of Criminality

The final element from this interpretation appears to the left of the configuration under the title of "Criminality", and is made up of behaviour that reflects control over the victim and non-sexual criminal activity.

Variables of the "Criminal" element are listed below:

- Surprise attack
- Blindfolding the victim
- Binding the victim
- Gagging her
- Use of a weapon to control the victim
- Demand for cash or goods
- Disguise worn by the offender
- Stealing unidentifiable property

In the lower region of the criminality element, the controlling variables of "Blindfolding" (V4), "Binding (V5), and "Gagging" (V6) appear. Their spatial proximity suggests that these behaviours tend to be exhibited in the crime scene together. If one happens then there is a probability that one or more of the others will also occur.
Above them, and discounting the "Surprise" attack variable, the controlling and offender self interest activities of "Disguise", (V21), and the presence of a "Weapon", (V16), merge upwards with the truly criminal actions of the "Demand" for goods or money, (V17), and the "Stealing" of unidentifiable property, (V43).

The underlying structure of "Criminality" depicts the impersonal self interest of the offender who exhibits these behaviours in the sexual crime. There appears little concern for the interpersonal relationship evidenced in the previous two elements. The "Criminality" structure resembles the "Aggressive" element but with different emphases.

Consideration of the previous pilot study

Canter and Heritage, (1990 p195), proposed a similar structure, derived from Smallest Space Analysis of 66 sexual crimes, using variables that were in some ways conceptually different from the current research.

Their pilot study was partly based on variables that discriminated violent acts in the rape cases as being associated with controlling the victim, or in excess of control.
Sexual behaviours were discriminated by using variables that indicated whether or not the particular sexual act referred to, was done in sequence with other sexual activity.

The different conceptualisation of the variables of sexual assault behaviour can be seen in the design of the current project. There was an implicit requirement for the coding of offence behaviour to concentrate on behaviour beyond the "Base levels" of aggression and control that occur in all rape crime against strangers.

Even so, the inter-variable relationships in each of the described "pilot" elements indicate a similar structure to the SSA configuration derived from the analysis of the larger data set, as described in this thesis.

Consideration of conceptual classifications

Direct comparison between the facet elements of Aggression, Intimacy, Sexuality and Criminality, and conceptualised types from the literature was problematic, given the differing perspectives and material upon which analyses were carried out.
However, some inferences could be drawn, given licence, by considering the behaviour displayed and the various conceptual types proposed in existing classifications.

What became clear in such an exercise, was that no single classification system fully encompassed what the SSA of sexual assault behaviour revealed by the relationships in the universe of observed items.

The element of *Aggression* could be the actions of the offender described as "Anger retaliation" rapist of Groth et al, (1977), or that of "Rape-aggressive aim" of Cohen and his colleagues, (1971).

*Intimacy*, as indicated in the SSA configuration, may appear as the primary behaviours of the "Power reassurance" offender described by Groth and his colleagues, (op cit).

Behaviours associated with the element of *Sexuality*, should they predominate in the assault, would seem to fit the described types of "True sex offender", (Guttmacher and Weihofen 1952), or "Rape sexual-aim", (Cohen et al 1971).
The offender whose activity shows a disposition towards the items of Criminality, may well be included in the classification of "The sociopathic rapist" described by Rada, (1978).

THE JOINT ROLE OF THE FACET OF ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION

Figure Thirty-two: Facet Three
"A simply ordered facet can play a joint role (when its notion of order is the same as for one or more other facets)", (Levy 1981).

This third facet indicates a more general way of summarising the behaviour used in the SSA-I analysis of sexual assault and represents the previously described elements of the second facet as aggregated titles. Hence, "Aggression" and "Criminality" are described by the element title, "Abuser". The elements of "Intimacy" and "Sexuality" are together described as the "Exploiter" element.
SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR

SMALLEST SPACE ANALYSIS SSA-1

Coefficient of Alienation = 0.192

Implies knowing ■

ABUSER

Tearing ■

Demeans ■

No report ■

Steals identifiable ■

Single violence ■

Multi violence ■

Kiss ■

Steals personal ■

Reveals ■

Compliments ■

The con ■

ABUSER

Demand ■

Steals lid ■

Inquisitive ■

Deterr ■

Offender "Cunnlinguis ■

Forensic ■

Fellatio ■

EXPLOITER

Victim comment ■

Anal penetration ■

Reassures ■

n=209 Sexual Assaults

Figure thirty-two
The "Abuser" element

The term "Abuser" was assigned to the element consisting of sixteen items which were hypothesised as having a common underlying theme. Examination of the behaviours exhibited as "Abuse", reveal a tendency for the behaviours to be orientated towards the offender's self.

Aggressive self gratification appears in the top region, where for example, single and multiple acts of violence are related to stealing, demeaning the victim, and tearing clothing from her. Self protection appears in the centre, where the offender may be disguised, use a weapon to enforce control of the victim, and steal property which will not identify him as the perpetrator.

Self interest in controlling the victim appears towards the bottom, where the victims are subjected to further control by gagging, binding and blindfolding.

Essentially, these "Abuser" variables are those where any attempt at an interpersonal relationship, is at a minimum. The actions appear to be done to the victim, with little or no offender expectation of compliance or cooperation.
The behaviours reflect domination, control and hostility in a similar, although not exact, facsimile of Groth's described anger rapist. (Groth et al 1977).

A further comparison is possible with the Massachusetts Treatment Center, (MTC), taxonomy of the Expressed Aggressive v Instrumental Aggressive attackers, (Prentky et al 1985).

The first hierarchical level of Instrumental versus Expressive as a means of providing differentiation to the acts of aggression, can be compared to the SSA-I configuration.

In this interpretation of the SSA elements, the items forming the element of "Abuser" appear to be, in some of the behaviours, aggression "expressed" to hurt, abuse, and humiliate the victim.

The first decision level proposed by Prentky and his colleagues, i.e. Expressed v Instrumental meaning of aggression in sexual crime, may be supported by the distinction of Abuser v Exploiter.
However, by comparison with other published work, the offender whose predominant activity would be encapsulated in the "Abuser" element would most closely resemble Hazelwood's pragmatic classification of the Selfish rapist, (Hazelwood 1987).

The "Exploiter" element

The term "Exploiter" was assigned to the element consisting of twenty behavioural variables. They appear to contrast with those previously discussed. Where the "Abuser" element contains predominantly physical activities, the "Exploiter" element is predominantly that of verbal behaviours.

This element is that of inter-personal contact and, in terms of hypotheses, appears to be that of the offender's need to obtain some kind of relationship with the victim, regardless of the bizarre nature and inappropriate circumstances.

In terms of verbal interchange, the "Exploiter" behaviours are manifestly of manipulative interaction. For example, an aspect of the crime behaviour is where the offender reveals things about himself, the variable is spatially represented in close proximity to identifying the victim by name, and asking questions about her life, (Inquisitive).
This desire for interaction may possibly resemble the "Power" rapist described by Groth, or the "Instrumental Aggressive" of the MTC taxonomy, where aggression is instrumental in obtaining compliance from the victim.

In a similar comparison, as with the "Abuser" element to "Selfish rapist", the Hazelwood classification of "Unselfish rapist" appears to resemble the "Exploiter" category, (Hazelwood 1987).

Considerations of imposed boundaries

Regionalising the SSA plots by boundaries indicates the elements of the facet as having some common relationship between the items, an underlying structure by which their inter-relationships may be explained.

Division of the SSA plot by imposing boundary lines according to logically derived commonality means that items within the hypothesised regions "...may correlate less with other variables of the same region than they do with variables from other regions", (Levy 1981).
It makes sense that some variables are close to the boundary because they share aspects of two elements. For example, vaginal penetration from the rear was conceptualised as an item of the "Sexuality" element, and is spatially positioned close to the boundary between that element and "Criminality".

Although such penetration is a sexual act, it may have a number of interpretations, and therefore share themes revealed by the SSA-I configuration. The act appears to relate more to the controlling item of "blindfolding the victim" than it does the item of "victim comment".

As the act implies a more impersonal way of penetration, it may share the impersonal nature of the items described by the "Criminality" title.

An alternative meaning may also be hypothesised because of the relative positions, and hence inter-relationships, of blindfolding, binding, and gagging. Vaginal penetration from the rear may also be evidence of a sexual preference that requires control over the victim, or a sexual act associated with a paraphilia such as "bondage".
SUMMARY

Examination of the SSA configuration revealed several facets operating within the same regional structure of the analysis. This multiplicity of facets within a single analysis structure appears quite lawful to Shye, "Of course, more than one facet can be used in an experimental design of observations. Each additional domain facet defines a new classification and differentiates further among the items", (Shye 1978).

The First Facet

In the first proposed facet, three elements were identified having a modulating role, the elements correspond to distance from the central core. The elements were identified as those of frequency.

The resulting central core of vaginal penetration and victim resistance were discounted as having little potential for discrimination between offenders.

Moving outwards from the common core, the next element includes behaviours that have, in general, a frequency distribution of between 20 and 50 percent. The final outer element contains the lower frequency behaviours as shown.
The Second Facet

The second facet of sexual offence behaviour was hypothesised as having five elements with a polar role. The central core element of penetration and victim resistance, and four elements emanating from, but corresponding to it in different directions of the SSA space. The four hypothetically discriminating elements were titled Aggression, Intimacy, Sexuality and Criminal behaviour. (Figure 31 page 218).

The Third Facet

The third facet, (Figure 32 page 230), was interpreted as a general facet having three elements, that of the Abuser and Exploiter roles as indicated, and the central region displayed within the marked circle.

Alternative hypotheses

The hypotheses of potentially discriminating regions of assaultive behaviours revealed by the identification of coherent facets in the SSA of sexual assault behaviour does not support the null hypothesis. Instead, a regional structure broadly in accord with the original mapping sentence was found.
The approach to identify facets and facet elements suggested that sexual offenders can be differentiated by their behaviour. The facets providing empirical support for the classification of offenders by offence type.
CHAPTER NINE

A MULTIVARIATE MODEL

OF SEXUAL OFFENCE BEHAVIOUR
A MODEL OF SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR

The Multivariate Model

The Facet analysis structure of sexual assault variables provided a model of offence behaviour, in the sense that the configuration illustrated the relationships between behaviours drawn from actual crimes, and from which coherent elements were identified.

This statistically derived model of sexual assault behaviour became an instrument which characterised the behavioural processes in rape, and had hypothesised predictive value.

Although the SSA revealed an identifiable behavioural structure, as with all such analyses of phenomena, those behaviours which characterise the individual are lost unless such a model of offending could be constructed and employed.

There were a number of reasons why a model of sexual offending became important in the scientific approach to offender profiling. Most other approaches, with the exception of pilot studies, (Canter & Heritage 1989), appear to have used conceptual models to shape their classification of rapists.
Moreover, the conceptual models used also appear to have been the only measure by which offenders in the clinical setting were compared. For example, the work of Prentky and his colleagues, (1985), conceptualised eight sub-types of rapist from the Massachusetts Treatment Center.

Alternative Modelling

One described sub-type, (Prentky et al 1985), Type 3 "the machismo rapist", could not be found in the "Treatment Center" sample even though a similar type was said to have been classified by Gerbhard 1965, Groth 1979, and Rada 1978, who incidentally said of the Masculine Identity Conflict Rapist, (suggested as similar to type 3), "This category of rapist is numerically large, second only to the sociopathic rapist...":

Prentky concluded "In working with derivatives of the concepts we have used, we were led to expect certain motivational themes. As a result, the system predicts the existence of certain categories of rape... that are not represented at a facility like the Treatment Center".

241
Although conceptual models may be rationally derived, and considered in relation to a population by independent raters, reliability tests and consensus agreement, much as with the care that Prentky et al approached their classification scheme, the question of applicability to criminal investigation remains open. Simply the investigator works typically with behaviour in the crime, the clinician with the offender/patient.

In respect of profiling the unknown offender responsible for sexual assault, the detective and the profiler require a classification scheme specifically derived from the offence constituents.

Conceptual models are not, however, an anathema to the facet researcher, they are a necessary prerequisite to all research in the field of human behaviour, "...the published research literature outside of the facet approach will be a valuable source of concepts and information. The researcher is, in effect, attempting to clarify his or her research question", (Canter 1985).
SSA-I as a Model of Trait Behaviour

The Smallest Space Analysis model of offence behaviour represented a path towards the ultimate data reduction process required in the research design, the reduction of a variable index offending record, (the "q" matrix), serial and one-time rapes, to a composite description of each offenders actions. In effect refocusing on the individuality of the offender and his membership of a sub-group, fairly precisely the matters with which offender profiling is concerned.

However this should not be seen as a wholly behaviourist approach. There was no assumption that behaviour was the only interpretable factor. Each offenders' actions were hypothesised as being a reflection of his social and interpersonal experiences. Some of which will have been learned from previous sex offending, some from other crime, others may reflect developmental conditioning, and some may relate to interpretable motivation etc.
Figure thirty-three overleaf shows schematically how an offender's behaviour can be transposed onto the SSA structure, but of course this can also be done mathematically within the data matrix. That is, provided the relationships have been clearly established by using the facets, overall classification of the "types" of variables, as a model.

The attack characteristics depicted in figure 33 are those of one serial rapist, the relevant offence material having been reduced by the imposition of classification rules, discussed later, into a display that indicates the offender's propensity to carry out the crime in a way that may reveal aspects of his personal history.
A MODEL OF SEXUAL ASSAULT BEHAVIOUR

The attack behaviour
of one serial rapist

■ = Presence
□ = Absence

AGGRESSION

Imples knowing □

CRIMINALITY

Demands □

Demeans □

Steads identifiable □

Single violence □

MULTI violence □

Dismantles □

Blitz □

SEXUALITY

Reassures □

Exploiter □

Figure thirty-three
The majority of behaviour exhibited by this offender, shown as the solid fill squares, falls in the region of Criminality, and shows three variables indicated as present in the Aggression element. Sexual activity is indicated by four items of behaviours, and Intimacy shows none.

In the more general facet of Abuse/Exploitation the offender can be seen to have displayed behaviours which depict him as the Abuser, the facet elements of Criminality and Aggression being represented in the same region, (see figures 31 & 32).

At the second level of the facet model, the offender could also be characterised as high in Criminality and hypothesised as part of a sub-group of offenders which could be classified as The Abusive Criminal. The impersonal nature of these assaults is supported by the absolute lack of any required pseudo-intimacy.

Figure 33 also indicates that there are a number of issues of direct relevance to the science based approach to the offender profiling process. The diversity of all offenders' behaviour, their repertoire, is more easily seen and understood when there is a method by which one offender can be compared with another against a model of sexual assault behaviour.
This central hypothesis, that there are variations in how they go about their sexual crimes which reflects difference in their histories, becomes more open to empirical test. Variation in how each offender carried out his attack(s) reflects the fundamental issue of offender profiling and was represented as the first hypothesised stage in research design.

Offender behaviour transposed to the facet model also reveals that behaviours exhibited in the crime are not likely to fit solely any one element of the SSA structure. This means that the available options open to an offender may include some behaviours from each element. A situation which, without the model, may result in overlap between types, generally unexplained in conceptual classification schemes, as well as confusion by possible misinterpretation.

With the model however, each offender's behaviour can be monitored against the general picture represented by the SSA configuration, and the predominant style of attack classified as an observable trait.

Overlap between types, and its relevance, can also be addressed as a secondary issue. Indeed previously unexplained overlap can be identified and perhaps with larger and more comprehensive data be rationalised as a method of further identifying sub-types.
Examination of the individual against the model was therefore likely to provide clarification of his activities when seen in the context of modes of interaction, explaining the repertoire of offence behaviour, and balance factual behavioural analysis with concept.

The two facets of Abuser/Exploiter and Aggression, Intimacy, Sexuality and Criminality, supported by the facet of frequency, were hypothesised in the first instance as having sufficient discrimination to describe the attacker as an individual, and as part of a sub-group displaying particular offence features. A means by which each offender may be classified as a "type of sexual offender".

The methodology of comparison between the individual offender's sexual crime behaviour and the model was to re-introduce the individual as a focus for examination based on the behaviour exhibited during his assault(s) leading to classification and extrapolation to his likely history.
CHAPTER TEN

INVESTIGATIVE CLASSIFICATION

First steps towards exploratory types
CLASSIFICATION OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS

Essentially the Smallest Space Analysis configuration formed the basis for exploratory classification of the offender by his sexual assault activities. The principle of regional contiguity, in that variables having relationship share the same SSA space, suggested that the structure revealed by the SSA elements could be used to classify offenders.

Using Facet Theory Practice

A Facet Approach practice, by which further analyses of SSA results has been explored, was extended to generate hypotheses about the behavioural consistency of sexual offenders. Further analyses from SSA configurations have generally taken the form of selecting items from facet elements revealed by SSA, and applying either conventional statistical, or other multidimensional scaling procedures to those variables.

This approach can include all variable items from the element, or selected items that are hypothesised as representing the contiguous nature of the region. In this exploratory classification scheme, that research practice was extended by proposing that any of the
behaviours depicted as having regional contiguity, i.e. an element, could be used to discriminate between attackers on the basis of the "most displayed" items. Thus developing an exploration of methods by which sexual criminals could be examined by comparing their index crime behaviour with the SSA facet elements.

In order to classify all the sample offenders, both series and non-series, by the offence behaviour of each offender, it was necessary to develop rules on how the differing amounts of crime material could be reduced to a composite description. Reduction was required without a somewhat arbitrary decision on what was "typical" behaviour of the offender as an individual.

A primary objective of the research was the preparation of two matrix sets, offence behaviour as the "q" matrix and offender background as the "p" matrix. The next stage, classification, required further reduction of the offence matrix so that common analyses could be carried out between the offence and offender characteristics.

Mapping the "p" matrix of offender characteristics to the "q" matrix of offence activity is the principle requirement for extrapolation from the crime behaviour to the offender's background.
Thus generating the hypothesis that identifiable activity in the crime will reveal some of the probable characteristics of the offender. A process of classification inherent in procedures that lead to investigative profiling.

That simple hypothesis would have been easier to test on the basis of one offence to one offender, the one to one examination of two data sets. Examination of the offender sample, \((n=76)\), in respect of the crimes committed, revealed that 44 (58%) were series attackers, known to have committed more than one sexual assault in an uninterrupted period of time. The other offenders were therefore assumed to be "one time" attackers, having been dealt with for only one known offence.

Seeking a sexual assault classification system orientated towards the police investigation, there were a number of issues and approaches in relation to the numerical diversity, and available information, in respect of the attacks carried out by any of the sample offenders.
Approaches to classification

The first approach considered, was to treat the series and "one time" attackers as different sub-groups, or alternatively, to attempt rational reduction of the series attackers "q" matrix so that a single crime description could be produced for each offender.

The alternative process of reduction was adopted on the basis of the factors outlined below:

1. The 76 offenders whose personal characteristics had been coded into the "p" matrix were all attackers of strangers, the essential criterion underlying the research.

2. The "one time" attacks were assumed to be part of a possible series. Although there was no firm evidence on file to permit them to be treated as serial offenders, many had been suspected of other sexual assaults.

3. Those who had attacked in series, the number of their crimes ranging from 2 to 15, an average of 5 attacks in series, presented the most methodological problems. Not only were their individual series different in number, but the availability of crime material also differed considerably.
The data set contained series attackers for which only one victim statement was available, in some cases because the other crimes had involved the murder of victims, or where the series had crossed police jurisdictional boundaries, one statement was available from archives and others were not.

Therefore, even if the two sub-groups, series and single offences, were to be so created, logical and systematic data reduction in respect of the series attacker's crimes would still be needed. This would require a rationale for reducing the potential q matrix, serial and single crime, to a single description which did not assume typicality.

There appeared no valid reason why, if rules were to be established to deal with series crimes by reducing them to a single classification, the single crime subset should not be subjected to the same process.

The hypothesised distinction between facet elements of the SSA allowed classification of offenders to proceed on the basis of their actual sexual assault behaviour. "...Any attempt to understand the actions that occur in the offence requires the classification of offence behaviour as distinct from classifications of the person in either psychological or social terms", (Canter 1989).
The SSA-I of offence behaviour as previously interpreted, gave rise to the process indicated in figure thirty-three, a framework for a decision making process.

However before the inception of the scheme, some methodological and inferential processes needed to be specified together with consideration of the alternative approaches by which the exhibited behaviours could represent described sub-groups of rapists.

Classification was intended to assign offenders to mutually exclusive sets by a decision framework in which the expectation of diversity in offence behaviour may result in behavioural items appearing in all elements. Thus individual assignment to a sub-group was intended to be by exhibited behaviours, that indicated a predominant set of behaviours in one element of each facet as a trait, showing each offender's propensity for such behaviours.

A number of factors were considered in respect of using the exhibited items, by which the elements were formed, so as to reduce the series attack data to a composite description. Such an approach would also have to incorporate the non-series or single statement attackers.
The Numerical Approach

The first approach to classification involved identifying each offenders' exhibited behaviour which was comparable to the SSA items. A simple numerical count of the behaviours in each of the elements was carried out, and comparison between the amount of items in each element examined by categorisation.

A cumulative sum of displayed behaviours was reached for each offender in each of the four elements of facet two. The scores were then categorised by the Psychometric Analysis Package transformation module, (Hammond 1989), into variables of three categories bearing the element titles.

"The categorisation routine is used to produce ordinal categories from continuous data. The number of categories (nc) is supplied interactively by the user. The resulting values are the integer labels of the successive categories with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of nc. This routine uses nctiles to identify the category boundaries. Thus when nc=2 the result is a median split", (Hammond 1989).

Hammond suggested that this routine has potential for loss of information, but may be appropriate where data are error prone.
Category transfer was applied to the cumulative scores in each of the elements of the second facet, "Aggression", "Pseudo-Intimacy", "Sexuality", and "Criminality".

The process of categorisation resulted in each offender being assigned to a category in each of the elements, depending on the amount of his reported behaviour. At this stage no differential was made between series and one-time attackers.

There was variation in the potential and observed range of behaviour in each element;

"Aggression" had a potential range of between 0 and 8 behaviours. The observed range was between 0 and 6. Categorisation assigned as:-
Category 1, offenders who exhibited 0 to 2 items
Category 2, offenders who exhibited 3 to 4 items
Category 3, offenders who exhibited 5 to 6 items

"Pseudo-Intimacy" had a potential range of between 0 and 9 behaviours. The observed range was 0 to 7. Categorisation assigned as:-
Category 1, offenders who exhibited 0 to 2 items
Category 2, offenders who exhibited 3 to 4 items
Category 3, offenders who exhibited 5 to 7 items
"Sexuality" had a potential range of 0 to 11 behaviours. The observed range was 0 to 9.

Categorisation assigned as:-

Category 1, offenders who exhibited 0 to 3 items
Category 2, offenders who exhibited 4 to 6 items
Category 3, offenders who exhibited 7 to 9 items

"Criminality" had a potential range of 0 to 8 behaviours. The observed range was 0 to 7.

Categorisation assigned as:-

Category 1, offenders who exhibited 0 to 2 items
Category 2, offenders who exhibited 3 to 4 items
Category 3, offenders who exhibited 5 to 7 items

This approach to categorisation, indicating low, (category 1), to high, (category 3), incidence of offence behaviour, was to result in many equal categories in two or more elements.

The problem of equal category scores, and the failure for this approach to clearly discriminate offender's by their behaviour, is demonstrated in Table One below.
EXAMPLES OF EQUAL CATEGORY SCORES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offender</th>
<th>Aggressive</th>
<th>Intimate</th>
<th>Sexual</th>
<th>Criminal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table one

Of the ten offenders in the example, only three, "C", "D", and "G", displayed predominant behaviour in one element that may have served to discriminate them by their behaviours.

This categorisation failed to differentiate between attackers, 36 offenders, (47% n=76), were found to have displayed equal amounts of items in two or more elements.

The failure of the conceptual classification of offenders by predominant behaviour in single elements of facet two, suggested that a more individualistic approach was required.
Thus an approach was devised that would assign offenders on a case by case basis. One which addressed the individual offender's consistency and variation in each of the elements of Abuse and Exploitation.

The Cumulative approach to Classification

A cumulative score system was considered, whereby in series attacks, absence of observable behaviour received no score, a "one time" item was assigned the score of 2, and behaviour displayed more than once assigned the item score of 3.

For non-series, or single statement cases, the no score for absence was retained and observed presence of behaviour assigned the score of 2.

The classification was then carried out, as case by case assignment using a conceptual hierarchical decision process. Firstly to assign offenders, using the third facet elements of "Abusers" or "Exploiters", by the individual's predominant behaviour in either element.

Then to further assign them by the elements of the second facet, as "Intimate v Sexual" or "Criminal v Aggressive".
The hypothetical decision model can be represented as a revised mapping sentence:

REVISED MAPPING SENTENCE FOR CLASSIFICATION

Does the predominant crime behaviour of offender "x" which is

- Exploitive
- and specifically
- Abusive

[Intimate]
[Aggressive]

[Sexual]
[Criminal]

[Absent]
[Present]

Aspects of his

[Social]
[Interpersonal]
[Familial]

history as

in his background

Figure thirty-four
Where equal scores were observed in six cases, all series attackers, (8% n=76), assignment problems were resolved by using the observed consistent behaviours as a form of weighting. By this method, such an offender could be assigned as either Exploiter or Abuser based on which element contained the most items of consistent behaviour.

Each offender's recorded crimes were re-analysed on the basis of "most displayed" items, this led to them being assigned to either group by the behaviours that they exhibited most, with rationalised weighting applied to a small number.

If the total behaviours associated with the Abuser element were more than those of the Exploiter, then the individual was coded as Abuser. If the reverse was true then he was assigned "Exploiter" status.

An example of the consistency weighting is produced in figure 35, which shows the sexual crime behaviour of one serial rapist reduced to a composite description by the assignment of scores, 0 = absence of behaviour, 2 = one-time reported behaviour, and 3 = behaviour reported more than once. For clarity the 0 scores are not shown, although all relevant items appear. The "central" element was also excluded from display.
For convenience, the figure reproduces the element items as they appear in facets two and three, i.e. Intimacy and Sexuality aggregated as Exploiters, and Aggression and Criminality aggregated as Abusers.

It can be noted that the cumulative scores for each element titled "Abuser" and "Exploiter" are equal, the sum total of 26 assigned to each proposed sub-group. Consistency however is recorded as six items in the "Abuser" element, compared to four of the Exploiter element.

Thus, even with equal cumulative scores, the offender whose sexual crime behaviour formed the example in figure 35, was assigned to the "Abuser" group.

At the more specific level of conceptual assignment, the same offender could be further described as an "Abusive - Aggressive" type of offender, as the "Aggressive" element scores 15, as opposed to 11 in the "Criminal".
ABUSER ELEMENT

"Aggressive"  "Criminal"

"Blitz' attack
Demeans victim = 3
Tears clothing = 2
Implies knowing victim
Threat not to report = 2
Single acts of violence = 3
Multiple acts of violence = 2
Steals identifiable property = 3
Cumulative score = 15
Consistency = 3 items

"Surprise' attack
Blindfolds victim
Binding used = 2
Gagging of victim
Weapon used to control = 3
Demand for cash or goods = 3
Disguise worn
Steals unidentifiable property = 3
Cumulative score = 11
Consistency = 3 items

Abuser cumulative score = 26
Consistency = 6 items

EXPLOITER ELEMENT

"Sexual"  "Intimate"

Offender deterred
Reassures victim
Requires victim sexual comment
Offender's sexual comment = 3
Victim participate = 2
Verbally violent
Penetration from rear = 3
Fellatio = 2
Cunnilingus = 2
Anal penetration = 2
Forensic awareness
Cumulative score = 14
Consistency = 2 items

The "Con" approach = 3
Compliments victim
Inquisitive of victim = 2
Identifies victim = 2
Apologises
Steals personal items
Extends time with victim
Reveals self details = 2
Kisses victim = 3
Cumulative score = 12
Consistency = 2 items

Exploiter cumulative score = 26
Consistency = 4 items

Figure thirty-five
Figures 36 and 37 overleaf serve two functions, first as a reminder of the behaviours which are constituent items of the interpretation of Smallest Space Analysis. Second, they serve to illustrate the variation between Abuser types and Exploiter types in relation to physical and verbal behaviours displayed.

The general mapping sentence specified that a facet of verbal or physical behaviour may be found in sexual assault. Although there was no clear facet of language interpreted from the SSA-I configuration, the variation between proposed types reveals a trend in behaviour that may be explored by a larger data set.

Behaviour associated with the Abuser type, figure 36, is dominated by the physical activity with little verbal behaviour exhibited. Contrasted with The Exploiter type, figure 37, verbal behaviour equals that of physical activity and suggests support for the concept of style variation between the Abusers and Exploiters.

As previously described, Vaginal Penetration, penetration from the front, and victim resistance were excluded from differential analyses. Therefore, they do not appear in the figures as behaviour from which the proposed types of offender were derived.
ABUSER

VERBAL
- Demeans the victim
- Implies knowing victim
- Threat not to report
- Demand for cash or property

PHYSICAL
- Blitz attack
- Tearing of clothing
- Single acts of violence
- Multiple acts of violence
- Stealing identifiable property
- Stealing unidentifiable property
- Surprise attack
- Blindfolding
- Gagging
- Binding
- Control by weapon
- Disguise

Figure thirty-six
EXPLOITER

VERBAL

- Con approach
- Compliments the victim
- Inquisitive of victim
- Identifies the victim
- Apologises
- Reveals self details
- Reassures the victim
- Makes sexual comment
- Requires sexual comment from victim
- Verbal violence to maim or kill

PHYSICAL

- Extends time with victim
- Kisses
- Deterred by victim reaction
- Vaginal penetration from rear
- Fellatio
- Cunnilingus
- Anal penetration
- Aware of forensic evidence
- Requires victim to take part
- Steals personal items

Figure thirty-seven
CHAPTER ELEVEN

EXPLORING TYPICALITY

Identifying typical sexual crime behaviour
EXPLORATION OF THE OFFENDERS' TYPICAL SEXUAL CRIME.

An Alternative Approach

The approach to meaningful classifications of sexual offenders in the project and reported thus far, was produced from attempts to remove subjective decision making about typicality in each offender's sexual crime behaviour.

However, additional consideration of how the numerical variety of the offenders' sex crimes could be reduced to a single descriptive set of variables, was also addressed in relation to which of the index sexual offence behaviours may be typical.

Typicality in sex offender classification schemes has generally been illustrated by anecdote, and suggests enduring consistency, not always observable in serial rapists crimes.

To examine the "typical" sexual crimes of the sample of offenders in this project, rules were applied to reduce all offender's series, or one time attacks, to a single offence matrix of observed behaviour.
Recoding for "typical" crime behaviour

Using the same definitional system, reproduced in Appendix B, and the same input variables as those of the Smallest Space Analysis, (Figure 26 page 197), behaviour was assigned the scores of absence = 1, presence = 2, by the following convention.

The "one-time" and "single statement" attackers offence behaviour was taken to be typical and behaviour coded where present.

Serial offenders whose recorded attacks numbered two, were assigned "typical behaviours" by coding presence where the variable of behaviour was present in both attacks, or where the behaviour was exhibited in the second and last crime, thus compensating for consistency and short term development.

Serial offenders whose identified series numbered three or more were assigned "typical behaviours" when the variable of behaviour was exhibited as present in half or more of their crimes, similarly compensating for consistency and development.

Typicality therefore was not assumed but assessed on the basis of displayed behaviour.
Examination of "typical" behaviours by chi-square

Crosstabulation and the chi-square statistic were applied to the "typical" behaviour by type in order to seek support for the classification of Abuser and Exploiter. This produced two by two tables, and the following significant tables are reported with the p value following Yates conversion.

The hypothesis was that some behaviours exhibited in the "typical" sexual crime matrix, and which had been represented by the facet approach as traits of behaviour, would correlate with the exploratory types.

Thus exploring whether assigning offenders to classified types by their behavioural trait descriptions, drawn from the SSA configuration, was an artifact of the variables relationships produced from the rank order association matrix.

This posed a research question, which behaviours best typify the proposed main types of "Abusers" and "Exploiters"?
Behaviour related to the Abuser group

"Surprise" attack, characterised by the sudden appearance of the offender and the immediate control of the victim, was a high frequency variable and a style of attack adopted by all of the small group of Abuser type offenders.

Variable 3: Surprise Attack

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABUSE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLOIT</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>79.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ p < .05 \]

Table 2

Control of the victim, exercised by the display and deployment of a weapon, was a feature of the "typical" offence characteristics related more to the sexual crimes of Abusers than those of the Exploiters.
Variable 16: Control by a Weapon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABUSE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>93.0%</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>79.7%</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p<.005

Table 3

Although not entered into common analysis of sexual assault behaviour, because of relative subjectivity in victim recognition, the type of weapon used by the Abusers suggests further support for the prior planning and anticipation of their rapes.

Twelve of the Abusers, (80% n=15), used a weapon to control their victims, and of those, ten offenders used a "weapon of intent", a significantly higher proportion than the Exploiters.

Variable 41: Weapon of Intent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABUSE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>89.6%</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>79.7%</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p<.01

Table 4
The variable of "Demand", in which the offender demands from his victim cash or goods in the course of sexual assault, was significantly exhibited by more Abuser type attackers than Exploiters, in frequency, observed in a third of the Abusers, as opposed to 7% of Exploiters.

Variable 17: Demand for Cash or Goods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABUSE</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLOIT</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84.6%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 9
87.8% 12.2%
p<.05

Table 5

A further criminal variable was that of stealing unidentifiable property from the victim. Thus suggesting from police terminology a different, more cautious, and knowledgeable offender who steals things that will not link him to the crime scene. This was significantly the actions of the Abuser group.
Variable 43: Stealing Unidentifiable Property

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABUSE</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLOIT</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86.2%</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|        | 58     | 16      |
|        | 78.4%  | 21.6%   |

\[ p < 0.05 \]

Table 6

There may be these five key variables which delineate the Abuser from the sample, albeit that the group were identified by imposition of the classification rules drawn from the previous "cumulative score" approach.

By exploring the relevance of "typical" crimes, empirical support for the differential proposed from the previous trait approach may be found in the significance of these variables related to the Abuser rapist.

Behaviour related to the Exploiter group

Similar differential, and empirical support for a conceptual and observed group, i.e. Exploiters, may also be found in their significantly different behaviours.
Variable 10: Inquistive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABUSE</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLOIT</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>96.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49  25  66.2%  33.8%

p<.05

Table 7

Inquisitiveness, in which the offender questions the victim about her life style and people she knows in a non-sexual way, appears significantly the behaviour of the Exploiter, as does his apparent efforts to identify the victim by name.

Variable 25: Identifies the victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABUSE</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLOIT</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57  17  77.0%  23.0%

p<.05

Table 8

276
Only the Exploiters revealed information about themselves, albeit that what they told the victim may not have been true, suggesting the need to build some kind of relationship.

Variable 51: Revealing self detail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABUSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLOIT</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A behavioural feature of the Exploiter classification, included in Smallest Space Analysis, was the variable of "Extended time" with the victim. SSA revealed the behaviour as that associated with the "Exploitative Intimate" attacker, and exploration of the "typical" sexual crime by the chi-square statistic confirmed the significance of the feature as that of the Exploiter group.
Variable 50: Extends time with victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABUSE</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLOIT</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73.2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75.7%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p < .05

Table 10

These variables of behaviour are proposed as typical of the Exploiter, and in the SSA configuration appear as having regional correspondence in the Exploiter element.

Summary

Four variables, in regional correspondence displayed in the SSA elements, (Figures 31 and 32), titled "Criminality" and "Aggression", aggregated as "The Abuser" classification, were significantly associated with the "Abuser" type of rapist.

Whereas the Abuser is typified more by actions, the Exploiter's use of language appears to be the key variables in his attacks.
For convenient reference, figures thirty-eight and thirty-nine overleaf, detail the behaviour, revealed by Smallest Space Analysis as having regional contiguity and assigned the element, or trait, titles of Abuser and Exploiter.

Behaviours significantly associated with the two main types of offenders have been marked by asterisk and reveal discrimination between offender types. The Abuser appearing to favour physical interaction, and the Exploiter exhibiting more verbal behaviour.

It is proposed that these discriminating variables, significantly related to the behaviour of either Exploiters or Abusers, potentially support the assignment of offenders to types by what they do in sexual assault.

As such, their future potential cannot be understated. A theme throughout this thesis has been the possible repertoire of sexual offenders' behaviour in the crimes they committed. The cumulative approach and relationships of significant variables, reveal trends suggesting that the Abuser/Exploiter sub-groups require much larger datasets for future exploration.
Significantly associated behaviours by type of offender

**ABUSER**

**VERBAL**
- Demeans the victim
- Implies knowing victim
- Threat not to report
- ** Demand for cash or property**

**PHYSICAL**
- Blitz attack
- Tearing of clothing
- Single acts of violence
- Multiple acts of violence
- Stealing identifiable property
- ** Stealing unidentifiable property**
- ** Surprise attack**
- Blindfolding
- Gagging
- Binding
- ** Control by weapon**
- Disguise

Figure thirty-eight
Significantly associated behaviours by type of offender

**EXPLOITER**

**VERBAL**
- Con approach
- Compliments the victim
- Inquisitive of victim
- Identifies the victim
- Apologises
- Reveals self details
- Reassures the victim
- Makes sexual comment
- Requires sexual comment from victim
- Verbal violence to maim or kill

**PHYSICAL**
- Extends time with victim
- Kisses
- Deterred by victim reaction
- Vaginal penetration from rear
- Fellatio
- Cunnilingus
- Anal penetration
- Aware of forensic evidence
- Requires victim to take part
- Steals personal items

Figure thirty-nine
CHAPTER TWELVE

EXPLORATION OF TYPES

Variation and consistency between types of Rapist
EXPLORATIONS OF OFFENDER HISTORY BY TYPE

First level Discrimination

The first decision level, i.e. Abuser v Exploiter, (Facet three), discriminated 97% of the sample (n=76), two non-series attackers displayed, or were reported to have displayed, little of the behaviours included in the SSA-I, to the extent that they could not be assigned to either sub-group.

These cases also highlight the research presumption that in all incidents of stranger rape there is a baseline of aggression and sexuality etc., from which the research design sought identifiable potentially discriminating behaviours.

The two cases were attacks where the offenders' activity remained close to that "base line", therefore they were not classifiable due to lack of reported behaviour, and therefore they were excluded from further analyses.

These next steps in the research were to see if the behavioural distinction by classification would discriminate other characteristics of the offender. In effect the process was to test the hypotheses relating to extrapolation from the reported sexual crime
behaviours, to distinctive background features of the offenders, which could be supported by empirical observation.

The Abuser/Exploiter Dichotomy

Global exploration of the first discriminating level

The dichotomous Abuser v Exploiter classification was the first stage of classifying the offenders from the sample into two groups based on their predominant index crime characteristics. Fifty-nine offenders, (80% n=74), were assigned to the Exploiter group, 15, (20%), were designated Abusers.

Analysis of offender characteristics and assigned types was then carried out before the second level decision was implemented.

Offender characteristics were those drawn from the National Criminal Record documents, data were derived from them by content analysis.

Inter-variable relationships between the offender's history and their assignment to the Exploiter/Abuser sub-groups were examined by common analyses using a weak monotonicity coefficient so that the sign of correlation would be observed.
"The coefficient of Monotonicity between two variables ranges from -1 to +1 and assesses to what extent an increase in one variable is accompanied by an increase (or no decrease) in the other variable, with no reference to an a priori regression line", (Shye 1991).

The global approach, i.e. analysis of all recorded background features with the classifications of Abuser/Exploiter, was used because there were no specific hypotheses suggesting that either type would be associated with specific aspects of an offender's history.

Furthermore there are no similar classification schemes from which such hypotheses could be derived. For example, Hazelwood's, (1987), classification of Selfish v Pseudo-unselfish rapists appears behaviourally similar to the Abuser/Exploiter classification. However, Hazelwood did not present any organised account of consistent extrapolation to offender characteristics by the use of his "types" of rapist.

As a means of further developing an understanding of the personal characteristics of the offenders who exhibit different classes of behaviour, the approach was to examine the sign and size of inter-variable
association coefficients. These would be used to indicate potential discrimination between types, and the history of offenders assigned to types.

The following tables show the relationships derived from common analysis using the monotonicity coefficient. The programme, producing the output shown, multiplies the coefficients by 100 and represents them as integer numbers.

**Age Related Crime History**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable title</th>
<th>Exploit</th>
<th>Abuse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile dishonesty</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult dishonesty</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile burglary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult burglary</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile violence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult violence</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile indecency</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult indecency</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile damage</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult damage</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile disorder</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult disorder</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table eleven
Weakly correlated items of dishonesty and burglary indicate potentially little variability in the subgroups. Sexual, and some anti-social history, shown in italics, appeared to predict variation between the groups both in size and sign of correlations.

Although arbitrary, correlations of around the plus or minus 30 were hypothesised as having potential for discrimination between types, having regard also to the sign differential. These are highlighted in the tables for convenient reference.

However, a general overview of the age related relationships revealed adult offending as possibly more of a feature associated with the Exploiters than Abusers. Juvenile offending particularly dishonesty, violence, and disorder, although weak, were more correlated with the Abusers.

One interpretation of these phenomena may be that diverse adult offending continues in the Exploiter group, (66% of them having juvenile crime history), where records of the Abusers show less diversity in offending, and less detail of them being known to police as adults.
This may suggest that the Abusers learn from their early experiences with law enforcement, and either adult offending does not endure, or more probably they become "street wise" enough to reduce the probability of arrest.

Table twelve overleaf shows the Abuser/Exploiter dichotomy against specific crimes and previous offending against victims by gender. The majority of these specific crime variables show weak correlation with both "types".

Indecent assault, damage by fire, possession of drugs, and previous crime where the female has been victimised, are more strongly correlated with the Exploiter. There are also revealing, but weaker, associations with the Abuser.

The crime history of the Exploiter, in this table, could be seen a possible extension of the associated thematic variables in previous tables, a general diversity of crime involvement with indecent assault associated with the type relatively strongly.

The variables weakly correlated with the Abuser classification may confirm the appearance of the abusive, aggressive, and generally anti-social nature of the Abuser group.
Vehicle crime and traffic offences suggest a general life style of law breaking. Possession of offensive weapons may relate to their preparation for aggressive offensive actions.

Correlations of specific crimes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable title</th>
<th>Exploit</th>
<th>Abuse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criminal deception</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent assault</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent exposure</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive weapon</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession firearm</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic offences</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage by fire</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street robbery</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary dwelling</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary other</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession drugs</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>-31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime against male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime against female</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>-66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table twelve

A history of indecent exposure may indicate a further feature of the Abuser group, i.e those whose sexual crime behaviour includes demeaning the victim, single and multiple acts of violence, binding, gagging and blindfolding their victims etc.
Indecent exposure generally occurs in circumstances where there is no attempt at personal interaction, it is a distant display to elicit response from the victim, without commitment from the offender.

It appears to have been recognised as such from the early 19th century, (Vagrancy Act 1824), an offence intended to insult the female. This tends to typify the actions of the Abuser, an impersonal assaultive attack in which the victim is no more than an object against which the offender acts.

Indecent assault, and crimes against females, would appear to be expected correlations with the sub-group of Exploiters, being those whose sexual crime behaviour included items from the "Sexuality" and "Intimacy" elements of facet two. Except that a female victim was in fact coded as such if she was the victim of any crime.

Although the stronger correlated sexual history may result from the sexual assault of females, a weaker correlation in previous crime against males also suggests that the Exploiter group were prepared to victimise both sexes.
Other crime characteristics and descriptive variables were entered into common analysis to discriminate the types by their history. Aspects of their index offending which had been drawn from police documents, not necessarily the victim statements, were also compared with elements of the Abuse/Exploitation facet in table thirteen below.

Prior and index crime characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable title</th>
<th>Exploit</th>
<th>Abuse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persistent attacker</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of tattoo</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatric history</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre planning</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepares escape</td>
<td>-39</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar with area</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index disposed MHA</td>
<td>-77</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous MHA</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also known victim</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder in series</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aware fingerprint</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aware traces</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within premises</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series attacker</td>
<td>-34</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table thirteen
Items reported thus far have been associated with the Exploiter group and table thirteen continues to illustrate the diversity of the Exploiter's characteristics.

However, some items now start to pick up the criminal nature of the Abuser, particularly in respect of an offending style in respect of both his prior law breaking and his index crimes.

Potentially discriminating differences became apparent between the two groups, the Abusers pre-planning, preparation for escape and his knowledge of the area, evident in the commission of his index crimes, tends to perpetuate the image of a more criminally intelligent individual.

Knowledge, and therefore avoidance, of leaving possible fingerprint evidence associated with the Abuser, appears to contrast with the Exploiters avoidance of leaving trace evidence, mostly semen.

Series attacks may also be more of the hallmark of the Abuser, a possible reflection that through his experience and planning he avoids detection for longer periods.
The personal, educational and demographic detail of the sample offenders were contained in documents generally prepared as an assistance to the courts having jurisdiction over the offenders' cases. There must always be doubt on the accuracy of these records, not that the information may be false but that it may not be complete.

However that which was recorded was treated as present or absent with a view to examine trends which appeared.

Known antecedent history was analysed with elements of the Abuse/Exploitation facet, and are shown below.

Correlations of antecedent history generally indicated little in the way of potential discrimination, other than possible factors of disturbed parental control. An absent parent, usually the father, appeared more associated with the Abuser group and less strongly correlated with the Exploiters, in which group the presence of a step-parent can be noted.
Social, Familial, and Interpersonal history

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable title</th>
<th>Exploiter</th>
<th>Abuser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed residence</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Absent parent</strong></td>
<td>-37</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step parent</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black</strong></td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Further education</strong></td>
<td>-60</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special schools</td>
<td>-29</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Married</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single</strong></td>
<td>-34</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous marriage</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parenthood</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military service</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power sports</td>
<td>-18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table fourteen

Ethnic appearance of the offenders would appear to discriminate white against non-white in their index crime behaviour, black and other race offenders seemingly more correlated with the Abuser activities.
Pre-index crime mental disorder was low in frequency, but the circumstance is more associated with the Exploiter group, a few of which have recorded psychiatric history, or disposal from a court by a Mental health Act order.

A few of the Abusers, however seem more likely to have had the index crime punishment substituted by orders to secure units.

To summarise the global approach, twenty-eight aspects of the offenders' background appeared to have some potential for discrimination between the Abusers, those whose sexual crime activity was that of reported aggression and criminal behaviour, and Exploiters whose sexual crime behaviour was reflected in more sexual and pseudo-intimate activities.

Exploration of Relationships, antecedent factors by type

Twenty-eight variables dealing with the criminal, social, and personal history of the sample appeared to have some discriminating potential between those offenders classified as "Exploiters" and those assigned the title "Abusers".
In order to examine the significance of potential discrimination, the background variables were analysed by crosstabulation producing two by two tables, with the variable of Abuse/Exploitation.

The use of conventional statistical methods of inquiry was limited by the sample size, (n=74, two low activity attackers having been non assigned), and the format in which data were prepared.

As non-parametric, dichotomous, qualitative data, the variables of offender background, and the description of types drawn from the multivariate model of sexual assault behaviour, were more suited to investigation by the chi-square statistic.

However the sample size reduced the proposed effectiveness of seeking levels of significance, by which firm predictive probabilities could be assumed, from a method in which observed and expected cell frequencies were so important.

Abuser and Exploiter Group Variation

The following tables show the potentially discriminating variables of offender history by assigned "type" of offender.
Each table gives the population assigned to the subgroups, (Exploiter n=59, Abuser n=15), and their frequencies. The chi-square statistic is shown after Yates conversion, and p values indicated where applicable, n/s means not significant.

The majority of bivariate analyses did NOT reach levels of significance.

Examination of Prior Offending

The earlier global attempts to discriminate crime histories by types of sexual offender, suggested that there was little differential in age related and specific crime records. Previous offending is probably the most consistent detail recorded in the national criminal records.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRIME TYPE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>ABUSERS</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>p=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROPERTY CRIME</td>
<td>47 (80%)</td>
<td>12 (80%)</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIOLENT CRIME</td>
<td>32 (54%)</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEXUAL CRIME</td>
<td>29 (49%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>4.91</td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAMAGE/DISORDER</td>
<td>25 (42%)</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table fifteen
Those details are accessible to the police investigator, and routinely become part of any major police enquiry. Any possibility of discriminating between types of offender, which includes a prediction of a related crime history, has great potential of practical value.

Thus, a more general focus on the type of crime revealed an important, and significant, difference between the proposed types of attacker and their sexual crime history.

Sexual Offence History

An arrest record for some sexual crime appears to have the potential to discriminate between the Exploiter group, (n=59), which has half the population with some kind of sexual crime history, and the Abusers who have a minority with that crime history.

Potentially, the probability of previous sexual offending being related to the Exploiter sub-group has direct implications for the police investigator. No detective could afford to ignore the possibility that an unknown sexual attacker may have committed sexual
crime before. For example, in circumstances that revealed an "Exploitive" rape, the detective may have empirical support in searching records for a previous sex offender from this finding.

**Property Crime History**

Abusers and Exploiters contained the same proportion of offenders who had "Property crime" histories. Meaning the previous offending where property or financial gain was involved, typically all acts of dishonesty and burglary.

High frequencies indicated that dishonesty was a common feature in all the sample.

**Violent and Disorderly Crime History**

Violent crime, and a history of damage and/or disorder, can be seen to have some potential for discrimination between the types. Abusers, (n=15), having less proportion of offenders with a record of such crimes.
Examination of Age Related Crime History

Five age related variables were indicated as potentially discriminating, three of which were of prior sexual offending, the others of adult disorder and damage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>ABUSER</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>p=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile indecency</td>
<td>8 (13%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult indecency</td>
<td>18 (30%)</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>17 (29%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult damage</td>
<td>15 (25%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult disorder</td>
<td>14 (24%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table sixteen

Prior Record of Rape

Although this analysis revealed only a level approaching statistical significance, previous rape appeared to be more associated with the Exploiter classification and can be anticipated as relatively important in the profiling of sexual crime.
Specific sexual offending and the asocial variables of damage and disorder appear as a feature of the Exploiter group (n=59). Although not statistically significant, the frequency differential suggests further support for the hypothesis that the "true sex offender" may well be found in the classification as well as a generally asocial sub-group.

Prior Adult Damage and Disorder

A previous record of Adult Damage and Adult Disorder being almost non-existent in the Abuser sub-group, may also have relevance in the profiling of probable life characteristics of the unknown offender.

Examination of Specific Crime History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>ABUSER</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indecent assault</td>
<td>18 (30%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage by fire</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession of drugs</td>
<td>12 (20%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle crime</td>
<td>23 (39%)</td>
<td>8 (53%)</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime on females</td>
<td>38 (64%)</td>
<td>4 (27%)</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table seventeen
Indecent Assault

A prior arrest record of indecent assault, failed to reveal statistical significance, although the variation of proportions suggested support for the proposition that the "Exploiter" sub-group probably contained the "sex offender".

Eighteen Exploiters, (n=59), had such a record, whereas this previous offending was observed in only one of the Abuser's background, (n=15).

The lack of a previous personalised attack, such as indecent assault, did lend some substance to the hypothesis that interpersonal sexual crime was not what the "Abuser" group dynamics suggested.

More, it suggested that the Abuser tended to be the offender whose sexual offending was impersonal, aggressive, demeaning, and calculated, with reduced risk of identification high in the Abuser motivation.
Damage by Fire

Arson, damage by fire, occurred so infrequently that its significance as a predicted part of offence history was unlikely to be of any value. Although the observation could be made that when it was present in crime histories, the offenders' index crimes were of the Exploitive type.

Previous Victimisation of Females

The Exploiter group were nearly five times as likely to have previously committed crime in which females were victimised, than the Abusers, the p value indicating a possible 95% confidence of such a prediction.

Examination of Other Characteristics

The national criminal record contains recorded details of offender's background, but other characteristics can be drawn from the crime file retained by the police force having jurisdiction. Examination of these data with the classification of Exploiter/Abuser was carried out as reported in the next table.
Persistent attackers

Although the Abuser appears, to the greater extent, to be the serial rapist, the Exploiter group contains a higher frequency of those whose index sexual offence behaviour and crime characteristics has strong similarity with previous crimes that they have committed.

Other Offender Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>ABUSER</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>$p^=$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persistent attacker</td>
<td>23 (39%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of tattoo</td>
<td>17 (29%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepares escape</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar with area</td>
<td>29 (49%)</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder in series</td>
<td>10 (17%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aware fingerprint</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>4 (27%)</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aware traces</td>
<td>12 (20%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series attack</td>
<td>32 (54%)</td>
<td>12 (80%)</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table eighteen
Preparing escape

Prior planning, represented by the variable title of "Prepared", failed to indicate potential for discrimination in global analysis. "Escape", however, i.e. the actions of the offender which revealed a plan to leave the scene and reduce the chance of capture, neared statistical significance.

One third of Abusers, compared with one tenth of the Exploiters, made such preparation.

Thus Abusers, in their crime characteristics, displayed a greater concern for their own safety from arrest, typically planning both the rape and their escape from the scene with which they were familiar.

Familiarity with the attack area

Both sub-groups contained those who had carried out their index crime in geographical locations with which they were familiar. The variable "familiarity" was drawn from the national crime records, and where present indicated that previous offending, residence, or employment had been in the same area as the index rape.
The Abuser sub-group, those whose sexual offending was of a more criminal and aggressive nature, contained a higher proportion of offenders whose records indicated familiarity.

Knowledge of Fingerprint and Trace evidence

The proportion of "Abuser" type offenders who were aware of fingerprints, actively taking measures in the rape to avoid or remove the possibility of leaving such evidence, was greater than the Exploiter.

Together with other activities, this suggested that the Abuser group contained offenders who generally thought through their attacks.

Conversely, the proportion of Exploiter attackers who were aware of trace evidence was greater than the Abusers.

Murder in the series

Ten offenders in the sample had killed at least one of their rape victims, but had also attacked surviving victims. By their reported index crime behaviours, all were assigned to the Exploiter sub-group, those in which index sexual crime was of a sexual and pseudo-intimate nature.
Examination of Familial and Education Factors

Further Education

Both the Abuser and Exploiter groups contained the same small number of offenders who had gone on to education beyond secondary school, although the proportion of Abusers was greater, representing one fifth of the group compared to one twentieth of Exploiters.

However, those Abusers who availed themselves of this opportunity failed to capitalise on it, all being either unskilled or unemployed. Non-achievement seems present in the Abuser group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>ABUSER</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>$p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absent parent</td>
<td>18 (30%)</td>
<td>7 (47%)</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further education</td>
<td>3 (5%)</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married at index</td>
<td>16 (27%)</td>
<td>4 (27%)</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table nineteen
Marriage

Marriage or co-habitation failed to show differences by the assignment of offenders to the first level sub-groups.

Absent parents

The Abuser sub-group contained a higher proportion of recorded absence of a parent, the sub-group having almost half of their subjects with such absence. The Exploiters also appear to have a large minority, just under one third, with similar disturbance of parental presence.

The Question of Ethnicity

Ethnic appearance of the offenders would appear to discriminate white against non white in their index crime behaviour, black and other race offenders seemingly more correlated with the Abuser activities.

Ethnicity was not examined by crosstabulation, the ethnic sub-groups would have been very small in number, considering that this exploration was carried out on a small sample in any case, (N=74).
Examination of Recorded Mental Health History

Pre-index crime recorded mental disorder appears to be low in frequency and is more associated with the Exploiter sub-group. The Abuser sub-group, however, contained a few that had their index crime verdict substituted by orders to secure units.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>EXPLOIT</th>
<th>ABUSER</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>$p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatric history</td>
<td>7 (12%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index disposed MHA</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous MHA disposal</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table twenty

To summarise the differences between the two sub-groups, then, the first level indicated differences between the statistically derived groups of Abuser v Exploiter. In summary, the Exploiters appeared to have more diverse and extended crime histories as opposed to the Abusers' earlier juvenile brushes with criminal justice, and then less diversity in adult offending.

The Abuser group also appeared to have a greater disturbance in familial characteristics and less consistency in lasting marriage or cohabitation.
Although no different from the Exploiters in dishonest property crime, the Abuser's sexual crime history was however, considerably less than the Exploitative group, and non-existent as juveniles.

For the purposes of this exploration into the feasibility of producing a meaningful investigative classification scheme, the Abuser group was treated as one type of offender, necessary because of the small number of offenders represented in the classification which combines the Aggressive and Criminal elements, (N=15).

The sample size precludes any firmer inferences to be drawn, however, there appears to be variation between the major groups in their criminal history, index offence characteristics and to some extent their lifestyle.

Their social and personal histories unfortunately failed to statistically discriminate between the Exploiter and Abuser groups. The analysis tended to show trends that may in future analyses of a larger data set, more accurately discriminate history by the type of offender.
Pseudo-Intimate, Sexual, and Abuser Rapists.

The second level of exploratory analyses was to reduce the dichotomy of Exploitation and Abuse to discernible sub-groups drawn from the SSA facet of Intimacy, Sexuality, Criminality, and Aggression, (Facet two).

The small, but not homogenous, group of Abusers was considered too small for further reduction into sub-types of "Abusive criminal" and "Abusive aggressive", although examination of the elements, using the cumulative approach, revealed no joint scores. By implication this suggested that the Abuser was either mainly Aggressive or mainly Criminal in his rape activities.

Thus a revised mapping sentence expresses the slight change in focus prompted by the research classifications and subsequent case assignment, "It is not necessary that a mapping sentence identical to the one which helps initiate a project will also be produced at the end. Indeed one way of thinking about a piece of facet research is as a process of refinement, elaboration, and validation of a mapping sentence", (Canter 1985):
The Exploitive Sub-groups

The Exploiter group was examined using the same approach as that of the Abuser/Exploiter assignment. Fifty-nine Exploiters were sub-grouped into "Exploitive sexual" and "Exploitive intimate" classifications. Thirty-two, (54% n=59), were classified as predominantly sexual in their index crimes, twenty-seven, (46%), exhibited predominantly intimate behaviours.
During this process, a small sub-set of Exploitative offenders was observed who revealed near equal numbers of items in both the Sexuality and Intimacy elements. Four offenders, (7% n=59), three of them black, attacked in almost identical circumstances.

The common features of what may be described as the high risk situational Exploitative rapist met their victims opportunistically, whose circumstances of vulnerability were increased by the consumption of alcohol, drugs, or in one case through the victims' young age.

These offenders befriended their victims, and by an extended "Con" approach gained the victim's trust, taking them with false promises of help, care or assistance to premises over which the offender had control. They were not "date-rape" cases as prior to the first victim/offender contact neither knew the other.

The victims were then detained over several hours during which repeated rape, and other sexual activity occurred, before the victims were released. During the detention of the victims, the offenders revealed things about themselves and made no strong secret about where the premises were situated. Nor did they appear to worry about the police being informed.
After release and report to the police, arrest followed within 24 hours. All offenders used the defence, "consent by the victim" and rate of acquittal was high.

In the records of these offenders were previous identical crimes using identical methods with a high acquittal rate. This small sub-set of Exploitative attackers appear archetypal of the rapists postulated by researchers such as Scully and Marolla, (1985), as those whose societal constructs present them with no valid reason why they should not continue to exploit females for their own sexual or psychological purposes.

Global analysis of the Exploitive rapists

Common analysis, using a weak monotonicity coefficient, (Shye 1991), revealed that eighteen variables appeared to have some potential for discrimination between the "Sexual" and "Intimate" attackers. These variables of offender history had been drawn from the national criminal record of each offender.
Each of the background variables were compared with the assigned sub-groups of Sexual and Intimate attackers by crosstabulation producing two by two tables using the chi-square statistic. The comparisons did NOT reveal a level of significance.

Violent and Sexual Crime History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>INTIMATE</th>
<th>SEXUAL</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>p=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult violence</td>
<td>17 (63%)</td>
<td>12 (38%)</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult damage</td>
<td>9 (33%)</td>
<td>6 (19%)</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street robbery</td>
<td>11 (41%)</td>
<td>6 (19%)</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder in the series</td>
<td>6 (22%)</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession of firearm</td>
<td>6 (22%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power sports interest</td>
<td>5 (19%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table twenty-one

The Exploitive Intimate Offender

Although the obvious aggressive nature of adult violence, murder and street robbery, which has to have an assaultive constituent, was more frequent in the Intimate sub-group, so were other not so overtly aggressive characteristics.
Criminal damage as an adult was present in the Intimate sub-group at a ratio of two to one, perhaps indicating that in addition to firearm possession and power sports, the "Intimate" offender had a low tolerance threshold that when crossed, resulted in aggressive acting out.

The frequencies of aggressive characteristics present in the Intimate sub-group histories also provides some support for the regional distribution of the Smallest Space Analysis configuration, (Facet two), where aspects of the "Intimacy" element appear to have regional correspondence with aspects of the Aggressive items.

The Exploitive Sexual Offender

The "Sexual" attacker, characterised in this research classification scheme by displaying mostly sexual activity, probably contains the true sex offender whose sexual assaults are likely to continue despite arrest and in series between arrests.

Sixty-six percent of the Sexual sub-group were serial attackers in their index crimes, as opposed to 41% in the Intimate sub-group.
Previous sexual offending was a feature of the Sexual attacker although variation was in the type of sex crime and not age related, as the Intimate and Sexual sub-groups showed 11% and 16% Juvenile Indecency and 33% and 38% Adult Indecency respectively.

**Sexual Crime and Potential for Re-offending**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>INTIMATE</th>
<th>SEXUAL</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>p=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Previous rape</td>
<td>6 (22%)</td>
<td>11 (34%)</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series rapist</td>
<td>11 (41%)</td>
<td>21 (66%)</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent assault</td>
<td>7 (26%)</td>
<td>11 (34%)</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent exposure</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>5 (16%)</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police notice</td>
<td>13 (48%)</td>
<td>21 (66%)</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent offender</td>
<td>7 (26%)</td>
<td>16 (50%)</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table twenty-two

The Sexual sub-group tended to have slightly more offenders whose previous offending had included rape and indecent assault. However, Indecent Exposure, perhaps reflects the Intimate attacker as requiring more personal contact than the Sexual, who for some in the sub-group, appeared to indulge in all aspects of offensive sexual behaviour.
This sub-group have more individuals who had come to police notice more than three times, (66%). Similarly the "Sexual" sub-group have more whose index crime was committed in ways which closely matched other previous offending, (50%), as opposed to just over a quarter of the Intimate sub-group whose index offending paralleled prior crime.

Examination of Familial and other Factors

In some background and familial factors the sub-groups of Intimate and Sexual offenders contained similar proportions of offenders, for example more than three quarters of each sub-group were unskilled, and 60% of Intimates as opposed to 50% of the Sexual type were unemployed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE TITLE</th>
<th>INTIMATE</th>
<th>SEXUAL</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>p=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absence of one parent</td>
<td>10 (37%)</td>
<td>8 (25%)</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step-parent present</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married at index</td>
<td>6 (22%)</td>
<td>10 (31%)</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single man at index</td>
<td>21 (78%)</td>
<td>21 (66%)</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous marriage</td>
<td>6 (22%)</td>
<td>12 (38%)</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parenthood</td>
<td>7 (26%)</td>
<td>12 (38%)</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>n/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table twenty-three
The personal and family background of these Exploitative attackers indicated small variation between the Intimate and Sexual sub-groups.

Frequency differences were seen to be small however the Intimate attacker group, bearing in mind their proposed antecedent violent and aggressive nature, contained more single men and a higher frequency of an absent parent. A substitute step-parent presence appeared as of little difference between groups.

An equal number of Intimate attackers were married at the time of the index crimes as had previously encountered a failed marriage or relationship. The Sexual sub-group showed a higher frequency of marriage at the time of index offending and a higher breakdown of earlier relationships.

Reflected also in the parenthood status of the sub-group, the Sexual sub-group contains more men who been involved in a relationship where there had been children.

Education

In education and remedial teaching, no Intimate attacker and only three men, (9% of n=32), of the Sexual group received some sort of further education.
at colleges or night classes. Two men of the Intimate sub-group, (7% n=27), and four of the Sexual attackers, (13% n=32), were recorded as attending remedial schools.

Ethnicity in the proposed sub-groups of Abuser, Exploitive Sexual, and Exploitive Intimate.

Ethnic distributions were retained much the same as the sample in general, and in roughly equal proportions in each of the sub-groups including the Abusive criminal/aggressive type.

Comparison between the Abusive,(n=15), Intimate, (n=27), and Sexual, (n=32), revealed that nine white offenders represented 60% of the Abusers, fourteen white males formed 52% of the Intimates, and nineteen white males were 59% of the Sexual sub-group.

Other race attackers, in the sample predominantly the appearance of dark skinned europeans, were not present in the Intimate group, but one such man made up 7% of the Abuser group, and three men represented 9% of the Sexual sub-group.
The sample size in general, and the ethnic distribution within it, precluded further analyses based on the race of the attacker. The possible subgroups would be so small as render further examination futile.

To summarise the results of these statistical methods of inquiry, figures forty and forty-one have been prepared to show the antecedent trends in each sub-group which analyses revealed.

Figure forty indicates the proposed characteristics of the Abuser rapist, combining the conceptual sub-types of Aggressive and Criminal because of the small population.
Paradigm of Abuser characteristics

ABUSER

CRIMINAL

Planning, preparation, and familiarity reveals a careful and criminal nature
Absence of a parent noted
Previous marriage
Single, unskilled

PROPERTY 80%
VIOLENT 40%
SEXUAL 13%
DAMAGE/DISORDER 33%

AGGRESSIVE

All to police notice before 25 yrs.
Early police record features

JUVENILE OFFENDING FEATURE
LOW PROBABILITY OF PRIOR SEX CRIME
SERIAL OFFENDERS

Figure forty
Figure forty-one indicates the proposed characteristics of the Exploiter group and discriminates between the Sexual and Intimate types. The central column of the paradigm shows the general features of the Exploiter group, whereas the columns to each side indicate the proposed sub-group characteristics.

Short summary titles have been used in both figures, showing in the central column aspects of criminal history.
Paradigm of Exploiter characteristics

**EXPLOITER**

**SEXUAL**
- Series attackers
- Persistent offending
- More than 3 convictions
- White, 68% prior sexual

**PROPERTY 80%**
- VIOLENT 54%
- SEXUAL 49%
- DAMAGE/DISORDER 42%

**ADULT OFFENDING IS A FEATURE**
- JUVENILE AND ADULT INDECENCY
- RAPE AND INDECENT ASSAULT
- POSSESSION OF DRUGS
- MALE AND FEMALE VICTIMS OF CRIME
- MURDER IN THE SERIES

**INTIMATE**
- Aggressive history
- Low tolerance to frustration
- Single and/or previous marriage
- Black, 85% prior violence
- Power Sports

**Figure forty-one**
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CONCEPT AND THEORY

Exploring investigative types of rapist
SUMMARY OF PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION OF RAPISTS

Three types of rapist were proposed from the analysis of crime material and the application of classification rules.

The Abusive Criminal/Aggressive rapist:

Small in number, the "Abuser" group represented 20% of the sample, (n=74), the type may be identified by the extent of planning and preparatory acts employed in carrying out their sexual crimes. Furthermore, the Abuser type offender carries out his sexual assault in a predominantly impersonal way.

As an adult, his offending, or detection for offending, appears less diverse and may be a product of that early attention from law enforcement. However, it also may be that offending does not stop, but that he is more careful and more "criminally aware", and so avoids arrest.

Within the type there are suggestions that the misogynist may be contained in the "Aggressive" offender sub-group, and the more "Criminal" offender may reflect the attitude that rape to him is just another criminal act.
Violent previous offence history almost equals the "Exploiter" type, however the more aggressive nature of the "Abuser" may be observed in the sort of crime with which they become involved, particularly possession of weapons, and street robbery. Property crime, the stealing of money or goods, is as high in this group as Exploiters.

In frequency the group display less previous sexual offending, but their apparent "criminal awareness" suggests that when sexual offending begins, the Abuser continues to rape and becomes the serial attacker.

Perhaps this is an indication that the way in which their sexual assaults are carried out makes them more difficult to detect before they may have committed many assaults. For example, analyses revealed that their sex crime behaviour tends to be physical more than verbal, and it is therefore probable that they leave few clues to their identity.

Series offending for the Abuser group appears to have different dynamics to the other proposed types. There appears more rigidity in the choice of location in his offending, the Abuser tending to continue his attacks either within premises or outside without change, either within the series or from previous assaults.
Also, the aggressive/criminal nature of the index offences continues but without noticeable escalation from offence to offence.

The attacks reveal a possible release of aggression with little interpersonal involvement required, the victim appearing as an "object" against which the offender acts.

In their known personal and social histories the "Abuser's" disturbed development, with the absence of the father notable, may be reflected in their juvenile criminal history. For a few, further education appeared as an option which was not pursued to achievement.

The Abuser tends to be a single, (73%), unskilled male, (73%), with a large minority, (40%), having a history of failed marriages or unsuccessful relationships, (n=74).

Themes of anger, aggression, and conflict appear in his index offence behaviour and make the "Abuser" appear similar to the "Aggressive" rapist of Guttmacher & Weihofen (1952), or in respect of some, the "Anger" rapist of Groth (1977).
However expressed "Anger" either focused or possibly displaced, was not consistently identified in the Abuser attacks. When it became apparent, the offender's anger seemed to be reactive rather than omnipresent, although aggressive, demeaning and controlling activities were present throughout the rape.

These rape behaviours are also identifiable with the Groth description of the Power Assertive offender whose crime activity appears to resemble closely the Anger rapist, and behaviourally appears closer to the Abuser activity.

The sexual crime activity of the Abuser group has close parallels with the "Selfish" rapist described by Hazelwood, (1987):

Behaviourally, "He neither desires or wants the victim to become involved. Instead he uses the victim in much the same way an actor in a play uses a prop".

Verbally, "...self oriented and physically abusive.....it is clear that his pleasure alone matters above all else. He will exhibit no concern for his victim's comfort, welfare or feelings".
Sexually, "...this type of offender will do whatever he wants to do.... Physical, verbal, or passive resistance will not deter him in his desire to sexually dominate, punish, or use his victim.

Physically, "The selfish rapist may utilize moderate, excessive, or brutal levels of force".

The Exploitive Rapist:

The "Exploiter" group as a whole, (n=59), were four times the number of the "Abusers", (n=15), with little to differentiate them from the Abusers in the type of previous offending, that is with the exception of sexual crime.

Age related sexual offending was present throughout the age range of these "Exploiter" offenders, both as juveniles and adults, rape and indecent assault were present in nearly half of their antecedents.

Property crime, dishonesty and burglary, was as high in frequency, (80%), as the Abusers. Prior violent crime and the incidence of damage/disorderly conduct were roughly comparable in each group.
In their index crime behaviour, the "Exploiters" appear to share descriptions of the "Power" rapist described by Groth (1977), and the "Pseudo unselfish" rapist postulated by Hazelwood (1987):

Behaviourally, "Pseudo-unselfish behaviour indicates a belief on the part of the rapist that his 'concern' for the victim's comfort and welfare will win her over and a hope that she will 'realize' he is not a bad person at all".


Sexually, "...the 'pseudo-unselfish' rapist attempts to involve the victim....Interestingly, he will normally do what the victim allows him to do [i.e., she does not physically or verbally resist his acts or demands]. His behaviour does not indicate a desire to harm the victim physically or to force her to engage
in acts when she resists. This may be due to a lack of confidence on his part, or a fantasy that she has become a willing partner, which the use of force would destroy".

Physically, "The amount of physical force utilized by the 'pseudo-unselfish' rapist is usually found to be minimal....While mild slapping may occur, the offender does not desire to physically hurt the victim".

The Exploitive Sexual rapist:

As part of the "Exploiter" classification the "Sexual" attacker was more likely to be the series offender, (66% n=32), compared with the Intimate sub-group. (41% n=27). The "Sexual" offender also tended to be persistent in his style of offending and to adopt a procedure for offending, whether sexual or not, that he continued to use in his index crimes.

Perhaps this was reflected in the differing amount of prior arrests, more than three times before index offending, (Sexual 66%, Intimate 48%), suggests an inability to change or develop, to him, more successful strategies.
The Exploitive Sexual offender, those who display the greater amount of sexual behaviour in their index crimes, was also more likely to have prior sex offending as a feature of his criminal history, particularly as a young adult, (38% adult indecency, 34% prior rape), (n=32), compared to the Intimate, (22% in each respectively, n=27).

This type appears to contain the true sex offender whose sex crime activity endures. By the age of 30 years all have come to police attention for sexual offending, with half of them having served some term of imprisonment before the age of 25 years. Sixty eight percent of the white attackers have a sex crime history.

Among the "Sexual" attackers of this classification may be the "True sex Offender" of Guttmacher et al (1952), or Cohens' (1971) "Rape Sexual Aim" rapist in which the authors proposed; "Here the act of rape is clearly motivated by sexual wishes, and the aggression is primarily in the service of this aim...It is not an impulsive act, however. This is a scene he has lived through many times in fantasy". 
The Exploitive Pseudo-Intimate rapist:

This sub-group displayed more aggressive types of offending as part of their criminal history. They appear to have a low tolerance to frustration, reacting to real or perceived wrongs by the use of violent or damaging activities.

Compared to the "Sexual" sub-group, the "Intimate" tended more to be single, (Intimate 78%, compared to Sexual 66%), and less likely to have been previously married, (29% compared to 38%). The Intimate attackers can commit their index crimes at any age. First time sex offending was present in all age groups of this type.

In respect of age however, it appeared the older the offender, the more likely it was that he had a prior sex offence record. Covert aggression and violence are linked to this sub-group, particularly in the black offender, 85% of them having previous arrest histories for violence.

The "Pseudo-Intimate" sub-group contains a higher proportion of those who may be considered as especially dangerous, six of ten offenders who, during their index offending, killed their victims.
These murderers showed index crime behaviours with "survivor" victims that was related to the Pseudo-intimacy element and not that of the Aggressive.

However the SSA of sexual assault behaviour appears to have picked up this tendency to aggression as the Intimate element has regional correspondence with the Aggressive.

The "Intimate" type attacker may resemble Groth and his colleagues, (1977), description of the Power reassurance rapist who was seen as one who rapes to alleviate perceived sexual or masculine inadequacy.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF EXPLORATORY TYPES

Interpretation of this exploratory classification by reference to existing schemes, presented some difficulty due to the different focus placed on the research and the different sample of rapists from which both conceptualised and observed types were drawn.

However, it does appear that regardless of the variety of motivational components of rape, described by so many, some of the clinically derived types of offender can be seen in the offence behaviour described in this
thesis, but NOT so that the behavioural elements revealed in Smallest Space Analysis adequately and exclusively describes what may motivate them.

With the exception of the Hazelwood, (1987), classification of Selfish v Pseudo Unselfish rapist, the suggested comparison with other typologies may be spurious, although there were clear indications that some of the "types" others have found, were present in the primary classification of Abuse/Exploitation.

The major cause of difficulty, paucity of information about each individual offender in his development, attitudes, opinions, cognitions and constructs etc., made integration of the proposed types with classical psychological theory difficult.

However, in reviewing the existing classification schemes, Knight and his colleagues, (1985), commented on the consistency of findings which indicated four "well-distinguished types";

"There appears to be one type, with possibly two variants, for whom aggression in the offense (sic) either serves to enhance the offender's sense of power, masculinity, or self esteem, or enables him to express feelings of mastery and conquest. Another type specified in various schemes commits rape out of anger
toward women and seeks in the offense to hurt, humiliate, and degrade his victim. A sadistic type of rapist is easily identified by his sexual arousal in response to violence and the very brutal, and possibly bizarre, nature of his assaults. A final type described in several systems is the rapist whose sexual offenses are only one component of an impulsive, antisocial lifestyle and an extensive criminal history".

Hazelwood, (1987), in his approach to classifying rapists for the purpose of then profiling them, describes using offence related material from which he initially decides on the type, i.e. Selfish or Unselfish, of offender that he sees revealed in the offence behaviour, before addressing possible motivation.

In many ways this research paralleled that pragmatic approach, the design of data capture from real offence material being similar in concept.

The approach described herein suggests that, for the purposes of investigative profiling, classification must first come from the offence behaviour, and then seek support from clinical interview and assessment in describing the possible motivations, developmental histories and attitudes of these sexual offenders.
Comparisons of Exploratory types with other classifications

Following a similar exercise to that which Hazelwood describes, same consideration of the much quoted Groth classification, (1977), was mapped onto the types of Abuser and Exploiter:

The Abuser as an Anger rapist:

Groth described the assault of the Anger rapist as typically characterised by physical brutality, the offender attacking the victim, beating, abusing and degrading the victim with an aim to hurt and debase her, expressing contempt through abusive and profane language.

A combination mood state of anger, distress, frustration and depression were described as typical of the Anger rapist, and the rape itself the result of some identifiable precipitating event. Dispute and conflict in family, employment, finance and social life were cited, the common theme appearing as one in which the offender felt that he had been wronged.
Groth and his colleagues inferred that the anger attack tended to be impulsive, on a victim who either happened to be available, or a target of revenge against someone not the victim, but displaced on a victim known to the target.

The attack was said to discharge the anger, being of short duration and spasmodic, appearing as impulsive, spontaneous assaults rather than premeditated. The offenders typically report no state of sexual excitement and may be impotent during the attack requiring masturbation or the performance of fellatio to arouse him.

He was said to find little or no sexual gratification in the attack and typically found difficulty in accounting for the assault, other than to explain that he was intoxicated or had been using drugs.

Observations from the research sample

Masturbation, either by the offender himself or by the victim at his command, during or preceding the index sexual crimes, indicated little differential in comparisons between Abusers and Exploiters, or indeed between the Exploitive sub-groups of Sexual and Intimate.
The "Abuser" group contained a few offenders whose overt anger, apparently against the victim, appeared illogical as the victim herself was a complete stranger, except by the explanation offered by the conceptual motivation of the Anger rapist in displacement of aggression.

However, the Abuser attacks did not appear spontaneous, although the victims may have been opportunistically selected. The degree of pre-planning and post offence activity suggests that there are offenders other than Anger attackers caught up in the display of Aggressive/Criminal behaviour suggested by the model derived from Smallest Space Analysis of sexual offence behaviour.

Other proposed features of the Anger rapist also do not "fit" easily in the Abuser type rapist, dysfunction in the ability to gain or maintain erection during the assaults, occurred less in the Abuser attacks than Exploiters, one fifth of the Abuser attacks compared with a little under one third of the Exploiters.
The Abuser as a Power Assertive rapist:

The Power Assertive rapist, was said to have no doubt about his masculinity, and by their offence behaviour as described by the same authors, may also be contained in the Abuser group of offenders. This type of sexual offender was said to rape in an exercise of his own perceived right to force sexual relationships with a female.

In his offending characteristics he resembles the Anger rapist, although the degree of anger may be less and more situationally determined by victim resistance. Aggression in the rape serves to control the victim and to assert the offender's masculinity in doing what he wishes to the victim.

Hazelwood, (1987), interpreted the power assertive rapists style of attack as being both sexually and verbally selfish with no concern for the victim's welfare or emotional comfort. The type was said to use moderate to excessive levels of force, and use it to subdue and control the victim.
Other than to address internalised self doubt about his own effectiveness and masculine competency, the Power Assertive attacker was said to rape as a perceived right to do so, as Hazelwood put it, "when he needs a woman".

Thus by their index offence behaviour, relatively impersonal, much as described in the facet items of the "Aggressive" and "Criminal" elements of the SSA, the Abuser group could contain those whose motivation may be both Anger and Power.

The Exploiter as a Power Rapist:

Whereas the Anger rapist may more easily be identified by his characteristically brutal assault, the postulate of Power motivation illustrates well the proposed overlap between types that has been expressed in caveats by a number of authors.

Power motivated offenders may well, in some ways, use the behaviour revealed by analysis and described as the Abuser element, but Groth and his colleagues also described the behaviour of the Power rapist which Smallest Space Analysis revealed as associated with what has been described by title, as the "Intimate" and "Sexual" offenders of the current sample.
The Power rapist was described as typically using physical aggression in order to accomplish the sexual submission of the victim, although the amount of force used may vary because of situational factors.

In language the Power attacker tends to be sexually assertive, instructional, ordering the victim to do what he wishes and also inquisitive about her, and her sexual preferences or interests.

Fantasies of sexual conquest and rape were said to be strong constituents of the Power rapists life, characteristically described as a scenario in which the victim, having been overpowered, succumbs to his sexual advances and becomes sexually aroused.

Typically an explanation for the rape was reported as sexual gratification, but Groth and his colleagues noted the absence of sexual foreplay or attempts at lovemaking.

Observations from the research sample

In behavioural aspects, which in consenting relationships may be seen as foreplay or sexual stimuli, the Exploiter group tended to have only slightly higher proportions of offenders who indulged in peripheral sexual acts.
Approximately two-thirds of each group, Exploiters and Abusers, fondled or touched their victim's breasts. Vaginal fondling and digital manipulation of the vagina was carried out by a third of the Exploiters as opposed to one fifth of the Abusers. Multiple penetration, that is more than one penetration by the penis of one bodily orifice, was carried out by 37% of the Exploiters and 25% of the Abusers.

Digital penetration of the anus, having potentially wide interpretation, was committed in almost equal proportions by members of both groups, 8% and 7% respectively.

The Power rapists attacks were described as failing to fulfil or live up to his fantasies and do not reassure him of his own competence. He therefore continues to rape, seeking the "right" victim. His offences become repetitive and compulsive committing many assaults over a short period of time.

Of the Exploiter group, the Exploitative Sexual sub-group offender contained more identified serial offenders and more of those whose previous crime activity resembled the method of their index sexual crimes.
As series attackers were present in each group, 80% of Abusers, 66% of Exploitative Sexual and 41% of Exploitative Intimate, the variation of series/non-series as identifying a type of attacker was not supported by this sample.

However, if it is true that the Power rapist's attacks become repetitive and compulsive, the persistent nature of the Sexual attackers crimes may indicate more clearly that his attacks serve Power needs.

As an overview, the types described by Groth, his colleagues, and others, do not easily fit the exploratory types derived from the analysis of sexual offence behaviour, although there appears some empirical support for the broader descriptions based on motivation.

This tends to confirm the requirement for a different classification approach for the investigative profiler, clearly brought about by the absence of any consistent, reliable, and detailed information about the offender.
The classifications derived from psychological theories in that motivation, internalised sexual and aggressive instincts, underlies behaviour, do provide an explanation for the variety of sexual assault activity. By inference however, these theories suggests that internal mechanisms are relatively stable intrapsychic processes that activate the offender and influence behaviour.

Such consistency may indeed exist, but the overt behaviour displayed by the rapist does not always follow the same pattern, appearing as development or change in behaviour inexplicable by a theory of internalised consistency.

Most personality theorists emphasise the relevance of development and parental influence, and there are "signs" in the research sample of rapists that development and learning of social behaviour, the perception of others that these offenders may have, and the importance of role identification may lead to an understanding of the rapists antecedent and index offending. The "signs" unfortunately cannot be reported as any stronger phenomena.
The cognitive processes that are inherent in human development have been addressed by many personality theorists, although how they define personality depends on the personality theory. Hence for example in exploring consistency of behaviour/personality, Skinner's, (1938), behaviouristic-learning theory of observed, measurable behaviour changing by positive or negative reinforcement can explain change in a rapists behaviour.

Kelly's personal construct theory, (1955), in which each person builds a system of psychological constructs and interprets all things around him by using a system of personal constructs unique to him, also offers a theoretical explanation for some of the observations made about the sample of rapists and what they do.

His "commonality corollary" suggesting that people do not have to experience the same conditions to view the world in similar ways, the shared construct that may reflect in similarity of behaviours.

Kelly's, interpretation of "personality" allowed for change and development in the constructs erected and tested by man, his "experience corollary" suggested that man tests his constructs by his own experiences.
and that those which are found useful are retained whilst redundant constructs are reformulated and retested, or discarded.

The Smallest Space Analysis configuration of regional distribution of inter-related variables of behaviour in sexual crime, and titled Abuser/Exploiter, Intimate, Sexual, Aggressive and Criminal, suggests that these elements are traits of observed behaviour, interpreted from the "Summary View", (Hirschberg 1978).

The proposal of different usage of traits was derived from Allport's trait theory, in which he defined a trait as a "neuro-psychic structure having the capacity to render many stimuli functionally equivalent and to initiate and guide equivalent (meaningfully consistent) forms of adaptive and expressive behaviour", (Allport 1961).

Allport suggested that traits are situationally interactive, proposing that "any theory that regards personality as stable, fixed, invariable, is wrong".
Hirschberg, (1978), proposed two theoretical models of the use of traits, the "Summary view" of behavioural patterns, and the "Dispositional View" which opposes behavioural assignment of the person by a described trait, disposition being seen as a cause for the person to behave in a certain way.

Krahe, (1992), discussed the "Summary View", which appears to accord with how the SSA elements were described and used, to explore types of rapist. She wrote that "..trait concepts serve the purpose of summarizing similar behaviours under a common label so as to facilitate the interpretation of behavioural patterns".

The Summary View utilises behaviour as observable characteristics of a trait, opening empirical exploration into the behaviours displayed by the person to the situation. In discussing development of the concept of the summary view, Krahe wrote that the main improvement was that behavioural indicators are assessed empirically, quoting "Buss and Craik (1980, 1984)" as proponents of an "act frequency approach" to personality, in which "they offered a stringent methodological rationale for establishing the strength of act trends indicative of a given trait".
Krahe also proposed that an advantage of this approach was that a trait may be represented by multiple acts, "This means that the ascription of a trait to a person does not require the person to show one particular act with high frequency so long as he or she shows a sufficient number of acts within a category".

However, nothing will resolve the problem of integrating theory with the behavioural patterns of rapists, revealed in their sexual crimes, until at least some collaborative studies are undertaken, from the investigative perspective, between professionals in the fields of law enforcement and behavioural science.

Hollins, wrote of the integration of research methodologies in respect of criminological psychology and a multidisciplinary approach to the better understanding of the criminal, "Such an ambitious account would rely on information from a range of methodologies and a willingness to break down professional barriers in both training and cooperation between researchers", (Hollins 1989).
DISCUSSION, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It appears appropriate to begin this chapter with a conclusion, as its influence is present in every part of the research project and the content of this thesis: The project reported here is merely a beginning, an exploration of applied methodology in action research, and an examination of what may be possible from the limited information available.

Discussion:-

The following discussion centres around some, but not all, important issues that are represented by questions that every research project faces at all stages. Those of the researchers' questions, the design and formulation of a research plan, the applicability of methods to be used and to what sample, and the inferences that can be drawn from the results.

How biased, and how representative are the samples used?:-

The samples of offence material and offender background are inter-related, the sexual crimes examined were those committed by the offenders whose known background detail formed the offender sample, therefore they can be discussed as a whole, if bias exists in one, it will be reflected in the other.
The samples appear to have some bias, for example, black offenders are over-represented, a product of the urban, metropolitan nature of rape crime, and the proximity of London. However, analyses did not focus on sexual assault behaviour by race, although in future work, with a larger and a more geographically widespread sample, variation in behaviour according to ethnicity may be a fruitful approach.

The samples may be systematically and situationally biased, systematically biased because all the rape offences were detected, situationally because of the non-availability of some documents and the geographical variation of the source material.

Further possible bias may have been introduced by the cognitive processes affecting the victim, and her ability to recall and recount the traumatic events explicit in sexual assault.

Research design compensated for the possible bias in a number of ways;
a) As stranger on stranger rapes, for a time each of these crimes was undetected, albeit that the time period between commission and detection was widely diverse. In the analyses of sexual crime behaviour each offence was treated as though it were undetected,
information and hence data were drawn from the circumstances of the crime itself, and no "overspill" was permitted from what was known about the attacker.

b) Similarly, where content analysis of offenders background was carried out, it was performed as it pertained to the circumstances of the offender before the commission of the index crimes.

c) Situational bias was impossible to overcome completely, the research relied on the detail of detected offences, and therefore offenders, by a national "trawl" of available information. However, although the sample contained more London Metropolitan crime than from anywhere else, sexual crimes were collected from all parts of the United Kingdom except Northern Ireland.

d) Biased reporting of the attack, accepted as a possibility, could in part, be compensated by the devised coding scheme, particularly in the definition of the types of variable used. Thematic variables were used to elucidate the offender's behaviour without having to assume exact verbal accuracy from the victim's cognitive processes and description of what had happened to her.
Unit specific variables dealt with very particular activities, and categories were assigned in circumstances where there was little doubt of the veracity of the victim statement.

e) There is no single answer to how representative such a sample could be, it is probably as representative of stranger attacks as any other sample may be. One can only look at the circumstances of the index crimes to formulate an opinion, but I doubt if any sample of sexual offenders could be truly representative, or even if "representativeness" is a coherent and necessary ingredient.

The question would be "representative of what"? All sexual harassment, all declared crimes of a sexual nature, all sexual crimes brought to police attention etc.? No detailed descriptive statistics exist on any of these categories so as to act as a test of "representativeness".

The research focused on the consistencies and relationships of sexual assault behaviour in order to derive a model of sexual assault, it follows that any and all such crime could be used to reinforce, replicate and validate the model by which offenders may be classified according to their reported actions.
Some measure of what the samples represent can be found by addressing reciprocal questions, is the sample biased because the offenders were more easily caught, and do undetected rape offences have a different behavioural structure?

Although some of these offenders were arrested within 24 hours of the commission of the crime, such as the high risk situational Exploitative attackers discussed on page 313, others were not arrested until some time after the attack.

In the case of serial sex offenders, the sample contained several whose sexual assaults had continued unabated for periods of years. For example, time spans of two to eight years were present in the sample, these at least, did not appear as the easiest to detect.

For future work in the analyses of sexual crime behaviour, consideration should be given to parallel inquiry into undetected rape crime, although there are both ethical and practical problems in such an approach.
Ethically, anonymity of the victim was a paramount consideration in research into detected cases of rape, the concerns and anxieties of rape victims whose attackers are still at large would require careful consideration if such an approach was adopted.

The practical problem would be that of identifying the crimes. Until the sexual assault activity against the victim entered the public domain, by trial of her attacker, the case remains as an individually recorded crime in the police area of jurisdiction.

The same cautionary note can be expressed in the examination of "False report" cases, those where clearly the female or male, for a number of possible reasons, has alleged a sexual crime to have been committed, when in fact it has not.

Given the possible psychological stresses that may underlie false report, and the reaction, attitudes, beliefs etc. of police officers, the whole subject requires careful consideration to minimise the possible psychological damage that may occur, and to protect those whose report is genuine, but disbelieved!
How robust and replicable are the analyses of sexual crime behaviour?

Smallest Space Analysis, because of the procedural nature of representing relationships spatially from an inter-variable matrix of associations or correlations, is subject to influence as variables or cases are added. What now appears as a model of sexual assault behaviour, may change, although if frequencies and relationships have similar coherence the overall configuration may change little.

There are weak relationships in the analysis and hence the configuration, certainly weakly correlated items may appear relocated when additional cases are added, however, a similarity coefficient that minimised relationship at the zero, or absent, level, produced the SSA configuration presented in this thesis.

Analysis of the same raw data matrix variables was carried out using a different similarity coefficient, Shye's, (1991), weak monotonicity coefficient was used in an attempt to replicate the SSA. Although some spatially displayed items appeared in different positions, because of the differences in the original matrix of correlations and therefore changes in the
rank order of distances, the main facet elements were still identifiable and remained in their relative positions of regional correspondence.

Thus the inference may be that it will be new cases, and variation in the behaviour exhibited in those cases, that will change subsequent Smallest Space Analysis and therefore, possibly the model.

The pilot study of Canter and Heritage, (1990), produced a Smallest Space Analysis in which the configuration of sexual offence variables could be interpreted as broadly similar elements. This was of course on a different sub-set of data.

It is also a fact of multidimensional scaling procedures that interpretation of analyses are open to different viewpoints, therefore what has been described in this thesis may present a different picture to others. This should be encouraged as the exchange of ideas and hypotheses can only benefit the understanding of what the constituent behaviour in sexual assault crimes represent.

Future research should continue to build the database from which these first steps were identified, only then by scientific method will the SSA and the model be tested for robustness and replication.
What supports the inferences that have been drawn from the analysis of proposed types with their background?

In respect of the variation between the proposed classification of offenders, there was little of statistical significance to differentiate members of one proposed group from the others. Frequency distribution of previous crime history indicated a possible distinguishing approach, and what was known about some of their personal history suggested that there were differences between them.

The application of conventional statistical methods of enquiry have been reported in the thesis, but the strong caveat must be expressed that cell frequency, expected and observed, requires much larger data for safe prediction. The approach will be more appropriate as data becomes more available.

This also has to be considered in the light of what form the original source documents appeared prior to content analysis, the point has already been made that data drawn from them were likely to be both error prone and noisy.
Consideration should also be given to the objectives of the research, exploration of a science base to the process of profiling the unknown offender. Variation between groups, or types of offender, although an important constituent of any typology, is not the sole outcome of interest in supporting a decision to characterise an unknown offender on the basis of his predominant sexual crime behaviour.

For example, there was little variation revealed in the high frequencies of "property" crime, stealing and burglary, in each of the proposed types, yet in a profile of an offender, the probability of such an existing previous record would be a feature, particularly that of an "Abuser" type rapist.

Possibly of more significance, in respect of the police investigation, and the formulation of priority suspects, rather than statistically, was the variation inferred by sexual crime records.

Analyses suggested that offenders who carry out their index crime in ways that are predominantly "Exploitative", revealed by the facet items of SSA, are likely to have sexual crime histories, and if an "Exploitative Sexual" offender, far more likely to have sexual crime in their antecedent offending.
These first steps in analysing sexual assault, and exploring ways in which coherent extrapolation from the description of what happened in the crime to characteristics that describe the offender, appear to have promise in a future more comprehensive and necessary research task.

Beyond that reported here, research into the behavioural consistency and variation proposed as an integral part of offender profiling appears to have opened many areas for future examination.

Although not discussed in the body of this thesis, examination of the behaviours that appear significantly related to the proposed main types of sexual offenders, i.e. Abusers and Exploiters, (Chapter 11 page 268), can be observed as facet items belonging to the diametrically opposed elements of "Criminality" and "Pseudo-intimacy", (figure 31. page 218).

This may suggest that, a) there is a facet present in the SSA structure that is victim orientated, where the victim is either treated as a person or an object, and b) that there may be further methods by which offender types can be described.
Future research will concentrate on examining this proposal, as data grows it may be that the critical significant variables will form the essence of differential, and other behaviour may be used to further delineate the offenders by type.

For example, provided such significant discriminating behaviour remains valid in replication, four conceptual types of offender may be identified by combining observed traits revealed by Smallest Space Analysis elements, 1) the Intimate Sexual, 2) the Intimate Aggressive, 3) the Criminal Sexual, and 4) the Criminal Aggressive.

Thus, it may be hypothesised that there are two critical elements, Pseudo-intimacy with significant variables of language, and Criminality with significant variables of action. It may be that the characteristics of the victim, how she reacts and what she represents to the offender, would produce different reactions.

Therefore a Pseudo-intimate attacker with a compliant victim, may express more sexual behaviour, or conversely with a non-cooperative victim, turn to aggression.
Similarly, the secondary behaviour of the Criminal rapist may incorporate more sexual or aggressive behaviour by the effect of victim characteristics.

These hypotheses can only be tested when the victim of rape is systematically described, and there are considerable implications for future police investigations into serious sexual crime.

Future research has now to go on from these proposed types, and possible expansion of the methodology discussed here, to consolidate and discover more robust analyses of larger datasets, by which sexual offenders may be described.

Summary:-

The exploration of applied methodology discussed in this thesis generated many hypotheses concerning proposed variation between sexual offenders, in their sexual assault behaviour and in their personal histories.
A single fundamental null hypothesis was postulated that due to the complexity of sexual assault behaviour, no identifiable patterns would emerge by which the offenders could be described, this was not supported. There were, indeed, a number of interesting patterns within the data.

Furthermore, some variations and consistencies were found between how the offenders behaved in their index sexual offences and the type and diversity of their prior criminal and personal histories. This offered support for the hypotheses that such variation and consistency would be found to be observable.

The exploratory techniques used in the research do offer empirical support for offender profiling as a viable tool for the detective, a demand for further expansion of the databases, and a continuation of analyses, as well as the integration of other aspects of Psychological sub-disciplines.

Conclusions:–

The conclusion expressed in the first paragraph of this chapter remains the most important, although the project developed the multivariate analysis of sexual crime behaviour through an interpretive model to exploratory types of offenders.
It is to the future that such analyses and classification must now look, to develop larger and more comprehensive data, and expand the first steps.

In so doing, the thematic approach used in this research may give way to concise categorisation of many variables in which observed intensity and scale may be derived.

With future data sets the scientific verification for the SSA configuration and inference drawn from it may be replicated, and provide firmer ground for predicated offender types to assist the investigation of sexual assault crime against strangers.

To conclude that the project merely "scratched the surface" may be supported by considering what was missed in the focus; group rape, where more than one offender is involved, "known victim" rape, sexual assault of males, comprehensive study of sexual murder, sadistic rape where the sadistic tendencies are evidenced as enduring traits, specifically the sexual assault of children and of the elderly, and so on.

It is hoped that what has been achieved will be of assistance to others who follow.
References


Canter D. 1990. Content analysis as developing hypotheses: Personal communication.


Groth AN. 1979. Men who Rape, the psychology of the sexual offender. Plenum New York.


Hazelwood RR. 1983. The Behavioral-Oriented interview of Rape Victims, the Key to Profiling. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin September 1983.


Knight RA, Rosenberg R, Schneider BA. 1985. "Classification of Sexual Offenders; Perspectives, Methods and Validation" in Rape and Sexual Assault. Ed. Burgess AW. Garland, 222-293.


APPENDIX "A"

Overview of related crime
SEXUAL AND VIOLENT CRIME

JUDICIAL CLASSIFICATION

An overview of the major statutory instruments and common law which create and have effect on those index sexual offences which fell within the remit of the research design.

SEXUAL MURDER

Regardless of sexual activity which may have occurred either ancillary to the death of the victim, or as a cause of death, the charge of murder is all encompassing, making no legal distinction between sexual homicide or murder for gain.

Defined at common law, the unwritten law of the realm which dates from the late 12th century after the Norman Conquest, murder was deemed to be:- "Where a person of sound memory and discretion, unlawfully killeth any reasonable creature in being, under the Queen's peace, with malice aforethought, either expressed or implied the death following within one year and a day."

375
A person found guilty of murder will be sentenced to life imprisonment as the mandatory punishment for the crime. There being no other sentence.

MANSLAUGHTER

In certain circumstances or where some conditions prevail an alternative verdict of manslaughter may be brought against a person charged with murder. Generally in respect of sexual crime this would probably be on the grounds of diminished responsibility, Section 2 of The Homicide Act 1957, or even an acquittal on the grounds of insanity, (McNaughten's rules).

RAPE

In the United Kingdom the crime of Rape can only be committed against a female victim. Until relatively recent times the offence was that defined under Common Law.

Section 1 of the 1956 Sexual Offences Act provided the statutory crime: "that it is an offence for a man to rape a woman". In effect, a third of a century ago, rape was brought within legislation by an Act of Parliament which created the statutory crime but maintained the common law definition.
Twenty years elapsed before the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 1976, to some extent, regularised a situation which had arisen in the intervening years. Court decisions had been made in relation to matters put forward by those accused of rape in which issues such as consent by the woman, and knowledge of that consent, were expressed as a defence to the charge of rape.

Court decisions such as those in the cases of the Director of Public Prosecutions -v- Morgan and others (1975), and Regina -v- Cogan and Leak (1975), brought about the enactment of the 1976 Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act.

In both cases issues of consent were raised during appeals against conviction. Common features in the cases were those of the domestic circumstances around which the original charges were formulated.

In each case the husband of the rape victim had induced others to have sexual intercourse with their wives. In one case telling the other males that resistance was part of his wife's sexual arousal, and in the other acting with the knowledge that his wife was not a consenting partner to sexual intercourse.
With such cases put forward as important landmarks in the reformulation of the definition of rape, quite clearly in those cases, true consent by the female and the males knowledge of true consent were issues of importance.

Section 1 (1) Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 1976 states that for the purposes of Section 1 Sexual Offences Act 1956, a man commits rape if: a) he has unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman who at the time of the intercourse does not consent to it AND, b) at the time he knows that she does not consent to it or he is reckless as to whether she consents.

Thus the 1976 Act further defined the crime of rape, which remains an offence contrary to Section 1 of the Sexual Offences Act 1956.

For the prosecution of a Rape charge to succeed, in addition to the identity of the offender as the man responsible, it is necessary to prove penetration of the vagina by the male sexual organ, and that the female did not consent to penetration or that consent was not true consent.

Common law dictates that consent obtained by force, fear or fraud cannot be true consent. Case decisions in the mid 19th century, and later made statute, mean
that the prosecution are not under obligation to prove the fulfilment of the sexual act by showing emission of seed, nor must they prove that the hymen was ruptured or injured. (R -v- Allen 1839 and R -v- Hughes 1841).

The mid 19th century also brought about court decisions which are still relevant today, R -v- Groombridge 1836 created an irrebuttable presumption in law that a boy under the age of 14 years is physically incapable of sexual intercourse and therefore cannot be convicted of any crime where one of the constituents is the act of sexual penetration.

By this ruling, even today, a boy of thirteen who forces any female to submit to sexual intercourse cannot be convicted of rape but may be convicted of indecent assault.

Punishment on conviction for rape is a maximum of life imprisonment, although unlike murder the full term of imprisonment is not mandatory, and unless the offender commits sexual crime in series, is a persistent offender or the circumstances of the rape are overly abhorrent, life imprisonment is unlikely to be the sentence.
BUGGERY

The comprehensive term of buggery includes sodomy, the penile penetration per anum of either a man or a woman, and bestiality, sexual intercourse with an animal in any manner committed by either a man or a woman.

Section 12 of the Sexual Offences Act 1956 states:- it is an offence for a person to commit buggery with another person or with an animal.

The Sexual Offences Act of 1967 introduced change to the 1956 act effectively relaxing the law in respect of some male homosexual practices. The crime of Buggery was not repealed, but the acts of anal intercourse between consenting males, aged 21 years and over, which took place in private were deemed to be non-criminal.

In law intercourse per anum with a female remains an offence regardless of the male/female relationship, where it was carried out and even when committed with consent.
For a male to penetrate a female per anum, which has been termed "unnatural sexual intercourse", whereas the male on male act is referred to as sexual intercourse, remains a crime for which on conviction he may be liable to a maximum life imprisonment sentence.

INDECENT ASSAULT ON FEMALES

Due to the focus of research objectives this explanation refers to female victims. Section 14 Sexual Offences Act 1956 creates the crime defined as an offence committed against a female which is "an assault accompanied by circumstances of indecency". Section 15 of the same act creates the offence against males.

The two constituents of the offence, with similar defence to the crime of rape, are the assault which is "the attempt, threat or offer, by some physical act, to inflict some unlawful force upon another" and circumstances of indecency "that which is offensive to modesty; being chastity or purity of mind or body"
In the United Kingdom, unlike some American states, fellatio, oral penetration of the victim by the penis, and cunnilingus, oral stimulation of the victim's vagina are not deemed separate crimes. Instead of the American term of "Oral Rape", both of these sexual activities are charged as indecent assault.

Punishment on conviction for indecently assaulting a female of any age is a maximum of 10 years imprisonment.

SUMMARY

The statutory classifications referred to in the above sections are not exclusive, depending on for example levels of proof, an offender charged with rape or buggery can be convicted of indecent assault, one charged with indecent assault, should the evidence of indecency not be accepted, could be convicted of one of a number of assault charges and so on, even to the very much lesser offences against public order, e.g. breach of the peace.
Listed below are some of the statutes which pertain to sexual and violent crimes:-

- Sexual Offences Act 1956
- Homicide Act 1957
- Indecency with Children Act 1960
- Mental Health Act 1959
- Criminal Law Act 1977
- Vagrancy Act 1824
- Town Police Clauses Act 1847
- Children and Young Persons Act 1933
- Offences against the Person Act 1861
- Child Abduction Act 1984

In general terms, legal classification by either conviction or charge/indictment could have been used to provide a means by which both offenders and their crimes could be described.

However the classification of offenders by a legally defined crime was discounted in this project as being over influenced by court and jury decisions outside the control of the researcher.

Knight and his colleagues, (1985), in reviewing sexual offender classification schemes discussed "Legal, offense-focusing Categorization" and identified a number of methodological difficulties, one of which
related directly to the "offence-related criteria for group assignment" and which they criticized as "neither hierarchically organized nor consistently applied".

They found that "In the most common strategy, membership in one group was determined by the presence or absence of a particular offense characteristic and in another group by a different criterion variable. Such a procedure may result in the serious confounding of important variables". (Knight et al 1985)

The terms "sexual assault" and "sexual offender" were adopted as the general criteria descriptions of the sample of offence and offender data. In this project the word "Rape" became synonymous with all sexual assaults, and "sexual offender" encompassed all those men who committed any or all of the sexual activities against their victims.

The definition of Indecent Exposure is included here for completeness although the project did not include isolated offences of exposure or the offenders who committed them.
INDECENT EXPOSURE

Variously defined by several Statutes, the offence of indecent exposure may be summarised as the exposure of the male person, generally meaning the genitalia, which is wilful and not accidental, with the intent on the part of the exposer to insult a female, or to the annoyance of persons in a street or public place.
APPENDIX "B"

Matrix of offence data
APPENDIX "C"

Definitions of offence behaviour
OFFENCE VARIABLES FOR INTER-RATER AGREEMENT

Deriving the content categories

The content category scheme was derived from consideration of published literature such as that produced by Groth et al, (1977), and Prentky et al, (1985). These, and other authors in the field of sexual assault studies, clearly postulate that there are dominant aspects of aggression and sexual behaviour in crimes of rape.

Hazelwood, (1987), used a classification scheme based on observed behaviour in crimes of rape, proposing that there are differences between the "Selfish" and the "Pseudo-unselfish" rapist.

The content category scheme described in this thesis used both of these conceptual approaches in order to derive categories of behaviour, that could be observed by what the victim reported had happened to her. The project recognised however that each of the approaches omitted important detail.
The more clinical classification schemes proposed that aggression and sexuality was made up of a number of, what they infer as typical, behaviours that express both aspects of rape. There is a lack of clearly proposed behavioural variables that would indicate more precisely the behaviours which they describe as aggression or sexuality.

Hazelwood's, (1987), proposals of defined behaviour was a very useful reference for this project, although having defined the behaviours, he omits clear descriptions of precisely what the variations suggest.

The category scheme described in this appendix owes much to Hazelwood and his colleagues for introducing variable descriptions, or titles under which behaviours are classified. Some titles in the current research project reflect that indebtedness, although the definitions are conceptually different from the American approach.

Thus the current research project devised a content category scheme by which the reported behaviours in rape could be defined individually, and as precisely as possible. The hypothesis was that associated behaviours would reveal traits of aggression or sexuality which were exhibited in the rape.
Pilot studies, (Canter & Heritage 1990), suggested support for such an approach to classifying rapists behaviour by what they were reported to have done to, and with, their victims.

PART ONE VARIABLES

Part one variables were defined by agreement during discussion and training of coders. During training and introductory sessions victim statements were selected at random, subjected to independent content analysis and the results discussed to reach definitional agreement prior to the full sample categorisation.

Three coders operated in two independent coding processes, the processes consisted of two female coders operating together and one male coding separately. The resulting matrix of categories was then examined and differences in coding noted. Agreement in codings are produced as percentiles in figures four and five.

Acknowledgement is made to the published Federal Bureau of Investigation literature in which some of the variable headings are discussed. Particular acknowledgement is made to Supervisory Special Agent Hazelwood, (Hazelwood et al 1987).
CONTENT CATEGORIES

VARIABLE 1.
CONFIDENCE APPROACH. 1=NO  2=YES
The style of approach used by the offender in which any ploy or subterfuge is used in order to make contact with the victim prior to the commencement of the assault. This would include any verbal contact, of questions asked, false introductions or story told.

VARIABLE 2.
SURPRISE ATTACK. 1=NO  2=YES
The immediate attack on the victim, whether preceded by a confidence approach or not, where force is used to obtain control of the victim. Force in respect of this variable includes threat with or without a weapon.

Violence is of the physical control of the victim, i.e. exercised against the victim in order to render her available to the offender but not the actions covered in variable three. Generally this attack is typified by the sudden seizure of the victim with little or no warning. In the "outside" attack the victim is suddenly seized, in the "inside" assault the victim becomes aware of the offender immediately before or at the time of seizure.
VARIABLE 3.
BLITZ ATTACK. 1=NO  2=YES
The sudden and immediate use of violence, whether preceded by a confidence approach or not, which incapacitates the victim.
Typically the attack will be of extreme violence in the initial assault which leaves the victim incapable of reaction or resistance.

VARIABLE 4.
BLINDFOLD. 1=NO  2=YES
The use at any time during the attack of any physical interference with the victim's ability to see. This includes only the use of articles and not verbal threat or the temporary use of the offender's hands.

VARIABLE 5.
BINDING. 1=NO  2=YES
As above in respect of the use of articles to disable the victim. The categorisation does not include the possible situational effect of partial stripping of the victim, nor the temporary use of manual control.

Binding must occur in circumstances where some form of physical restraints are applied to the victim. In some attacks the removal of the victim's clothing appears to
restrict her ability to control her limbs, but for the purposes of the categorisation of "binding" the actions of the offender must go further than that situational and temporary control.

VARIABLE 6.
GAGGING. 1=NO 2=YES
As above in respect of the prevention of noise. This does not include the manual gagging of victims commonly associated with the attack variables.

VARIABLE 7.
REACTION Deter/change. 1=NO 2=YES
To examine how the offender copes with, or reacts to, active victim resistance. The resistance of the victim can be verbal or physical but does not include the act of crying alone. The categorisation is intended to address the offender and not the victim.

This variable deals with the offender who is deterred, and who changes or negotiates any intended act upon victim reaction.
The variable was created to enable victim resistance in the simplest form to be analysed without necessarily having to consider the offender and how he deals with the phenomenon. Reaction may be physical or verbal but has to be active. Although it has to be accepted that passive resistance may have been used by the victim there will often be a difficulty in recognising absolute passivity unless the victim clearly states that she did not do some act in order to thwart her attacker.

VARIABLE 9.
LANGUAGE /Compliments. 1=NO 2=YES
The first of several variables intended to unpack the complexities of what is said by the offender to the victim. This is not necessarily the result of verbal interchange but is focused on the style of speech used by the offender, in the non-violent context.

(N.B. A later variable deals with verbalised violence.) This categorises those whose speech with or towards the victim is complimentary, the focus is on the compliment made to or about the victim.
VARIABLE 10.
LANGUAGE /Inquisitive.  
1=NO  2=YES
The variable which categorises the offender who is inquisitive of the victim. This includes any questions asked about the victims' life style, associates etc.

The questions asked of the victim are those of a non sexual nature. (N.B. There are other variables which deal with the identifying of the victim and the requirement, for example, of the victim to participate in the acts committed against her.)

VARIABLE 11.
LANGUAGE /Demeans/insult. 
1=NO  2=YES
The non-violent language variable which categorises the offender whose speech with or towards the victim is demeaning and/or insulting.

This should include profanities directed against the victim herself or indeed the female in general. The focus of this variable should be the insult and not sexually orientated comment.
VARIABLE 12.

LANGUAGE /Reassures.  

This variable categorises the offender who makes some attempt to reassure his victim. The focus of this variable requires wide interpretation and should include any attempt by the offender to persuade the victim that he does not intend to do an act. It matters not that the reassurance is untrue.

VARIABLE 13.

VICTIM CLOTHING. Removal.  

One of two variables which deal with preparatory acts carried out either by the offender or at his instructions. This variable categorises the offender who removes the victims clothing himself.

The alternative category, i.e. category 1, includes the act of disrobing carried out by the victim. This act is always at the instruction of the offender and therefore the same category is used in the circumstances of a naked or semi-naked victim.

Categorise any act of removal by the offender as 2, regardless of whether the victim assisted or not.
VARIABLE 14.

VICTIM CLOTHING. Torn.  

The second clothing variable which addresses the offender who removes clothing by a particular method. This category deals with the offender who is prepared to use an apparently more violent style in his treatment of the victim.

Category 1, covers the disturbance of clothing as well as the undressed victim. The focus is on the removal of clothing and not what the offender does with it after removal.

VARIABLE 15

CONTROL/Threat  

At this stage, the only variables which deal with the control exercised by the offender. This and the next variable differentiate those offenders who are prepared to display a weapon in order to control the victim, from those who do not.

This variable is intended to deal with the offender who exercises control without displaying any weapon although threat of possessing a weapon is also included.
VARIABLE 16.
CONTROL/ Weapon 1=NO 2=YES
As above dealing with the offender who produces or uses any weapon.

VARIABLE 17.
DEMAND.Goods or money 1=NO 2=YES
This variable categorises the offender whose approach to the victim includes a demand for goods or money. Importantly the demand categorised in this context is that which is made in the initial stages of the attack.

Later variables deal generally with the stealing from the victim, and specifically with what is stolen from the victim.

VARIABLE 18.
VICTIM SEXUAL COMMENT. 1=NO 2=YES
Sexual language variables were created specifically to examine the contextual elements of the offender victim interaction.

This variable deals with the incidents in which a victim is required to make any comment of a sexual nature. The focus is on what the offender wants the victim to say.
VARIABLE 19.

OFFENDER SEXUAL COMMENT.  
1=NO  2=YES

As above, but the focus is on the offender who makes sexual comment or who is verbally inquisitive of a sexual nature.

VARIABLE 20.

VICTIM PARTICIPATION.  
1=NO  2=YES

This variable deals with the offender who requires the victim to participate in any act committed against her. In this context the expectation is to differentiate between offenders who will commit for example, fellatio against the victim regardless of her reaction, and those who commit the same act which is accompanied by instructions to do specific acts associated with oral sex.

The requirement is of any act, not only the overtly sexual, although the acts required of the victim are more generally associated with the offenders sexual activity.
DISGUISE. 1=NO  2=YES
Various disguises can and are worn by offenders, categorically the definition of them all would result in an unwieldy variable. The category of disguise in this variable is intended to deal with those offenders who wear disguise per se.

IMPLIED KNOWLEDGE. 1=NO  2=YES
Instances occur within the attacks, at various times, in which the offender implies knowing the victim. There must be an implication that the offender knew or knew of the victim before the sexual assault.

THREAT. NO REPORT. 1=NO  2=YES
Specific categorisation of the verbalised threat made to a victim that she should not report the incident to the Police or any other person. This may take many forms however the specific threat against the victim in this context is plain when made.
The definition of threat includes the veiled or implied threat where some attempt is made by the offender to persuade, suggest or threaten the victim not to report the assault.

VARIABLE 24.
STEALING. 1=NO 2=YES
The general category of stealing is meant to do no more than differentiate those offenders who do steal from those who do not. The more specific, and possibly problematic, variables of what is stolen appear later.

VARIABLE 25.
IDENTIFIES VICTIM. 1=NO 2=YES
The categorisation of offenders who take steps to obtain or attempt to obtain from the victim the details which would identify her.

This may take many forms including verbal approaches, the examination of personal belongings before or after the actual sexual assault, or indeed the stealing of personal identifying documents following the assault.
There is a danger of trying to interpret the offenders intent. This should not be the basis of the categorisation. The assignment is correct if the offender acts in any way that allows him to infer to the victim that he has, or can, identify her.

VARIABLE 26.
VIOLENCE/Single acts. 1=NO 2=YES
This categorises the offender who uses only single act(s) of violence at any time in any circumstance in the assault except the initial control exercised against the victim. This activity is that which the offender carries out by using single rather than repeated acts of violence. Typically a single blow or a single reactive violent act would be classified as "2".

VARIABLE 27.
VIOLENCE/Multiple acts. 1=NO 2=YES
As above, to categorise the offender whose violence consists of multiple acts at any time in the assault after initial control. The multiple acts are those which may typically be bursts of violence, numerous blows etc.
VARIABLE 28.

VIOLENCE/Verbal

This variable should not be confused with those dealing with the speech types directed at the victim which can be categorised as inquisitive, or demeaning.

The categorisation in this variable is to address the use of intimidating language in the form of threats to maim or kill etc. not associated with control or resistance.

VARIABLE 29.

VAGINAL PENETRATION.

The simple dichotomy of whether vaginal penetration was achieved or attempted. Again a general category that removes the decision making problem of categorising the various sexual approaches that may be used by an offender in order to penetrate vaginally.

Where an attempt to penetrate is to be coded as positive then the action of the offender must be a determined attempt to enter the victim, and regardless of failure to achieve penetration, the coding is correct if that determination is present.
VARIABLE 30.

VAGINAL PENET. Front

The category for the offender who rapes or attempts to rape vaginally, from the front or, missionary, position. The same rule of determined attempts applies.

VARIABLE 31.

VAGINAL PENET. Rear

The category for the offender who penetrates or attempts penetration of the victim, vaginally, from the rear. Includes apparent attempt, where there is clear distinction of intent.

Therefore where anal penetration may be the intent the circumstances must be carefully examined.

VARIABLE 32.

FELLATIO (1).

One of two variables dealing with the forced oral penetration of the victim. The categories of this variable deal only with whether oral penetration was carried out or attempted.
The second variable of Fellatio categorises those offenders who require their victims to submit to oral penetration and are those whose performance of the act is part of a sequence of sexual acts.

The offender who does not engage in the oral penetration of the victim will be identified as being categorised as "1" in both variables.

Similarly the offender who attacks only to force oral sexual activity will be differentiated by being categorised as "2" in variable 32, and "1" in the other sexual act variables.

VARIABLE 34.
CUNNILINGUS.  1=NO  2=YES
A single dichotomous variable dealing with the performance of a particular sexual act committed against the victim's genitalia by the offenders use of his mouth.

There is no sequential variable in this context as to date no cases have been seen where this act is performed alone. There is always some other sexual activity accompanying the act of cunnilingus.
VARIABLE 35.
ANAL PENETRATION.  
1=NO  
2=YES

One of two variables dealing with penetration per anus committed against a victim. This categorisation deals only with those cases where the act was carried out or attempted in circumstances where penetration per anus was the intent.

Typically attempts will be classified as present where more than one attempt penetration was carried out. In these categorised cases the penetration is by male organ only.

VARIABLE 36.
ANAL PENETRATION.seq  
1=NO  
2=YES

The second variable dealing with anal assault. The category addresses anal assault in sequence with other sexual acts. The offender who does not penetrate or attempt anal penetration will be identified as being categorised "1" in both variables.

Similarly the offender who attacks only to anally assault will be categorised as "2" in variable 35, and "1" in respect of the other sexual act variables.
VARIABLE 37.

APOLOGETIC.

1=NO  2=YES

A further language variable to deal with the specific apologetic speech used by an offender most typically at the end of a sexual assault.

VARIABLE 38. VICTIM AGE. Categories below.

1= < 13 years......... 2= 13 to 18 years....
3= 19 to 25 years.... 4= 26 to 30 years....
5= 31 to 35 years.... 6= 36 to 40 years....
7= 41 to 50 years.... 8= 51 to 60 years....
9= 61 + years.

This variable, and the categorisation scheme within it, was created for the specific purpose of examining sexual offences in series. The selection of age range is arbitrary, each person attempting similar coding will use different criteria on which to base the age parameters.

This coding has been formed by the following general rules, and the requirement, at this stage of research, to incorporate the age range into a single variable for ease of data management and possible manipulation.
Category 1, the under 13 year old victim, typically a child who is not sexually developed, immature in nearly all respects and situationally vulnerable.

Category 2, 13 to 18 years, probably sexually developed or developing, not typically independent of parents, if employed not financially independent, but able to move about their own environment with some degree of independence although, through lack of maturity, vulnerable by their availability.

Category 3, 19 to 25 years, having greater independence, more maturity and by this age possibly married and living their own lives. They are probably more likely to range between total independence and the restrictions placed on them by a young family of their own. Their vulnerability therefore is likely to be of similar range.

There is also the possibility of vulnerability through the consumption of alcohol and the resort to places where alcohol is served. The age range of this category parallels the highest frequency of ages for convicted rapists in the study to date.
Category 4, 26 to 30 years, in the case of particular women perhaps the fully independent career person at one end and the mother of a small family at the other. Possibly married, maybe divorced or separated but typically able to recognise their own vulnerability.

That vulnerability may also be alcohol related and at this age, as before, the range of victim types can be thought of as fairly large.

Category 5, 31 to 35 years, similar ranges will exist in this category, however the slightly older victim may well be targeted by the place in which she lives. This category is one of three i.e. categories 4, 5, and 6, which divide the victim age, mid twenties to 40, in periods of five years.

This and later categories may also include victims who are of the age at which their offspring may be of similar age to their attacker.

Category 6, 36 to 40 years, containing similar ranges to the previous two categories, but possibly more settled and more likely to have achieved career status or residential/marriage stability.
Category 7, 41 to 50 years, categorises a wider age range than previously described. The victims herein are going to be significantly older than the average offender.

Category 8, 51 to 60 years, as above although now considerably older victims are in this category. They may well be living alone widowed, divorced etc. and with older families. The appearance of many may be similar to the last category, 9, which addresses the older to elderly victims.

Category 9, 61 years plus, includes the elderly who for various reasons appear to be victims of choice for some offenders.

VARIABLE 39.
FOREIGN OBJECTS.  
1=NO  2=YES  
The insertion per vagina or anus of any foreign object. This variable does not deal with digital manipulation.

VARIABLE 40.
WEAPON OF CONVENIENCE.  
1=NO  2=YES  
A weapon of convenience is any article, from the scene or nearby, which is used by the offender in the commission of the attack. Typically a kitchen knife obtained from
the same premises as the attack venue or a piece of wood from near an outside scene are weapons of convenience. No = Includes the cases where no weapon is described.

VARIABLE 41.
WEAPON OF INTENT. 1 = NO  2 = YES
This variable deals with the offender who brings with him a weapon of any type. The focus is to identify the offender who brings with him a weapon of his choice and with which he appears comfortable. No = As above.

VARIABLE 42.
STEALING. Personal item. 1 = NO  2 = YES
The first of three variables which deal with what is stolen from the victim. This category includes the offender who steals personal items from the victim. These are generally small and of little value. There may be some overlap with variable 25, which deals with those offenders who attempt to identify their victim.

The category should include items of clothing as well as other personal items stolen. It should not include small items of cash or jewellery, although it may be accepted that inexpensive jewellery could be a type of souvenir.
One example of property which could be misleading unless a rule is established, is the Cheque book or card and/or other types of card which include Credit and Cashpoint cards. These items, although intrinsically of little value, do have value to an offender both as direct access to cash or goods, or, in the criminal fraternity, a street value to others who are not the thieves.

Therefore where such articles are taken they should be categorised as of value and identifiable, see variables below.

VARIABLE 43.
STEALING. Value/Unident. 1=NO 2=YES
This variable deals with the offender who steals anything of value which is unidentifiable. The object is to differentiate the offender who is aware that identifiable items can link him to the scene of a sexual assault.

Cash is sometimes an obvious unidentifiable object and some jewellery and similar items may be seen as having value but without sufficient identifying characteristics to make it unique. There are however some other general items could be categorised in the same way and, although
somewhat subjective the intent is to attempt to see the
property as the offender would. The focus is on value and
the lack of identifiable features.

VARIABLE 44.
STEALING. Value./Ident. 1=NO 2=YES
The category of "value identifiable" is created to cover
the offender who steals perhaps larger items or those
which by their nature could, if found in the possession
of a suspect, link to the assault. The cheque book or
bank card are covered by this variable.

N.B. The category "No", in the above stealing variables
includes the circumstances where no indication can be
found in any source document.

VARIABLE 45.
VENUE. 1= Outside 2= Inside
Outside means non residential. Typically the venue of
outside assault is in the open air but this category
includes stairwells in, for example, blocks of flats.
The coding of inside attacks, which are typically in
residence, may be complicated by attacks in the
non-residential setting, for example business premises
etc.
The categorisation is general, giving a thematic overview to the places where assaults are carried out. The rule of categorisation is simply the venue of the actual assault, therefore within premises of any description should be categorised "2" with the exception of the "no man's land" of stairwells and lift shafts etc.

There are however other variables which open up this general categorisation to more specific examination.

**VARIABLE 46.**

**VEHICLE USED SCENE.**

1 = NO  2 = YES

As heading, the assault having taken place in a vehicle regardless of ownership.

**VARIABLE 47.**

**VEHICLE AS ACCESS.**

1 = NO  2 = YES

Categorises the offender who uses the vehicle to access the victim either directly by, for example, picking up the victim in the vehicle either as a favour, (hitch-hiker), or as pseudo minicab or where the offender is known to have used a vehicle to facilitate any and all access to the victim.
The focused category is to characterise those offenders who have performed some act which can be interpreted as interference with the possible forensic examination of the crime scene or victim.

This would not include those who wear gloves, a common occurrence in criminal activity.

Examples of forensic interference can range from the wiping or washing of victims to the complete removal of articles by the offender, which he believes may incriminate him.

VARIABLE 48. FORENSICALLY AWARE.  
1=NO  2=YES

There are those offenders whose actions are of the assault only type. The assaults they carry out are typically those in which vaginal and/or anal penetration do not appear to be part of their attack characteristics.

Although there may seem to be many reasons why penetration is not carried out, this variable does not differentiate by reason of cessation of attack or the
offenders preference for other sexual activity. The focus is on those whose activity does not relate to any form of bodily penetration.

The variable was created as a handling/ descriptive device so that the non-penetrator offender could be easily identified. For the purpose of this research penetration means of any bodily orifice.

VARIABLE 50.
TIME WITH VICTIM.  
1=NO  2=YES
Category 1 represents the offender who spends only the time taken to commit the assault and any immediate peripheral activity.
Category 2 represents the offender who does prolong the time with the victim by conversation and/or expressed desire to repeat the assault and/or keeps the victim with him for any reason.

VARIABLE 51.
REVEALS.  
1=NO  2=YES
This is invariably a language/conversation factor intended to categorise the offender who reveals something about himself to the victim. It matters not that what he reveals is false and importantly it should not be a revelation to the rater.
VARIABLE 52.
KISSING.  
1=NO  2=YES
This variable is to categorise those offenders who kiss or attempt to kiss their victims. In this context the acts of kissing should be construed as the normal lip contact with the face area of the victims anatomy. Kissing of breasts etc. is not covered in this variable.

VARIABLE 53.
DAYLIGHT.  
1=NO  2=YES
Addresses the time of the attack in relation to the cover of darkness. It is anticipated that few attacks will present difficulties in decision making.

The rater can use their own life experience and those attacks which do cause problems can be resolved by discussion and reference to published "Lighting up times".

VARIABLE 54.
DARKNESS.  
1=NO  2=YES
As above in respect of attacks committed during the darkness hours.
VARIABLE 55.
WEEKDAY.  
\[1=\text{NO} \quad 2=\text{YES}\]
For the purpose of this coding, the definition of weekday as opposed to weekend was reached by discussion. The intent of the two distinct periods was to address what is still common practice, the Friday night social scene for perhaps both victims and some attackers.

Weekday is scored as positive if the attack took place anytime between 0001 hours on Monday, through to 1800 hours on a Friday.

VARIABLE 56.
WEEKEND.  
\[1=\text{NO} \quad 2=\text{YES}\]
From the same discussion as variable 55, the period of a weekend was defined as the time of attack between 1801 hours on a Friday and Midnight on the Sunday.

VARIABLE 57.
OFF STREET.  
\[1=\text{NO} \quad 2=\text{YES}\]
This, and the following variable, deal with the place of initial contact, which may also be the scene of the attack. "Off Street" includes the approach to a victim who is on a recognised thoroughfare. The actual location of the victim can obviously include the pavement and footpaths which are immediately adjacent to the road.
The term "Off Pathway" is used to describe any other area in the open which is not a street. Therefore the attack carried out against a victim who is on footpaths between roads or in public or private areas can be classified as different to the street attack and the relative differences between the risk and availability can be addressed.

The variables of residence were introduced to differentiate the inside attacker in respect of the residence in which the sexual assault took place.

Importantly the location of the attack must be in a residential setting and where the offender has some control over the dwelling. Therefore even though the venue may not be his own house/flat etc., the category is correctly applied if he has control over it regardless of actual ownership.
VARIABLE 60.
RESIDENCE VICTIM.  
1=NO  2=YES
As above, the distinction is the same. The victim must have some control over the dwelling even if only as a guest or other temporary resident.

VARIABLE 61.
TOWER Etc.  
1=NO  2=YES
This variable was created to address the anomaly of attacks which take place in the approach areas to residential blocks, maisonettes, flats etc. It is to differentiate the attackers who will assault in areas of "No mans land", that is within premises but where at the time of the attack neither victim or offender have control over the building.

It is anticipated that the same categorisation can be applied to any inside attack which fails to meet the criteria of "residential control" discussed in the other residential variables.
VARIABLE 62.

VICTIM DRINKING.  
1=NO  2=YES

This means that the victim reports having consumed alcohol in the period of time immediately preceding the attack, the quantity of consumption is immaterial in assigning the category.

By using this variable it is hoped to address the circumstances leading up to the assault and to indicate victim awareness, risk factors and availability.

VARIABLE 63.

OFFENDER DRINKING.  
1=NO  2=YES

As above, the offenders consumption of alcohol prior to, or in some cases during the assault, is the purpose of the categorisation. The report of alcohol use is to be taken from the victims account, i.e. that she could smell alcoholic drink on the offenders breath, or that he consumed alcohol in her presence.

It may be anticipated that the ability to report such an event is in itself situational particularly where the victim has previously consumed drink.
VARIABLE 64.

LAYS IN WAIT. 1=NO 2=YES

Again this variable and the categorisation must be drawn from the victim's statement and NOT from inference. Typically in the circumstances of an outside attack the victim will be able to give some indication of the offender waiting in an area for her or some other victim.

It may be that some confusion will arise where for example an attacker is reported to have passed a victim in the street or other location and subsequently attacked from a hidden position, that circumstance would NOT be classified as "Lays in wait".

Inside attacks would typically be the presence of the offender within the premises before the arrival of the victim.

VARIABLE 65.

VICTIM WHITE. 1=NO 2=YES

The first of three variables dealing with the apparent ethnicity of the victim. Importantly it is the appearance of the victim to the offender that should be addressed. Country of origin and other factors should be ignored at this stage.
There will be missing data in this coding which are handled as the category "1". The variable records, in this case, whether there is information on which to decide that the victim was, or appeared to be, white.

It is expected to be intermittent as the pilot study (Canter et al 1989) indicated that the ethnic appearance of the victim is not routinely recorded in statement form.

N.B. The appearance of the victim must not be assumed by the rater.

VARIABLE 66.

VICTIM BLACK.  
1=NO  2=YES

As above in respect of the recording both in records and in current case documents. The skin colour includes mixed race origins where the victim is described as "Identity Code 3" in police documents.

VARIABLE 67.

VICTIM OTHER.  
1=NO  2=YES

At this stage the categorisation includes all victims whose ethnic appearance cannot be coded as White or Black. The same problem with intermittent data is anticipated.
PART TWO...

VARIABLES ON WHICH INTER-RATER AGREEMENT WAS NOT TESTED

SUMMARY.

During examination of the victim statements it was apparent that many peripheral sexual or pseudo-sexual activities occur. These may involve both the victim and the offender and could be described as either deliberate, circumstantial or situational.

The activities were noted and agreed by the coders but the description of the individual actions as reported in the statement were at best ambiguous, and at worst merely mentioned, without expanding the nature and context in which they happened.

Although the activities described as Part Two variables were agreed by the coders, no common inference could be drawn from the source material, i.e. the statement, whereby rater agreement was likely to be reached. In simple terms the peripheral activity was open to several very different interpretations.
The variables and their descriptions, rather than definitions, are discussed below, however because of the sometimes vague nature of reporting, and the inferential problems outlined above, a different approach was adopted in coding these occurrences.

Whereas the Part One variables were applied to every relevant statement, the Part Two variables were applied to the offender, necessitating the formation of a rule to allow commonality to be established between serial and single attack cases.

The principle of coding "presence" to all the Part Two variables was that in single non-series attacks the occurrence was coded positive if it took place. In series attacks, regardless of the number of cases, if the activity occurred more than once it was coded present in the behavioural analysis of the crimes.

The numerical sequence of the Part One variables continues into the Part Two variable descriptions.
The offender's inability to function sexually in the rape/sexual assault context has been the subject of wide comment in literature predominantly discussing the sexual criminal. In practice, and that is in the examination of what victims can report of the attack on them, recognition of certain aspects of the case remained problematic, dysfunction on the part of the offender was one of them.

Where dysfunction could be coded as present however was in some offender's inability to gain or maintain penile erection. The ability or inability to ejaculate was more problematic, forensic examination may show the presence of ejaculate in some cases where there were forensic reports present with the case papers. However there were occasions when victims would report feeling wetness after the attack, inferring that the offender had ejaculated, but which forensic examination did not confirm.

The use of condoms, the offenders determination in some cases not to leave trace evidence, the victim's understandable reaction in wanting to wash or bathe all combine to make the decision on ejaculation extremely difficult.

VARIABLE 68.

DYSFUNCTION

1=NO  2=YES
Dysfunction of erection was the only variable on which some consistent reliance could be placed. The dysfunction was coded as present where there was clear evidence that such a problem existed either fully throughout the attack or temporarily during the attack.

**VARIABLE 69.**

**VICTIM MASTURBATE**

\[ l = \text{NO} \quad 2 = \text{YES} \]

Although some overlap with victim participation may occur in coding this activity as present, the request, demand or forced actions of the victim in masturbating the offender was addressed in this categorisation.

Some descriptive problems arose in that some victims reported being instructed to do the act but did not, merely holding the offender's penis, whereas others carried out the actions as demanded.

The variable was coded as present if the victim had manual contact with the male sexual organ in any way during the sexual assault.
In similar context to the variable of victim masturbation a great variety of self manipulation of the male organ by the offender was reported in the victim statements.

Where self masturbation occurred in the sight of the victim the coding was made on the basis of what was obvious from the statement.

In many attacks the victims could only report feeling offender activity that appeared to be masturbation, or that they felt the presence of the male in circumstances that implied the same act. In the assault context much of the reported activity occurred in circumstances whereby several meanings could be inferred from the act of masturbation, for example the offender may have been stimulating erection or attempting manually to assist penetration.

The coding of self masturbation was categorised as present if there was clear indications that the offender had extended manual manipulation of his penis beyond preparatory acts or those associated with penetration.
Little difficulty was encountered in coding presence of this activity where it was reported by the victim as being part of the sexual activity. Quite clearly fondling or caressing the breasts could be seen as part of the general sexual nature of the attack, however circumstantially the offender was not infrequently described as touching the body of the victim in situations where the sexuality of the act was difficult to infer.

An example was where after gaining control of the victim and before any attempt had been made to continue the assault the victim would report "It was about now that his hand touched my chest". Without further explanation, was that a continuance of control, sexual exploration, stimulation or accident?

If the offender clearly showed an interest in touching the victim's breasts then the activity was coded present.

VARIABLE 71.
TOUCHING BREASTS 1=NO 2=YES
The actions of the offender in touching the victim's vaginal area had very similar decision problems to the previous variable. Discounting digital penetration, the offender's manual activity in the vaginal area was open to numerous interpretations and inferred reasons.

In simply touching, again either as self stimulation or in a situationally bizarre attempt to stimulate the victim, the presence of such activity was easily coded.

A frequent description of such activity however was also related to what appeared to be the offender manually assisting penetration. The presence of vaginal touching was coded as such regardless of the differing inferences which could be drawn. If vaginal touching occurred then the category of "2" was coded indicating the presence of such activity.

VARIABLE 72.
TOUCHING VAGINAL AREA   1=NO   2=YES

The actions of the offender in touching the victim's vaginal area had very similar decision problems to the previous variable. Discounting digital penetration, the offender's manual activity in the vaginal area was open to numerous interpretations and inferred reasons.

In simply touching, again either as self stimulation or in a situationally bizarre attempt to stimulate the victim, the presence of such activity was easily coded.

A frequent description of such activity however was also related to what appeared to be the offender manually assisting penetration. The presence of vaginal touching was coded as such regardless of the differing inferences which could be drawn. If vaginal touching occurred then the category of "2" was coded indicating the presence of such activity.
Although the act of inserting finger or fingers into the victim's vagina was easily recognised, the reason for insertion was not always made clear in the victim's account of the crime. Self or victim stimulation, ensuring penetration by the penis, humiliation etc. are all interpretations of the single event and are as applicable in this activity as all the others described as Part Two variables.

Digital penetration was coded as present when there was clear indications that the activity had occurred and no attempt was made to differentiate between the possible reasons for the act.

VARIABLE 74.
DIGITAL PENETRATION ANUS 1=NO  2=YES
Recognition of the act was the same as that for vaginal penetration by fingers, and although conceptually different motivations may have been present the act was coded as present where it had occurred.
VARIABLE 75.
MULTIPLE PENETRATION 1=NO 2=YES

With such diverse sexual activity occurring in serious sexual assault, this variable was created to identify those offenders whose proclivity was to continue to penetrate the victim by any orifice. Presence of the multi-penetrator was coded when the offender committed more than one act of penetration by way of the same bodily orifice.

The acts of multi-penetration had to be deliberate and separate penetrations, thereby excluding the offender who for one reason or another failed to maintain penetration and immediately re-entered the victim. Multiple penetration was judged to have occurred where the acts of penetration were separated by some other activity.
APPENDIX "D"
Definitions of offender history
INTRODUCTION

The coding of offender background was undertaken following agreement at the definitional stage between the researcher and a colleague operating with the same material, but different focus. Both coders are police officers and familiar with the internal documents from which offender detail was sought. Importantly both have access to these extremely sensitive documents agreed by the necessary authorities.

Coding agreement was only at the definitional stage, independent coding of the same source documents did not take place. The coding scheme devised in this research project is now in use in three research projects.

Variables which deal with background factors, including crime history, were produced by content analysis of the national criminal records of offenders identified as having committed sexual crime.
Additional characteristic variables were drawn by reference to the index crime circumstances and the police reports, statements and available interview records of the same offenders.

The data file was produced by examining the records and coding information under various designated data paths. Different variables based on the same information were created, thereby altering the emphases of definition, and in effect broadening or narrowing the scope of data transition.

For example, examination of a type of crime such as burglary in relation to age, that is as a juvenile or as an adult. Then separately coding the burglary variables on the basis of the type of premises attacked, was intended to create flexibility in data handling, manipulation and eventual analyses.

The matrix of categories thus produced contained processed information on the personal, social and previous criminal characteristics of the offender where they were available for analysis. Also contained within the matrix and available for study are some of the index crime circumstances relating directly to the offender, but not necessarily the victim or her report of the crime.
During the content analysis stages, thematic interpretation, unitising and categorisation processes were all used to expand or concentrate on different aspects of the offenders' histories.

Importantly, the history of the offender was taken as that which was on record BEFORE the commission of the index offence(s).

The variables fall into one of four classifications:

1. General, where the offender's history in committing particular types of crime was examined, for example the presence or absence of police notice in respect of a certain type of crime, such as burglary.

The term "Dishonesty" was also used to cover a variety of crimes including the specific offence of "unlawful taking of a motor vehicle", strictly speaking in the legal definition, a crime which is not stealing.

2. Specific, where the records were searched for previous commission of described crime, for example a previous history of causing damage by fire.
3. Historical, where the reported antecedent histories were used to indicate the presence or absence of what was considered to be potentially salient features in his personal life. For example, records which indicate that both parents were present during his upbringing.

4. Experiential, where the coder was required to form a judgement of reported information in such a way as to reduce descriptions to a form by which the subject matter could be classified. Some examples of experiential coding were the decision on the employment skill of the offender, or whether the offender was aware of the significance of forensic "trace" evidence and so on, based on the author's twenty years police experience.

Although archival sources such as police records contain material which could be described as subjective in creation, the variables in this scheme were defined to remove subjectivity as much as possible from the interpretation of data drawn from source documents.
CONTENT CATEGORIES

VARIABLE 1.

JUVENILE DISHONESTY  

1=NO  2=YES

This variable, as with others which discriminate between adult and juvenile, was based on the age at which the offender had come to notice of the police, and in these cases, in relation to any crime involving dishonesty.

For the purpose of defining the variable, the previous acts of the offender must have been dishonest in any way to attain the score of "2" under this heading.

Dishonesty in this sense includes all acts of stealing, whether by fraud or any other means, but specifically excludes Burglary as there are defined variables covering that crime.

The distinction between adult and juvenile is discussed elsewhere, together with the problems encountered with over specific crime descriptions.
VARIABLE 2.

ADULT DISHONESTY  

Exactly the same as above in relation to the acts committed by the offender, but of course at the time of the commission of the crime he would have attained the age of 17 years to score "2" under this variable.

VARIABLE 3.

JUVENILE BURGLARY  

With the same age condition, this variable was created to cover the offender who had come to police notice for any offence of burglary, regardless of whether the crime was committed against a dwelling or non-residential building.

Equally, the criminal intent defined by the Theft Act 1968 and therefore associated with the act of burglary was ignored. The act specifies the intent of the offender at the time of the burglary, i.e. to steal, to damage, to commit bodily harm or to rape.

For the purpose of examining what a particular offender did in respect of this crime, the category was focused on the entry into premises and not on the various intents.
VARIABLE 4.
ADULT BURGLARY  
1=NO  2=YES
As above but in respect of the over 17 year old offender.

VARIABLE 5.
JUVENILE VIOLENCE  
1=NO  2=YES
This caters for the juvenile offender who had come to notice for any act of violence against the person. Although acts of violence can and do have tremendous range in severity and injury caused, this variable merely examines the offenders propensity to commit physical assault.

VARIABLE 6.
ADULT VIOLENCE  
1=NO  2=YES
As above, in respect of the adult commission of the crimes.

VARIABLE 7.
JUVENILE INDECENCY  
1=NO  2=YES
As a person who had not attained 17 years of age and had come to notice for any crime in which indecent acts were present, the subject offender would be categorised as "2" in respect of this variable.
There are many acts which could constitute indecency, but for the purpose of this coding scheme only indecent exposure and indecent assault were included for categorisation. Rape and attempt rape were coded as a separate variable and therefore excluded from categorisation under this variable.

VARIABLE 8.
ADULT INDECENCY  1=NO  2=YES
As above, in respect of adult notice of indecency crimes.

VARIABLE 9.
PREVIOUS RAPE  1=NO  2=YES
This sex crime variable does not discriminate between adult and juvenile history. The categorisation simply addresses those offenders who had raped or attempted rape before their index offence(s).

The combination of adult and juvenile rape offenders was brought about by the irrebuttable presumption in law that a male under the age of 14 years cannot commit rape. Therefore, rape differs from other offences because juveniles can be charged with other crime once they have attained the age of criminal responsibility, ie. 10 years. Whereas for rape they
cannot be charged or convicted if they were under the legally presumed age of 14 years at the time of the commission. Of 76 offenders in the sample none had previously come to police notice for previous rape offending when under the age of 17 years.

VARIABLE 10.

JUVENILE DAMAGE

1=NO 2=YES

Again with the age criterion, this variable deals with the previous notice of an offender who has committed any act of criminal damage by whatever means. The acts of damage are not delimited in this categorisation and can for example include damage by fire, (Arson).

Additionally, no distinction was made as to the motive behind the type of damage caused, in particular, references to endangering life by damage have been ignored for the purpose of the scheme.

VARIABLE 11.

ADULT DAMAGE

1=NO 2=YES

As above in respect of the adult offender.
The term "disorder" is used in the context of this coding scheme as representative of an offender's actions which led to him being dealt with for some unacceptable behaviour.

Always committed in public, minor acts of disturbance such as drunk and disorderly, breach of the peace, threatening behaviour and so on, most usually result in the offender being fined or dealt with by way of being "bound over" to keep the peace. It is these minor infringements of the public norm, the Queen's Peace, which this variable addresses.

VARIABLE 13.

ADULT DISORDER 1=NO 2=YES
As above in respect of the adult offender.

VARIABLE 14.

DECEPTION 1=NO 2=YES
This is the first of the "Specific" variables which examine some of the defined crimes selected for the purposes of this research.
The specific variables do not discriminate juvenile or adult history, that will already have been done in the "General" crime history variables above. For instance the crime of deception is also dishonesty and will have been categorised as such.

The term "Deception" originates from the short title of defined crimes under Sections 15 and 16 of the Theft Act 1968. In lay terms the offences could be described generally as fraud, but importantly in this variable, the "fraud" offender has to have had some interaction with a victim of the crime for the deception to have been practised.

The intent of the categorisation was therefore to investigate those offenders who were capable of such interaction, as opposed to those whose crimes were "anonymous".

VARIABLE 15.
INDECENT ASSAULT 1=NO 2=YES
Obviously this described crime overlaps with the previous variables of adult and juvenile indecency. Because of some reporting difficulties within the framework of existing Police records, both this and the following variable open up that general description of indecency to examine different aspects of the offender's history.
The overlap discussed above also applies to this variable. This offence has been one cause of difficulties in the examination of national records. Prior to 1985 the offence of indecent exposure was not a "recordable crime", and therefore notification of the detection of an offender who had committed such acts was not mandatory. The event was often not reported to the National Identification Bureau.

VARIABLE 16.
INDECENT EXPOSURE 1=NO 2=YES

VARIABLE 17.
OFFENSIVE WEAPON 1=NO 2=YES

This categorisation draws from the record the specific crime of possessing an offensive weapon but also includes those offenders who have been in possession of weapons perhaps while committing other crime.

It therefore examines those offenders who, prior to the index offence, had with them in any circumstances a weapon of any description, except firearms which are addressed in the next variable.
In a similar way to the variable above, this coding looks at those offenders who have unlawfully possessed or used a firearm or imitation firearm at any time in their history.

VARIABLE 19.

TRAFFIC OFFENCES

Possibly the most extensive amount of legislation in the United Kingdom concerns the ownership and use of motor vehicles. In this variable the commission of traffic offences of all kinds are combined to give an overview of the offender's previous disregard for traffic law.

The only exception as a breach of traffic law, is where a motor vehicle has been unlawfully taken. This again highlights the problems in following legal definition as the criteria by which coding decisions are made.

For a motor vehicle to be stolen, the thief has to intend to permanently deprive the owner of the vehicle. Where the vehicle has been unlawfully taken the burden of proof concerning that intent is not required in order to convict.
This means that sometimes there may have been some disparity in the decision on whether to charge theft of the vehicle or unlawful taking of the vehicle without consent of the owner.

In this coding scheme, the offender who had unlawfully taken a motor vehicle will in any case have been coded as "Dishonest", as a juvenile or adult as the case may be. The specific vehicle crime variable also deals with these cases.

VARIABLE 20.
DAMAGE BY FIRE  
1=NO  2=YES
Although criminal damage has already been addressed in the earlier general variables, this looks at those offenders who have specifically set fires in order to damage property or endanger life.

VARIABLE 21.
STREET ROBBERY  
1=NO  2=YES
An obvious dishonest act which will also have been included in the earlier categorisation of "Dishonesty". The crime may be colloquially referred to as "mugging", "steaming" or "purse/handbag snatch" and is quite specific, involving the use of violence in order to steal, and to have occurred in the street or other public place.
Again the overlap with earlier more general variables exists, but as the variable title suggests, the examination here is on those offenders who have previously entered a residence as burglars.

VARIABLE 23.
BURGLARY NON-DWELLING 1=NO 2=YES
In similar fashion to the above variable but here the concentration is on those whose entry had been directed at non-residential property.

VARIABLE 24.
POSSESSION OF DRUGS 1=NO 2=YES
No distinction is made between what has been referred to as hard or soft drugs, therefore possession of cannabis or heroin result in the same categorisation of "2". Thus indicating that at a time in the history of a particular offender he had possessed a controlled drug.

Likewise, alcohol use and abuse could be seen as a possible variable but has been excluded. The record of alcohol related crime are very poor, other than those of course which have drunkenness as part of the formal charge.
VARIABLE 25.

VEHICLE CRIME 1=NO 2=YES

Created to examine the record in relation to those who stole vehicles or from vehicles, there is again the overlap with dishonesty. This specifically addresses those who have had a propensity to involve themselves in unlawful pursuits in relation to motor vehicles.

VARIABLE 26.

POLICE NOTICE 1=NO 2=YES

The categorisation of "2" is meant to be a summary of the amount of times that an offender had come to notice of Police officers in relation to any and all crime. Any subject who on more than three occasions had been dealt with by the police, was coded as having extensive police history.

This was an arbitrary decision to place the cut off point at three for little police history, and four as extensive. However the variable is exploratory and as with any similar decision the cut off point needs to be set.
The decision level of this categorisation is essentially experiential. The coder was required to judge major crime on the basis of the previous crime circumstances, and decide whether that crime would have been treated as a major criminal act.

With offences such as rape and murder, there was be no difficulty in judging them as major crimes, but offences of robbery and violence depend very much on the degree, or severity of the acts associated with the crimes.

To define the category of major crime the following criteria were used:-
Property crimes were coded as major if the value of property attacked and/or the degree of violence used was such that an immediate and fully staffed investigation would have been likely to ensue.

Personal crime was coded as major if the injuries inflicted or intended were such that the victim would have been likely to have been immediately hospitalised.
Although the main objective of this research was to examine the crime and personal characteristics of offenders who attacked strangers, it became apparent that some of them also attacked females known to them. The expression "known to them" was used to describe the offenders whose victims could give an investigating officer sufficient detail about the attacker to enable immediate identification.

Known victims therefore did not have to be closely related or associated with the offender, and the categorisation was based on any victim who was in such a position of knowledge during the index offences.

Murder in this coding scheme means that the subject offender killed during the series of attacks. It did not include those who killed the only victim he was known to have attacked. There must have been a live victim of his index crimes.

The concentration was on the killing having occurred during the period of the index sexual offence(s).
The variable was devised to examine those offenders whose actions at the scene include the removal of possible fingerprint evidence. This does not include the wearing of gloves, but is meant to address deliberate acts such as wiping of articles or conversation which indicates an awareness of risk in leaving fingerprints.

VARIABLE 31.
TRACE EVIDENCE 1=NO 2=YES
In similarity to the previous variable, offenders who appeared aware of the importance of "trace evidence", and who had taken any action to prevent such evidence being left by them, were coded as "2" under this variable.

In most cases the actions taken to remove or avoid leaving traces, related to semen and the acts associated with the awareness included washing, wiping and the use of a condom etc.

It is the focus on what the offender revealed in his actions that this variable examines. Knowledge of other trace evidence factors such as fibre transference would also be coded as present by the acts of an offender.
VARIABLE 32.

INSIDE

1=NO 2=YES

A category variable which was used to code those offenders whose attacks took place within premises. Generally the indoor location was the home of the victim, with some exceptions.

The variable examines only the index location of attack and does not discriminate between the victim's or offender's homes. That distinction was made in the coding of the crime characteristics.

VARIABLE 33.

OUTSIDE

1=NO 2=YES

As above, in respect of the offender who attacked outside, generally in the open air. The location variables in the coding of crime characteristics produce the distinction of venue differences.

VARIABLE 34.

CHANGE IN SERIES

1=NO 2=YES

Although applicable to series attackers, the variable looks at those who change location during the index series. Those offenders who appeared to have attacked both within premises and in the open air, were categorised as having changed in the series and coded "2".
VARIABLE 35.

CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS

1=NO  2=YES

To examine those who have a criminal history of sexual assault and who have changed their preference in the index crime location from their previous crimes. For example, an offender who had been previously charged with sexual assault in the street, and then commits burglary rape in the index crime, would be coded as "2".

VARIABLE 36.

SERIES ATTACK

1=NO  2=YES

A descriptive variable which simply examines those whose index crimes are in series. The categorisation has dual function as a variable written for manipulation of the matrix.

VARIABLE 37.

FIXED RESIDENCE

1=NO  2=YES

By using the full criminal history documents, the decision on the residential status of an offender could be made on the basis of a consistent home address shown for him. Where that consistency was present the offender was coded "2".
It also has to be accepted that this was a subjective decision in those cases where there is little known of an individual's history. Primarily those offenders who had not come to police notice before could not have the same recorded consistency.

The disparity in archive records forced rules to be made in respect of this and other variables. The general theme for this variable was to discover how many offenders had an itinerant residential history. Was there for instance, a nomadic sub group of rapists of no fixed abode etc.

Where the records clearly showed an offender's address as being the same as his wife, parent, or family, then regardless of the paucity of information the subject was categorised as having a fixed residence.

VARIABLE 38.

RENTED ACCOMMODATION 1=NO 2=YES

Continuing the theme of describing where the offenders were located, this variable examines the type of housing in which they lived.

Typically the antecedent history of individuals indicated whether or not the subject paid rent or owned their own houses. Where rent was paid, the offender was coded as "2".
The presence or absence of natural parents during the upbringing of the individual offender was a historical factor sometimes recorded, and sometimes not.

This variable was created to examine those occasions where the records indicated that one, or both, of the natural parents were absent at any time during the offenders history.

The categorisation of absence was mainly drawn by inference from the background information about the individual. Very rarely were specific details recorded, however inferences such as divorce, separation, and death were possible to recognise in some cases.

Where such absence could be inferred then the code of "2" was given to the individual. Where no information was available, and therefore absence of a parent could not be assessed, the subject was coded as "1", indicating that the category of absent parent was not in the record.
As a similar content analysis function, this categorisation looked for records to indicate that the natural parents were separated, and that one of those parents had a different partner.

VARIABLE 41.

OFFENDER WHITE 1=NO 2=YES
Simply, coding the offender by his ethnic appearance. In this variable the code of "2" is given to the offender who has the appearance of a white European. It is the appearance on which the variable is focused and not nationality.

VARIABLE 42.

OFFENDER BLACK 1=NO 2=YES
As above, in respect of an offender recorded as having the skin colour black, usually referred to on record as having Afro/Caribbean appearance.

VARIABLE 43.

OFFENDER OTHER RACE 1=NO 2=YES
This variable combines the description of several other race descriptions. Essentially an offender was coded as other race if he was not white or black. In nationality terms, the variable addresses Asian, Chinese and Middle Eastern ethnicity.
When background information was examined the level of education was found to be generally included in the antecedent history of each offender. This variable was written to look for those who had gone beyond secondary schooling.

VARIABLE 45.
SPECIAL SCHOOLS
1=NO 2=YES
As a different dimension to education, the background of each offender was examined in respect of attendance at special schools. No distinction was made between educational or behavioural factors which may have necessitated the attendance.

VARIABLE 46.
UNEMPLOYED
1=NO 2=YES
The direction of this variable was deliberate. It was created to examine the offenders work record and in so doing used the records to show where the individual was unemployed at the time of the index crime(s).

VARIABLE 47.
UNSKILLED
1=NO 2=YES
The reverse direction of this categorisation parallels the above work description but focuses on the lack of training. The unskilled individual was coded as "2".
Category "1", indicating some employment skill was drawn from the offenders record. The decision on coding was based on the simple rule that a skilled worker must have had some formal training in his employment. Current employment or lack of it should not affect the decision on whether the person was skilled or not.

VARIABLE 48.
MARRIED/CO-HABIT 1=NO 2=YES
As the variable heading indicates, to examine those offenders who, on the face of it, were in some consenting relationship at the time of the index crime(s). Marriage and co-habitation were combined in the variable for that purpose.

VARIABLE 49.
SINGLE MAN 1=NO 2=YES
Based on records, the description of single man reflects those offenders who, at the time of the index offence, were unmarried and not regularly co-habiting.

VARIABLE 50.
PREVIOUS MARRIAGE 1=NO 2=YES
A description of the offenders life before the index offence and created to examine those who, regardless of their relationships at the time of the index crime, had been married or had regularly co-habited with a
partner at some time in their history. The inference here is that whatever the relationship was, it had not endured.

VARIABLE 51.
ONLY CHILD 1=NO 2=YES
Background information from the criminal records was generally found to be patchy. Information was more difficult to find about this, and the subsequent three variables, in which the subjects are coded simply on the presence of the information available.

The descriptions of offenders family circumstances depend largely on their age at which the antecedent histories were obtained. This means that the older the offender, the less likely that police officers completing the antecedent form saw the necessity of referring to his family.

The category,"2", was used only when the criminal record specifically stated that the offender was an only child.

VARIABLE 52.
OLDEST CHILD 1=NO 2=YES
As above, the description of the individual as the oldest child was only coded as such when the record so stated.
With the same restrictions on the availability of information, the category of youngest child was used when the record so indicated.

VARIABLE 54.
SIBLINGS

Where the above variables were envisaged as being descriptive of the offenders birth order, it was found that the more general information about brothers and sisters was collected. This means in effect that an offender was described as being one of a number of children but with no specific place in the family order.

Category "2", was used when the information indicated the presence of other children but did not specify where the offender appeared in birth order.

VARIABLE 55.
SPORTS ORIENTATION.

In relation to this coding, "Power" sport was specified as being the interest displayed by the offender in either power sports such as weightlifting, body building, martial arts etc., or solo sporting activities where the offender was not part of a team.
The variable was created to examine those offenders who had previously committed any and all crime. As a persistent offender the individual was categorised "2" if his index crime was committed in the same way as the crime in his record.

This approached prior and current offending from a different direction than variables previously discussed. As a general and thematic variable the decision to classify the offender on the basis of Modus Operandi similarity was relatively subjective. Very few of the crime circumstances could be compared across the record but if both prior and index offences were generally similar then the code "2" was used.

VARIABLE 57.
AGAINST MALES 1=NO 2=YES
A descriptive variable which addresses the offender's previous crimes, particularly in respect of this coding, if any of the crime has been against male victims.

VARIABLE 58.
AGAINST FEMALES 1=NO 2=YES
As above, in respect of female victims and including all crimes.
To address the presence of tattoos on the offender's person. At this stage no distinction was made between the number, or subject matter represented in the tattoo.

VARIABLE 60.

PSYCHIATRIC HISTORY 1=NO 2=YES
For an offender to be coded as having a psychiatric history, the record must clearly indicate that at some stage before the index crime the offender received some form of psychiatric assistance. The coding did not take into account where or how that psychiatric intervention occurred.

VARIABLE 61.

PREPARES FOR CRIME 1=NO 2=YES
Drawn from the index crime circumstances, the coding of an offender who makes any preparation to commit the crime depends on many factors.

As a general rule information concerning the degree of planning and therefore by implication the preparation carried out by the offender was poor. However where the case reports contain clear indications that the offender had a plan or prepared for the index crime then that subject was coded as "2".
VARIABLE 62.
PREPARES ESCAPE  
1=NO  
2=YES
From the crime circumstances, inference about the escape of the offender was sought. Where clear indications were present that the offender had made preparations to facilitate his escape then that subject was coded as "2".

VARIABLE 63.
FAMILIARITY  
1=NO  
2=YES
In this variable direct comparisons were drawn between the index offence locations and the geographical references contained in the offenders criminal records. The familiarity factor was coded as present where the criminal record indicated the offence location was in the same vicinity as the offender's residence, work place, known social or family connections or where he had previously committed crime.

VARIABLE 64.
PARENTHOOD  
1=NO  
2=YES
Criminal records and particularly the antecedent histories often give detail as to the parental status of the offender. This was sometimes true in cases where the offender was not married or co-habiting.
In cases where the information was present and the documents indicated that the offender was a parent, then the subject was coded "2". Where information about children was absent, then the code of "1", indicating absence from the documents, was used.

VARIABLE 65.
ARMS SERVICES

Previous service in on or another of Her Majesty's armed forces was a characteristic quoted on the antecedent history forms. For the purposes of this data coding scheme no differential was produced to indicate in which branch of the services an individual may have served.

The coding of present,"2", was used to indicate where previous service was in an offender's history. Service in territorial units was not included.

VARIABLE 66.
AGE TO NOTICE

This, and the following three variables, are a seven part categorisation of the offenders age at different stages in their histories.

Age to notice means the age at which each offender first came to police notice. The expression "Police notice" has been used deliberately to indicate the
actual age that an offender's activities brought him into the criminal justice process, starting with the interview, arrest or summons for an offence.

Category 1  Age 16 years and under  
Category 2  Age 17 to 20 years  
Category 3  Age 21 to 25 years  
Category 4  Age 26 to 30 years  
Category 5  Age 31 to 35 years  
Category 6  Age 36 to 40 years  
Category 7  Age 41 years and over

Other than categories one and two, the other age bands were formed by five year periods up to the age of 41 years and over.

Dealing with the upper age parameter, pilot work at Surrey University (Canter et al 1989), indicated that very few offenders commit sexual assault at such a comparatively late stage of their development.

It was therefore envisaged that the one category, (7), for the older attacker would suffice at this stage of the research.

Dealing with the categories in which the younger attackers are described, the significant ages relate to judicial practice. In order for the age groups to mirror legal definitions, category 1, aged 16 years
and younger, contain those offenders who would be treated as juvenile offenders. On the attainment of 17 years offenders are dealt with as adults. Between the two there are differences in courts, procedures, sentencing and institutions.

Category 2, 17 to 20 years, although now adults and treated as no different from the higher categories, until the age of 21 years is reached, sentence and institutions are different.

VARIABLE 67.

AGE FIRST IMPRISONMENT Categories below

The term imprisonment has been used as an cover title, the variable examines the age at which any offender was first deprived of his liberty by order of a court. Detention Centre, Borstal and Prison were included, residential care orders were not.

The categories of age remained the same as those described in the previous variable, but an additional category, 8, was used to denote those who had never been detained before the index offence.
VARIABLE 68.

AGE AT INDEX OFFENCE

The distribution of age groups remain the same as the preceding variables, the category 8 of course was redundant in this variable.

Age at index offence means the offender's age at the time of the index sexual assault, and in the case of a series offender, their age at the first attack in the index series.

VARIABLE 69.

AGE FIRST SEX CRIME

The same categorisation scheme was adopted for this variable and was applied to all the sample. Those who had committed sexual crime before the index fell into one of the categories which may have been lower than that of the index crime. Those whose first known sexual assault was the index crime were categorised as though the index offence was the first sex crime.

VARIABLE 70.

MENTAL HEALTH DISPOSAL

A descriptive variable which dealt with one small part of the sentencing or disposal of the cases by the Crown Courts. The variable applied to the index crime(s), and was created to examine what happened to offenders convicted of sexual assault.
Mental Health Act disposals are not sentences and indicate a mental disorder of sufficient seriousness for the trial judge to adopt that course of action.

VARIABLE 71.

PREVIOUS M.H.A.  1=NO  2=YES

In similar terms this variable examines those offenders who from previous court appearances, that is before the index offence trial, who were found by the trial judge then to be suffering similar mental disorder sufficient for disposal under the Mental Health Act. This was for any crime, not only those which could be described as sexual.

In both the Mental Health Act variables, it was recognised that offenders could enter the Special Hospitals by routes other than the disposal referred to, i.e. from the courts. Those serving prison sentences could, in circumstances of mental disorder, be transferred from the prison service to a special hospital. Police records did not generally include that information.
APPENDIX "E"

Association matrix
<p>|   | 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 8   | 9   | 10  | 11  | 12  | 13  | 14  | 15  | 16  | 17  | 18  | 19  | 20  | 21  | 22  | 23  | 24  |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|1  | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|2  | .22 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|3  | .01 | .01 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|4  | .08 | .21 | .03 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|5  | .10 | .25 | .02 | .27 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|6  | .05 | .18 | .03 | .26 | .56 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|7  | .10 | .17 | .03 | .13 | .15 | .12 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|8  | .28 | .37 | .01 | .17 | .24 | .18 | .35 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|9  | .15 | .08 | .04 | .09 | .12 | .10 | .08 | .17 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|10 | .29 | .26 | .02 | .16 | .15 | .08 | .20 | .23 | .19 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|11 | .16 | .19 | .02 | .09 | .14 | .11 | .13 | .20 | .11 | .14 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|12 | .07 | .12 | .04 | .09 | .16 | .17 | .06 | .11 | .10 | .10 | .05 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|13 | .09 | .16 | .03 | .08 | .15 | .19 | .03 | .19 | .12 | .08 | .11 | .15 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|14 | .20 | .50 | .01 | .21 | .25 | .17 | .14 | .23 | .08 | .20 | .14 | .10 | .19 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|15 | .11 | .27 | .02 | .19 | .23 | .22 | .10 | .18 | .06 | .08 | .16 | .13 | .14 | .31 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|16 | .05 | .06 | .07 | .02 | .04 | .02 | .05 | .04 | .03 | .04 | .04 | .06 | .02 | .06 | .11 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|17 | .20 | .42 | .01 | .15 | .27 | .14 | .15 | .26 | .15 | .34 | .15 | .14 | .14 | .35 | .10 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|18 | .19 | .40 | .01 | .12 | .13 | .08 | .14 | .26 | .16 | .26 | .15 | .12 | .10 | .29 | .18 | .11 | .37 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|19 | .01 | .16 | .03 | .14 | .13 | .09 | .03 | .11 | .06 | .09 | .12 | .06 | .15 | .24 | .19 | .11 | .18 | .09 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|20 | .09 | .06 | .06 | .02 | .06 | .07 | .02 | .05 | .16 | .08 | .06 | .03 | .07 | .09 | .09 | .04 | .07 | .06 | .11 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|21 | .22 | .29 | .02 | .18 | .18 | .14 | .14 | .22 | .08 | .24 | .15 | .10 | .12 | .25 | .19 | .05 | .20 | .25 | .09 | .10 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|22 | .19 | .27 | .02 | .16 | .19 | .15 | .10 | .18 | .17 | .35 | .10 | .13 | .14 | .26 | .12 | .06 | .28 | .26 | .13 | .03 | .31 | 00  |     |     |     |     |     |
|23 | .14 | .19 | .02 | .07 | .14 | .12 | .19 | .29 | .07 | .16 | .20 | .05 | .12 | .13 | .14 | .06 | .16 | .15 | .03 | .04 | .10 | .19 | 00  |     |     |     |     |
|24 | .30 | .10 | .05 | .08 | .07 | .13 | .13 | .24 | .05 | .08 | .16 | .02 | .13 | .05 | .08 | .06 | .08 | .04 | .03 | .10 | .08 | .22 | 00  |     |     |     |     |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

476
APPENDIX "F"
National Criminal Record
THE NATIONAL CRIMINAL RECORD

An individual's criminal record commences at a national level when he, (the male gender is used because all offenders in the sample were male), is arrested and charged with any reportable offence, an offence which is required to be notified to the National Identification Bureau and specified in Home Office Circular 88/1985.

The National Identification Bureau maintains the criminal record of all such offenders regardless of which part of the United Kingdom notifies them of the circumstances of such arrest and formal charge. Not recorded nationally are police warnings to minor offenders and offences which have been declared non-reportable, for example offences against the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981. Some anomalies exist, for example the offence of begging under the Vagrancy Act 1824 is not reportable, whereas similar offences under the Children & Young Persons Act 1933 are.

In practice, as soon as a person has been charged or summoned for a reportable offence the National Identification Bureau, (NIB), are informed by a standard document, NIB74, giving details of the alleged offender, the offence details and the time and date of arrest.
Once the case has been resolved at court whether by sentence or acquittal, NIB are informed of the result and often a copy of the individuals antecedent history accompanies the result form for inclusion in his criminal record.

Antecedent history documents are less formalised than the NIB74 and are normally completed by the police officer in charge of the case. The document describes what appears to be relevant in the offenders background and details his schooling, employment, financial, and familial characteristics.

Such details are usually given by the offender himself in a form of self report. Antecedent forms have been seen primarily as documents for the information of the court having jurisdiction over the case, but they are also a rich source of personal characteristics where they have been prepared with some care.

It is an unfortunate fact that the preparation of background detail about offenders has recently fallen into disuse in many parts of the United Kingdom.
Access to the criminal record of any offender is restricted, although there is a requirement for the police to supply details of offenders to the courts and to some organisations particularly where there may be a security risk, or where there may be a risk of human suffering.

For those offenders whose life has included several brushes with the criminal justice system, their criminal records often reveal much about their movements and where they commit crime. Antecedent histories supplied each time they appear at court provides a loose longitudinal record of their background.

The National Identification Bureau do not record arrests where the individual is released without charge, similarly the details of those arrested, charged and later acquitted are not recorded as criminal convictions. However if they have a criminal record prior to such acquittal, notification of their arrest etc. remains on file but cannot ever be referred to as a conviction.
Taken as a whole, the criminal record of an individual can often be a rich source of information provided the documents have been conscientiously completed. Nonetheless, care and experience is needed in interpreting them. The present author's twenty years experience was therefore of considerable value in extracting full benefit from these reports.

Appended
Copies of the National Criminal Record, NIB74, documents are appended.
N.I.B. 74A (Arrest/Summons)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fingerprints identical with C.R.O. No.</th>
<th>Fingerprint Search Negative allocated C.R.O. No.</th>
<th>FOR USE IN N.I.B. ONLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surname (CAPITALS)</td>
<td>Forenames</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. File Name (as shown on P.N.C.)</td>
<td>2. Name in which *Charged/Summoned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Maiden Name (If not on P.N.C.)</td>
<td>4. Date of birth</td>
<td>5. Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Hair (colour)</td>
<td>17. Hair (description)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Hair (facial)</td>
<td>19. Marks/Scars/Abnormalities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Occupation</td>
<td>23. Address</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.N.C. C.N. SEARCH—MUST be carried out. If subject identified enter C.R.O. No. If no trace enter N/T. If unable to identify, e.g. because of the number of responses, enter 'NOT IDENTIFIED'.

Show details of P.N.C. Warning Signals
Indicate Warning Signals which are evident but NOT shown on P.N.C.
Show any changes/additions to descriptive details required to be noted on P.N.C.

FINGERPRINTS TAKEN *YES/NO
PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN *YES/NO

24. *Arrested/Summoned *a.m./p.m. on Charged on *IN CUSTODY/ON BAIL

25. Appearing at Court on for offence(s)
26. Method(s) used

27. Date and time of Offence
28. Location of Offence
29. Other useful information

Force Stn. Code Arresting Officer Force
Force Station
Reply to be sent to (if different from above) Supervising Officer (Name and signature)

Reply to be sent to (Name and signature) Date

482
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>C.R.O. No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>File Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Name in which convicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Aliases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Force/Station code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Nickname(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Since arrest was subject on bail YES/NO*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>If on bail were other offences committed YES/NO*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Photograph TAKEN/NOT TAKEN* Held at (Force/Station Code)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Fingerprints TAKEN/NOT TAKEN*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Date of sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Offence Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>G/NG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Disposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Additional information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Offences committed in company with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Police officers present at court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Officer in case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Supervising officer (name and signature)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Date N.I.B. 74B completed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>