Lecture 5:
Serious, violent and sexual offending.

Serious and violent offenders.

The majority of crime is trivial property offence, yet violent crime appears to be the most salient.

In 2017 1.8% of the population reported a violent crime.

No change in overall violent offences estimated by the CSEW (1,275,000)

No change in overall criminal damage and arson offences estimated by the CSEW (1,127,000)

In 2017 a12% increase in police recorded offences involving a knife or sharp instrument (to 39,332). This figure excludes Greater Manchester Police.

5% decrease in police recorded offences involving firearms (to 6,362)

An 0.8 percentage point increase in the proportion of adults who experienced sexual assaults in the year ending March 2018 (to 2.7%). These are the latest data available.

14% increase in police recorded homicide offences (from 630 to 719). This figure excludes terrorist attacks in London and Manchester, which occurred in the previous year.

Much violent crime is…

- **Explained through alcohol consumption or substance abuse:**

- 53% of violent incidents alcohol-related: British Crime Survey 2013/14.
- Drunkenness is associated with a majority of murders, manslaughters and stabbings and half of domestic assaults.
- In addition, there are alcohol and drug-related driving offences.
- And violence involving drug dealers who may clash with rival gangs or be violent towards drug users who owe them money.
- Much acquisitive crime is committed by dependent users of heroin and crack cocaine trying to pay for their drugs.
- In addition…
- 44% of victims of violence believed alcohol/drugs was involved.

Much violent crime is…

- **Media related?**
- The link between media violence and actual violence is much debated. Laboratory studies offer persuasive findings but… think back to media last year…
- There are very few developmental studies of violence/aggression which produce robust findings, as they are awash with problematic methodologies and occur in contradiction to one another....
- Studying delinquent criminal behaviours has not produced any concrete results.

Theories of murder/homicide.

- **Theory 1: At a Societal level (Leyton, 1986)**
- Multiple murders can be explained in terms of social structure, with roots in history.

- Three major periods for multiple murder:
- Pre industrial epoch- upper classes murdered the lower classes,
- Industrial epoch- middle classes murdered the lower classes
- Modern epoch- lower classes murdered the middle classes
- At different historical points, different social classes are under threat.

But… Grover & Soothill (1999) applied this idea to Britain from 1960-1999 with 17 serial killers; the profiles did not fit.

Theory 2: Psychological dispositions

- **Blackburn (1971) from studying prisoners in psychiatric hospital: four types-**
- Paranoid aggressive
- Depressive
- Psychopathic
- Over controlled repressors

However, this typology is also found in non psychiatric groups of offenders.

- **Biro, Vuckovic & Duric (1992) MMPI with convicted murderers:**
  - Normals (28%)
  - Hypersensitive aggressive (49%)
  - Psychopathic (17%)
  - Psychotic (5%)

What does this mean?

Theory 3: Socio-biological

- Why do men appear to be more violent?
- Is there a difference in male/female aggression?
- Much research has relied upon animal comparisons, physical aggression and testosterone.
- Research indicates that females use social aggression as opposed to physical aggression and any use of physical aggression is usually related to their partner or threat of loss of partner.
- Daly & Wilson (1988) argues that aggression is based on 5 principles: Natural selection, adaption construction, the time spent on ensuring posterity of our genes, murder and finally, cultural variations that occur as a natural process.

Evaluating this idea:

- This theory implies a fixed and pessimistic outlook for aggressive behaviour.
- It does not fit well with family violence, since parents should want to pass on their genes for aggression.
- It does however fit nicely with the findings that males usually kill males, and females kill females.
- Additionally, it is usually step parents who kill children not parents.

The multi factorial approach.

- **Gresswell & Hollin (1997)**

Predisposing factors

- Failure of normal bonding, traumatic experiences needing resolution, fantasies developing, acting out fantasies

Maintenance factors

- Cognitive inhibitory or cognitive facilitative factors, operant processes: experiencing the power of reward

Situational/trigger factors

- Trigger factors such as stress, money worries, employment or relationship concerns

Explaining the model.

- No specific factor has to be essential for crime, and a combination of factors can be unique to the individual.
- The factors can act as influencers separately or in combination. (Haapasalo, 1999) investigated inter-generational cycles of physical abuse in a Finnish offender sample.
- Following factor analysis it was clear that the variables leading to sons being physically abused in childhood can be unexpected.
- The evidence suggested that the mother being physically abused led to son being abused. Add to this the introduction of stress…

Domestic violence.

- Child and spousal abuse is a form of domestic violence, but the problem they pose to forensic psychology is highly emotive on many counts. For example, consider:

1. the criteria used to decide if the abuse has actually occurred; mum, dad and children all provide differing accounts.
2. the act itself; a mild slap is abuse?
3. the time span of acts.
4. calculating risks to the child as a consequence of abuse to the mother is problematic.
5. several models have been proposed to account for domestic violence.

Models of domestic violence.

- Single perpetrator model.
- Sequential perpetrator model.
- Dual perpetrator model.
- Marital violence model.
- Family dysfunction model.

Each model has supporting evidence, showing that the child is often at risk from the mother too.

And…

- Data from the U.S. on murder and homicide suggest that:

2.5 million women are battered by their partner annually.

1,200 are killed annually by their partner, meaning that domestic violence is a poor predictor of a murderous outcome.

Furthermore, approximately half of these murders were not preceded by domestic violence in any shape of form.

Domestic violence by women.

Gelles & Straus (1979) used `conflicts tactics scale` to measure how conflicts are resolved, which highlighted that men are almost as often a target as women. This `husband battering` has been largely ignored.

- Police are becoming pro active in their approach.
- Are women overwhelmingly the victims?

- Is female-male battery symmetrical to male-female in terms of the consequences?
- Findings show that:

Women less likely to have acted **repeatedly** violently against their partner than men, who had carried out a series of attacks. Injuries sustained by women were punched, kicked, choked; far in excess to men.
Half of the acts committed by men were considered very serious compared to 1 in 20 by women.

Stalking: what type of crime?

- A form of predatory behaviour characterised by repeated harassment causing fear, or worse.
- Tjaden & Thoennes (1998) - telephone survey found that:
- The victim is spied on, has letters, calls or individuals standing outside their home.
- The behaviour is carried out by the same person on at least two occasions.
- The behaviour makes the victim fearful /frightened of being a victim.
- 78% were women, 22% were men. 94% of women's` stalkers were men, 48% having been a past sexual partner.
- Length of stalking was 1.8 years.
- Violence rates are between 30 % & 50%, 60% - 90% if a former partner.
- More recently: Cyber-stalking and the case of Ruth Jeffries

Violent offender programmes.

- Historically, very little focus on rehabilitation programmes for violent non sexual crimes.
- This is changing, in Britain the Cognitive Self Change programme has attempted to address three things:

1. Violence is learned and reinforces an individuals sense of power. This is addressed by enabling individuals to identify their thoughts and behavioural patterns.
2. Thinking patterns lead to more than just violent behaviour, recognising how thoughts turning into criminality can begin the change.
3. Because violence and criminality are entwined with thought, a **relapse and prevention strategy** can be initiated with support networks upon release.

Knife crime and gang culture

- Recent events involving knives and sharp instruments have led to street gangs' activities being subjected to increased scrutiny (as shown in the recent documentary, 2019).
- Historically, the majority of academic studies on street gangs were to be found in the United States (e.g. Venkatesh, 2008).
- UK research focused more on delinquent peer groupings (e.g. Winlow and Hall 2006) and sub-cultures of violence such as football hooliganism (Pearson 2012).
- However, there is a growing body of scholarly work which examines street gangs and organised crime (e.g. Densley 2012; Hobbs 2013).
- Gangs are often seen as products of socially isolated communities, typified by the migration of those who would otherwise provide supervision and inhibit violence within those communities, with the consequence of emerging ghettoes, characterised by social values glamorising violence and encouraging hyper-masculinity.

Gang affiliation

- Gang affiliation is a predictor of violence/delinquency in itself (Thornberry 1998; Battin *et al.* 1998). The ages of those associated with such criminality has received prolonged academic attention.
- In particular, the theoretical perspective of life-course criminology supports the view that there is a 'core' age-range during which the most criminal activity is committed (Farrington 1986; Wolfgang *et al.* 1987).
- It is also during this age range that an individual's involvement with gang activity reaches its peak, including heightened levels of violence (Hagedorn 1988).
- Additionally, witnessing trauma during childhood has been identified as a predictor of gang membership during adolescence. This is especially the case for children brought-up in conflict zones, whose subsequent gang activity is characterised by extreme violence (Balasunderam 2009; Orjuela 2011).

- There has been reluctance from some British academics to use the term 'gang' in relation to *all* groups engaged in delinquent activity. This is primarily because of the belief that gangs require a level of codification and formalisation – both of which are absent from purely delinquent groups.
- Further reluctance is borne out of the view that referring to gangs adds a degree of glamorisation to what would otherwise be classed as merely anti-social behaviour (Hallsworth & Brotherton, 2011).
- Such concerns are particularly heightened in relation to youth street gangs. There is a wide academic consensus that youth delinquency in twentieth-century Britain was typified by an absence of coherent, organised groupings (Patrick 1973/2012).
- Although such groupings did engage in disruptive behaviour, delinquency and violence (Spencer 1964; Patrick 1973/2012), they were predominantly "loosely knit, amorphous gatherings of boys who joined and left at will".

- Increasingly, the use of weapons and fire arms are part of gang culture (Maitra, 2017) and a great deal of the commentary on knife crime suggests that it is a problem of youth.
- As Berman (2013: 2) has noted 'Knife crime is a persistent and worrying concern, especially as it impacts particularly upon young people and the disadvantaged'.
- Findings from self report surveys suggest that knife crime is a 'problem of youth' and suggest that the knife carrying reflects wider offending trajectories and the 'crime-age curve' (Farrington, 1986: 189; Moffit, 1993).
- Data from self report surveys suggest that the vast majority of people who admit to carrying a knife are under-eighteen (Anderson et al., 2010). The peak age for knife carrying is between 14 and 17, and according to the Offending Crime and Justice Survey six percent of this age group claim to have carried a knife (Roe and Ashe, 2008).
- The Edinburgh Youth Transitions Survey (EYTS) found that some 30% of the sample had carried a knife between the age of 12 and 17, the peak age being 14, after which age knife carrying decreased substantially, except for a small cohort whose knife use increased (McVie, 2010).
- However, the vast majority of those **convicted** of carrying a knife would appear to be adults.

- The House of Commons Home Affairs Committee on Knife Crime report cites longitudinal analysis of the Crime Survey for England and Wales that shows that the average age of knife victims has declined steadily since 2004/05.
- More recent figures released by the Metropolitan Police (Hill, 2011) show a 30% increase in the number of victims of knife crime aged between 13 and 24 in London between 2008 and 2011: around 60 per cent of these victims were teenagers.
- Several studies have sought to explain the relation between age and knife crime but these have proved inconclusive. Indeed, the relationship between age and offending more generally was considered by Moffit (1993: 675) to be one of 'the most robust and the least understood observations' in criminology".
- Marfleet (2008) conducted focus groups with school pupils and interviews with young men convicted of a knife offence. She reported that knife carrying was the result of complex problems, but emphasises the importance of maturity and its influence on decision making, and argues that children are 'by definition immature' and those most likely to commit crimes are 'arguably the most immature of all' (2008: 14).

Why carry a knife?

- Lemos (2004) suggests the 'fashion' element of knife carrying. He suggests that at least some young people carry knives because of peer pressure, and that knives for some are regarded as cool.
- Moreover, Lemos has noted, 'knives hold a particular fascination for children, particularly boys, regardless of social background`.
- On the other hand, knife carrying does not occur evenly across all populations of young people. Educational and social disadvantage, deprivation, victimization and membership of an offending peer group have been shown to be significant predictors of knife carrying (House of Commons, 2009).

Is knife crime a problem of race?

- Issues of race and ethnicity present problems for researchers because ethnic minorities are under-represented in research, and the gap between their actual experiences of violence and public understanding of this is considerable (Wood, 2010).
- Causal links are often drawn between elements of 'black culture' for instance 'gangsta rap' and engagement in knife crime (Squires, 2009).
- Studies on knife crime have suggested that ethnicity per se is not the issue, and that once deprivation, education, housing, location and other forms of disadvantage are accounted for, ethnicity has a negligible impact on behaviours related to knife carrying (Aldridge and Medina, 2007; Firmin et al., 2007; Silvestri et al., 2009).

Despite popular perceptions, young white males are in fact more likely to commit a crime than any other group, relative to the size of their population (Anderson, et al., 2010).

Young women and knife crime

- There is a historic absence of research on women's experiences of violence, and their participation in crime (Newburn and Stanko, 1994; Stanko and Lee, 2003).
- Gender is a significant predictor of violent offending and victimisation (Farrington; 1996; Wilson, 2009; Ray, 2011; 2013).
- Males are more likely to offend than females, are more likely to commit violent offences, are more likely to be incarcerated (Hall and Innes, 2010) and are more likely to be a victim of most forms of violence (Ray, 2011; Silvestri et al., 2009).
- As a result, there is a lack of research on women's experiences of violence generally.
- Silvestri et al. note the limited evidence regarding the involvement of girls and young women in weapon related violence.
- They suggest that a number of important areas would benefit from further research, including the role of young women as 'weapon minders', their role in peer group dynamics (e.g. as mediators or initiators of violence), and the connection between sexual violence against females and the use of weapons.

Young women continued…

- Bannister et al., (2010) explored gangs and violence in Scotland with a specific focus on knives. The study interviewed young people including gang members, knife carriers and their associates, including 18 young women.
- The young women in the sample were usually on the periphery of long-running territorial conflicts between groups of males. There was no expectation that young women would participate in violence but women were sometimes portrayed by male associates as a catalyst of conflict between rival gangs.

Knives and deprivation

- Much of the commentary on knife crime links knife carrying with deprivation.
- Silvestri, et al., (2009) conducted a comprehensive systematic review of the international studies relating to young people and use of knives and guns published between 1998 and 2008.
- They cite research linking high rates of crime, violence and victimisation to social and economic deprivation and the consequent disadvantage, low social capital and limited social mobility.
- Research has also shown a positive correlation between offending and being a victim of violence across a range of different behaviours, including violent crime, theft, vandalism and alcohol use (Anderson el al., 2010) and being part of an offending peer group (Smith, 2004; McAra and McVie, 2012).

Knives and self-defence

- Data shows that young people, in particular young black men, are more vulnerable to victimisation.
- Research has demonstrated significant links between experiences of victimisation, fear of victimisation and knife carrying (Flatley et al., 2010).
- Barlas and Egan, (2006) argue that adolescent weapon carrying is a `genuine problem in the UK and a considerable proportion of teenagers are frequently motivated to arm themselves'.
- A third of respondents to the Youth Justice Board survey who said that they had taken a knife into school, said they had done so 'to protect myself'; and a fifth said that they carried a knife 'in case I got into a fight' (Anderson et al., 2010: 36).
- Similarly, the majority (85%) responding to the 2006 Offending Crime and Justice survey (Roe and Ashe, 2008) who had carried a knife said that they did so for protection, followed by 8% who did so in case they got into a fight.

Other reasons

- Eades and colleagues (2007), Marfleet (2008,) and Comres (2008) found that many young people lacked faith in the ability of either the police or their parents to protect them, and Marfleet argues that this is responsible for at least some young people seeking illegitimate ways of protecting themselves.
- Eades et al. (2007) link this to higher rates of excluded young people carrying weapons, suggesting that it is these groups that have the least trust in either police or parents.
- Lemos (2004) noted that over half of young victims of crime did not report having been a victim of crime to either the police or parents. He argued that this occurred for a range of reasons, including peer pressure, fear of being labelled a 'grass', fear of retaliation and a lack of understanding as to how to report a crime. Other reasons were a mistrust of the police, and a sense of being viewed as offenders rather than victims.
- A range of other motivations have been proposed to explain why young people might carry a knife, including: that knife carrying has become fashionable among young people; is regarded as 'cool' (Lemos, 2004); and that a knife can facilitate robbery; and/or other crimes. Indeed, the data suggest that a significant amount of knives are carried in order to commit robbery.

What can we conclude?

- The most plausible finding emerging from the literature is that there is a relationship between knife crime and gangs, but that it is complex and variable (Bannister et al., 2010; Aldridge and Medina, 2007), and related to both collective violence between gangs and engagement in a variety of offences.
- These variations occur within and between gangs and within different localities. The Committee on Knife Crime (2009) found that the nature and composition of gangs varied across the UK and that this had implications for engagement in knife crime as there appeared 'to be a strong link between knives and gangs in London and Glasgow, whilst guns were more prevalent in Birmingham and Manchester'.

Arson

- Arson is defined as the deliberate and malicious burning or attempted burning of personal property such as a building, home, or vehicle (Ross, 2013).
- It is a devastating crime that can not only cause death and injury, but can also be responsible for severe financial damage to both property owners and governments.
- Rates of Criminal damage and Arson in the UK are 1,127,000 (ONS, 2018), and within the United States, there are over 500,000 occurrences of arson each year (Ross).
- As with most crimes, there are numerous different types of arsonists due to differing motivations for committing the crime.
- Therefore, the use of one theory to explain why people commit arson would produce a reductionist model for understanding the complexities of the crime. As a result, arson must be examined as an offence with different sub types of crime, each having its own psychological explanation. Arson offences can be differentiated as either expressive offences or instrumental offences (Canter & Fritzon, 1998).

Types of Arson

- Instrumental offences involve cases of arson where the perpetrator is motivated to carry out the crime for personal gain. Common examples of instrumental motivations are arson as a method of concealing a crime (Pettiway, 1987); and arson as a way of financial gain, referred to as arson for profit (Willmott & Ioannou, 2017).
- One of the most common motivations for instrumental arson is revenge (White, 1996).
- In cases of arson where there is no apparent financial or personal motive, pathological abnormalities present within the offender are often thought to be the cause of the criminal behaviour (Debowska, 2017). This type of arson is referred to as expressive arson.

Types of Arson

- Geller (1992)stated that expressive arson can be a result of the individual attempting to express their emotions, through which many gain sexual satisfaction.
- The rate of recidivism is significantly higher for expressive arsonists, relative to instrumental arsonists (Kolko, 1985). As a result, it is important for researchers to identify the causes behind expressive arson in an attempt to treat the problem and minimize the probability of repeat offending

The developmental perspective

- The developmental approach to explaining arson explores the effects earlier childhood events would have on an individual's personality in later life and whether these affected personality factors could have a mediating effect on motivating an individual to commit arson
- Bradford (1982) compared 34 arsonists against a control group of 50 participants and found that one of the most common similarities shared by the arsonists, but not the control group, was difficulties at school or failing to complete their schooling.
- However there must be more to the explanation that simply education.
- Kolko (1985) states that the majority of arsonists were found to have received some sort of psychological treatment at a young age. This would suggest that the psychological faults are already present in arsonists before they start attending high school. Therefore, it can be proposed that there must be another explanation for the relationship between arsonists and failure to graduate from high school.

The developmental perspective

- Blumberg (1982) discovered that many arsonists were brought up in adoptive care or foster homes and therefore in line with recent research, may have experienced some form of childhood victimisation or neglect (Debowska, 2017). The lack of a typical childhood upbringing and environment could be a possible explanation behind why many of these individuals, who go on to commit arson, fail to finish school.
- Bradford found that compared to other delinquents in mental health treatment facilities, arsonists showed extremely poorer social skills. Individuals at a young age develop and strengthen their social skills mostly at school through interacting with others. Thus, it may be that the failure to finish school could hinder the development of adequate social skills; which could in turn, contribute to causing an individual to engage in fire setting.
- Furthermore, Canter and Fritzon describe expressive arsonists as individuals who resort to fire setting because they suffer from emotional distress and struggle to express their emotions through normal means.

Emotion and substance abuse

- One of the most frequent emotions acted out by expressive arsonists is anger. Jackson, Hope and Glass (1987) reported that one of the reasons many offenders commit arson is because these pathological individuals redirect the anger onto buildings as they see them as easier targets and a way to channel their aggression. This theory was supported in their research which found that arsonists rated their selves as less assertive than other violent offenders and participants in the control group.
- Additionally, Geller found that 84% of arsonists had experienced problems with alcohol abuse, however no empirical evidence exists to support a causal link.
- Depression however is common in arsonists (Barnett & Spitzer, 1994) and is notable for being a strong cause for alcohol abuse (Addolorato et al., 1997).
- Räsänen, Hirvenoja, Hakko, and Väisänen (1995) looked at 98 cases of arson and identified that over one third of these cases were an attempt of suicide.
- Suicide by arson has been used by some sufferers of depression (Canter & Fritzon), thus, it can be insinuated that depression may be a contributing factor for influencing certain individuals to carry out an act of arson.

Personality and impulsivity

- An overview of the literature on arson has found that personality disorders are a recurring theme within arsonists (Barnett & Spitzer, 1994). As well as depression, other personality disorders commonly found in arsonists include paranoia and psychosis (Ritchie & Huff, 1999).
- Barnett and Spitzer found that arsonists have weaker abilities to control their impulsivity as compared to other criminal offenders.
- This innate lack of control could be the missing link in explaining why certain pathological adults commit arson.
- However, the study measured the individuals' abilities to control their impulses through a PCL-R assessment. The PCL-R assessment is a psychological test which is used to test for a wider range of traits for psychopathy.
- It can be argued that a more specific test for impulsivity such as the Barratt Impulsivity Scale (BIS) would provide more accurate results (Labree, 2010). Unfortunately, very little research has attempted to successfully measure impulsivity in arsonists by using the BIS.

In summary…

- In summary, the background literature on arson offers various possible explanations for why expressive arsonists commit their crimes.
- These explanations can be drawn from identifying the multiple different consistencies found when examining behavioural and personality traits within arsonists. The general implications of the literature on arson are not as clearly set out due to many studies contradicting each other. This could be primarily due to the small sample sizes used in many studies, thus the first general implication of the literature review is the need for more studies incorporating larger sample sizes or a meta-analysis to combine previous studies, producing more accurate and reliable data.
- As mentioned previously, when exploring the contributing factors of arson, we cannot generalise all types of arson as one crime.

Young sex offenders.

- Juvenile sex offenders have been largely ignored.
- Langstrom (1999) suggests the figure is relatively low, some 10% of total sex offences in general.
- His findings relate to Sweden, figures for the U.S. and U.K. are somewhat higher. Based on U.K. statistics the figure may be as high as 30%.
- British Survey results suggest that youngsters under 18 years commit at least one third of sex crimes against children.
- Are the characteristics predicting delinquency the same as those predicting sexual crimes?
- Young sexual offenders usually have an average of 7 victims before being brought to the attention of the police, one quarter of 12 year olds had a previous record of sexually abusive acts and predictors identified were:

Early onset sexually abusive behaviour, multiple victims and poor social skills.

Youthful sex offenders.

- Violent crime is most commonly a youthful offence, which drops sharply beyond middle age. Anger is often associated with rape in many offenders. Therefore, should rape be viewed as a crime of violence or of lust?
- Worling (1995) examined adolescent sex offenders on a range of measures. Those offending against an older woman as opposed to peers had experienced greater levels of physical punishment; sexual abuse from men led to abuse towards children; sexual abuse by women led to sexual abuse of older women.
- Haapasalo & Kankkonen (1997) compared self reported experiences of childhood abuse in sex offenders compared to violent offenders. Sex offenders claimed to have experienced far more psychological abuse than violent offenders, such as:
- `father/mother threatened to hurt me`, `mother/father belittled me`, `mother/father made me do shameful things`.

Sexual offenders: Rape.

- It is difficult to assess the frequency of rape with certainty. Sexual crimes are under reported for a number of reasons.
- For example, shame, embarrassment, fear of police treatment, fear of further anxiety and even ignorance that a crime has been committed.
- Lack of consent is very difficult to prove, and victim surveys have their own biases.
- Rapes in England & Wales reached 500 cases (1959) by late 1990`s 5,000 cases, with male rape being reported from 1995 onwards.
- The definition of rape is `forced sexual intercourse including both psychological coercion as well as physical force`.

Some statistics.

- Attempted rape refers to verbal threats of rape also.
- Crime surveys reveal a trend in rape, they are steadily declining since 1973 and are relatively stable at the moment. This finding is universal.
- What has changed, is that more offenders are being convicted.

As a result, we know that: 45% of rapists were current partners, 16% were acquaintances, 11% were ex partners, 11% were dates and 10% were other intimates. Only 8% were not known to the victim. However, women raped by a stranger were more likely to report it to the police (36%) in contrast to only 8% reporting date rape to the police.

Patterns and themes in rape.

- McCabe & Wauchope (2005) identified different behavioural themes in Australian rape reports:
  - The vaginal theme- 92%
  - The kissing/hugging theme- 32%
  - The oral theme- 25%
  - The anal theme- 22%
  - The brutal-physical theme- 9%
- The language used could also be organised into themes:
  - A caring/reassurance theme- 24%
  - A sexually explicit/abusive theme- 19%
  - An angry or demeaning theme- 18%
  - A revenge theme- 2%

Are there different types of rape? Hazelwood (1987):

Explaining Rape: Social learning theory.

- Rapists learn to be rapists by learning pro rape beliefs from their social milieu, more effectively than non rapists. Again, Ellis predicts:

" Rapists should hold attitudes that are more favourable towards rape, and towards violence in general, than other men."

"Exposure to violent pornography should increase male propensities to commit rape, and otherwise behave violently towards women."

Explaining Rape: Evolutionary theory.

- Emphasis is on the functionality of rape for the transmission of genetic material.
- Ellis again:

" Tendency to rape must be under genetic influence."
"Forced copulations must impregnate victims…to offset…risks of punishment."
"Rape victims should be…of reproductive age."
"Rape should be…resisted by victims, especially…to whom the females are not…attracted."
"Rapists… should be less likely than other males to attract voluntary sex partners."

Sexual offenders: child molestation.

- We look upon these offenders with a specific hostility, which is of concern to forensic psychologists:

1. will our professional judgement be affected?
2. assessments of recidivism is subject to public pressure
3. treatment options are a source of public debate and controversy

Evidence is abound that the public are hostile to sex offenders. Radley (2001) used the `attitude towards sex offenders questionnaire` with police officers, probation workers, prison officers and psychologists. Although attitudes varied, police were more hostile than probation workers and psychologists, and males were more hostile than females.

Mental illness and sexual predators.

Many people believe that sex offenders have specific personality characteristics.
But, paedophiles do not stand out in the crowd. The problem is that there is no accepted definition of abnormality in DSM or ICD which affords classification of abnormal behaviour other than the act itself.

- **Does offending against children imply that individuals must be abnormally ill because of their actions?**
- **Can we consider paedophilia a special type of personality disorder?**

Classifications of child molesters.

- Commonest classification is dichotomy of fixated and regressed offenders (Groth & Birnbaum1978).
- Fixed offenders are developmentally fixed either permanently or temporarily on children, regressed offenders are sexually mature but regress to a former psychosexual stage of development.
- An important difference is found in their relationships: fixed have never been married, regressed usually have.
- Fixated offend against strangers/acquaintances whereas regressed offend against close networks. Some offenders even target women with children for this purpose.

But, caution using the taxonomy:

- Incestuous fathers often offend against other children outside the family. Offending against children is their preference **not** the product of family situations.
- They show sexual arousal to `erotic` depictions of children and will use the excuse of the situation to explain their behaviour.

- Research has shown that 40% of incestuous offenders also offend outside the family.
- Groth & Birnbaum argue that homosexual offenders are never regressors.
- However, this has yet to be supported with research.

How common is paedophilia?

- This is difficult to assess, under reporting of offences is particularly strong in this area. Different studies and methods provide conflicting results.
- One question asked : `is sexual arousal to imagery of children confined to offenders?`

Hall et al. (1995) sampled ordinary men via a newspaper ad.
He reported a quarter showed more arousal to children than to women, and a fifth admitted to paedophilic interests, but only 4% admitted to having engaged in acts.

- This finding is important, as it suggests that paedophilic orientation does not have to be acted out.

Sex offenders: major or minor recidivists? Two opposing views:

- West (1987) little reoffending, compared to Abel et al.,(1987) major reoffending.

However, these types of analyses are complicated by a number of factors:

- Offenders visiting private clinics may be more compliant, studies using reconviction rates underestimate the amount of reoffending and many researchers argue that neither view is true.
- Abel`s study has been criticised for its unrepresentativeness, as the offenders were not currently under prosecution, they were offered treatment in exchange for confession and they were more likely to be most deviant, as they had sought help.
- The Grampian study (Mair, 1995) reported that after 10 years, half had reoffended, but not for sexual offences; those convicted for `hands on` crimes were less likely to reoffend than those for `hands off` crimes. Incestuous offenders had very low reconviction rates, with extra familial offenders more likely to reoffend.

Back to youthful offenders.

- Up to half of child sexual abuse is conducted by those under age 21. In a meta analysis, Graves et al. (1996) classed offenders into 3 categories:

  - Paedophilic: first offence between 6-12 years, usually victims are young and female.
  - Sexual Assault: first offence age 13-15, victims vary, both older and younger.
  - Mixed Offence: a variety of sexual assault, exhibitionism, voyeurism, young children and frotteurism.

- They generally are of lower social class, with pathological family structures, parents physically neglected/abused as children and a patriarchal problem of substance abuse.

Theories of Paedophilia: The Preconditions model.

- Araji & Finkelhor (1985) proposed a model of pre-conditions for sexual abuse. It is an older model based on common sense notions, with little supporting empirical evidence. Its main advantage is that it links theory with therapy, but it is mainly descriptive.

Emotional congruence with children: lacking in self esteem, psychosocially immature, a need to Dominate.

Social arousal by children: Sexually socialised by child Pornography, hormonal imbalances/abnormalities.

Blockages preventing adult contact: lack of social skills, problems relating to adult females, repressive sexual Socialisation in childhood.

Disinhibition of norms against adult/child sex: Senility, alcohol, incest-tolerant sub culture.

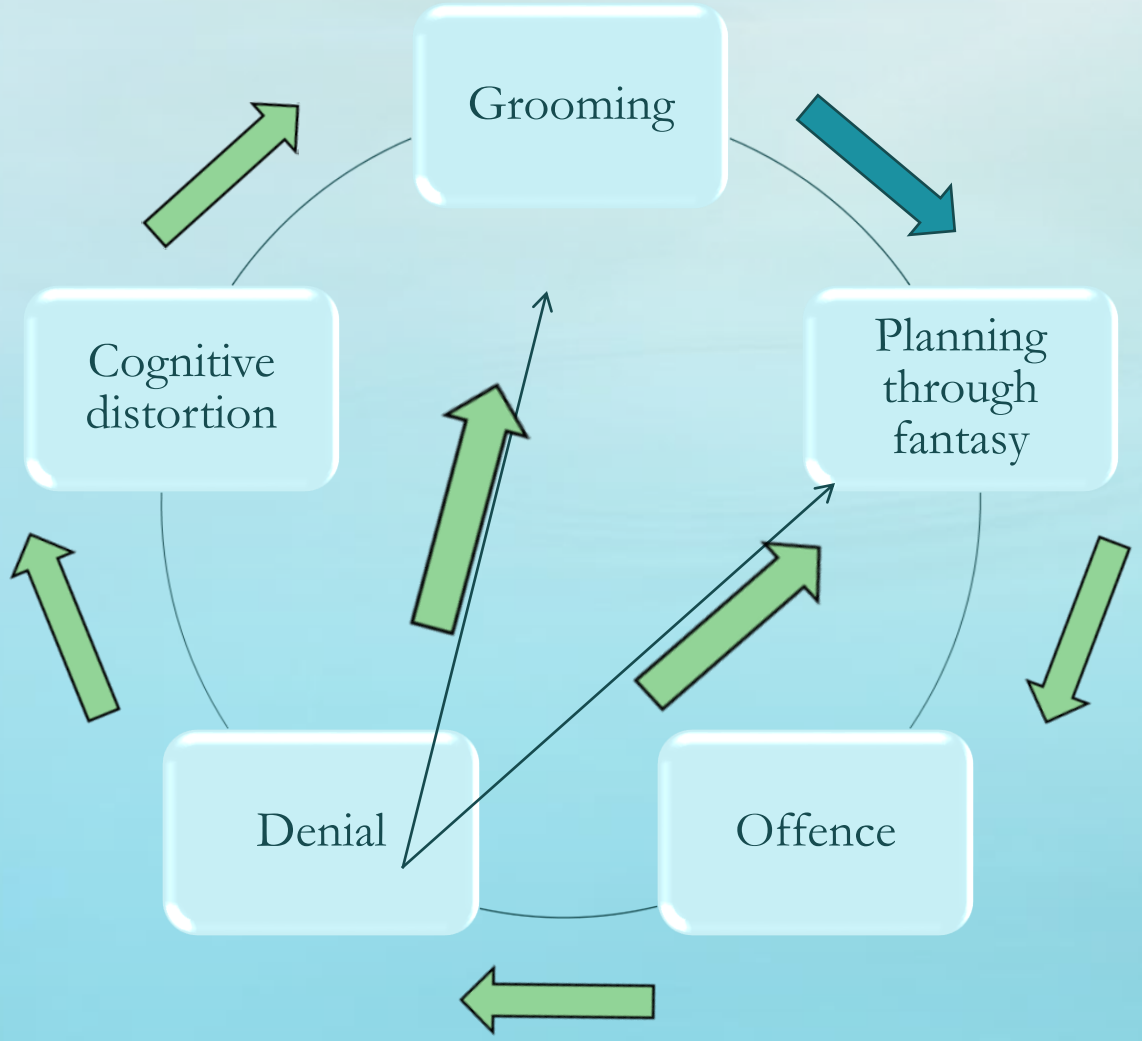
Theories:
Psychotherapeutic/cognitive model.

- The main emphasis is on cognitive and behavioural steps in offending behaviour. Usually only see parts of the model being used depending on the situation. There are 4 steps to the abusive process:

1. Cognitive distortions,
2. Grooming,
3. Planning through fantasy and
4. Denial.

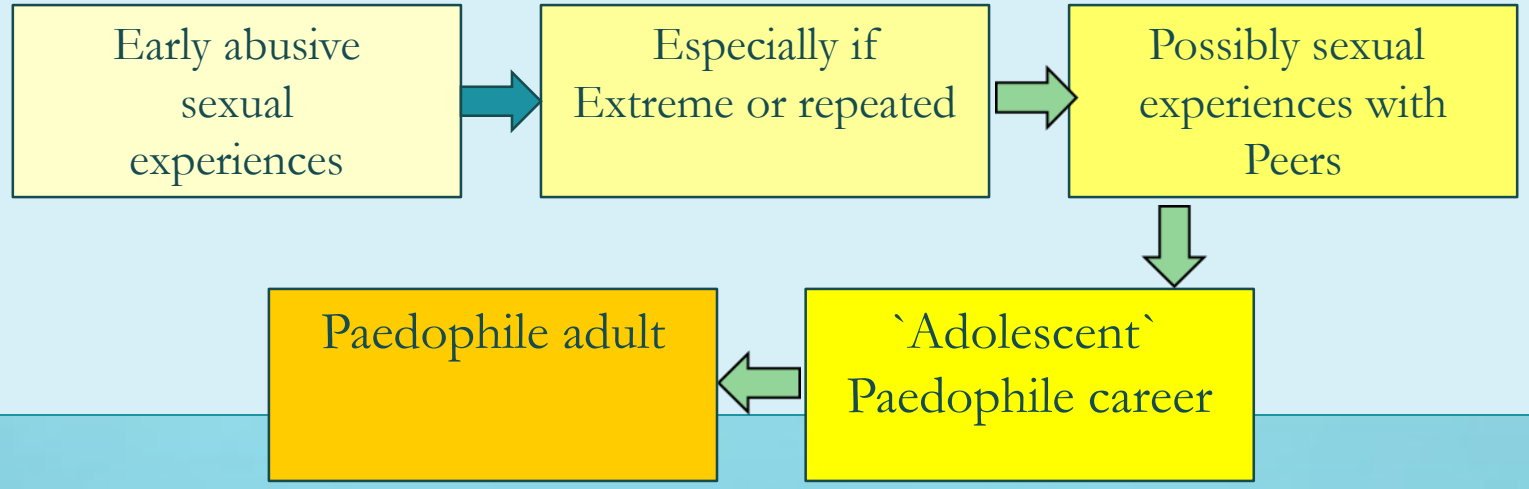
- Barbaree (1998) found substantial numbers of rapist and paedophiles denied their offences, with up to 40% minimising the seriousness of their offence.
- Interestingly, two thirds admitted their offences following therapy.
- Denial and cognitive distortions are important in understanding the link to recidivism; offenders may fail to deal with the factors which lead to offending.

Typical clinical/cognitive model.



Theories:
The Sexualisation model.

- Howitt (1995) regards paedophilic orientation developing from early sexual experiences.
- Early abuse, especially penetrative, by older children, or by females, is more likely to have this effect.
- Therefore this is a developmental model and can explain why some of the abused go on to abuse and others do not. Certain experiences place an individual more at risk than others.



Theories:
The Pathways model.

- Ward & Siegert (2002) took the best features of models and developed one comprehensive model.
- The model explores all of the potential determinants of behaviour, individually and in combination to explain the interest in children as sexual orientation (and not as a substitute for sexual relationships with adults).
- From this model, they postulate four psychological mechanisms involved in offending behaviour:

  - **Intimacy and social skills deficits,**
  - **Sexual scripts,**
  - **Emotional dysregulation and**
  - **Cognitive distortions.**

- According to Ward & Siegert, the pure paedophile has critical deficits in all four psychological pathways.

The Pathways Model.

Intimacy and social skills deficits:

Insecure attachments, unable to relate to others, avoid close relationships, do not value others, difficulties in managing mood and problem solving

Sexual scripts:

Usually learnt during development regarding appropriate contexts for sexual behaviour. Sexual behaviour before a child can cognitively /emotionally understand them is damaging

Pure paedophile.

Emotional dysregulation:

Self regulation does not kick in and the offender lacks feeling guilty when offending, cannot recognise their own emotional needs, do not seek social support when in times of distress

Cognitive distortions:

Children are sexual, the offender sees self as entitled to sex with the child, children will benefit in some way, they are not in control of their actions

Internet offenders.

- Robbins & Darlington (2003) estimate that 27,000 individuals visit child pornography sites every day with over one million images in circulation.
- Studying internet pornography is important from a theoretical standpoint, as there may be valuable insights into why some individuals will view but never contact children themselves.
- Evidence suggests that 97% of UK internet paedophiles have no previous convictions, and that internet paedophiles go onto abuse in real life is merely speculation at present.
- Research is in its infancy, but Sheldon & Howitt (2007)compared internet pornography offenders and contact offenders:

Findings:

Internet offenders

- Longer education
- In current relationship
- Relationship dysfunction
- More psychologically secure
- Abusive/neglectful childhood
- Cognitive distortions

Contact offenders

- In current relationship
- Relationship dysfunction
- Abusive/neglectful childhood
- Abusive sexual relationships with adults in childhood
- Cognitive distortions

Conclusions:

- Homicide and violent serious crime is largely psychological; there is limited evidence of a biological or genetic influence (Leyton, 1986).
- However, the pattern of violent offences are useful in terms of improving our understanding of such crimes (Delisi & Collins, 2012).
- Studying serious and violent crime is fraught with difficulties and methodological issues.
- Sex offenders are difficult to categorise into the regressed and fixated types, particularly since many of the offences are committed by adolescents (Howitt, 2015).
- Although abused individuals appear to go onto abuse, the pathways model suggests that there are a number of factors which contribute to actual offending (Leam et al., 2008).