

## **ABSTRACT**

Title of Thesis:       A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EXPLORING  
                              PATHWAYS FOR RAPISTS, CHILD MOLESTERS  
                              AND INCEST OFFENDERS

Danielle Arlanda Harris, Master of Arts, 2004

Thesis Directed by:   Dr Laura Dugan  
                              Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice

This research assumes offense specialization and distinguishes between rape, child molestation and incest. I hypothesize that child molesters will reveal the earliest age of onset (self-reported age of first sexually aggressive behavior) when compared to rapists and incest offenders respectively. Second, I hypothesize that sexual risk factors (pornography exposure and use) will characterize a specific pathway to child molestation and non-sexual risk factors (poor peer associations and substance use) will be more relevant in rape and incest pathways respectively. A descriptive univariate analysis supports the first hypothesis and a principal components factor analysis supports the second hypothesis. Child molesters are indeed characterized by a high rate of exposure to and use of pornography and rapists are more likely than other sexual offenders to use drugs and alcohol and to have extensive criminal histories. Incest offenders are

distinguished by their 'social competence' and by variables criminologists consider to be 'protective' factors.

A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EXPLORING PATHWAYS FOR RAPISTS,  
CHILD MOLESTERS AND INCEST OFFENDERS

by

Danielle Arlanda Harris

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Advisory Committee:

Dr. Laura Dugan, Chair  
Dr. Doris MacKenzie  
Dr. Sally Simpson

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Sexual abuse of children is a deeply complex phenomenon. It is ‘steeped in contradiction, confusion and emotion’ (Innes, 1997: 63) and ‘violates the norms of almost every culture’ (Ryan, Metzner and Krugman, 1987: 260). Historically, professionals have attributed this offense entirely to adults and have ‘denied or ignored the capability of *youth and children* to be sexually abusive’ (Burton, Nesmith and Badten, 1997: 157, emphasis added). However, recent findings have suggested a different reality. Relevant research now emphasizes that work with sexually aggressive adolescents is vital to stop the cycle of abuse early in its development (Ford and Linney, 1995; Erooga and Masson, 1999). Retrospective studies of adults indicate that up to 80% began engaging in offensive behaviors before the age of sixteen and that adolescents are responsible for approximately 20% of all reported rapes and between 30% and 50% of reported sexual contact with children (Cavanagh-Johnson, 1988; Ford and Linney, 1995; Morrison, 1999; National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, 1997; Rasmussen, 1999; Ryan, Metzner and Krugman, 1990).

The negative effects and long-term victimization consequences of child molestation, rape and incest are unquestionable. The importance of the criminological and psychological fields to contribute to an understanding from their collective research is equally evident. Since prevention is preferable to later treatment or management, there is an impetus to understand the ages at which various offending behaviors are likely to begin so that treatment and prevention programs can be implemented early and tailored toward relevant and specific risk and need factors.

This project uses Raymond Knight's (Brandeis University) data, gathered from more than 500 incarcerated male sex offenders in Massachusetts. The sample used here is broken down into 175 rapists, 154 child molesters and 128 incest offenders. A small group (n=27) of men with mixed aged victims (that is, men who have abused both adults and children) and a control group (n=168) of a community sample of members of the Knights of Columbus have also participated in the research, but these samples were not available at the time of analysis and will therefore not be included. Each participant either completed a computerized or paper and pencil version of the Multidimensional Assessment of Sex and Aggression (MASA) (a lengthy inventory regarding background life experiences, sexual behavior and criminal history).

## **Definitions**

Before continuing, it is necessary for the reader to understand the distinctions between the specific offender types of child molester, rapist and incest offender. Research in this area is confounded by great definitional variance so clarification is necessary for all stages of this study. Generally speaking, a sex offender is any person who commits any sexual act with a person of any age where the act is against the victim's will, involves an element of coercion, or is aggressive, exploitative or threatening (Erooga and Masson, 1999; Mathews, 1997; Ryan, Metzner and Krugman, 1990).

Sex offenders are repeatedly described as a markedly heterogeneous group (Bard et al, 1987; Valliant and Antonowicz, 1992). Therefore, because their 'sexual crimes vary in the sex and age of the victim, the degree of planning and the amount of violence used' (Bard et al, 1987: 204) among other things, it has become useful to delineate by

offense type. The definitions used in the present study are consistent with those created by Knight and colleagues (Knight, Carter and Prentky, 1989) and are described later in more detail.

With respect to age of onset, three categories are used: a child is a minor under the age of twelve, an adolescent is a minor between twelve (the age of criminal responsibility) and seventeen (the upper limit of most juvenile justice jurisdictions), and an adult is any individual over the age of seventeen. The dominant criminological perspective most often operationalizes age of onset as age at first arrest (Patterson et al, 1998; Prentky and Knight, 1993). However, using first formal contact with the Criminal Justice System has evident flaws and the limitations of official data are known (Eggleston and Laub, 2002). It is also clear that the dark figure of unreported crime, which is thought to be significant for sexual abuse, makes it particularly irrelevant to use arrest data to measure sexual offense age of onset. Age of onset for the present sample is operationalized as the age the offender reports first having forced someone to have sex. It is necessary then, to reiterate the benefit of the present study's age of onset definition and its higher validity.

The research question is directed in part by the interesting finding that when compared to rapists (who appear to have a later age of onset, but are younger at first arrest) child molesters reveal an early onset age but a later age at first arrest. Because of secrecy and various obstacles to disclosure, for example, most sexual offenders are not identified until they reach adulthood. Incarcerated populations and official statistics indicate that men who abuse children are typically older than rapists. However, it is now thought that sexually abusive behaviors toward young children begin in childhood or

early adolescence and are likely to become reinforced, well entrenched and difficult to alter, later in life. Notably, little is known empirically about differences in onset age and offense type.

A second problem stems from the methodological constraints of previous research. Our limited knowledge of sexual deviance in childhood and adolescence comes from retrospective studies of adult samples. While the present study also relies on retrospective recall, it uses three time periods (child/adolescent/adult) rather than two (child/adult). This has an important advantage of being able to identify more subtle transitions between the three stages of development. I anticipate that this more sensitive age delineation will facilitate more in-depth and meaningful conclusions.

### **Research Purpose**

The significance of social research is said to lie in its ‘timeliness, originality and importance as well as its academic and practical value’ (Erlandson et al, 1993: 44). The gravity and relevance of sexual abuse of children and the obligation to garner a heightened understanding of this offending population certainly satisfies these conditions. The main purpose of this research is found most clearly in the following arguments that are supported heavily by extensive international literature.

The strongest motivation for this study stems from an appreciation of the importance and value of early identification and prevention. Findings from retrospective studies indicate a strong need to focus on the likelihood of continuation of offending into adulthood. Thus, effective prevention, treatment and management initiatives require that individuals be identified and targeted before offending patterns become entrenched and

deviant sexual arousal develops. Given the importance of early intervention, and the possibility of identifying characteristics specific to different types of sexual offending, the most appropriate treatment and management strategies can best be determined by understanding the different pathways to and onset ages of various offense types (child molestation, incest and rape). I anticipate that I will better understand these pathways by exploring the relationships between different offense types and time dependent factors such as age of onset, early exposure to and use of pornography, early experiences of poor peer associations, and substance use.

Effective treatment and management of offenders is much more likely during their youth. The development of habitual deviant sexual behavior can be interrupted more successfully in adolescents because they are far more amenable to change than adults (Brown, 1999; Ryan, Metzner and Krugman, 1990). This is because their abusive behaviors have not yet become compulsive or addictive (Brown, 1999) and will not be as entrenched as they are for adult offenders who might not be identified until much later in their criminal careers. Adolescents are also less likely to have developed the cognitive distortions that excuse, justify or minimize their offending which is an important concern for treatment. Unfortunately, the inverse of this is that juvenile offenders appear to be less organized than adults and have less preference in terms of victim gender for example. These fluid characteristics that are less easily identified make their behaviors more troubling and also makes identifying, analyzing and treating them more crucial (Aylwin et al, 2002).

Understanding the pathways to an exclusively early or exclusively adult onset of sexual offending will be equally beneficial. The timely identification of those young

offenders who exhibit early age of onset and sexual reactivity to victimization (inappropriate sexual acting out in response to their abuse) will enable a stronger commitment to treatment and prevention. In addition, the simple fact that adult onset offending is a much lesser explored phenomenon makes it a vital and worthwhile area for study. Therefore, discovering and understanding the sequences of events or triggers that influence offending in adulthood will also inform identification and treatment efforts. As will be described later, this is particularly interesting with regard to incest offenders.

The absence of an integrated theoretical approach to sexual offending and deviance is commonly regarded as a major problem in the field (Ward and Hudson, 1998). Offense specific theories are rarely advocated and are subsequently uncommon. Since sex offenders are regarded as such a heterogeneous group, the realm of traditional criminology has offered little in terms of understanding and explaining this behavior (Joachim Schneider, 1997). In light of how little is known about the inherent differences between the three offenses (incest, rape and child molestation) a classificatory or typological approach is the approach used here.

Until recently, little connection had been made between onset age, offense specialization and versatility (Piquero et al, 1999). Inconsistent with Gottfredson and Hirshi's (1983) dominant assumptions of a single age pattern, there appears to be 'meaningful heterogeneity in offense trajectories' (Chung et al, 2002: 60) across offending types that are characterized by variation in peak ages and rates of decline (Steffensmier et al, 1989: 806). This opinion has significant appeal to the sexual abuse field since sexual offenders are often described as specific and different from nonsexual

criminals. This also offers an argument as to why it is necessary to regard this behavior from an additional viewpoint beyond traditional criminology.

For these reasons, I employ a typological approach to theory development and construction by using age dependent variables to search for unique pathways to each offense and therefore distinguish offending types. While the utility of certain learning theories and cognitive-behavioral perspectives is appreciated, it is important to emphasize that I will not test a particular theoretical perspective. I use empirical characteristics and clinical findings rather than theoretical reasons to expect certain distinctions between offenders. Typological and taxonomic methodology has a long history in the understanding of sexual offending. It is anticipated that when this is applied (for the first time) to a sample that includes three distinct offender types, the opportunity for early intervention and prevention (as well as timely management and treatment) will be within reach.

## **LITERATURE**

This question invites an important integration of two fields, so the literature is drawn from relevant international psychological and criminological research. Sexual offending has traditionally been considered exclusively by the helping professions of psychology, psychiatry and social work (Gelles and Wolfner, 1994). However, because of its other-abusive component, unlike generalized anxiety disorder or obsessive-compulsive disorder, it is dealt with almost exclusively by the criminal justice system. The inclusion of a criminological perspective then is equally necessary.

### **Overview of Sexual Offenders**

Sexual offenders were historically considered a homogeneous population. However, recent discoveries regarding the differences between rapists, extra-familial child molesters and incest offenders makes it especially important to emphasize the heterogeneity of the population (Miner and Dwyer, 1997; Parton and Day, 2002). Unfortunately, there is scant research to date that has examined the differences between comparable samples of different types of offenders. Further, much of the existing studies are limited methodologically (Goeke and Boyer, 1993; Parton and Day, 2002) since they so often distinguish only between rapists and child molesters or exclude intra-familial offenders altogether. The focus here is explicitly on the distinctions between rapists, child molesters and incest offenders since each offender type presents distinct characteristics, experiential differences and offense specific idiosyncrasies.



Sexual offenders are distinguished most often by the age of their victim<sup>1</sup>. While this has been considered inconsequential for some offenders (Loehrer, 1992: 59) (who indiscriminately abuse adults and children) it remains an important and common discriminator for the vast majority of identified sexual offenders (Bard et al, 1987: 206). Importantly, the mere presence of offenders with mixed-aged victims is evidence that specialization exists, and is common. The further and more recent breakdown by familial and non-familial victim is considered particularly important since they differ in clinically significant ways (Parton and Day, 2002).

It is so far considered appropriate to distinguish between rapists and child molesters based on victim age or between child molesters and incest offenders based on relationship to victim. Additional characteristics may be discovered that will further discriminate between the offense types. Such factors may include age of onset, exposure to and use of pornography, experience of poor peer associations and substance use.

*Child Molesters.* When they come to the attention of the Criminal Justice System, child molesters are generally older than rapists (Loehrer, 1992; Prentky and Knight, 1993) and the difference has been found to be statistically significant. Bard et al (1987: 216) found a difference of more than seven years (mean rapist age=27.1 and mean child molester age=34.7). However, when compared to rapists and incest offenders there is evidence that child molesters have an earlier age of onset and a longer criminal career with more frequent offending and a higher number of victims (Parton and Day, 2002).

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<sup>1</sup> While victim age and victim gender are important, appropriate measures were unavailable at the time of analysis. Evidently, information pertaining to an offender's relationship to his victim and the victim's age were used in the initial determination of offense type, but such measures were absent from the current database.

Evidently, the present definition of incest offender requires that their pool of potential victims be much smaller since it is limited to family members.

Child molesters are consistently found to be unmarried, having never or seldom engaged in consensual sex with age-appropriate peers (Loehrer, 1992; Parton and Day, 2002). While their parental marriages usually remain intact (Bard et al, 1987), child molesters are much more likely to reveal childhood histories of sexual abuse (Loehrer, 1992). Early onset child molesters, specifically, report having been the victims of more invasive abuse and abuse at a younger age (6-9yrs) compared to rapists (who experience victimization later, between ages 9 and 13) (Prentky and Knight, 1993).

Extra-familial child molesters are also the most likely subgroup to reveal deviant sexual preferences, deviant sexual arousal and the use of pornography (Loehrer, 1992; Marshall in Hanson, 2002). Importantly, the development of deviant sexual arousal may be unconscious. These findings are consistent with the 'recapitulation of abuse' hypothesis (Veneziano, Veneziano and LeGrand, 2000; Worling, 1995b). This theory describes the behavioral pattern of acting out in an 'other-harming' way as a progression of the inability to adequately cope with the abusive experience. Sexual deviance might then stem from earlier victimization (Friedrich and Luecke, 1988) suggesting that early use of pornography might instead be a product of abuse rather than a cause of offending. Marshall (1988) found that early (before age 14) exposure to pornography was linked to greater sexual deviance.

When compared to rapists and incest offenders, child molesters are characterized by social alienation and withdrawal, low self-esteem, self doubt, anxiety, and feelings of inadequacy and insecurity (Loehrer, 1992; Valliant and Antonowicz, 1992). Early onset

child molesters in particular are also more likely to have ‘a history of impulsive antisocial acting out’ (Prentky and Knight, 1993: 56). Child molesters show more deficiencies in capacity for intimacy or social relationships with others (Parton and Day, 2002) and it has been suggested that loneliness is an important emotional state, which precedes the development of deviant fantasies (McKibben, Proulx and Lusignan, 1994). It has also been proffered that the lack of social skills necessary for a juvenile to develop age-appropriate relationships (Pierce and Pierce, 1987; Worling, 1995b) creates a need for them to turn to younger children for friendships that are ‘socially and emotionally safer to control’ (Ford and Linney, 1995: 57). Developmental delays and severely distorted thinking about sex (usually stemming from the way they have processed previous abuse) are thought to allow the adolescent to sexualize all relationships, thus providing an opportunity for them to abuse younger children (National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, 1997; Worling, 1995a).

Child molesters are also more likely than rapists and incest offenders to present with medical problems, pathology and mental retardation (Bard et al, 1987: 205). Inhibition of aggression and aversion to violence are two other important characteristics of child molesters where they likely control their victims through persuasion or seduction with passive and dependent psychological dynamics (Loehrer, 1992). Rapists on the other hand, tend to follow an overtly violent pathway to offending and display overtly violent and non-sexual criminal characteristics. These aspects will be explored by the inclusion of items that measure non-sexual criminal history.

Very little is understood about adult onset child molesters and they are likely a very small sample since early onset is so common. When identified, adult onset child

molesters report less use of, or exposure to, pornography than early onset child molesters and also appear to be less active and less violent in their offending and reveal lower levels of non-sexual aggression (Prentky and Knight, 1993). They have more heterosexual adult relationships and are therefore considered more socially competent than early onset offenders. In addition, since adult onset child molesters are typically older at first arrest and first incarceration, they are considered more employable (that is, having more time to work) but have not typically achieved a higher level of education (Prentky and Knight, 1993).

*Rapists.* One of the most important characteristics specific to the rapist subgroup is that they show the greatest similarity to non-sexual offenders (Hanson, 2002) to the extent where some research has found it difficult to differentiate between them (Loehrer, 1992). Rapists are therefore most likely to have engaged in nonsexual violence and usually have criminal records as well as histories of juvenile delinquency and antisocial behavior (Bard et al, 1987; Prentky and Knight, 1993). Rapists are more likely to offend using verbal threats and physical force (Loehrer, 1992). While less likely to have been sexually abused, rapists are often raised in broken homes and many have witnessed domestic violence and parental aggression (Bard et al, 1987). Rapists generally present with aggravated hostility, resentment, self-centeredness, impulsivity, over-assertiveness and a need for immediate gratification (Bard et al, 1987; Loehrer, 1992; Valliant and Antonowicz, 1992). Despite reporting some feelings of social alienation, studies have shown consistently that rapists are 'significantly more likely to have had friends and have been part of a peer group' when young and are much more involved in social activities,

more likely to be married and to be more highly educated than child molesters (Bard et al, 1987: 214; Loehrer, 1992).

Alcohol use was higher among rapists (97%) than child molesters (83%), and rapists were more likely to act out while drinking (Bauserman, 1996). Also, more rapists (71%) than child molesters (33%) used drugs (Bauserman, 1996). These findings are consistent with rapists' tendency to blame external forces (like alcohol) for their offenses (Bauserman, 1996: 414). While the presence of pornography use itself is not particularly strong among rapists, a high correlation between alcohol and pornography has been detected (Boeringer, 1994).

*Incest Offenders.* Incest includes 'any sexual contact or behavior...between an adult and child related within a family structure' (Cole, 1992: 689) and is believed to be the most common form of child sexual abuse (Stermac Davidson and Sheridan, 1995). The actual prevalence of incest is difficult to determine since disclosure of intra-familial sexual abuse is particularly traumatic and unlikely. Estimates suggest that 75% of cases involve 'fathers and stepfathers sexually abusing daughters and stepdaughters' (Cole, 1992: 689) and incest is considered more common and severe in stepfamilies (Erickson, Walbek and Seely, 1987).

There appears to be little evidence of childhood abuse or deviant sexual arousal in the histories of incest offenders. Instead, life circumstances and the impact of adult heterosexual relationships are more likely to portend incest than rape or child molestation. Like rapists, paternal rejection or abandonment and witnessing domestic violence have been identified as important and parental alcohol and drug use are

mentioned frequently (Cole, 1992). Alcohol abuse is definitely present in existing samples of incest offenders but its contributory role (if any) is unclear where it may simply 'represent yet another area of poor impulse control' (Cole, 1992: 691).

Interestingly, alcohol has also been considered relevant for adult onset of non-sexual crimes (Elander, 2000). Of course, since an incest offender must be of childbearing age and it 'takes time for one's own children to mature' (Hanson, 2002: 3) it is not surprising that identified incest offenders are much older than comparable samples of rapists and child molesters (Valliant and Antonowicz, 1992). (The mean age of incest offenders<sup>2</sup> is consistently significantly higher than the average age of child molesters, rapists and nonsexual offenders.)

Incest offenders appear to be similar to non-offenders in many ways (Marshall, 1988). For example, only a minority of incest offenders (15%) has reported pornography use (Bauserman, 1996) and even then, it is thought to provide a substitute for actual offending by relieving the urge to offend. Boeringer (1994) concluded more generally, that use of sexually explicit materials are in fact correlated with lower offending rates and is considered more of a release.

Since incest offenders are necessarily married, or have at least had intimate relationships with age-appropriate peers (Miner and Dwyer, 1997), on the surface, they reveal more superficial social competence than other types of sexual offenders. However, they tend to isolate their family from others, allowing abuse to occur more easily. Family problems are most relevant for incest and include marital dysfunction,

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<sup>2</sup> 38.36 years (Goeke and Boyer, 1993); 40.74 years (Stermac, Davidson and Sheridan, 1995); 38 years (Marshall, 1988)

ineffective communication, incongruent belief systems, control imbalance and unclear role expectations (Cole, 1992).

Importantly, criminologists generally consider the very characteristics that seem necessary in the 'creation' of an incest offender as 'protective' factors for other nonsexual offending. This thesis explores these factors by including measures of social competence including quality and length of marriage, career stability, achieved level of education and military involvement.

There is a strong opinion that incest is a discrete and isolated problem whose perpetrators present the lowest risk of re-offending and are less serious than other sexual offenders. As Beech (1998: 47) suggests, regarding all incest offenders as 'regressed types' may be problematic as 'some men may be in a relationship with women purely to get access to their children'. This assumption has been challenged by other research that states incest offenders report both prior non-familial offenses (Cole, 1992) and non-sexual violent crimes (Stermac, Davidson and Sheridan, 1995; Studer et al, 2000). Again, this thesis includes appropriate measures of nonsexual criminal history in the present analysis will be useful in shedding light on these questions.

### **Other Variables of Interest**

*Age of Onset.* One of the most salient discoveries to come from criminology is the well accepted 'age crime curve' (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1983) which reveals that 'most crimes are committed by young people' (Hanson, 2002: 2) and the rate of criminal behavior gradually decreases with age for a large majority of individuals ('aging out' effect). Criminologists consider age of onset to be a known predictor of subsequent

criminality (Eggleston and Laub, 1993; Patterson et al, 1998; Piquero et al, 1999: 277; Prentky and Knight, 1993, Vitelli, 1997) but this has been considered to a lesser extent by the psychological literature on sexual offending (Hanson, 2002). It is also 'well established that individuals who initiate offending at the earliest ages are at greatest risk of serious, long term and frequent criminal offending' (Piquero et al, 1999: 275). Since much evidence suggests that child molesters specifically tend to fit this description and that recidivism is a realistic and likely concern it is likely that equivalent predictions may be drawn from a sexual offending sample.

Early clinical studies of young sexual offenders optimistically downplayed a male adolescent's risk of recidivism. Consistent with criminological conclusions, researchers and practitioners alike assumed they would 'grow out of it' (Morrisson, 1999: 27). Studies of aging and human sexuality also concur with the gradual decline over time. Barbaree, Blanchard and Langton's (2003: 62) data suggest for example, that the male libido is 'highest in adolescence and declines thereafter'.

There is evidence however, that this model may be less relevant for the sex offending population. 'There is a strong belief in the field that sexual aggression persists unabated into old age' (Barbaree, Blanchard and Langton, 2003: 59) and that, 'unlike other juvenile delinquents who typically grow out of their offending' (Erooga and Masson, 1999: 4), many child sexual abusers continue offending and 'get better' or 'grow into it' with time (Grant, 2000; Stenson and Anderson, 1987). The sexual experience has a positively reinforcing physical element. When this occurs at an early age, (sometimes even in the context of victimization) it may lead to more repetitive and ingrained deviant patterns of arousal (Elliot and Smiljanich, 1994; Graham, 1996).



Note on Adults and Adolescents who Sexually Abuse. Until juvenile populations were identified and studied, what was known about sex offending in adolescence was garnered solely from retrospective studies of clinical or incarcerated samples of adults. Some studies compare and contrast adult and adolescent sex offenders as if they are two isolated populations (Aylwin et al, 2002). Hanson (2002) for example, suggests a qualitative difference between antisocial youth becoming sexually active and increased opportunities for certain offending in adulthood (like an incest offender becoming a parent). Further, since the adult and juvenile justice systems are usually ‘functionally and philosophically distinct’ there are worthwhile reasons to consider the groups separately (Aylwin et al, 2002).

While obvious experiential differences exist, many have concluded that adults and adolescents are homogeneous in many ways (Whitford and Parr, 1995: 275) and exhibit similar characteristics including multiple victims of both genders (Aylwin et al, 2002), ‘deviant sexual preferences, comparable cognitive distortions and a lack of victim empathy’ (Becker and Hunter, 1997; Berliner, 1998: 645). Importantly, adult and adolescent samples may not be mutually exclusive, but dependent categories since adolescent offending can portend the development of similar behaviors in adulthood.

While it is recognized that the present dataset consists of incarcerated adult sexual offenders, it is also believed that by excluding the research on juvenile offending in a discussion of adult sexual offending, important information relevant to the onset of many adult offenders is overlooked. Where possible, for consistency, only retrospective studies of adults who reflect on their own histories of adolescent offending and childhood experiences are reviewed here.

Early Onset. Adult offenders who self report an early age of onset for criminality share the same characteristics and experiences as chronic offenders. A chronic or persistent offender is one who first engages in crime during childhood or early adolescence (usually operationalized as 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> birthday), and continues to engage in a broad range of criminal behavior at a steady rate across the life course (Piquero et al, 1999). These offenders usually reveal lower social competence, failure to achieve, ‘increased association with (and reliance on) delinquent peers’ (Prentky and Knight, 1993), poor parental monitoring and discipline and a higher likelihood of adult offending (Vitelli, 1997). Furthermore, studies have found that early onset samples have higher measures of ‘lifestyle impulsivity, delinquent and antisocial behavior, behavior management problems in school, assaultiveness and fighting’ (Prentky and Knight, 1993: 57).

Adolescent Onset. Most juvenile crime is described as high risk or exploratory with a thrill component (Steffensmeir et al, 1989). Precocious and abusive sexual activity in adolescence certainly fits this description. The number of instances where these behaviors actually begin in adolescence, however, is unclear. Adolescent onset characteristics do seem to differ from early onset characteristics for sex offenders where the recapitulation of abuse for example, is less relevant for the former group. Literature also suggests that poor peer group associations and family influences (Vitelli, 1997) are particularly although not exclusively important to adolescent onset offending when compared to other onset ages.

Prentky and Knight (1993) have concluded that pornography is the only sexual preoccupation variable that distinguished between onset ages where adolescent onset sex

offenders reported significantly more pornography use than early or adult onset samples. Bauserman (1996) found that 90% of adolescent sexual offenders admitted to using sexually explicit materials and other researchers have similarly reported its relevance in their modus operandi (Awad and Saunders, 1991; Kaufman et al, 1995).

Adult Onset. Conventional criminological thought has proposed that adult onset offending is considerably rare (Elander et al, 2002). The development of antisocial behavior in adulthood is far less understood than early or adolescent onset, making the phenomenon particularly ripe for further study. Moreover, it is an area in need of clarification, since crime by adults is a serious problem (Eggleston and Laub, 2003) and a majority of adult criminals have no delinquent history (McCord in Eggleston and Laub, 2003). Elander et al (2002) offer two explanations for this knowledge gap. First, official records are limited (Eggleston and Laub, 2003), thus early criminality may simply not be detected or recorded (Elander, et al 2002). Second, criminality might be linked to mental illnesses such as schizophrenia that do not develop until early adulthood. Similarly, adult onset offending may be related to alcoholism or drug use that might also develop relatively late in life (Elander et al, 2002).

The characteristics of adult onset offending are linked most strongly to family, employment and education. More specifically, Sampson and Laub (1993) suggest that adult onset criminality is most closely associated with changes in adult social circumstances that normally provide disincentives to antisocial behavior. This might include weakening ties to such adult institutions of informal social control as family and employment. Farrington and West (1995) discovered that marital separation predicted future offending and went beyond having free time and a lack of guardianship. If ties to

family were commonly operationalized as marriage then divorce, separation, or death of a spouse would be regarded as weakened bonds, a characteristic known to be relevant for incest offenders.

Importantly, present definitional requirements preclude the presence of early onset ‘rape’ (or ‘incest’), since rapists and their victims must be over the ages of 20 and 16 respectively. However, since the degree to which they have acted out sexually *ever, in their lifetime* is unknown, the retrospective design of this study allows for the self-report responses of adults who might still reveal an early onset of sexually coercive or aggressive behavior.

*Pornography.* Definitions of pornography are highly varied (Pollard, 1995) and show little regard to the actual content of the material (Marshall, 1988). Pornography is generally defined to include magazines, films, videotapes, and, more recently, Internet sites. The main definitional distinction is drawn between aggressive and non-aggressive pornography (Pollard, 1995). There is a consensus that concern should be directed towards explicitly violent rather than explicitly sexual content (Bauserman, 1996). But, Pollard (1995) suggests that such a distinction might be impossible since truly non-aggressive or non-violent pornography may be rare.

There is much debate and a heavy emphasis in the literature on the temporal ordering between exposure to or use of pornography and sexual aggression (Boeringer, 1994). Any identified relationships are, for various reasons, ambiguous (Bauserman, 1996; Boeringer, 1994). Social learning, excitation transfer and the cultivation hypothesis (Bauserman, 1996) all assume that pornography precedes offending. Thus, the age of first

exposure to pornography is an important criterion. Marshall (1988) considers it logical that early exposure would be more critical than later exposure in the development of offending behavior. However, the alternative could also be true. Sex offenders might have preexisting unusual sexual fantasies that are simply perpetuated rather than created by sexually explicit material (Bauserman, 1996). Further, as Marshall (1988) has suggested, pornography may have a much stronger negative impact on a man who is already predisposed to sexual offending. In this thesis, I analyze the associations (if any) that exist between early exposure to and use of pornography and pathways to specific kinds of offending.

Marshall (1988) found that rapists and child molesters reported significantly greater use of pornographic materials than both incest offenders and non-offending controls. Importantly, there were no significant differences between child molesters and rapists (Bauserman, 1996). Both reported ‘frequent use of these materials while preparing themselves to commit an offense’ (Marshall, 1988: 267). Rapists appear to be aroused equally by depictions of consenting sex and victim humiliation (Marshall, 1988) and more by nonsexual violence than child molesters (Pollard, 1995). Rapists also tended to follow exposure to pornography with masturbation whereas non-offenders followed with interpersonal sexual activity (Bauserman, 1996). Prentky and Knight (1993) concluded that pornography was most present among child molesters who are less aroused by nonsexual violence and more aroused by scenes involving children (Marshall, 1988). Table 1 provides the comparisons in pornography use and exposure by age and offense type as observed by Marshall (1988). The rows detail the use of pornography at two time waves: adolescence and adulthood. The columns break pornography use down by

offense type, for example, 39% of the rapists in his sample admitted to using pornography in adolescence compared with none of his sample of incest offenders. In adulthood however, 83% of the rapists used pornography compared with 67% of the child molesters and 53% of the incest offenders in his sample.

**Table 1. Exposure to and Use of Pornography by age and offense type**

	<b>Rapists</b>	<b>Child Molesters</b>	<b>Incest Offenders</b>
Adolescent use of hardcore pornography	39%	33%	0%
Adult use of hardcore pornography	83%	67%	53%

*Source: Marshall, 1988.*

*Peer associations.* It is necessary to examine an offender’s capacity to develop friendships and relationships because there appears to be a wide range of different social skill deficits among various offender types (Miner and Dwyer, 1997). Sexual offenders in general have been described as loners (Pierce and Pierce, 1987) who are ‘chronically isolated from same age peers’ (Ford and Linney, 1995: 56) and have difficulty making friends (Prentky and Knight, 1993; Worling, 1995b). Poor parental socialization and poor family relationships are thought to lead to an inability to form affectionate bonds with others, which has a consequent experience of loneliness.

Peer relationships are discussed consistently with particular and perhaps exclusive relevance to the adolescent onset period (Chung et al, 2002). Those who begin to offend in adolescence are considered to have a particularly poor self-image and low

self esteem (Pierce and Pierce, 1987; Sefarbi, 1990; Stenson and Anderson, 1987; Worling, 1995b). In this thesis I explore the possible correlations between offense types and evidence of poor peer associations and social isolation.<sup>3</sup>

*Substance Use and Abuse.* There is much debate over how strongly substance abuse can be implicated in sexual assaults by adults and adolescents. Where present, it is often linked to, or considered a product of, childhood abuse or inappropriate sexual acting out (Awad and Saunders, 1991; Blues, Moffat and Telford, 1999; Graham, 1996). Drug use and alcoholism have been identified in between one third and three quarters of parents of adolescent sexual offenders (Awad and Saunders, 1991; Cavanagh-Johnson, 1988; Erooga and Masson, 1999)<sup>4</sup>. The present research improves on this research by differentiating between alcohol and drug use at each time wave (childhood, adolescence and adulthood) and weights more serious drugs (uppers/downers, crack/cocaine and heroin) twice as heavily as less serious drugs (gasoline/kerosene/marijuana/LSD/acid).

### **Control Variables of Interest**

Existing literature identifies a number of key elements that are in some way relevant to sexual offending. Variables included in the factor analysis have been chosen because of their expected relevance to or their anticipated utility as unique predictors of rape, child molestation and incest. These variables include sexual risk factors such as

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<sup>3</sup> While measures of both close and casual friendships were to be included, these details were unavailable at the time of analysis.

<sup>4</sup> Chemical dependency (Friedrich and Luecke, 1988), chronic depression (Burton, Nesmith and Badten, 1997), histories of psychiatric hospitalization, general psychotic symptoms (Awad and Saunders, 1991) and dependent personalities (Cavanagh-Johnson, 1989) have also been found in parents of young perpetrators.

exposure to and use of pornography; non-sexual risk factors such as substance use, non-sexual criminal history and poor peer associations; age of onset factors such as age of first sexual intercourse, age when first forced someone to have sexual intercourse and age of first arrest; and protective factors (or social competence) such as education, marriage, career and military involvement.

The inclusion of sexual risk factors (pornography), some non-sexual risk factors (substance use and poor peer associations) and age of onset factors have already been discussed. The inclusion of non-sexual criminal history will be interesting to help disentangle the degree to which offenders specialize and also to provide support for the assumption that rapists tend to engage in a significant amount of non-sexual crime. Since victimization has been correlated so often with offending measures of both physical and sexual victimization will be included.

It is equally necessary to include protective factors. Elements that have been considered protective by criminological literature include service in the military, educational achievement, a stable marriage and a stable career. Fortunately, the MASA dataset contains measures of each of these factors. The variable names and definitions of all variables included in the analysis are provided in Table 2.

### **Sample Specific Definitions and Offense Classification**

Since I assume specialization across offense types, the offense specific definitions used to categorize each offender will be explained here. In the present study, a *rapist* is a male who commits a sexual offense against a woman who is over the age of sixteen. A *child molester* is a male who is at least fourteen at the time of the offense and whose



victims are under the age of sixteen. An *incest offender* necessarily falls under the subset of child molesters, but is operationalized here more specifically, as a man who sexually abuses a child in his nuclear or biological family, thus including step-, foster, and adopted children for whom he is a caregiver.

The most contentious aspect of these definitions is the mislabeling of consensual, age-appropriate sexual exploration between young peers as aggressive or assaultive behavior. To rectify this concern for child molesters, the offender must also be ‘at least five years older than his victims’ (Knight, Carter and Prentky, 1989: 12). The five-year age gap used here is consistent with other research (Cavanagh-Johnson, 1988; Elliott and Smiljanich, 1994; Fromuth and Conn, 1997; Ryan, Metzner and Krugman, 1990; Worling, 1995a).

Offenders were classified according to the definitions above. Trained research assistants created an abstract for each participant by retrieving relevant information from each of their clinical files including ‘past institutionalization records, school and employment reports, police reports, court testimony, parole summaries, probation records and social service notes’ (Knight, Carter and Prentky, 1989: 6). The abstracts were then reviewed and classified by ‘two of four senior clinicians who were familiar with the subject population and rating procedure’ (Knight, Carter and Prentky, 1989: 7).

To summarize, the focus of the present research is intentionally and explicitly on the important distinctions between rapists, child molesters and incest offenders since each offender type presents distinct characteristics, experiential differences and offense specific idiosyncrasies. In addition to victim age and relationship to victim, characteristics may be discovered that will discriminate further between the offense

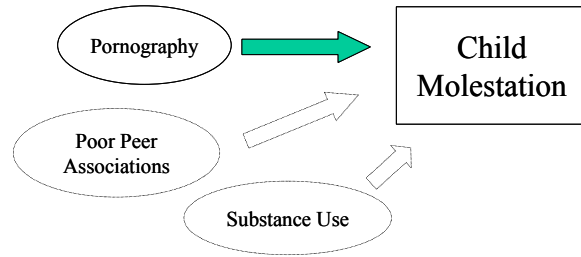
types. I predict that such factors might include age of onset, exposure to and use of pornography, experience of poor peer associations and substance use. Importantly, I explore the factors that are generally considered as 'protective' including measures of social competence including quality and length of marriage, career stability, achieved level of education and military involvement. These variables might become particularly useful in describing incest offenders.

### **The Research Question and Hypotheses**

The present research will use descriptive statistics and a principle component factor analysis to explore age of onset and the possibility of unique identifiers for the three types of sexual offending. In addition, I anticipate that these tests will help determine whether offense specific pathways exist. The dominant factors, already discussed, that are anticipated to become instrumental in the demonstration of specific pathways are integrated into the hypotheses below.

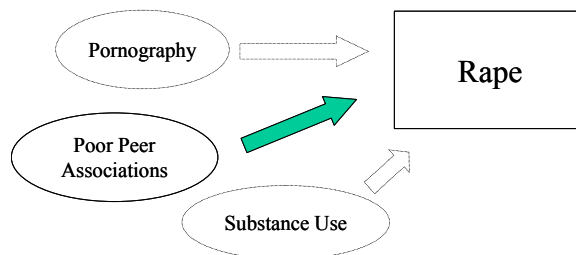
1. Child molesters will reveal an earlier age of onset than rapists and rapists will reveal an earlier age of onset when compared to incest offenders.
  
2. a) The presence of sexual risk factors in childhood or adolescence (such as exposure to and use of pornography) will be related more to child molestation, than to rape or incest.

## Hypothesis 2: Part A



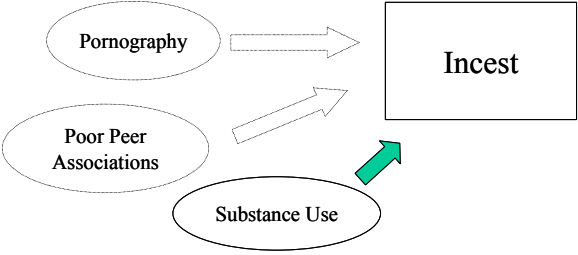
b) The absence of childhood and adolescent peer relationships and the experience of poor peer associations will be related more to rape than to child molestation and incest.

## Hypothesis 2: Part B



c) The presence of adult lifestyle factors including substance use and abuse will be related more to incest than to child molestation and rape.

Hypothesis 2: Part C



## **METHODOLOGY**

The present research employs two stages of statistical analysis. First, a descriptive univariate analysis details the demographic characteristics and the sexual and criminal histories of the sample of incarcerated sexual offenders. These summary statistics determine the relevance of each variable that is predicted to be related to the specific pathways to each offense type. Second, a factor analysis tests for emerging patterns that also determine offense types uniquely and support a particular pathway to each offense. This strategy was used by Simpson, Castro and Dugan (2002) who asked if offenders could be identified or distinguished by how early they became involved in criminal behavior. This question is especially relevant to sex offenders if it is possible to distinguish by both offense type and age of onset. Fortunately, the unique wealth of detail provided by the MASA dataset allows for breakdowns by three time waves.

### **Data Description**

The data source for testing the present hypotheses is a sample of incarcerated adult male sexual offenders from Massachusetts who have participated in one of four versions of the Multidimensional Assessment of Sex and Aggression (MASA). The MASA is a lengthy computerized interview regarding background life experiences, sexual behavior and criminal history that was created to ‘supplement the often poorly represented information in archival records and to provide an assessment tool to gather sufficient data to categorize offenders’ (Knight, Prentky and Cerce, 1994: 72).

The MASA is a self-report instrument that was originally developed for classifying adult rapists for treatment and future risk. It contains five main sections:

Social and Work History, School and Adult Behavior, Quality of Anger/Aggression and Sexual Behavior (parts one and two). Childhood exposure to and adult use of pornography is present under Sexual Behavior (part one), alcohol and drug use history is under School and Adult Behavior and peer associations falls under Social and Work History and School and Adult Behavior. More recent revisions of the instrument have included additions of and changes to early life experience and sexualization that includes more in depth measures of physical and sexual abuse in childhood and adolescence, institutional history, alcohol and drug abuse, and exposure to pornography (Knight, Prentky and Cerce, 1994: 91).

The test-retest reliability and validity of the MASA inventory have both been demonstrated (Knight, Prentky and Cerce, 1994). There does seem to be some discrepancy between MASA responses and archival sources on measures of sexual behavior and fantasy but it has been concluded that these are due more to ‘inadequacies of the archival records rather than distortion or underreporting on the MASA’ (Knight, Prentky and Cerce, 1994: 86). As might be predicted, offenders have provided more information on the questionnaire than in their case files.

### **Sample**

The sample contains 175 rapists, 154 child molesters and 128 incest offenders. A control group of non-offenders was unavailable at the time of the study. However, this is not considered a fatal flaw since the current hypotheses seek only to distinguish between men who have offended sexually.

## **Research Design**

*Descriptive Analysis.* The first part of the analysis is a descriptive piece on the sexual and criminal histories of each offense type. These summary statistics provide preliminary information that assists in the discovery of distinct aspects and unique identifiers that enable a distinction between rapists, child molesters and incest offenders. Once the means and standard deviations are calculated for each measure, an analysis of variance will determine whether, and to what degree the differences between groups were significant.

*Factor Analysis.* The principle component factor analysis tests for factors that correspond with different types of sexual offending and might be used to indicate specific pathways to that offense. The factor analysis reduces the large number of variables in the MASA database to a manageable number of themed factors. These factors represent the independent variables described previously (including age of onset, exposure to and use of pornography, poor peer associations, and substance use and abuse). Some items in the analysis are scales that have been factor analyzed previously. For a more thorough explanation of these variables refer to the Appendix.

## **Variable Descriptions**

Scales were constructed to reduce the large number of variables in the dataset. Three scales were created to measure exposure to and use of pornography at three time waves. An average was calculated of each participant's responses to all of the variables that measured exposure to and use of pornography during childhood (PNEXPCHD). The

same process was repeated to calculate exposure and use in adolescence (PNEXPTEE) and adulthood (PNEXPADT). Importantly, age-appropriate questions were added at each wave including masturbation to pornography in adolescence and attending strip clubs or live sex shows in adulthood.

Five already constructed scales were also included in the analysis to measure pornography use. These scales were derived from a factor analysis that had been conducted previously and replicated across all four versions of the MASA inventory. Further details regarding the specific variables included in each scale are provided in the appendix. The five factors were: use of conventional heterosexual pornography (PNHETER); use of homosexual pornography (PNHOMO); use of violent pornography (PNVIO); use of child pornography (PNCHLD); and early exposure to pornography (PNEAREX).

Similar scales were constructed to measure non-sexual criminal history. Four specific factor-analytically derived scales that had been constructed previously (and replicated across all versions of the MASA) were used in this analysis. These include juvenile delinquency (JUVDELFC); juvenile assault and impulsivity (JUVASLFC); adult conduct disorder (CONDISOR); and adult assault and weapon use (ASSWEADU). Again, details of the individual variables that were combined into each scale are provided in the appendix.

Physical (PHYSAB) and Sexual victimization (SEXAB) were each measured by a dummy variable where participants answered whether or not they had been the victim of



either type of abuse by anyone on a list of possible abusers<sup>5</sup>. Their responses were averaged and a score was assigned to participants.

Drug and alcohol use was also measured using scales. The questions regarding alcohol use in childhood (ALCOCHD), adolescence (ALCOJUV) and adulthood (ALCABADU) were added and averaged for each participant and a score was assigned. Weighted scales were used to measure drug use at each time wave (DRWCHD, DRWJUV, DRWADU). Use of uppers/downers, crack/cocaine and heroin were weighted twice as heavily as other drugs (marijuana, kerosene/gasoline and LSD/acid). Two factor-analytically derived scales were also included in the analysis. These were considered useful measures of juvenile (JUVDRGFC) and adult substance abuse (DRALCADU) since they had replicated across all versions of the MASA.

**Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations for all variables – for total sample (n=457)**

<b>Variable<sup>6</sup></b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Minimum and Maximum Values</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
<b>Sexual risk factors</b>			
PNEXPCHD	Exposure to pornography in childhood (scale)	0 – 4	0.548 (0.713)
PNEXPTEE	Used pornography in adolescence (scale)	0 – 4.10	1.010 (0.785)
PNEXPADT	Used pornography in adulthood (scale)	0 – 4.50	1.304 (0.864)
PNEAREX	Early exposure to pornography (scale factor)	0 – 5	0.866 (1.029)
PNHETER	Used heterosexual pornography (scale factor)	0 – 5	2.278 (1.193)
PNHOMO	Used homosexual pornography (scale factor)	0 – 5	0.598 (0.999)
PNCHLD	Used child pornography (scale factor)	0 – 4.83	0.225 (0.681)
PNVIO	Used violent pornography (scale factor)	0 – 5	0.469 (0.887)
PNRELEAS	Used sexual materials to relieve the urge to offend	0 – 5	1.11 (1.569)
PNCOMMIT	Felt aroused to offend after using pornography,	0 – 5	0.84 (1.372)
<b>Age of Onset/Arrest</b>			
AGE	Present age	20 – 68	37.87 (12.824)
AGEARR	Age at first arrest	0 – 61	20.18 (10.386)
NOARR	Number of times arrested	0 – 222	7.90 (15.162)
NOJAL	Number of times sent to prison/jail	0 – 50	4.54 (6.586)

<sup>5</sup> The list of potential abusers is provided in the appendix.

<sup>6</sup> Refer to appendix for thorough explanation of scale construction and scale factor variables.

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Minimum and Maximum Values</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
AGEINTER	Age at first sexual intercourse	0 – 35	13.62 (5.381)
ONSETAGE	Age at ‘first time you had sexual contact with someone who did not want to have sex with you (including sexual contact with someone drunk or high on drugs)	4 – 47	19.89 (7.864)
ONSETVIC	Age of victim at ‘first time you had sexual contact with someone who did not want to have sex with you (including sexual contact with someone drunk or high on drugs)	0 – 86	15.02 (10.930)
<b>Non-Sexual Criminal History</b>			
JUVDELFC	Juvenile delinquency (scale factor)	0 – 3.17	0.347 (0.479)
JUVASLFC	Juvenile assault and impulsivity (scale factor)	0 – 3.37	0.951 (0.641)
ASSWEADU	Adult assault and weapons (scale factor)	0 – 3.60	0.516 (0.529)
CONDISOR	Adult conduct disorder (scale factor)	0 – 2.81	0.330 (0.428)
<b>Substance Use</b>			
ALCOCHD	Used alcohol as a child (scale)	0 – 5	0.931 (1.224)
ALCOJUV	Used alcohol as an adolescent (scale)	0 – 5	2.277(1.545)
ALCABADU	Used alcohol as an adult (scale)	0 – 5	1.941(1.504)
DRWCHD	Used drugs as a child (weighted scale- where use of uppers, downers, crack/cocaine and heroin is weighted more heavily)	0 – 6	0.416 (0.981)
DRWJUV	Used drugs as an adolescent (weighted scale)	0 – 6.5	1.007 (1.334)
DRWADU	Used drugs as an adult (weighted scale)	0 – 7.13	1.501 (1.631)
JUVDRGFC	Juvenile substance abuse factor	0 – 5	1.206 (1.036)
DRALCADU	Adult substance abuse factor	0 – 5	1.411 (1.241)
<b>Peer Associations</b>			
IBULLYG	I bullied other kids in grammar school	0 – 4	0.80 (1.080)
BULLYMEG	Other kids bullied me in grammar school	0 – 4	1.60 (1.298)
IBULLYH	I bullied other kids in high school	0 – 4	1.06 (1.229)
BULLYMEH	Other kids bullied me in high school	0 – 4	1.40 (1.280)
<b>Victimization</b>			
SEXAB	Experienced sexual abuse in childhood or adolescence (before age 17) (scale)	0, 1	0.70 (0.459)
PHYSAB	Experienced physical abuse in childhood or adolescence (before age 17) (scale)	0, 1	0.88 (0.325)
<b>Protective Factors</b>			
EDUCAT	Highest grade achieved	0 – 20 (PhD/graduate)	11.11 (2.982)
GED	Did you earn a GED (1=yes)	0, 1	0.44 (0.497)
CAREER	Describe your career stability	0 – 5	3.25 (1.522)
MILITARY	How long were you in the military?	0 – 5	0.97 (1.493)
MARLONG	How long did you live with your wife?	0 – 6	2.52 (2.669)
MARQUAL	Describe how you got along with your wife	0 – 5	1.82 (2.083)

## **Analysis**

Summary statistics were calculated for each variable. A thorough explanation of these scales is provided in the Appendix. Since the offender groups were independent, a one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) procedure was used to compare the means of each of the three groups. Tukey's post-hoc test was then used to determine the statistical significance of these differences. Tukey's test was chosen for its conservative protection against Type I error.

Dummy variables were computed for each offense type and a principle components factor analysis was conducted using all of the independent variables listed in Table 2. Initially, Eigenvalues with a value of 1.00 or higher were used and a scree plot was created. This preliminary analysis produced eleven factors, eight of which were selected from the scree plot. However, after these factors were rotated, they made little conceptual sense. Subsequently, it was decided that consistent with the hypotheses, I would instead force the creation of three factors to allow for the possibility of three offense types. Thus, if they each loaded heavily on different factors then the findings would support the presence of different pathways to each type of offense. A factor loading of 0.40 or greater was used to indicate that the loading was substantial.

## **Limitations**

The MASA dataset probably represents the most sophisticated collection of information available on comparable samples of child molesters, rapists and incest offenders. However, in its application here, some limitations must be discussed. These include the sample bias inherent in using incarcerated offenders; the presence of missing

data across four separate versions of the inventory; the absence of a control group and the participants' ability to recall critical information from their childhoods.

Incarcerated offenders will clearly exhibit different characteristics than non-incarcerated or unidentified offenders and at times, these differences may be substantively or statistically significant. It is understood that since the participants in the present sample are incarcerated and have evidently been prosecuted and convicted in a court, they likely represent the most serious of sexual offenders. Evidently, generalizations cannot be made from the current analysis to non-incarcerated, outpatient or unidentified samples of sexual offenders.

Regardless of bias, this sample is important because early identification and prevention programs should be targeted towards those most at risk of most serious offending. Therefore, given that the men who are incarcerated are going to represent the most serious offenders, it will be particularly useful to construct pathways and typologies based on their characteristics and experiences.

The limitations of not including a control group are appreciated. While there is no intention of generalizing to non-incarcerated offenders or to non-offending controls in the current study, it is clear that in order to inform larger policy initiatives and to achieve early identification that very comparison is required. The intention to encourage changes in early identification and prevention assumes that certain types of sexual offenders differ markedly from each other as well as from other offending types (and can ultimately be recognized before they offend). Evidently, in order to disentangle these characteristics and isolate the factors that might identify and differentiate between these groups, a

discussion and comparison of sexual offending, non-sexual offending and non-offending samples is needed.

Missing data is an evident limitation of any database, but adjustments have been made wherever possible to accommodate this. Four separate versions of the MASA were included in the present analysis. The inventory saw a significant revision after its earliest version and thus some questions were added, eliminated or changed considerably. Unfortunately, a small selection of variables that was initially intended for inclusion was removed. It is believed however, that this minimal reduction in variables is not a flaw fatal to the support of the present hypotheses.

In the construction of pornography and substance use scales, I used a common method of dealing with missing data. Participants' responses were included in the analysis and considered acceptable if they answered more than 70% of the items included in the scale. The distribution of missing data was explored and it was found that comparable proportions of each offender type neglected to answer specific questions. Thus, there is no indication that missing data is significantly or systematically associated with a particular group.

The retrospective nature of the MASA questionnaire shares the methodological concerns of longitudinal research and retrospective designs where there is an evident dependence on the quality of respondent memory and accurate recall (Janson, 1990). Given the strong and specific emphasis on age of onset and offense type, an offender's retrospective recall of age of first exposure to pornography, their recollection of adolescent delinquency or their memories of childhood abuse are critical to my hypotheses. The MASA uses one's 12<sup>th</sup> birthday to distinguish between the first two time

waves. This is useful because it corresponds with the age at which one begins junior high school. Thus, rather than being required to recall what occurred before a somewhat arbitrary date, it is hoped that by having a time dependent explanation such as leaving primary school and entering junior high might encourage more accurate recall. Similarly, the end of the second time wave (adolescence) and the beginning of the third time wave (adulthood) is heralded by one's 17<sup>th</sup> birthday. It is hoped again that since this corresponds with the important milestone of graduating high school, one might be more able to accurately recall events that happened during school or after graduation.

Finally, the absence of female offenders in the sample is a limitation. Female sexual offending is an area especially ripe for further detailed study since particularly little is known about their offending behaviors. There is sufficient reason to expect their characteristics and typologies to be significantly different from those in the present male sample and thus no generalizations can be drawn to female offenders.

## **RESULTS**

The results of the comparison of means for each variable and each offender type are provided in Table 3. These findings are discussed below.

### **Data Distribution**

The distribution of the data is consistent with hypothetical expectations. Demographic variables such as present age, age of onset, age at first arrest and number of arrests are fairly symmetrical. The variables and scales that measured exposure to and use of pornography however, were considerably positively skewed. This was most noticeable for exposure to pornography in childhood (PNEXPCHD, PNEAREX), use of child pornography (PNCHLD), use of violent pornography (PNVIO) and use of homosexual pornography (PNHOMO) and much less noticeable for exposure to and use of pornography in adolescence (PNEXPTEE) and adulthood (PNEXPADT) and use of heterosexual pornography (PNHETER). There appeared to be no substantial or systematic differences across group delineations. A selection of histograms for these variables is included in the appendix.

Similar findings are obtained for substance use. Unsurprisingly, the distributions for both drug and alcohol use in childhood are considerably positively skewed. Substance abuse in adolescence and adulthood is somewhat less skewed and both juvenile and adult alcohol use approached a normal distribution.

In terms of protective factors, as would be expected, job stability, for example, is fairly normally distributed for rapists but negatively skewed for incest offenders. Finally, all of the variables measuring bullying are positively skewed across offending types,

except for having been a victim of bullying in grades one through six where the distribution for incest offenders and child molesters is close to normal.

**Table 3. Offender Types Comparison of Means (total n=457)**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Rapists (n=175)</b>	<b>Child Molesters (n=154)</b>	<b>Incest Offenders (n=128)</b>
<u>Sexual Risk Factors:</u>			
Exposure to pornography in childhood (scale)	0.506 (0.643)	0.644 (0.865)	0.531 (0.636)
Used pornography in adolescence (scale)	0.975 (0.769)	1.121 (0.951)	0.957 (0.649)
Used pornography in adulthood (scale)	1.203 (0.847)	1.381 (0.947)	1.263 (0.774)
Early exposure to pornography (scale factor)	0.832 (0.955)	0.929 (1.127)	0.862 (1.001)
Used heterosexual pornography (scale factor)	2.196 (1.190)	2.246 (1.239)	2.315 (1.160)
Used homosexual pornography (scale factor) <sup>a b c</sup>	0.296 *** (0.733)	0.972 ** (1.234)	0.598 * (0.925)
Used child pornography (scale factor) <sup>a b</sup>	0.031 *** (0.222)	0.491 *** (1.056)	0.195 (0.523)
Used violent pornography (scale factor) <sup>c</sup>	0.586 (1.053)	0.495 (0.957)	0.322 * (0.588)
<u>Age of Onset/Arrest:</u>			
Present age <sup>a</sup>	35.71* (12.411)	39.25 (12.977)	39.14 (12.891)
Age at first sexual intercourse	12.750 (4.798)	13.760 (6.446)	14.070 (4.882)
Age first forced someone to have sex <sup>b</sup>	19.860 (6.230)	18.070 *** (7.600)	22.010 (9.922)
Age of person who was forced <sup>a c</sup>	20.550 *** (12.586)	11.020 (8.538)	11.920 *** (8.638)
Age at first arrest <sup>a c</sup>	16.510 *** (6.784)	20.970 (10.305)	24.110 *** (12.846)
Number of arrests	10.560 (13.315)	6.680 (19.977)	5.510 (10.712)
Number of times sent to jail/prison <sup>a c</sup>	6.380 *** (8.309)	3.600 (5.159)	3.200 *** (5.047)
<u>Non-Sexual Criminal History:</u>			
Juvenile delinquency (scale factor) <sup>a c</sup>	0.532 *** (0.608)	0.225 (0.311)	0.261 *** (0.428)
Adult conduct disorder (scale factor) <sup>a c</sup>	0.443 *** (0.529)	0.251 (0.296)	0.251 *** (0.360)



<b>Variable</b>	<b>Rapists (n=175)</b>	<b>Child Molesters (n=154)</b>	<b>Incest Offenders (n=128)</b>
Juvenile assault and impulsivity (scale factor) <sup>a c</sup>	1.112** (0.680)	0.869 (0.624)	0.866 ** (0.573)
Adult assault and weapons (scale factor) <sup>a c</sup>	0.757 *** (0.634)	0.353 (0.380)	0.386 *** (0.372)
<u>Substance Use:</u>			
Used alcohol as a child <sup>a</sup>	1.096* (1.257)	0.736 (1.142)	0.980 (1.298)
Used alcohol as an adolescent <sup>a</sup>	2.560 *** (1.488)	1.958 (1.571)	2.255 (1.618)
Used alcohol as an adult <sup>a c</sup>	2.329 *** (1.586)	1.622 (1.456)	1.893 * (1.454)
Used drugs as a child (weighted scale)	0.474 (1.053)	0.337 (0.836)	0.430 (1.040)
Used drugs as an adolescent (weighted scale) <sup>a</sup>	1.246* (1.382)	0.820 (1.288)	0.904 (1.282)
Used drugs as an adult (weighted scale) <sup>a c</sup>	1.870** (1.670)	1.2062 (1.557)	1.3486* (1.580)
Juvenile substance abuse factor (scale factor) <sup>a c</sup>	1.473 *** (1.077)	0.972 (0.978)	1.142* (1.057)
Adult substance abuse factor (scale factor) <sup>a c</sup>	1.729*** (1.319)	1.167 (1.178)	1.314 * (1.201)
<u>Peer Associations:</u>			
I was bullied in grammar school <sup>a c</sup>	1.270*** (1.231)	1.810 (1.329)	1.690 * (1.244)
I was bullied in high school <sup>a</sup>	1.080*** (1.159)	1.650 (1.384)	1.420 (1.265)
I bullied others in grammar school	0.840 (1.119)	0.820 (1.107)	0.770 (1.009)
I bullied others in high school <sup>a c</sup>	1.350 * (1.337)	0.840 (1.163)	0.870 ** (1.047)
<u>Victimization:</u>			
Sexual victimization as child or adolescent (1=yes)	0.679 (0.470)	0.702 (0.460)	0.720 (0.452)
Physical victimization as child or adolescent (1=yes)	0.877 (0.331)	0.875 (0.332)	0.893 (0.311)
<u>Protective Factors</u>			
Highest grade completed <sup>a</sup>	10.570 ** (2.976)	11.600 (2.943)	10.920 (3.313)
Received GED (1=yes) <sup>a</sup>	0.500 * (0.502)	0.320 (0.469)	0.410 (0.494)
Description of career <sup>a c</sup>	2.860 ** (1.556)	3.370 (1.538)	3.630 *** (1.397)
Military experience <sup>c</sup>	0.790 (1.346)	0.990 (1.482)	1.200 * (1.630)
Description of marriage <sup>b c</sup>	1.280 (1.929)	1.620 *** (2.026)	2.830 *** (2.074)

Variable	Rapists (n=175)	Child Molesters (n=154)	Incest Offenders (n=128)
Length of marriage <sup>b c</sup>	1.710 (2.403)	2.230 *** (2.628)	3.910 *** (2.528)

\* =  $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* =  $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* =  $p \leq 0.001$

<sup>a</sup> Significant difference between *Rapist* and *Child Molester* means.

<sup>b</sup> Significant difference between *Child Molester* and *Incest Offender* means.

<sup>c</sup> Significant difference between *Incest Offender* and *Rapist* means.

*Findings Regarding Age of Onset and Hypothesis 1.* A frequency distribution (provided in Table 4) revealed that 13% of the men who responded to this question (n=342) had an early age of onset (that is, admitted to first forcing someone to have sexual contact with them before their twelfth birthday). A subsequent 45% reported that their first sexual offense occurred before they turned eighteen. When compared to the other offense types, there is some support for the literature on child molestation and early onset, and therefore, support for my first hypothesis, that child molesters will be more likely to reveal an early age of onset than rapists and incest offenders respectively. In a comparison of means, the average age of onset for child molesters is 18, for rapists, 19.86 and for incest offenders, 22. The difference between child molesters and incest offenders is significant at the 0.001 level.

43% of the men who reported an early onset age (before age 12) were child molesters, while 36% were incest offenders and the remaining 20% were rapists. It was expected that child molesters would account for a much larger proportion of early onset offending. Somewhat consistent with the hypothesis that child molesters would most likely reveal an earlier onset than other offenders, 18% of child molesters admit to sexually abusive behavior before age twelve (compared to 18% incest and 6% for rape). Notably, almost two thirds (58%) of child molesters began offending before eighteen.

Contrary to the predictions of most criminological and psychological literature, a substantially large number of the sample reported an adult age of onset (60% of rapists, 42% of child molesters and 61% of incest offenders). The high percentage of adult onset incest offenders makes theoretical sense given the definitional requirement that they be of childbearing age or in a care-giving role, for example. A suitable explanation for the high percentage of adult onset rapists and child molesters however, is not provided by this analysis, and as other authors have suggested, requires more research.

**Table 4. Results for onset age by offense type (n=342)<sup>7</sup>**

	<b>Rapist (n=146)</b>	<b>Child Molester (n=107)</b>	<b>Incest Offender (n=89)</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Early onset (before 12<sup>th</sup> birthday)</b>	9 (6.2%)	19 (17.8%)	16 (18%)	44 (12.86%)
<b>Adolescent onset (ages 12-17)</b>	49 (33.6%)	43 (40.2%)	19 (21.3%)	111 (32.46%)
<b>Adult onset (17+)</b>	88 (60.2%)	45 (42%)	54 (60.7%)	187 (54.68%)
<b>Totals</b>	146 (100%)	107 (100%)	89 (100%)	342

The most important finding to come from the analysis in Table 4 is that 39% of men who commit incest (which is necessarily an adult crime) begin their sexually abusive criminal careers much sooner with 18% admitting to having forced someone to have sexual contact with them before the age of twelve. Similarly, 40% of rapists also reveal an early or adolescent onset.

Results from the principle component factor analysis offer support for my first hypothesis, that incest offenders will generally reveal a later onset age than rapists and

<sup>7</sup> There were 115 missing responses for this item. 17% of rapists, 31% of child molesters and 31% of incest offenders did not answer this question.

child molesters. As Table 5 and Table 6 indicate, age at first sexual offense and age at first arrest both loaded positively and substantially on the rotated component for incest.

Importantly, age of onset is the item most likely to be susceptible to social desirability bias. Despite guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality, there might still exist a hesitancy to reveal additional and so far unknown offenses for which one could be charged. These results should certainly be regarded as more valid than a measure of onset age that is operationalized as ‘age at first arrest’.

*Findings Regarding Pornography, Child Molestation and Hypothesis 2a.* The results of the principle component factor analysis (displayed in Table 5 and Table 6) supports strongly the first part of my second hypothesis: that the presence of sexual risk factors in childhood or adolescence (such as exposure to and use of pornography) will be more likely related to child molestation, compared with rape and incest. The only variables that loaded substantially on the second rotated component (child molestation) were the items measuring exposure to and use of pornography. These included three rational scales created specifically for this purpose (which distinguished by exposure and use in childhood, adolescence and adulthood) five scale-factors (including early exposure, use of heterosexual, homosexual, violent and child pornography) and two individual variables (using pornography to relieve the urge to offend and becoming aroused to commit an offense after using pornography). Further, only three variables (early exposure to pornography, use of heterosexual pornography and use of violent pornography) even approached a substantial loading on the rape component and no pornography variables loaded on the component for incest.

**Table 5. Rotated Component Matrix for Factor Analysis**

	Rotated Components		
	1 (Rapist)	2 (Child Molester)	3 (Incest Offender)
RAPE	<b>.400</b>	-.258	-.200
CHILDMOL	-.350	<b>.298</b>	-.143
INCEST	-.039	-.053	<b>.365</b>
AGE	-.090	-.017	<b>.674</b>
PNEXPCHD	.245	<b>.712</b>	-.166
PNEXPTEE	.212	<b>.823</b>	-.201
PNEXPADT	.186	<b>.886</b>	.088
PNCHLD	-.197	<b>.505</b>	-.025
PNHOMO	-.049	<b>.635</b>	-.030
PNEAREX	.303	<b>.657</b>	-.200
PNVIO	.242	<b>.651</b>	-.127
PNHETER	.267	<b>.734</b>	.131
PNRELEAS	.065	<b>.636</b>	.030
PNCOMMIT	.066	<b>.707</b>	.015
ALCOCHD	<b>.639</b>	.194	-.123
ALCOJUV	<b>.693</b>	.125	-.122
ALCABADU	<b>.771</b>	.027	.135
DRWCHD	<b>.629</b>	-.013	-.192
DRWJUV	<b>.754</b>	.010	-.196
DRWADU	<b>.753</b>	-.034	.012
JUVDRGFC	<b>.881</b>	.073	-.196
DRALCADU	<b>.853</b>	-.017	.042
JUVDELFC	<b>.543</b>	.174	-.310
ASSWEADU	<b>.753</b>	.079	-.062
CONDISOR	<b>.592</b>	.120	.016
JUVASLFC	<b>.533</b>	.274	-.384
AGEARR	-.384	-.137	<b>.475</b>
NOARR	.300	.074	.056
NOJAL	.320	.105	-.045
ONSETAGE	-.050	-.222	<b>.548</b>
ONSETVIC	.224	-.281	.158
AGEINTER	-.289	-.035	.245
Kids bullied me grades 1-6	.017	<b>.328</b>	.060
Kids bullied me grades 7-12	-.127	<b>.374</b>	-.163
I bullied kids grades 1-6	.282	.233	-.282
I bullied kids grades 7-12	<b>.341</b>	.080	-.398
PHYSAB	.187	.127	-.027
SEXAB	.183	<b>.310</b>	-.044
EDUCAT	-.067	-.170	.121
GED	.164	.126	.123
MARLONG	.082	.105	<b>.820</b>
MARQUAL	.046	.080	<b>.688</b>
CAREER	-.068	-.056	<b>.599</b>
MILITARY	-.035	-.030	<b>.466</b>

**Table 6. Results from factor analysis/search for unique identifiers for each offense type**

<b>Factor 1</b>	<b>Factor 2</b>	<b>Factor 3</b>
RAPE ALCOCHD ALCOJUV ALCABADU DRWCHD DRWJUV DRWADU JUVDRGFC DRALCADU JUVDELFC ASSWEADU CONDISOR JUVASLFC  Men who used alcohol or drugs in childhood, adolescence and adulthood and had non-sexual criminal histories of juvenile delinquency, conduct disorder, assault and impulsivity	CHILDMOL PNEXPCHD PNEXPTTE PNEXPADT PNCHD PNHETER PNHOMO PNVIO PNEAREX PNRELEAS PNCOMMIT  Men who were exposed to pornography early and used all types of pornography (including heterosexual, homosexual, violent and child). Also, men who used pornography as a release or to relieve urges to offend, and who felt aroused enough to commit an offense after using pornography.	INCEST AGE AGEARRES ONSETAGE MARLONG MARQUAL CAREER MILITARY  Men who were older at time of interview, older at first sexual offense and older at first arrest. Also, men who had longer and more stable marriages, more stable careers and had served in the military.

The second hypothesis predicts specifically that early exposure to pornography will play a stronger role in the development of child molestation. This was not supported and no significant differences were discovered when the means of each offender group were compared. There were significant differences between offenders for use of homosexual pornography where child molesters admitted to using more than incest offenders (significant at the 0.01 level) and incest offenders admitted to using more homosexual pornography than rapists (significant at the 0.05 level). While the gender of the offender's victims are unknown, it would still be expected that rapists would reveal the lowest use of homosexual pornography, since the definition of rape employed here requires that the victims are exclusively female.

As one would expect, child molesters admitted to using significantly more child pornography than rapists (at the 0.001 level). But interestingly, despite the definitional requirement that both child molesters and incest offenders offend against children, child molesters also admitted to using significantly more child pornography than incest offenders (at the 0.001 level). This is considered further supportive of incest offenders revealing less sexual deviance than the other offender types (which, in this analysis, is operationalized as pornography use).

*Findings Regarding Peer Associations, Rape and Hypothesis 2b.* The second part of my second hypothesis predicted that the absence of childhood and adolescent peer relationships and the experience of poor peer associations would be more likely related to rape than child molestation and incest. Given the strong likelihood of an adolescent onset for rape and the known relevance of poor peer associations for adolescent onset offenders, it might follow that most rapists will experience difficulty making friends in childhood and adolescence. In the absence of more detailed measures of close and casual friendships in grammar school (grades 1 through 6) and high school (grades 7 through 12), bullying others and being bullied in both time periods was used as a proxy measure for poor peer associations.

The descriptive statistics provided in Table 3 indicate that rapists were significantly less likely than child molesters to be the victims of bullying in both grammar and high school (at the 0.001 level). Further, incest offenders were also significantly more likely than rapists to be bullied in grades 1 through 6 (at the 0.05 level). Rapists were also more likely than both incest offenders (significant at 0.01 level)

and child molesters (significant at 0.05 level) to bully others in high school. Initially, without a deeper measure of the quality of the participants' friendships I do not find convincing support for this hypothesis. In fact, since bullying is a violent offense, this is an indicator of aggressiveness in childhood and adolescence. The fact that 'bullying others' was an important variable for rapists is further support of their extensive involvement in non-sexual criminal activity and their close resemblance of non-sexual offenders.

The lack of support for poor peer associations as a component in the pathway to rape is most likely a product of the measures that were used. Being bullied at school might indicate a difficulty making friends (which was the hypothesized element in poor peer associations). But these measures approached a substantial loading for child molesters and not rapists. While bullying other children evidently implies some social difficulties, it might be hard to imagine a socially isolated child intimidating or tormenting others. Instead, bullying others is more likely to occur in the company of other possibly inappropriate friends. This was notably not included in the present hypothesis, where poor peer associations was defined as difficulty making friends and not involvement with deviant peers. This supports the literature that suggests rapists are in fact more likely to be members of peer groups.

*Findings Regarding Substance Use, Incest and Hypothesis 2c.* The third part of my second hypothesis suggested that the presence of difficult lifestyle factors (such as an unstable marriage) and non-sexual risk factors (such as substance abuse) arising in adulthood would be more likely related to incest than child molestation and rape. I found



no support for this hypothesis. The comparisons of means in Table 3 show that on average, incest offenders are more likely than child molesters to use drugs and alcohol but none of these comparisons are significant. In fact, when compared to rapists, incest offenders are significantly *less* likely to abuse substances, especially in adulthood. This completely disagrees with much of the literature that offers alcohol use in adulthood as a strong force in adult onset offending. The assumed loss of control that arises through drinking was also not considered relevant for this sample of incest offenders

It has been suggested that incest offenders turn to their own children after a divorce or separation (Vaupel and Goeke, 1994) and attempt to ‘replace the abandoning partner with the daughter’ (Cole, 1992: 691). In this scenario, the female victim might become a ‘second wife’, ‘taking over many of the mother’s roles - from housekeeping to sexual relations (Gordon in Miner and Dwyer, 1997: 38). This analysis found no support in terms of marital problems. On average, incest offenders were significantly more likely to have much longer and more stable marriages than both child molesters and rapists (at the 0.001 level) and there were no significant differences between child molesters and rapists.

This supports the suggestion that incest offenders appear to be more socially competent than the other offender groups. This finding is also supportive of the literature, which suggests incest offenders resemble non-offenders most closely. Unfortunately, this specific area remains demanding of more research and explanation because incest offenders remain the most difficult to identify and the least likely to be apprehended.

### **Findings Regarding Victimization**

Contrary to what is expected from the literature, incest offenders did not reveal significantly less physical or sexual victimization in childhood or adolescence. In fact, while not statistically significant, the proportion of incest offenders who reported sexual and physical abuse was actually higher than the comparable proportions of child molesters and rapists. Interestingly, in the factor analysis, neither measure of victimization loaded substantially on any single offense type. Consistent with the literature, sexual abuse did approach a substantial loading for child molesters. As the descriptive statistics in Table 3 reveal, a sizeable proportion of sexual offenders in general, were victims of abuse. This is certainly consistent with the vast majority of literature that suggests a strong connection between sexual offending later in life and significant physical and sexual victimization in childhood.

### **Findings Regarding Protective Factors**

In general, and consistent with the literature, incest offenders appear to be the most socially competent, and rapists are significantly less so on each item that measured a protective factor. On average, child molesters had achieved a higher level of education (completed a higher grade at school) than rapists (significant at the 0.01 level) and rapists were more likely to have received the GED (significant at the 0.05 level). This can most likely be explained by the findings that rapists had been sentenced to prison on more occasions, and that the GED can be achieved during incarceration. Rapists revealed the most unstable job histories compared to both child molesters (significant at the 0.01 level) and incest offenders (significant at the 0.001 level). Rapists were also significantly

less likely than incest offenders to have been involved in the military (significant at the 0.05 level).

The strongest and most conclusive finding from this analysis in terms of protective factors relates to marriage. On average, incest offenders were married for a significantly longer number of years than both rapists and child molesters and were far more likely to describe their marriage in a favorable way (all at the 0.001 level). This again highlights the importance of including a control group of non-offenders particularly given the nature of incest (that is, that it occurs within a familial context).

### **Unique Identifiers from the Factor Analysis**

When three factors were chosen and the second principle component factor analysis was run, the rotated component matrix revealed that the three offense types did load separately and substantially. This is sufficient evidence that the distinctions between rapists, child molesters and incest offenders extend far beyond those imposed by definition. Further, these findings support the hypothesized connection between sexual risk factors (such as sexual preoccupation, or exposure to and use of pornography and sexual victimization) and child molestation. As mentioned previously, this analysis supports the reviewed literature in terms of non-sexual risk factors (such as non-sexual criminal history and substance abuse) and rape, but does not support strongly the predicted influence of poor peer associations and difficulty making friends on rape. Finally, while the hypothesized connection between incest and substance abuse is not supported, I do find specific characteristics that are unique to incest offenders when compared to other sexual offenders. Each of these characteristics is described below.

*Unique Identifiers for Child Molestation.* Consistent with existing literature and previously constructed typologies, child molesters were uniquely characterized by their substantial rates of reported exposure to and use of pornography. This definitely supports the most salient findings in the field; that child molesters present with higher levels of sexualization in childhood, sexual preoccupation and deviant sexual arousal. In addition, while not substantial, sexual victimization did load on the factor for child molestation in the predicted direction. This indicates some support for an increased likelihood of childhood abuse in their histories.

Being bullied in both childhood and adolescence (in grammar school and high school) loaded in the predicted direction but was not substantial. This indicates the potential for some empirical support for common assumptions in the literature. The experience of social isolation and difficulty making friends in childhood and adolescence might incite some individuals to turn to younger children for companionship. It has been noted previously that child molesters find it easier to manipulate and control younger children in the context of 'friendship' and, as a product of their own experiences, these social relationships might result in abuse. When these social difficulties are coupled with early sexualization in the form of childhood physical or sexual abuse as well as exposure to pornography, there is a strong case for a distinct pathway to offending for child molesters.

*Unique Identifiers for Rape.* The findings from the principle component factor analysis offer strong support for much of the literature on rape. When compared to child

molesters and incest offenders, rapists indeed resemble other non-sexual criminals most closely. All of the items that measured substance abuse (in childhood, adolescence and adulthood) and all of the non-sexual criminal history measures (scale factors of juvenile delinquency, juvenile assault and impulsivity, adult conduct disorder and adult assault and weapons) loaded substantially on the rotated component for rape. While unsubstantial, the loadings for use of heterosexual pornography, violent pornography, number of previous arrests, number of times incarcerated and bullying others in high school were in the predicted direction. It is noted that the lack of support for pornography as a factor in the commission of rape contradicts much of the relevant literature on the topic.

*Unique Identifiers for Incest.* The characteristics that loaded most strongly on the rotated component for incest were different from those expressed in the hypothesis. Further, since age at the time of interview, age at first sexual offense and age at first arrest for example, were expected definitionally, they were intentionally not considered instrumental in the analysis (but the loading of these age of onset related variables was substantial).

This analysis was consistent with the literature where incest offenders were generally characterized by their social competence and this therefore supports the prediction in the literature that they are most likely to resemble non-offenders. For example, (while not substantial) juvenile delinquency, assault and impulsivity scale factors all loaded negatively. The most substantial loadings were on length of marriage, self reported quality of marriage, length of involvement with the military and job history

stability. While this again supports the hypothetical assumption of a higher social competence, the superficiality of that social competence requires further exploration. Evidently, those men who reported positive, stable, lengthy marriages were also the men in the sample who abused their own or their partner's children; children for whom they were in care-giving roles.

### **Practical Implications for Identification**

It is encouraging that this analysis is mostly supportive of the literature in the field and it is important to speculate on its practical utility. My findings regarding age of onset bolster previous findings in the literature and confirm the theoretical expectations of children and adolescents engaging in sexually assaultive behavior long before they come to the attention of the Criminal Justice System. When this is combined with the findings from the factor analysis, a selection of possibilities arises. In the case of child molesters for example, this should reinforce the importance of early identification and encourage parents and caregivers to be more aware of early sexualization and evidence of sexual acting out (particularly if it follows abuse).

The close resemblance of rapists to other 'non-specialist' offenders is particularly problematic when considering the issue of early identification. As juveniles, rapists seem to share the characteristics common to other non-sexual adolescent offenders and this makes their specific identification difficult. These findings illustrate the importance of comparing rapists to a non-sexual offending control group. While rape is a crime that necessarily involves a sexual component, there do not appear to be any overtly sexual

variables or factors that are substantial or statistically significant for rapists that might assist in identifying them specifically.

Incest offenders represent the most difficult subgroup of sexual offenders to identify. Again, the value of a non-offending control group is emphasized with respect to furthering our knowledge of incest offenders. Their close resemblance to a law-abiding community sample of non-offending controls highlights the difficulty in achieving or applying any useful techniques for early identification or treatment. This should also reinforce the need to conduct further research on this population of offenders.

### **Practical Implications for Treatment**

This analysis suggests that there are important practical implications regarding effective sexual offender treatment. The evidence for offense specialization certainly indicates that different offenders require emphasis on and attention to different aspects during their treatment or management. Historically, just as researchers have regarded them similarly, sexual offenders have been treated as such. However, this is problematic for several reasons.

First, it has already been recommended that child molesters benefit greatly from work on increasing their self-esteem. This makes conceptual sense in light of their greater likelihood of being bullied at school; the heightened probability that they will experience social isolation and difficult making friends; and their greater chance of being sexually abused in childhood. Importantly, it has been asserted that rapists do not gain the same social advantage from heightened self-esteem; in fact, increasing their self-confidence could increase their harmfulness. This also makes sense, since they are more

likely to be fairly aggressive and other-abusive in adolescence and substantially more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol.

Second, family reunification has been offered as both an important goal of treatment and a strongly discouraged outcome and the implications of this for each offense type are evidently unique. For example, the consequence of a wife and her children accepting an incest offender back into their lives will be substantially different from a family who reunites with a husband and father who has raped extra-familial women exclusively.



## **CONCLUSION**

This analysis has certainly supported the belief that rapists resemble non-sexual offenders closely and that they reveal extensive non-sexual criminal histories including multiple arrests, juvenile delinquency and substance abuse. Interestingly, while the present study relied upon offense specialization among sexual offenders, rapists might indeed reflect a non-specialist category. Further, while less is understood of their behaviors and motivations, there is sufficient support for the finding that child molestation is an offense characterized specifically by significant sexual deviance and fixation on children. The strength with which all pornography related variables loaded on the rotated component for child molesters is indeed evidence of this.

It is suggested that since they appear to be the most distinct offender type, treatment initiatives should be focused initially on child molesters and their specific needs. For example, increasing their self-esteem and encouraging non-deviant sexual arousal can be emphasized. Then, research should focus on distinguishing between rapists and non-sexual criminals to identify their specific needs and risk factors (if applicable). It is possible that rapists might benefit from those programs already available to non-sexual offenders that emphasize anger management, impulsivity and substance abuse.

Finally, since they represent the most problematic category of sexual offenders, research should focus on distinguishing between incest offenders and non-offending controls in an attempt to identify their respective differences. Incest offenders are the most secretive; their victims are the least likely to disclose their abuse; their behaviors are the most troubling to explain and the pathways to their offending are the most difficult to

understand. The mere finding that they resemble non-offenders most closely makes incest offenders particularly complex, and therefore the most difficult to identify, treat and manage. The fact that every variable that is commonly regarded as a protective factor loaded highly on the incest component illustrates that there is much more to learn about this offense and the men who commit it.

## **APPENDIX**

### **Pornography Scales**

**The following pornography scale variables were derived by calculating an average of the participants' responses to each of the questions below. The response options of every question are as follows:**

- 0 = Never**
- 1 = Once or very rarely (only a few times)**
- 2 = Rarely (a few times a year, but less than once a month)**
- 3 = Sometimes (once or twice a month)**
- 4 = Fairly often (once or twice a week)**
- 5 = Very often (almost every day) each variable label:**

#### **Exposure to pornography in childhood (PNEXPCHD)**

- My parents, brothers, sisters, or other relatives showed me sex materials (like nude pictures or videos) or made them available (bought them for me, etc.) when I was a child (through age 12).
- As a child (through age 12) I looked at or read sexual materials (pictures of nudes, people making love, etc.).
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Nude women
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Nude men
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Sex acts between adults
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Nude children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Sex acts involving children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people were not really physically harmed, but the scenes included such acts such as tying, handcuffing, spanking, or similar acts
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people actually appeared to be physically harmed
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: X-rated sex movies or videos
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Movies or videos showing people being physically hurt before or during sex

#### **Exposure to and use of pornography in adolescence (PNEXPTEE)**

- As a teenager (age 13 to 17), I looked at or read sexual materials (pictures of nudes, people making love, etc.).

- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Nude women
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Nude men
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Sex acts between adults
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Nude children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Sex acts involving children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people were not really physically harmed, but the scenes included such acts as tying, handcuffing, spanking, or similar acts
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people actually appeared to be physically harmed
- As a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday), I masturbated when I looked at or read sex materials.
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: X-rated sex movies or videos.
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Movies or videos showing people being physically hurt before or during sex.

#### Exposure to and use of pornography in adulthood (PNEXPADT)

- As an adult (age 17 and older) before I got into trouble that led to my most recent incarceration, looked at or read sexual materials (pictures of nudes, people making love, etc.).
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Nude women
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Nude men
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Sex acts between adults
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Nude children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Sex acts involving children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people were not really physically harmed, but the scenes included such acts as tying, handcuffing, spanking, or similar acts
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people actually appeared to be physically harmed

- As an adult, I masturbated when I looked at or read sex materials.
- As an adult, I have gone to a strip show or a live sex show
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: X-rated sex movies or videos
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Movies or videos showing people being physically hurt before or during sex

**The remaining pornography scales were derived from a factor analysis that replicated across the four most recent versions of the MASA and across the control group (community sample):**

Used child pornography (PNCHLD)

- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Nude children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Sex acts involving children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Nude children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Sex acts involving children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Nude children
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Sex acts involving children

Used homosexual pornography (PNHOMO)

- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Nude men
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Nude men
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Nude men

Experienced early exposure to pornography (PNEAREX)

- My parents, brothers, sisters, or other relatives showed me sex materials (like nude pictures or videos) or made them available (bought them for me, etc.) when I was a child (through age 12).
- As a child (through age 12) I looked at or read sexual materials (pictures of nudes, people making love, etc.).
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Nude women
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: Sex acts between adults
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a child (before my 13th birthday) included: X-rated sex movies or videos

#### Used violent pornography (PNVIO)

- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people were not really physically harmed, but the scenes included such acts as tying, handcuffing, spanking, or similar acts
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people actually appeared to be physically harmed
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday) included: Movies or videos showing people being physically hurt before or during sex.
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Magazines showing sex acts where people actually appeared to be physically harmed
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Movies or videos showing people being physically hurt before or during sex

#### Used heterosexual (conventional) pornography (PNHETER)

- As a teenager (from my 13th birthday to my 17th birthday), I masturbated when I looked at or read sex materials.
- As an adult (age 17 and older) before I got into trouble that led to my most recent incarceration, looked at or read sexual materials (pictures of nudes, people making love, etc.).
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Nude women
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: Sex acts between adults
- As an adult, I masturbated when I looked at or read sex materials.
- As an adult, I have gone to a strip show or a live sex show
- The kind of sex materials I looked at as an adult (age 17 or older) included: X-rated sex movies or videos

#### **OTHER VARIABLES:**

PNRELEAS: I have used sex materials to relieve or attempt to control my urges to commit a sexual offense.

PNCOMMIT: Sex materials have turned me on (aroused me so much that i felt like committing a sexual offense).

#### **Substance Abuse Scales**

**The following alcohol use scale variables were derived by calculating an average of the participants' responses to each of the questions below. The response options of every question are as follows:**

- 0 = Never**
- 1 = Once or very rarely (only a few times)**
- 2 = Rarely (a few times a year, but less than once a month)**
- 3 = Sometimes (once or twice a month)**
- 4 = Fairly often (once or twice a week)**
- 5 = Very often (almost every day) each variable label:**

Childhood Alcohol Use (ALCOCHD)

- As a child (through age 12) I drank alcohol
- As a child (through age 12) I got drunk

Adolescent Alcohol Use (ALCOJUV)

- As a teenager (age 13 to 17) I drank alcohol
- As a teenager (age 13 to 17) I got drunk

Adult Alcohol Use (ALCABADU)

- As an adult (since my 17<sup>th</sup> birthday) I drank alcohol
- As an adult (since my 17<sup>th</sup> birthday) I got drunk

**The following drug use scale variables were derived by calculating an average of the participants' responses to each of the questions below. These scales are weighted so that use of uppers/downers, cocaine/crack and heroin are considered more serious and are therefore weighted more heavily. The response options of every question are as follows:**

- 0 = Never**
- 1 = Once or very rarely (only a few times)**
- 2 = Rarely (a few times a year, but less than once a month)**
- 3 = Sometimes (once or twice a month)**
- 4 = Fairly often (once or twice a week)**
- 5 = Very often (almost every day) each variable label:**

Childhood Drug Use (DRWCHD)

- As a child (through age 12), I used: marijuana/THC
- As a child (through age 12), I used: uppers/downers
- As a child (through age 12), I used: LSD/acid
- As a child (through age 12), I used: cocaine/crack
- As a child (through age 12), I used: heroin

Adolescent Drug Use (DRWJUV)

- As a teenager (age 13 to 17), I used: gasoline/kerosene, glue (or huffing)
- As a teenager (age 13 to 17), I used: marijuana/THC
- As a teenager (age 13 to 17), I used: uppers/downers
- As a teenager (age 13 to 17), I used: LSD/acid

- As a teenager (age 13 to 17), I used: cocaine/crack
- As a teenager (age 13 to 17), I used: heroin

#### Adult Drug Use (DRWADU)

- As an adult (age 18 and over), I used: gasoline/kerosene, glue (or huffing)
- As an adult (age 18 and over), I used: marijuana/THC
- As an adult (age 18 and over), I used: uppers/downers
- As an adult (age 18 and over), I used: LSD/acid
- As an adult (age 18 and over), I used: cocaine/crack
- As an adult (age 18 and over), I used: heroin

#### Juvenile Substance Abuse Factor (JUVDRGFC):

- The scales described previously were factor analyzed and yielded three factors. This factor is one of them. It includes each of the child and adolescent drug and alcohol (weighted and unweighted) scales mentioned earlier.

#### Adult Substance Abuse Factor (DRALCADU):

- The scales described previously were factor analyzed and yielded three factors. This factor is one of them. It includes each of the adult drug and alcohol (weighted and unweighted) scales mentioned earlier.

### Non-Sexual Criminal History Scales

**The following non-sexual criminal history scale variables were derived by calculating an average of the participants' responses to each of the questions below. These scales were then factor analyzed and the factors are described below. The response options of every question are as follows:**

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once
- 2 = Sometimes (2 to 10 times)
- 3 = Fairly often (11 to 50 times)
- 4 = Very often (over 50 times)

#### Juvenile Delinquency Factor (JUVDELFC):

##### **stealcr**

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Theft or Larceny: stealing property or money including cars.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Receiving Stolen Property
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Fraud, Forgery, or Passing Bad Checks

##### **betrescr**

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Breaking And Entering (B& E) or Attempted Breaking and Entering (not a sexual offense)



- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Trespassing: going onto someone's property, when they did not want you to.

**prodajv**

- Before my 17th birthday, I: purposely damaged or destroyed personal or public property.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Vandalism or Destruction of Property: purposely damaging or destroying someone's property.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Illegal Possession of Alcohol
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Fire-Setting or Arson

**autocmer**

- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: speeding
- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: driving in a way that was dangerous to myself or others
- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: going through a stop sign or red light
- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: driving without a license or registration or drove with a suspended license
- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: using a car, truck, or motorcycle without authority (drove someone's car without their permission)
- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: passing in a no passing zone
- Before my 17th birthday, I: unlawfully attached plates to a car (put a license plate on a car that does not belong to the car)
- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: some other motor vehicle violation
- Before my 17th birthday, I was ticketed, arrested, or charged for: leaving the scene of an accident I was involved in

**conduct**

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Disorderly Conduct or Disturbing the Peace: verbally or physically annoying others so that they called the police.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Loitering or Vagrancy: hanging around in places where the police do not want you to be or wandering the streets without a place to stay.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Malicious Mischief: playing tricks or pranks that were harmful to people.

**alcreler**

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Drunk or Drunk-And Disorderly

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Illegal Possession of Alcohol

**drugcr**

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Possession of Illegal Drugs
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Illegal Use of Drugs
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Selling Drugs

**weapcr**

- Before my 17th birthday, I: carried and used a weapon when committing a crime.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Illegal Possession of or Illegally Carrying a Gun
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Carrying a Concealed Weapon (other than a gun)

**truruncr**

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Habitual Truant: frequently skipping school without an excuse.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Runaway: frequently running away from home or from an institution.

**asltcomc**

- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Murder or Manslaughter
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Armed Robbery: using a weapon to "hold up" a person
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Unarmed Robbery: "holding up" a person, but not using a weapon.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Assault or Assault and Battery (A & B) (not a sexual offense): starting a fight with or attacking another person.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Assault and Battery with a Dangerous Weapon (A & B w/DW) (not a sexual offense): using a weapon during an attack in which the other person is hurt.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Domestic Abuse: hitting or physically injuring a brother, sister, parent, wife, or girlfriend.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Kidnapping or Attempted Kidnapping (not part of a sexual offense): forcing someone to go to a place where they did not want to go.
- Before my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Attempted Murder

Juvenile Assault Impulsivity Factor (JUVASLFC):

**figasslt**

- Before my 17th birthday, I: was involved in physical fights.
- Before my 17th birthday, I: started fights or picked on others.
- Before my 17th birthday, I: have physically assaulted males (not including sex offenses).
- Before my 17th birthday, I: physically assaulted females (not sexual).

**impschgr**

- I was suspended from school: in grades 1 to 6
- I was disruptive in the classroom: in grades 1 to 6
- I have sworn at teachers or said nasty things to them: in grades 1 to 6
- I had to stay after school for misbehaving: in grades 1 to 6
- I was expelled from school: in grades 1 to 6
- I had behavior or discipline problems: in grades 1 to 6
- I skipped school, when I was not sick: in grades 1 to 6
- My parents were asked to come into school because of my behavior: in grades 1 to 6

**impschjh**

- I was suspended from school: in grades 7 to 12
- I was disruptive in the classroom: in grades 7 to 12
- I have sworn at teachers or said nasty things to them: in grades 7 to 12
- I had to stay after school for misbehaving: in grades 7 to 12
- I was expelled from school: in grades 7 to 12
- I had behavior or discipline problems: in grades 7 to 12
- I skipped school, when I was not sick: in grades 7 to 12
- My parents were asked to come into school because of my behavior: in grades 7 to 12

**aggschgr**

- I bullied or picked on other kids in school: in grades 1 to 6
- I picked fights (hit) with other kids in school: in grades 1 to 6
- I hit or physically hurt a teacher in some way: in grades 1 to 6

**aggschjh**

- I bullied or picked on other kids in school: in grades 7 to 12
- I picked fights (hit) other kids in school: in grades 7 to 12
- I hit or physically hurt a teacher in some way: in grades 7 to 12

Adult Assault/Weapons Factor (ASSWEADU):**weapadu**

- After my 17th birthday, I: carried a gun.
- After my 17th birthday, I: carried a knife to use as a weapon.
- After my 17th birthday, I: carried a weapon other than a knife or gun

**robofadu**

- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Unarmed Robbery: "holding up" a person, but not using a weapon.

**assocom**

- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Domestic Abuse: hitting or physically injuring a brother, sister, parent, wife, or girlfriend.
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Kidnapping or Attempted Kidnapping (not part of a sexual offense): forcing someone to go to a place where they did not want to go.
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Attempted Murder
- After my 17th birthday, I: assaulted people, while I was high on drugs.

- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Assault or Assault and Battery (A & B) (not a sexual offense): starting a fight with or attacking another person.
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Assault and Battery with a Dangerous Weapon (A & B w/DW) (not a sexual offense): using a weapon during an attack in which the other person is hurt.
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Murder or Manslaughter
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Armed Robbery: using a weapon to "hold up" a person

**rwepofad**

- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Carrying a Concealed Weapon (other than a gun)
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Illegal Possession of or Illegally Carrying a Gun

**rfgasadu**

- After my 17th birthday, I: was involved in physical fights
- After my 17th birthday, I: started fights or picked on others
- After my 17th birthday, I: have physically assaulted males (not including sex offenses).

Adult Conduct Disorder Factor (CONDISOR):

**aan43**

- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor

**conderad**

- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Malicious Mischief: playing tricks or pranks that were harmful to people.
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Rude or Harassing Phone Calls: phone calls made simply to annoy, pester, or be nasty to someone.
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Disorderly Conduct or Disturbing the Peace: verbally or physically annoying others so that they called the police.
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Loitering or Vagrancy: hanging around in places where the police do not want you to be or wandering the streets without a place to stay.

**betresad**

- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Breaking And Entering (B& E) or Attempted Breaking and Entering (not a sexual offense)
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Trespassing: going onto someone's property, when they did not want you to.

**propofad**

- After my 17th birthday, I: set fires (other than campfires, barbecues, or legal burning)
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Fire-Setting or Arson
- After my 17th birthday I was charged with or convicted of: Vandalism or Destruction of Property: purposely damaging or destroying someone's property.

- After my 17th birthday, I: purposely damaged or destroyed personal or public property.

### **Poor Peer Association Variables**

The response options to the following questions are as follows:

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once
- 2 = Sometimes (2 to 10 times)
- 3 = Fairly often (11 to 50 times)
- 4 = Very often (over 50 times)

- BULLYMEG: Other kids in school bullied me or picked on me: in grades 1 to 6
- IBULLYG: I bullied or picked on other kids in school: in grades 1 to 6
- BULLYMEH: Other kids in school bullied me or picked on me: in grades 7 to 12
- IBULLYH: I bullied or picked on other kids in school: in grades 7 to 12

### **Age of Onset/Arrest Variables**

- AGE: What is your present age?
- AGEARR: How old were you the first time you were arrested?
- NOARR: How many times were you arrested?
- NOJAL: How many different times have you been sent to jail or prison or to a juvenile home, school, or detention center?
- AGEINTER: The first time I had intercourse (include sex that was either forced or not forced), I was:
- ONSETAGE: The first time that you had sexual contact with someone who did not want to have sex with you (including sexual contact with someone drunk or high on drugs): What was your age?
- ONSETVIC: The first time that you had sexual contact with someone who did not want to have sex with you (including sexual contact with someone drunk or high on drugs): What was age of the person?

### **Victimization Variables**

The following victimization scale variables were derived by calculating an average of the participants' responses to each of the questions below.

#### Physical Victimization (PHYSAB)

The people who physically punished me when I was a child or teenager (until my 17th birthday) were: (Type 0 if no one physically punished you). You can choose more than 1 person. The response options are:

- Mother (biological)
- Father (biological)
- Adoptive mother

Adoptive father  
Stepmother  
Stepfather  
Brother(s)  
Sister(s)  
Stepbrother(s)  
Stepsister(s)  
Grandmother  
Grandfather  
Foster parent  
Female friend of father  
Male friend of mother  
Other relative (aunt, uncle etc)  
Other (friend, neighbor)  
Caregiver in institution

Sexual Victimization (SEXAB)

When you were a child or a teenager (up to your 17th birthday), which of the following people had sexual contact with you: (Type 0 if no one from the list had sex with you).

You can choose more than 1 person. The response options are:

Mother (biological)  
Father (biological)  
Adoptive mother  
Adoptive father  
Stepmother  
Stepfather  
Brother(s)  
Sister(s)  
Stepbrother(s)  
Stepsister(s)  
Grandmother  
Grandfather  
Foster mother  
Foster father  
Friend of parent/romantic or someone friendly with either parent. (female)  
Friend of parent/romantic or someone friendly with either parent. (male)  
Other female relative  
Other male relative  
Caregiver in Institution (female)  
Caregiver in Institution (male)  
Baby-sitter (female)  
Baby-sitter (male)  
Other person - not listed (female)  
Other person - not listed (male)  
Some professional person (female)  
Some professional person (male)

Stranger (female)  
Stranger (male)

## **Protective Factor Variables**

**The following protective factor variables are described below. Where necessary, response options are provided.**

### **Education**

- **EDUCAT**: What was the last grade that you attended in a public or private school (do not include schooling in an institution or the military)?
- **GED**: Did you graduate from high school and receive a diploma or did you earn a GED?

### **Career**

- **CAREER**: Choose the answer below that best describes your job history. Do not count Military Service. The response options for this question are as follows:
  - 1 = I have had a job or jobs, but no job lasted more than 3 months.
  - 2 = I have had 3 or more jobs during the last 5 years that I was on the street.
  - 3 = I have held a job for more than 6 months, and I have not changed jobs frequently.
  - 4 = I have had the same job for a long time (more than a year).
  - 5 = I have been employed in the same kind of work, and been promoted to higher levels.

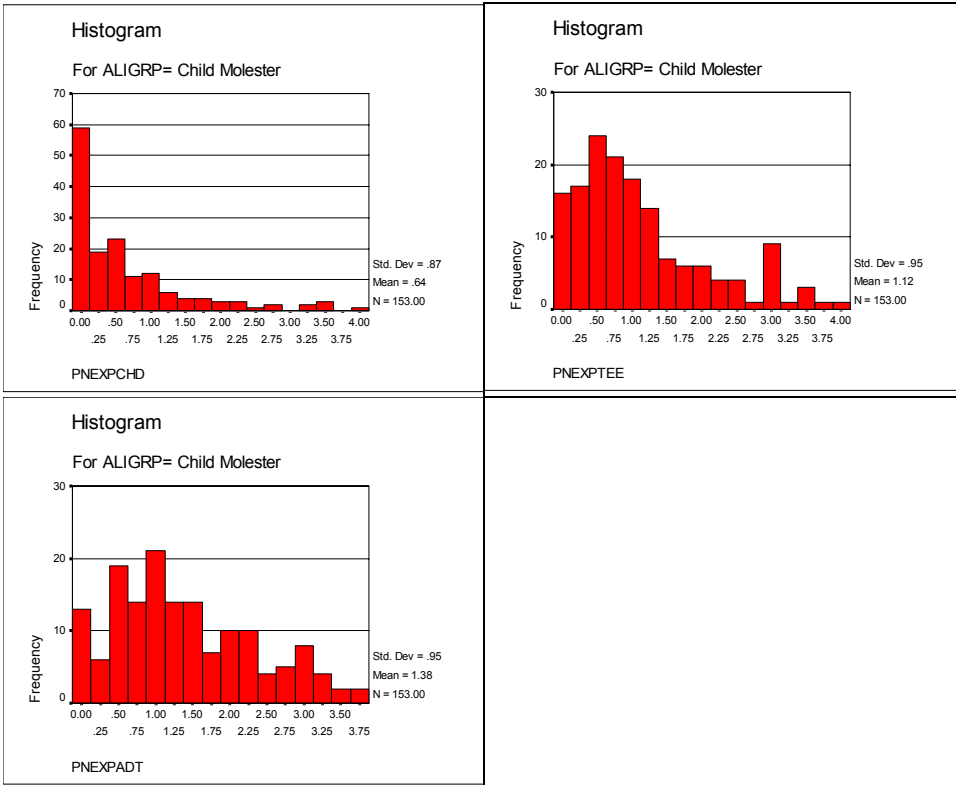
### **Military**

- **MILITARY**: How long were you in the Military Service? The response options for this question are as follows:
  - 1 = Less than a year
  - 2 = 1 to 2 years
  - 3 = 2 to 4 years
  - 4 = 4 to 10 years
  - 5 = more than 10 years

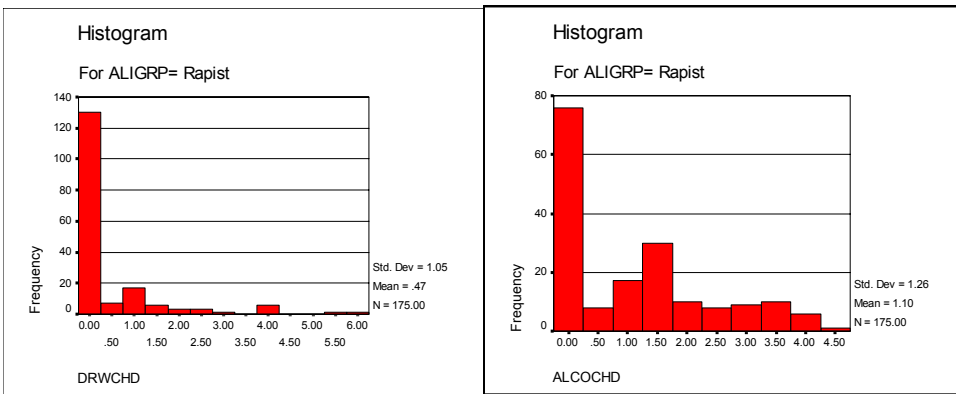
### **Marriage**

- **MARQUAL**: Which of the following describes how you got along with your wife (for this question you can choose more than one choice): The response options for this question are as follows:
  - 1 = I was married, but we fought all the time.
  - 2 = I was married, but we were not very close to each other.
  - 3 = My wife and I talked a lot about thoughts, feelings, plans, and our goals.
  - 4 = My wife and I cared for each other and planned to spend our lives together.
  - 5 = Although at times we had arguments, my wife and I felt very close to each other.
- **MARLONG**: How long did you live with your wife? (Answer for your longest marriage, if you were married more than once). The response options for this question are as follows:
  - 1 = Married, but never really lived together for any period.
  - 2 = Lived together for less than 6 months.
  - 3 = Lived together for between 6 months and 1 year.
  - 4 = Lived together for more than 1 year.
  - 5 = Lived together for more than 2 years.
  - 6 = Lived together for more than 5 years.

**Distribution of data for exposure to pornography in childhood, adolescence and adulthood for child molesters.**

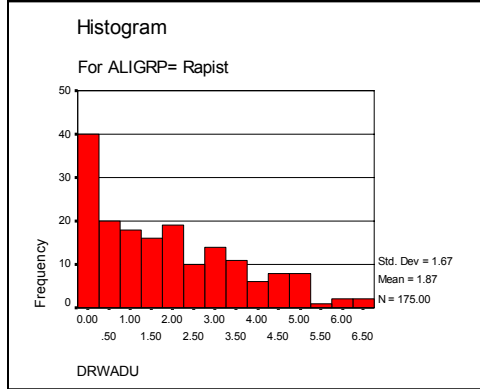
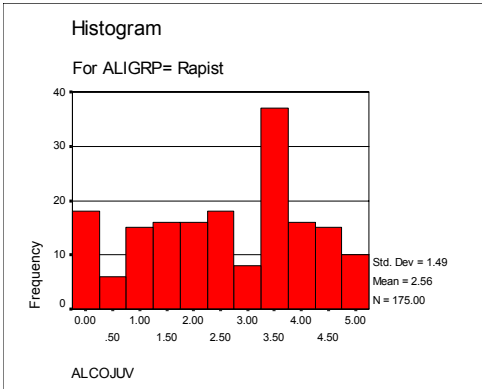


**Distribution of data for childhood drug and alcohol use for rapists.**

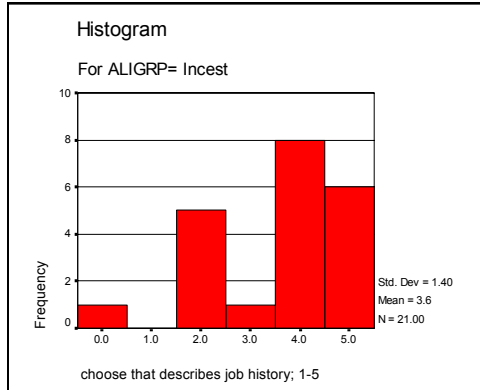
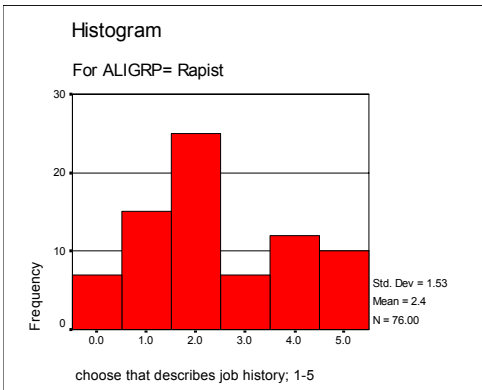




**Distribution of data for adolescent and adult drug use for rapists.**



**Distribution of data for job stability for rapists and incest offenders**



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