

PATHWAYS: CHANGES IN RECRUITMENT FOR CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND
LIFE COURSE EVENTS

by

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B.A., South Dakota State University, 1997

M.C.J., Washburn University, 2004

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work
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Abstract

A major public concern is what to do with sex offenders. This seven-year study utilizes first-hand accounts from sex offenders who pursue children, exploring recruitment methods – that is, how they find and gain access to victims. Much public perception about sex offender recruitment is based on well-publicized cases such as that of Polly Klaas, Megan Kanka, and Jaycee Dugard – young girls who were abducted and, in the case of Klaas and Kanka, murdered, by strangers. Legislative efforts responded with laws such as “three strikes” and sex offender registries. Scientific studies have found such laws to be ineffective, yet heightened media exposure persists, perception of “stranger danger” prevails, and untried legislative initiatives continue. The most recent is “buffer zone” laws that limit where sex offenders live. To better inform perception and policy, this study investigates two samples of sex offenders concerning child recruitment. The first sample targeted a general population of sex offenders in state custody with a determinate sentence. The second focused on a population of sexually violent predators (SVP), as defined by Kansas law, constituting repeat offenders with a long history of sex offenses and/or those deemed legislatively as unfit for release into the community. The bulk of data came through interviews addressing activities that surrounded the offense(s), details of child recruitment, and, pertaining to the SVP sample, how offending corresponded with certain life events. Theoretically, the study is informed by Routine Activities Theory (RAT) and Life-Course Theory (LCT). RAT is based on a rational choice perspective of motivation and opportunity – an individualistic approach – while LCT sees offending episodes as strongly influenced by structural position. These two seemingly divergent theories represent a unique framework referred to here as conditioned activities, demonstrating how routine activities are altered by certain life events, or turning points, which, in turn, influence persistence or desistance in offending. It was discovered that child victim recruitment varies across the life course, specifically tied to changes in the offender’s social position. Age of the offender interacts with both position and life events.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction of the Problem

What is deemed more dangerous than sex offenders who target children? There can be no doubt that any crime committed against a child is abhorrent. When a child is sexually abused, the outrage is magnified. As a result of public outcry, some states have called for an escalation in punishment for cases in which children are targeted; some have allowed the death penalty as punishment, even in cases where the child victim was not murdered. Public sentiment is so ensconced with child sexual abuse that support for such punishment is significant in some jurisdictions, even though the United States Supreme Court has ruled that such punishment is unconstitutional (*Kennedy v. Louisiana* 554 US 407 (2008)).

The issue of sex offending and what to do with sex offenders has been a major concern in recent years. Research has demonstrated that a trend toward harsher, penal-based punishment for sex offenders is especially pronounced in the US (Petrunik and Deutschmann, 2008). The problem is that much misinformation surrounds the issue of sex offending, especially that targeting children. Much public perception about sex offender recruitment is based on well-publicized cases such as that of Polly Klaas, Megan Kanka, Elizabeth Smart, and Jaycee Dugard – young girls who were abducted and, in the case of Klaas and Kanka, murdered, by strangers. Legislative efforts responded with laws such as “three strikes” and sex offender registries. Scientific studies have found such laws to be ineffective in preventing child sexual abuse (Colorado Department of Public Safety 2004; Cotter and Leveson 2005, Minnesota Department of Corrections 2003; and Zgoba et. al. 2009)); yet heightened media exposure persists, public perception of “stranger danger” prevails, and untried legislative initiatives continue. The most

recent is “buffer zone” laws that attempt to limit where sex offenders live and work, another area in which evidence thus far demonstrates no preventative results (Leveson and Cotter 2005).

In order to better inform perception and policy, this seven-year study utilizes first-hand accounts from sex offenders who pursue children, exploring their recruitment methods – that is, how they find and gain access to potential victims. Drawing on two samples of sex offenders concerning child recruitment, the current research offers insight into recruitment strategies across various life course events, something current literature has not addressed. The first sample targeted a general population of sex offenders in state custody with a determinate sentence. The second focused on a population of sexually violent predators (SVP), as defined by Kansas law, which includes repeat offenders with a long history of sex offenses and/or those deemed legislatively as unfit for release into the community. SVP offenders are civilly committed to a mental health facility and typically live out their lives in the institution. The bulk of data came through interviews addressing activities that surrounded the offense(s), details of child recruitment, and, pertaining to the SVP sample, how offending corresponded with certain life events.

Context and Focus of the Study

The current research gathers primary data from sex offenders known to target and sexually abuse minor children in Kansas, a state that recently considered a legislative initiative designed to constrain where sex offenders reside and work, commonly referred to as buffer zones. The political milieu concerning sex offenders at the time of data collection revolved around one aspect of sex offender community management -- that of residential restrictions, commonly known as buffer zones. Trailing a fairly widespread national trend, Kansas began considering a version of buffer zone legislation in 2001. The legislative initiative brought

attention to this researcher because the policy was relatively new and appeared to be a rather impulsive and populist response to the community management of sex offenders, one that carried no empirical evidence of reducing child sexual abuse. Debate and viability of the newly proposed residency restriction law provides context for this study as it serves as an example of scholars refer to as moral panic – in this case, an intense and often irrational reaction in the nation to a perceived threat to social order -- gone awry (Cohen 2001) . The moral panic surrounding sex offenders who target children has resulted in at least 21 states adopting buffer zone legislation, despite evidence to the contrary of its effectiveness at crime prevention (Colorado Dept. of Public Safety 2004; Leveson and Cotter 2005; Mercado et al. 2006 Minnesota Dept. of Corrections 2005;; Zgoba et al. 2009). As such, the surrounding social and political milieu provides an opportunity to test whether or not such geographic restrictions potentially alter the routine activities – a specific term attached to theoretical concerns about individual motivations and opportunities that predict offending – of sex offenders’ strategies for child recruitment. The initial part of the research, centered on the general population of incarcerated sex offenders, serves as a baseline for understanding how and where perpetrators target children. Routine Activities Theory (RAT) (Cohen and Felson 1979), which is based on an individualistic approach to motivation and opportunity, is used to guide questions of this population.

The core focus of this dissertation concerns the process of child victim recruitment. The argument presented here is that legislative efforts will continue to fail until we better understand child sexual offending through victim recruitment strategies, including how they may change over the course of the offender’s lifetime situations. While the first sample of offenders takes a snapshot view of child recruitment, the second looks longitudinally – specifically through

retrospective accounts structured through a Life History Calendar (LHC) method – exploring how routine activities of the offender may be influenced by certain life events. The second sample focuses on a population of sexually violent predators (SVP), as defined by Kansas law (KSA59-29a02). The SVP sample – an especially challenging population to access and interview -- includes repeat offenders with a long history of sex offenses and/or those deemed legislatively as unfit for release into the community. Those defined by law as SVP are civilly committed to a mental health facility and typically live out their lives in the institution. This portion of the study is informed by Sampson and Laub’s Life-Course Theory (LCT) (Sampson and Laub 1993). While RAT is based on an individualistic rational choice perspective, LCT sees offending episodes as strongly influenced by structural position and social events throughout the offender’s life. These two seemingly divergent theories – one individualistic and the other structural/interactional -- represent a unique framework for understanding how routine activities are altered by certain life events, or turning points, which heavily influence persistence or desistence in offending. Little research has directly reviewed data from actual sex offenders who are incarcerated for targeting children (Cotter and Levenson 2005), and none, as far as this researcher could determine, has interviewed sexually violent child predators; this study attempts to address that gap.

Investigating the Problem

The classification of sex offenders and the determination of their punishment is a source of great debate. Even more controversial is what to do with this population of offenders once they are placed under community supervision. As the 24-hour news cycle looks for stories to capture an audience’s attention, media are quick to highlight stories that involve a convicted sex offender who goes on to commit a new sex crime; a large body of research focuses on such

media coverage as producing unwarranted and misguided fear-mongering (e.g., Altheide 2001). These stories, whatever the circumstances, appear to portray all convicted sex offenders as uncontrollable and untreatable. The usual message is that all convicted sex offenders are incapable of altering their behavior, that they are incapable of altering their behavior or controlling themselves from sexual impulses, and that a sexual offense often result in the murder of a child.

To be sure, there are sex offenders who do sexually assault and kill their victims, but this group is, statistically relatively small. Sample (2006) found that only three percent of arrests including a sex offense included a charge of homicide, and that the homicide victim in sexual assault cases was more likely to be an adult than a child. The same study noted it was noted that sex offenders had a relatively low recidivism rate (2.9%) when compared to other categories of offenders such as murderers (5.7%), burglars (5.4%), and larceny offenders (4.2%). What appears to have happened is citizens, and in turn legislators, assume that the sexual offending behavior of a few is generalizable to the entire sex offending population. The result has been increasingly restrictive measures on an entire population as opposed to targeted measures that are tailored to fit extreme cases.

The background of the cultural milieu – in the form of moral panic components – is necessary, as it aids in understanding policy development. It is important to understand how these efforts arose. Both of these factors – the social milieu and reactive legislative initiatives – provide a context for understanding the urgency of this research objective: a fuller understanding of victim recruitment, including pathways toward and desistence from sexual offending against children. This requires investigation from a routine-activities standpoint and then, by incorporating insight from sexually violent predators of child victims, situates target

selection within a life course perspective. Drawing on practice-based experience in the criminal justice system with this population, together with my academic training, I develop a new approach to understanding this specialized population and concurrent social problem.

Moral Panic and Populist Reaction

The increase in the number of reported sexual offences has created a “moral panic” about sex crimes (Soothill 1993; Sampson 1994), in which attention on a group of offenders or events constructs widespread and relatively irrational fear, emerging as a perceived threat to an entire society or way of life (Cohen 1972). However, the increase in reported sex offenses is not the only explanation for such a moral panic. This increase in public attention helped fuel legislative action, which, in turn, resulted in the creation of many new measures aimed at easing the public’s fear (Finkelhor and Ormrod 2001). News stories concerning grisly accounts of sex offenders assaulting and killing child victims further escalate a full-blown moral panic.

It is not the purpose of this paper to debate accuracy in the press, but to provide background surrounding the development of sex offender laws. Nonetheless, media attention is important here in the sense that such news stories, though perhaps mostly accurate in their reporting, may become a focus for both public citizens and state and national legislative efforts. The sex offenders that media outlets portray on a regular basis are followed from investigation to arrest, and through the winding road of the courts system, this elevated attention provides ample opportunity to highlight the most extreme acts and encourage moral outrage. No one hears that

these offenders not only recidivate at lower levels than other types of offenders, but also that those who do sexually assault children tend to use less violence than adult sexual offenders.¹

There has been an overall upsurge of interest in pedophilia in the last two decades (Soothill and Francis 1998). Further, moral panic concerning child sexual abuse is not limited to the United States; a number of tragic cases in the United Kingdom have also attracted widespread publicity and has ultimately resulted in more punitive legislation there (McAlinden 2006). Further, there has been new terminology added to the American vernacular such as “sexting” (typically, pornography distributed by cell phones) and “cyber child pornography.” Internet predators have been chronicled on TV documentaries such as NBC’s “To Catch a Predator.” Greer (2003) argued that media representations of sex crimes give the public important cues about how to perceive the nature and the extent of sex crimes perpetrated against children. It is in this respect and context that the number of sexual offenses being reported has arguably created a moral panic about sex offending (Soothill 1993; Sampson 1994).

At any given time there are approximately 265,000 convicted sex offenders on some form of community supervision (Greenfeld 1997), but the sex offense recidivism rate for these general offenders is roughly 13.7% (as opposed to those with child victims at about 2.9%) (Hanson and Morton-Bourgon 2005). In Kansas, sex offenders currently represent about 22% of all inmates incarcerated in the Kansas prison system (KDOC 2008). This ratio of sex offenders incarcerated in Kansas is consistent with national averages of sex offenders incarcerated. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Finkelhor and Ormrod 2001) advised that more

¹ *The vast majority of sex offenders (approximately 84%) do not sexually recidivate (Hanson and Bussierre 1998). Those sex offenders who do sexually abuse children do not tend to kill their victims. 3% of arrests that included a sex offense charge also included a charge for homicide (Sample 2006).*

that 20% of inmates nationwide are incarcerated for a sexual offense. Nearly all of these offenders will someday be released, but very few of them are predicted to recidivate.

Impact of New Penology, Risk and Prevention

A combination of developments appears to have taken place whereby an atmosphere of moral panic has coupled with the contemporary correctional strategy known as new penology. The combination of the moral panic environment and the advent of this new strategy have created a circumstance that fosters punitive punishments for sex offenders (McAlinden 2006). The current politics of crime control places a strong emphasis on public protection and risk management, and U.S. Courts have largely sided with preemptive community safety, generally holding that the perceived safety of the community take precedence over the individual offender (Farkas and Stichman 2002; Logan 1999; Simon 2000). This style of correctional affairs is often referred to as “new penology” (Feeley and Simon, 1992) or “risk society” (Beck 1992). The current efforts to reduce risk and prevent future harm appear to be behind laws such as sex offender registries and housing restrictions that seek to preempt predicted crimes.

Ashenden (2002) contends that the concept of risk management and the regulatory state have merged. This new governance has become very important in managing sex offenders in the community in terms of both policy and practical decision making. The impact new penology is a rationale for implementing of these laws or policies. Including the concept of new penology will give a deeper, more nuanced understanding of how some current sex offender policies came to be. These new legal sanctions appear to exemplify new penology. The concepts of New Penology rely on proactive solutions to anticipated criminal behavior (Simon 1998) and produce policies and initiatives that direct the focus of criminal justice on atypical cases. Atypical cases are often more sensational and horrific as these tend to grab media headlines and the public’s

attention. These attention-grabbing headlines can be used by public interest groups and politicians alike to enact new laws or more aggressively enforce existing laws (Ferrel and Sanders 1995). The atypical cases come somehow to supposedly represent the entire criminal population or, in the case of sex offenders, this sub-population of criminals. Every sex offender is automatically assumed to be an uncontrollable, violent sexual deviant.

This segment (sex offenders) of the criminal population captures the public's attention and imagination, usually through a widely publicized atypical case. This is certainly true when child victims are involved. In fact, it appears that many of the most prominent populist laws such as sex offender residency restrictions are geared toward this population of offenders. This is best illustrated by those for whom the laws are named. Examples include Megan's Law and The Jacob Wetterling Act. Both Megan Kanka and Jacob Wetterling were juveniles at the time of their victimization that were perpetrated upon them. Megan Kanka was killed by a neighbor previously convicted of a sex offense, and Jacob Wetterling was abducted and has never been found (McAlinden 2006).

In many ways then, the person identified as a sex offender becomes a societal pariah. Spencer (2009) uses the term "homo saucer" to describe the sex offender's position within the community. Simon (2000) also describes the sex offender as a non-citizen, even more so than his fellow felons. According to Spencer (2009:219) a homo saucer is "in essence a person that is physically in the community, but is constituted as not of the community." It is important to our discussion to ascertain an offender's place in the current environment, so that we may also understand how such laws like residency restrictions are implemented; they are a reflection of the moral panic that is affiliated with sexual offenders and punishment.

Extreme reactions inevitably follow moral panics (Soothill 2000). Nagin and Tremblay in Sampson and Laub (2005:p. 87) posit:

If a group is small and its behavior is socially undesirable, such as committing crimes, the reification of the group as a distinct entity rather than as an extreme on a continuum may provoke draconian responses to the behavior by creating the impression of a bright line of separation between them and us. Human history is replete with tragic instances in which a fictional group based separation is the first step in the dehumanization of them. Two other risks are not inherently insidious but still of import. One is that reification creates the impression of the immutability of the groups.

This research contends that an “us” and “them” distinction has been drawn and made explicit in the venue of sex offender legislation. Almost everyone else, including murderers, are more likely to be counted in the category that is opposed to the miniscule population of sex offenders with child victims. The next section briefly reviews the effects of this “new penology.”

Legislative Initiatives

This section outlines the state of legislative efforts to contain sex offenders. Again, while this is not the primary focus of this study, it is important to understand the context in which an understanding of sex offender populations exist. Simon (2000) considers public trust in the state’s role as protector as extremely important. He argues, that sex crime victims are viewed by the public as the subjects of democratic polity. Sexual abuse victims are not just singular victims but the whole of society is victimized by the offender. A stance akin to a reverse general deterrent is assumed, whereby the victim represents more potential victimization and a public fear is accomplished or moral panic becomes tacit. The government is endowed by the public

with expert status as to danger and risk management. The state governs through crime control (Simon 2000), and society allows government more and more regulation of individuals through the institution of laws, denying more and more rights of those previously convicted.

The sex offender is often viewed by the general population as incurable, and so depraved that normal cognitive-behavioral programs are unable to curb these individuals' insatiable desire to commit more sex crimes (Brown 2005). Therefore, the reasoning follows that the government must step in and provide a measure of protection. The logic is, who else would provide protection but formal authority; to the public, at least, informal control is seen to increasingly wane while formal control measures are put into place. Considering that formal authority is to provide protection, there must be a target. Sex offenders become acceptable fodder -- but not simply the general representative proportion of offenders, but offenders that seem to inspire the most fear. Irrespective of feminists' best efforts to show the predation of women and children within the family unit by fathers, stepfathers, or other familial members, the dominant discourses of the pedophile is a figure outside the home who is presented as the main danger to children (Stanko 1990; Bell 2002). Thus, this person who seems to be most viewed as a sexual perpetrator is not the family member or acquaintance, but a stranger -- regardless of statistical evidence that points to the contrary.

As a result, politicians have begun to take notice and implement numerous laws. Some of these laws restrict sex offenders—especially those convicted of child sexual abuse-- from living in certain areas known as restriction or buffer zones. The efficacy of these zones has been contested (Leveson and Cotter 2005; Colorado Dept. of Public Safety 2004; Minnesota Dept. of Corrections 2003). Another well-known legislative measure is sex offender registries. These registries require that a person convicted of a sex offense (regardless of age of the victim) be

required to register their residence with authorities, in some cases for a period of up to ten years upon release from a correctional institution, and in other cases for life of the offender. The offender's information also may be open to the public or be displayed on official documents such as driver's license, though registration requirements vary by state law (McAlinden 2006). Even more drastic, other penalties have been legislated for certain sexual offenders, including chemical castration and the death penalty.

Many of these laws result from a populist sentiment. On the surface they appear to make logical sense. For example, residency restriction zones are thought to limit access to places where children congregate (Cotter and Levenson 2005). Thus, places like schools, pools, parks, and playgrounds are considered protected areas, barring those convicted of a sex offense from taking up residence.

Entire cities can be exclusion zones due to the number and location of schools, pools, parks, and playgrounds (Levenson 2005). Conventional wisdom indicates that this is an appropriate measure because these places provide a target-rich environment for sex offenders to lie in wait and ambush children. This logic would indicate that if we remove the predator (sex offender) from the places where prey (child victims) gather, a measure of community safety is accomplished. However, as is often the case, conventional wisdom is not entirely accurate. This sentiment underscores the need for solid, scientific study of how sex offenders recruit child victims.

Contrary to such public sentiment, sex offenders are very seldom predators in the legal sense of the term. According to the state of Kansas, a sexually violent predator is someone who has committed a crime of sexual violence and is considered mentally abnormal, which makes the person likely to continue to sexually reoffend. Thus, the offender must have had to commit and

be convicted of a sexually violent crime as defined by the state. This person must also suffer from a mental abnormality that would make it likely to foresee that the person would sexually reoffend (for further details see Kansas Statute Annotated 59-29a02).

This classification does not fit most sex offenders. For example, sex offenders (overall) currently represent about 20% (approximately 1,900 inmates) of the current population of incarcerated inmates in Kansas (Kansas Dept. of Corrections 2008). Of those sex offenders, only 338 inmates were assessed by a multi-disciplinary team for consideration as sexually violent predators. Only 20 inmates of the original 338 inmates (amounting to approximately 1% of all incarcerated sex offenders) were determined by a court to be sexually violent predators in 2008. Thus, it is evident that very few offenders are actually predators in the true sense of the term.

Very often victims are either related to the offender or some acquaintance, as opposed to a stranger predator. For instance, Greenfeld (1997), reporting for the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), found that 40% of sex offenders were related to their victim(s). Another BJS (2000) report revealed that only 7% of convicted child abusers were strangers to their victims. Current sex offender policies, like residency restrictions, target the victim-stranger relationship, and intend therefore to physically separate the offender from potential victims by restricting where sex offenders can live in relation to places where children congregate. However, empirical data demonstrate that the walk to and from school is not very dangerous (i.e. stranger waiting to snatch children), while arriving at home is significantly more dangerous. The rationale for residency restrictions fails.

Therefore, the idea of “stranger danger” is real but rare in the case of child sexual abuse. Strangers were the offenders in just three percent of sexual assaults against victims under age six and five percent of the sexual assault victimizations of youth aged six through eleven (BJS

2000). Laws for the sake of public protection can be ineffective or even counterproductive, and several scholars argue that this may be the case with these residence restrictions, otherwise known as “buffer zones” (e.g., Levenson 2005). Travis (2005) (from Zgoba et al. 2008) describes these as “invisible punishments” or ways in which citizens are excluded from society or privileges, through measures not commensurate with their transgressions. These invisible punishments usually take the form of legislative mandates which deprive felons of rights and privileges, and are usually outside of sentencing schemes. These consequences are not extra-legal in nature but do continue on as punishment due to the crime of conviction. That is, they are punishments that stem from the initial crime but are disguised as community safety or rehabilitation measures.

The actuality of child sexual recruitment needs to be much more closely investigated in order to reassess effective policy. The implications are that there is not just one policy or law (buffer zones) that is suspect in its effectiveness, but rather a systemic pathology that exists when dealing with sex offenders in the community (Grove and Meehl 1996). Indeed, as budgets become tighter and the demand for correctional accountability increases with each new media report of repeat sex offenders, the public and legislators alike intensify their expectations for greater control (Synder 2000; McAlinden 2006).

Pathways and Turning Points

Beyond understanding the immediate situation of child recruitment, this study goes beyond risk management and seeks to understand underlying causes and time trends of target selection and sex offending directed toward children. Put more succinctly, the goal here is to understand pathways to sexually abusive persistent behavior and also to recognize of desistance mechanisms. By recognizing that current policies employed, such as residency restrictions, are

not empirically sound (Levenson and Cotter 2005; Minnesota Dept. of Corrections 2004; Colorado Dept. of Public Safety 2004), we can move toward identifying life pathways that develop into sexually abusive behavior directed at children; this part of the study is guided by a theoretically rich amalgamation known as the life course perspective (Sampson and Laub 1993; 2005). This theoretical diversity will eventually combine with the basics established by routine activities. The combination of these two divergent perspectives has never been undertaken. The goal of this larger project is to explore how far we can contemplate the deeper aspects of sexual offending and legislative responses to it.

We as a society have allowed ourselves to justify harsh punishment in the name of community safety when empirical evidence of the efficacy of legislation such as housing restrictions is at best lacking (Levenson 2005). It is imperative to test the efficacy of such legislation and either confirm its importance or shed it as ineffective. McAlinden (2006) contends that there is a growing recognition that purely punitive responses to sexual offenders are not sufficient that there is a real need to develop holistic responses. This study does not seek to test holistic responses but rather to propose and explore how seemingly divergent theories may each inform the other, developing a way to understand pathways toward child sexual abuse and desistence from such abuse.

The stigma of felony conviction is a difficult prospect for criminal offenders in general, but after being released from prison, registered sex offenders face overwhelming discrimination even as they attempt to become productive citizens (Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, & Baker, 2007; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Levenson, D'Amora, & Hern, 2007; Tewksbury, 2005; Tewksbury & Lees, 2006; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000). The majority of prisoners seek shelter with family members upon their release (Travis, 2005), but residence restrictions can eliminate such

options for many sex offenders. Limitations on where they can live serves to decrease stability and social support and, therefore, increase the psychosocial stressors known to facilitate reoffending (Andrews & Bonta, 2003; Hanson & Harris, 1998).

By ostracizing, stigmatizing, and segregating criminal offenders, we leave them with few opportunities for conforming to mainstream values and affiliating with law-abiding citizens (Maruna, LeBel, Mitchell, & Naples, 2004). Their acceptance, however, among felonious associates can reinforce the cycle of persistent offending. In this way a self-fulfilling prophecy can occur. There is a need for continued research to establish the effectiveness of residence laws in preventing recidivistic sexual violence (Zgoba et. al 2008), as well as the “deep understanding” of etiology.

It is important to note the tie between moral panic and New Penology. Travis (2005) described “invisible punishments” as legislatively mandated restrictions that deprive felons of rights and privileges, but that typically exist outside of traditional sentencing schemes. Restrictions like housing buffer zones exist outside of a criminal sentence. The very nature of a housing restriction buffer zone is post court sanction. In light of the current social milieu, these restrictions seem mundane. However, this type of response has been long predicted. Merton (1936) speculated that citizens may erroneously overreact to a potential threat and seek to avoid it by changing the social order in some drastic way. The contemporary extreme is a moral panic concerning child sexual abusers, which, in turn, becomes the impetus for restrictive legislation like residency restriction. The introduction of new penology as a correctional rationale becomes a convenient, short-sighted response to supposedly subdue moral panic. However, the contention here concerns a need to be more efficient with correctional measures while also finding long-term solutions and prevention.

The overall aim of this study is to gain a more precise understanding of sexual offending against children. It has been made explicit here that current initiatives to curb sexual offending against children (i.e. housing restrictions) employ tactics against all sex offenders which are designed for only a very small percentage of the sex offender population (Snyder 2000). Further, such tactics have relied almost exclusively on either no theory, or on a fairly uncomplicated version of routine activity that only partially explains sex offender target selection. A much more nuanced explanation is required.

Theoretical Guidelines

This section briefly overviews the two major theoretical fields that inform this study, as well as a supplemental perspective referred to as situational crime prevention. This brief overview serves as an introduction to the theories and how those theories are utilized here. The conceptual detail of these theories will be covered in greater depth in chapter two.

Routine Activity Theory

Routine activities theory, according to Felson and Cohen (1979), is an attempt to explain predatory crime. Predatory acts are defined as illegal acts in which a person purposefully takes or damages property or harms another person (Cohen and Felson 1979). Sex offenders and sexually offending behavior can certainly be deemed as predators/predatory acts according to this definition.

The rationale given concerning residential restriction zones appears to contain the three elements of routine activities theory: motivated offender, suitable targets, and a lack of capable guardians. The foundation of the theory is that, when the above three elements converge at the same time and in the same place, the possibility of crime (in this case child sex crimes) becomes

elevated. In other words, sex offenders are seen as perpetually motivated to commit future sex crimes. Also, conventional wisdom dictates that places where children congregate make for a target rich environment, thereby increasing target suitability by increasing overall availability of children. Lastly, guardianship is diminished because children are separated from parents.

This current study is not poised to disconfirm the use of routine activities theory in cases of child sexual assault. Rather, it contends that the elements of routine activities (motivated offender, suitable target, and a lack of capable guardianship) are not being employed correctly under the current use of and stated purpose of public protection in the case of residency restrictions. In other words, residency restrictions are being targeted imprecisely. Residency restrictions target a very small portion of the sex offending population. Recall that the stranger-victim relationship for child sexual abusers is very small at 7% (DOJ 2002). This study seeks to discover how many of the stranger perpetrators recruited child victims from places where children congregate. Thus the efficacy of buffer zones is debated.

The use of routine activity theory alone to explain child sexual abuse is not sufficient. Routine activity theory has neglected several aspects and background factors that facilitate crime (Meithe et al 1987). Cohen and Felson (1979) advised that they do not seek to understand offender motivation. The motivational aspect in routine activity theory is assumed to be constant. However, a small percentage of sex offenders continue to commit sex crimes (Hanson and Busierre 1998). Yet, motivational factors are a key aspect of sexual offending against children (Smallbone and Wortley 2006; Marshall and Barbaree 1990; Seto 2008).

Cohen and Felson(1979) hypothesize that due to changes in American lifestyle, such as getting out of the house more often, people are naturally exposed to more offenders. However, Meithe et. al. (1987) advised that leaving home can actually increase guardianship of potential

victims, especially concerning crimes of violence because these types of crimes are perpetrated by offenders that the victim knows. This type of offender victim relationship (where the victim knows the offender) is more common in cases of child sexual abuse (Synder 2000; Grenfeld 1997). Thus, in cases of child sexual abuse, the danger level is increased when offender and potential victim are isolated at home or other private confines. The notion of guardianship in child sex abuse cases warrants a more nuanced examination than is supposed currently.

Cohen and Felson (1979) also advise that exposure to risk as a proximate cause of victimization is important to their theory. Cohen et al. (1981, p. 507) define exposure as "the physical visibility and accessibility of persons or objects to potential offenders." Meithe et al. (1987) advise that exposure to risk warrants further exploration. The afore stated definition is too simplistic and exposure to risk in child sexual abuse cases is more nuanced than the theory posits. Cohen and Felson (1979) advise that as people leave the home, they are subject to more exposure to motivated offenders. However, as has been discussed, home can be a very dangerous place in child sex abuse cases. Thus, in the case of child sexual abuse, the public space with proper surveillance can be safer than home.

Cavan and Ranck (1938) note the difference between "predisposing" (i.e., structural) and "precipitating" (i.e., situational) factors in exposure to risk. In other words, there are structural factors that predispose more immediate precipitating criminal factors. These structural factors set the stage or allow for the more immediate precipitating factors to potentially occur. The current study will examine this contention. The proposal is that life course turning points and subsequent transitions alter routine activities. These alterations can either inhibit child sexual abuse or facilitate it. When considering the above critique concerning routine activities, the deficiencies in explaining crime in general, and child sexual abuse more specifically, brings an urgency to

view child sexual offending through a broader lens. That is what this research seeks to do. routine activity theory takes a snapshot of the criminal event by examining the convergence of a motivated offender, suitable target, a lack of a capable guardian. However, without examining or understanding the etiology of those motivations, or how the suitability of a target is determined, and finally the role of guardianship in both protecting a potential victim and guardianship that constrains a potential offender, then only a partial picture of the offending process is given.

Due to routine activities deficiency concerning offender motivation, situational crime prevention will provide a fuller understanding of the immediate environment that facilitates child sexual abuse. Situational crime prevention literature will be utilized to inform the reader regarding not only offender motivation but also target suitability and guardianship of the victim and the offender. Situational crime prevention and routine activity share many similarities (Smallbone and Wortley 2006). They both use ecological aspects to explain facilitation of criminal behavior (Cohen 1979 and Smallbone and Wortly 2006). This supplement expands routine activities place.

Situational Crime Prevention

With situational crime prevention, the focus is on immediate aspects of the environment that encourage or permit crime to occur. It is premised on the idea that all crimes are the result of interaction between the characteristics of the actor and the immediate environment. In essence, human agency is conditioned by environment.

Situational crime prevention (SCP) and routine activities share similar aspects concerning offender motivation as situational as well as target attractiveness/suitability (Smallbone and Wortley 2006; Leclerc 2009). However, distinctions are apparent. Cohen and Felson (1979) advise that when the three elements (motivated offender, suitable target, and lack of capable

guardians) converge, the possibility of crime increases. SCP provides a deeper understanding concerning under what circumstances those elements converge. The immediate environment plays a significant role in shaping the action(s) of offenders. The probability of crime varies according to the criminal disposition of the individual and the crime facilitating nature of the environment according to SCP (Cornish 1994). Situational crime prevention is about creating a safe environment rather than creating safe individuals.

Consequently, this research initially will focus on sexual offending by countering the claim that routine activities theory alone explains sexual offending. Instead, a deeper, more nuanced exploratory approach concerning sexual offending, specifically child victim, recruitment, will be examined. Routine Activities theory (RA) will still be important, but to the extent that recruiting or target selection is encapsulated in a particular environment, a detailed explanation of sexual offending behavior will be best explained through variables closely associated with the life course perspective of criminal offending. Sampson and Laub (2005 pg. 41) advised the following concerning the relationship that Routine Activities Theory and the Life Course Perspective share:

It is therefore at least arguable that persistent offending and dissonance from crime can be explained by a general age graded theory of any form of social control that emphasizes social ties, routine activities, and human agency.

However, the Life Course Perspective has not appeared in literature addressing sex offenders and their routine activities.

Life Course Perspective

Life Course Perspective is the concept of situated choice is central to the connection between human agency or choice and more structural notions of turning points (Sampson and Laub 2005). In essence, these turning points, such as marriage or employment, operate as structure that defines or helps shape personal behavior. One can liken this influence to social institutions such as family or economy shaping personal behavior such as individual/situational norms or expectant behavior. Important to this study, the personal routine activities of sex offenders are likely dictated by encompassing turning points in their lives. The possibility of observing an ebb and flow (opportunity vs. inhibition) to sex offending behavior against children becomes likely. In other words, we could say that dissonance or persistence in offending may be based on situationally altered routine activities of offenders; these situations obviously change throughout the life course of an individual.

The persistence of criminal activity for a few and the desistance for many is a key concept of the life course perspective. Some experts view desistance as the result of a change in important factors in the individual's life course. These changes are referred to as turning points (Sampson and Laub 1993). Turning points such as marriage can strengthen social bonds and also change the associated network of a person. Old friends, like delinquent peers, can lose importance and affect routine activities (Warr 1998). This disconnection with delinquent or criminally focused peers can lead persons away from crime. Peers and friends lose influence, and the focus becomes the family as opposed to good times with friends. There is a disruption or termination of time spent with peers (Warr 1998).

Some of the literature examining the etiology of pedophilia has touched on changes, disruptions, or turning points as a risk factor for future sex offending (Seto 2008; Marshall 1990). General sexual development of sexual offenders (sexually legal/conventional sexual development) largely has been absent from the literature. This void has been identified by Seto (2008) as an area in need of further investigation when attempting to understand the development of sexual offending. Thus, the onset of sexual development (puberty) can be seen as a turning point when sexual interest of all sorts begins.

This research posits that turning points in the life course condition individual routine activities. These changes in routine activities brought on by turning points and long-term transitions can alter routine activities that can either precipitate child sexual abuse by the offender or allow for desistance of such behavior. Sampson and Laub (2005) advise that certain turning points along the individual's life course affect human agency. We can surmise that changes in social structure also condition changes in an individual's routine activities. These alterations demand adaptations from the individual, and new routine activities develop. These structural changes (turning points in the life course) facilitate or inhibit precipitating criminal events.

Purpose of the Study

There has been a call from scholars (McAlinden 2006; Snyder 2000; Zgoba et al. 2006) to develop policies and legislation that provide a measure of public protection. These policies need to be evidenced based. There must be recognition that public protection does not necessarily mean that the rationale for punishment is a unilateral approach based solely on retribution levied against the offender. Rather, a measured approach, based on careful research, leads the best way forward. This is commonly known as evidence-based practice, where research

is relied upon to formulate policy. Scholars have previously warned of the consequences of expanding sex offender policies to more people and behaviors (Soothill, Francis, Sanderson, & Ackerley, 2000), yet research thus far has been unable to well-inform these policies.

Phase one of this study examines background, situational, and victim recruitment of known sex offenders in order to debate the effectiveness of current policies such as housing restrictions, commonly known as buffer zones. This will be accomplished through surveys and interviews with a general population of sex offenders, who are incarcerated or on parole and in treatment programs. Phase two of this study addresses the life course events and turning points of sexually violent predators, most of whom are civilly committed in a mental health institution. Gathering life course data, the study explores potential turning points in a sex offender's criminal career, paying special attention to sex crimes and how those turning points condition routine activities.

Research Question #1: Where do sex offenders recruit their victims?

Housing restrictions operate under the assumption that sex offenders recruit child victims from places where children congregate (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2000). Since the purpose of housing restrictions is to help eliminate future child sexual victimization, determining where sex offenders recruit their victims becomes a primary focus. Prior research (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2002, Greenfeld 1997) tells us that a very small minority of child sexual abuse victims (seven percent of cases in one study), contained a child victim stranger-offender relationship.

Research question #2: Among a group of general population sex offenders with child victims, what is the typical method of target selection?

Smallbone and Wortley (2006) advise that locations for finding child victims are often times a friend's home (40%) or baby sitting (21%).

Research question #3: Among a group of offenders identified as sexually violent predators with child victims, what is the typical method of target selection?

Research question #4: To what extent do life events alter routine activities and inhibit child sexual offending? The contention here is that developments throughout the life course do alter routine activities of a sexual offender and therefore can either inhibit sex offending. Sampson and Laub (1993) contend that adaptations to adult informal social control and institutions can result in complete desistance. They can also amount to a decrease in rate of offending.

Research question#5: To what extent do developments throughout the life course alter routine activities and facilitate child sexual offending? In addition to the facilitation of sex offending habits, offenders also can switch offenses. For example a person can go from simply using drugs to selling them. This pattern may pertain to habitual sex offenders. Smallbone and Wortley (2006) advise that sex offenders can alter their modus operandi depending upon their age. For instance, according to Smallbone and Wortley, a juvenile offender may choose to use more forceful methods of sexual offending due to inexperience, while an adult offender may manipulate his position to gain the cooperation of the victim.

The purpose of this study is to inform those interested in sexual offending behavior about child victim recruitment. The initial focus concerns the simple recruitment of child sex abuse victims from a general population of sex offenders through the lens of

Routine Activity. The second focus is more detailed in nature as it investigates how routine activity of the offender is altered throughout the life course by turning points. These turning points signal immediate changes in offenders routine activity and also long term transitions concerning recruitment of child victims and desistence from offending behavior.

Relevance

In the case of *Doe v. Miller* 04-1568 (2004), the Iowa Supreme Court cited that there was a lack of research on residency restrictions and their effectiveness in preventing future sexual victimizations. Scholars have echoed this sentiment (Zgoba et al. 2009; Levenson and Cotter 2005; Melloy 2005). Still other scholars have insisted on more research in the area of strategies that sex offenders employ to recruit victims (Lord 2002; Elliot et al 1995; Beauregard and Leclerc 2007). This research will contribute to the literature by examining where and how a general population of sex offenders recruits child victims. Further, a targeted sample of offenders, determined by courts to be sexually violent predators, will contribute qualitative data to determine where and how they select and recruit child victims. This sample of sexually violent predators will be interviewed from a life course perspective in order to determine how turning points in their lives shaped the onset of child sexual abuse, persistence of such abuse, and periods of desistence from abuse. It is believed that these turning points condition changes in routine activities of those offenders that allow for the onset of child sexual abuse, periods of persistence, and periods of desistence from such abuse.

Organization of the Dissertation

The subsequent chapters are arranged in a manner that describes the theories in detail and their relation to sexual offending, the methods which will be employed to harvest the data and analyze it, the results of the data, and finally a conclusion that clearly addresses the research questions. The second chapter will provide much more detail about Life Course Theory and Routine Activity Theory. It addresses how each impact sexual offending and how each theory is compatible with the other. The third chapter addresses the both sample populations of offenders and their role here. The methods for data collection are also provided including the justification using these methods. The fourth chapter provides the results of the data collected from both groups sampled. Graphs and the participant's own words are utilized to provide the reader with a full understanding of the results. The final chapter serves as a platform to address the five research questions given in chapter one. Also, avenues for future study are explored as well as short comings of this study are addressed.

Chapter 2 - Impacting routine activity across the life course: Combining situational aspects of offending through individual turning points and transitions

This chapter first outlines in some detail the major concepts of the theories utilized. It also examines how those theories relate to sexual offending behavior perpetrated against children. The compatibility of these two theories is also made explicit.

The issue of sex offending and what to do with those convicted of sex crimes is an often debated topic. Many new laws have been created as a result of heinous sex crimes perpetrated against young children. Many of these laws are named after victims that inspired such new legislation (i.e. Megan's Law-sex offender registration or Jessica's Law- stiffening punishment for sex offenses against children). Most of these laws are based on the premise that child victims of sexual abuse are abused by strangers, a concept often referred to as "stranger danger". However, data overwhelmingly informs us that this relationship is rare. Snyder (2000) found that about 7% of child victims were sexually assaulted by a person classified as a stranger. As the victim's age decreased the likelihood that the perpetrator was a stranger decreased.

Sex offenders are viewed as inherently different from society in general and are viewed by other criminals as bottom rung offenders (Smallbone and Worlty 2006). Sex offenders are often stigmatized by other inmates. As one inmate stated during an interview, "guys with my type of crime are known to everyone as a "cho mo" (interviewee LC08). "Cho mo" is a derogatory term for child molester. The stigmatization continues after release. Sexual offenders are often viewed as "monsters" by the public (Marshall 1996).

A moral panic concerning sex offenders (Jenkins 1998) has stirred the public's view of those that sexually offend. The public outcry is fueled by atypical stories concerning previously

convicted sex offenders creating new child victims. The public outcry, based on atypical cases, has resulted in tougher criminal sanctions and post incarceration measures (Simon 2003). The measures often cover the entire sex offender population regardless of offender modus operandi, victim selection template, or offense type.

One of the newest laws aimed at curbing sex offenses concerns where sex offenders can live. These new restrictions are often called buffer zones or housing restrictions (Levenson and Cotter '05). This measure assumes that sex offenders are basically unknown to their victims. This measure disallows them from living a certain distance from places where children are often known to congregate. These restriction zones vary due to jurisdiction. They range from 500 feet up to 2,500 feet from places where children congregate. Basically, this measure relies on the premise that sex offenders recruit child victims from places where children congregate and that if allowed to live near these places children are put at risk. Thus the measure use a premise of situational crime prevention (Clarke and Cornish 2003) or a segment of routine activity theory (referred to as RA) as a rationale. (Cohen and Felson 1979). This measure seeks to harden the target by creating distance between the home of the sex offender and the availability of potential targets located at places where children often congregate such as playgrounds. While debating a proposed city ordinance about housing restrictions for sex offenders, a proponent gave the following analogy: "They (sex offenders) are like lions waiting at the watering hole" (quote from an unnamed citizen at Topeka, KS City Counsel Meeting concerning a proposed municipal ordinance for buffer zones). Empirical data shows us that the vast majority of prospective child victims need not fear the walk to and from school but rather arrival at home where surveillance by the outside public is absent. Advocates of situational crime prevention concede that prevention of sexual crime in the home is a very difficult prospect (Smallbone and Wortly 2006).

The conventional wisdom seems to support the view that most sex offenders are strangers and that all sex offenders are uncontrollable pedophiles that cannot be rehabilitated. Past research tells us that very few people actually convicted of a sexual offense are diagnosed as pedophiles (Kingston, Firestone, Moulden, & Bradford, 2007;; Maletzky & Steinhauser; Seto & Lalumière, (2001), (2002); Kristen M. Zgoba et. al 2008)

Empirical data also tells us that overall sex offenders sexually recidivate at relatively low levels, anywhere from seven to fourteen percent (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, (2005) and Hanson & Bussiere (1998).

Sex offenders also appear to be treated as a homogeneous group (Sample and Bray 2006). However, numerous research articles inform us that sex offenders are actually a very heterogeneous group in the sense that many sex offenders do not specialize solely in sexual offending (Furby et al., 1989, Becker and Quinsey, 1993, and Hood, Shute, Feilzer, and Wilcox 2002). Often, different types of offenders offend at different rates. For instance incest offenders tend to sexually recidivate at far lower levels than offenders with stranger victims (Simon and Zgoba in Smallbone and Wortley 2006).

Even when confronted with empirical data citizens seem to disregard information about sex offenders and offending patterns, a common trait of moral panics. Levenson et al. (2009) polled citizens in Florida about empirical evidence concerning the lack of effectiveness that sex offender residency restriction zones provide. Even when informed of the counter productiveness of such a measure, citizens still favored the use of restriction zones. One final measure of the way in which sex offenders are regarded concerns capital punishment for sex offenders. Even after the US Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty is unconstitutional (under the 8th Amendment against cruel and unusual punishment) for child sex offenders who do not murder

their victims, many in the public, as well as legislators, call for the death penalty for child molestation. In fact, certain other states adopted the death penalty in protest of the Supreme Court decision, knowing full well that the death penalty for sex offenders that do not kill victim(s) is unconstitutional. Historically, Merton has speculated that citizens can erroneously overreact to a potential threat and seek to avoid it by changing the social order in some drastic way (Merton, 1936).

In light of the above draconian trends, it becomes incumbent upon criminologists to continue to conduct research in an attempt to enlighten others. The neglect of sex offender research and policy by criminologists results in misconceptions about child molestations (Simon 1997, and 2000). This dissertation contributes to the literature by examining the life course of chronic sex offenders and also the routine activities of a general population of sex offenders. This research will allow for a comprehensive understanding about the possible etiology of sex offending behavior through retrospective accounts by sexual offenders who have been deemed predators by the state of Kansas (see Kansas Statutes Annotated 22-4902).

The life course perspective will be utilized in order to understand the life course trajectories of these offenders in a search for common threads or commonality between offender's trajectories. Intrapersonal transitions in the individual's life course will be ascertained in order to better understand individual trajectories and how those turning points within the life course can alter those individual routine activities that can, in turn, facilitate child sexual abuse or inhibit it. The onset, continuity, and desistence of sexual offending behavior will be examined in a sample population of sexually violent predators (SVP). This will explore the relationship of long term transitional behavior in the life course in relationship to the more immediate aspects of the criminal event.

When considering the actual criminal event itself a more immediate criminological theory is necessary. Routine Activity Theory (Cohen and Felson 1979) helps to explain the criminal event. The progression of the literature review will be to explain and examine life course theory and its relationship to sexual offending. This will be followed by an explanation of routine activity theory's place inside of the life course, and its relationship to child sexual assault.

Sampson and Laub (2005) posit that one of the important structural turning points is that new situations change individual structure and likewise alter individual routine activities. Trajectories can be altered by turning points and accordingly new routine activities can be assumed in order to adapt to new social positions. For instance, Sampson and Laub (1993) advise that marriage can be a turning point in one's life. If the marriage is positive and conventional than crime desistence is likely to occur. Thus routine activities that were, prior to marriage, quite possibly conducive to crime are altered as a result of this new found positive bond to a pro-social significant other. For instance a night out drinking alcohol with friends is replaced by spending an evening at home.

It must also be noted that marriage, just like other possible social structural changes, can act counter intuitively when considering child sexual offenses. Some sex offenders use the following tactic to gain the compliance of adults as well as the child victim: the sex offender targets an adult mother under the guise of a conventional adult relationship thus gaining her trust and then sexually assaulting her children (Smallbone and Wortley 2006). It becomes important to realize that marriage, like other turning points, can inhibit sexual assault of children by providing a capable guardian for the potential offender and any victims. Alternately marriage can hasten

child sexual assault by introducing an offender to a situation where they are viewed externally as a guardian but in reality is the victimizer of the child.

In order to understand the relationship between a person's position (in this case a sex offender with a child victim) in their trajectory, the onset of a crime, persistence, or desistance of sexual offending behavior, and its relationship to the actual sexual abuse event (routine activity and situational crime prevention) it becomes important to understand each theory and how they relate to sexual offending. This will provide a better understanding of where these theories intersect and thus influence not just criminal behavior in general but sex offending behavior in particular.

Life Course Theory

Life course theory is often referred to as age graded theory because of the recognition that as a person ages they are subject to expectations and options relating to decision processes and the course of events that give shape to life stages, transitions, and turning points. The life course is a succession of culturally defined environments where social rules are created and expectations are informally enforced. Social transitions are embedded in social institutions and are subject to change according to the historical context dictated by the time (Sampson and Laub 1993).

Trajectory

A central concept of life course theory relies on the notion of individual trajectory (Sampson and Laub 2005). A trajectory is the pathway of personal development. For instance, a student might find their trajectory along the following lines: graduation from college opens the door to a well-paying job, this in turn makes the student more attractive to mates as they can

provide financially for the mate, this in turn allows the student to possibly marry and have children. The possibility of satisfying conventional pathways to success can more readily be attained. Given the above, one could easily envision a life course trajectory with a potentially pleasing outcome. However, as one may note, trajectories along the life course are often subject to change and possible deflections that alter the life course can and do occur. Also an accumulation of events can occur that alter the life course. Thus singular events can alter individual life course trajectories as well as an accumulation of lesser life course events. Trajectories are not seen as an inevitable path (Sampson and Laub 2005). Thus criminal behavior and more importantly here sexual criminal behavior can either persist or desist depending upon experiences encountered during the life course. These transitions are signaled in the form of turning points.

The trajectories of sex offenders have been the subject of many studies without explicitly calling the work “trajectory” of offenders. For instance, recidivism studies focus on either the persistence or desistence of sexual behavior (Hanson and Morton-Bourgon 2005, Hanson, Morton and Harris 2003) and what accounts for either the persistence or desistence of sexually abusive behavior.

Turning points

Turning points are a change in the life course (Sampson and Laub 1993). Turning points represent changes and adaptations to which the individual now finds themselves on their own life course. In other words an individual’s adaptation or response to some event or ‘turning point’ in their life can change the trajectory of that person. Trajectories can be changed either toward a path of deviant sexual behavior or away from one. The concept of life events is necessary because the same event or transition followed by different adaptations can lead to altered

trajectories in the long-term. Life course theory posits a strong connection between childhood events and experiences in adulthood (Sampson and Laub 2005). These childhood experiences can condition future adult responses to turning points. However, an important contention of life course advises that adult social structural expectations do affect behavior throughout the life course. Early childhood experiences are an important factor when determining criminality throughout the life course but so are new social structural expectations as the person ages.

Seto (2008) advises that these early childhood experiences can have a cumulative effect on future sexual offending. The transition to young adulthood usually brings with it new social institutions not experienced before with new social expectations, like starting a career or a family. Marshall and Barabee (1990) found that transition periods such as the transition experienced during adolescence is a particularly important time when attitudes and justifications for offending solidify. Thus, age graded theory emphasizes informal social controls that change as people age. Sampson and Laub (2005) argue that all stages of the life course matter concerning persistence and desistence of criminal behavior and that “turning points” are crucial for understanding processes of adult change.

Sampson and Laub (2005) identify four key aspects of turning points concerning criminal desistence. First, new situations that develop in people’s lives separate past from the present. In effect, turning points are readily identifiable (e.g., leaving civilian life and joining the military, getting married, becoming incarcerated, or beginning puberty). In this study the contention is that by “knifing off” the past individuals create new social environs and thus new routine activities that can bring new capable guardians to bear or alternatively cast them away. Leclerc et. al. (2009) discovered that offender modus operandi changed as the ages of the offenders changed. Older offenders adopted new methods of selection and recruitment to fit situations. The

respectively younger offenders were much less adaptable and exercised more rigid recruitment methods. The issue of target selection and their suitability can change by providing more or less potential targets. Finally offenders can become motivated to sexually abuse a child or become de-motivated depending on their new life situation. Turning points indicate a departure from the past and signal new expected behavior.

Secondly, new situations provide both supervision and monitoring as well as new opportunities for growth and support. Again being married is a great example of the possibility of change. For example the new significant other, if they are conventionally positive, can provide support in times of crisis while also providing an element of supervision and dissuade criminal behavior. Sampson and Laub's (2006) study of crime reduction and marriage revealed an average reduction of approximately thirty-five percent in the odds a crime would be committed as compared to their unmarried counter-parts.

Thirdly, new social positions, such as being employed, can undoubtedly provide a change in routine activities and thus alleviate or alter behavior that can de-motivate a potential offender or perhaps provide a capable guardian for the potential offender. Thus entire criminal opportunities can be diminished. Finally, new situations that provide an opportunity for identity transformation can occur. Involvement in conventional activities can reorder short term situational inducements to crime and over time redirects long term commitments to conformity (Sampson and Laub 1993). Here it becomes possible to see the person either adapting pro-social behavior and its central tenets in the long-term as result of living pro socially for a brief period of time, or alternatively adopting long term anti-social behavior as a result of being outcast. Hirschi and Gottfriedson (1967) identify involvement with conventional institutions and behaviors as an important factor in attaining self-control, albeit at a much younger age.

There is potential for offenders to become associated with conventional behaviors. Once they (in this case the child sexual offenders) identify themselves as conventional then they may become invested in themselves, their family, and quite possibly the community. In essence what occurs is shedding the label of sex offender and with it the social stigma. Desistance from crime by default occurs whereas the one time criminal slips into conventional behavior. The stage may be set for reintegration back into the community, at least for a time. A person can subjectively reconstruct themselves either pro-socially or anti-socially. This reconstruction can especially happen at times of transition. Agency points toward the future and a reconstruction of the self. Exploring persistence and desistance from sexually abusive offending behavior toward children needs to be undertaken regardless of the current social climate.

Transition

Turning points signal long term transitions. Transitions are marked by long term patterns of behavior that remain stable for a period of time. Transitions are durable in nature and indicate some investment in current attitudes and behaviors. Informal social control is allowed to take root thereby decreasing the probability of crime, or lessening its importance, which can increase crime probability.

The importance of informal social control is a central notion for this theory (Sampson and Laub 2005). The fundamental thesis of age graded theory of informal social control was that whereas personal traits and childhood experience are initially important for understanding behavioral stability experiences in adolescence adulthood can redirect criminal trajectories either positive or negative due to culturally expected behavior. In this sense life course theory argues that all stages of the life course matter and that turning points is crucial for understanding processes of adult change. Drawing on the life course model the conceptualized turning point is

an alteration or deflection in a long term pathway that was initiated at an earlier point in time. Research has noted that as sex offender's age they are less likely to commit new sex offenses (Thornton 2006 and Melloy 2006). However, other sex offense research (Ward and Hudson 2000) that disrupts life events, such as major transitions like divorce, can cause a loss of self-regulatory control thereby increasing the probability of sexual offending.

Marshall and Barbaree (1998) suggested that sexual attraction to children can be the result of conditioning following adverse early experiences. Sampson and Laub (1993) recognize the onset of criminal behavior as an important aspect of possible future offending as initial offending can have a negative cumulative affect thereby increasing potential future offending. The initial deviance perhaps becomes amplified resulting in secondary deviance (Becker 1963). Of course here an important aspect is the onset of sexual criminal behavior. Specifically, a focus relates to the onset of sexual criminal/deviant behavior and if it has a cumulative effect on later adult sexually abusive criminal behavior directed toward children. These early childhood sexual experiences can become conditioned or reinforced (Marshall and Barbarbee 1990). For instance masturbation that fantasizes a child as an object of sexual desire can reinforce sex offending behavior (Marshall and Marshall 2000). An adaptation is the reinforcement through fantasizing and masturbating to such instances can affect transition along the life course². No research has been conducted to determine what if any motivational effects child pornography has for child sexual offenders on the likelihood of subsequently causing sexual contact with a child (Seto 2008). Use of pornographic material (either child or adult pornography) is largely seen as a 'red flag' in relapse prevention circles or as a start to a relapse pathway. Budin and Johnson (1989)

² It is not the contention of this paper that childhood sexual victimization of a sex offender is a necessary cause of later sexually abusive behavior by that former victimization. It is merely used here as an example of a turning point.

advise that the use of pornography can feed an offender's offending cycle. For example, the observation of children in 'provocative' situations may trigger offending (Wortley and Smallbone 2006).

It is expected that the sex offenders interviewed will illustrate how trajectories are altered due to turning points such as their own sexual abuse or the importance puberty played as individual's sexual identity was discovered. As they reach puberty and beyond, and thus become sexually active, we may see their sexual offending careers emerge (Seto 2008). Marshall and Marshall (2000) describe a developmental theory that combines biological vulnerabilities and adverse childhood experiences like being sexually abused. They suggest that poor attachment to parents leads to low self-esteem and relationship deficits, all three of these factors are believed to increase an individual's vulnerability to being sexually abused as a child. Marshall and Marshall (2000) advise that the initial sexual abuse of the potential offender interrupts sexual development. Sex is used as a means of coping with emotional distress. This negative affective state coupled with dis-inhibiting influences (such as alcohol) and opportunity to offend can facilitate sexual offending against children. The arousal created during the offense coupled with subsequent conditioning through masturbatory fantasy creates a feedback loop and reinforcement of the sexual offending behavior.

Another possible trajectory altering or supporting item relates to the attachment to parents. Marshall and Marshall (2000) proposed that poor parent-child attachment could initiate a developmental trajectory that increases the possibility that the individual will sexually offend. Marshall and Barbarbee (1990) also advise that poor parenting creates a cumulative effect whereby poor parent child attachment creates low self confidence in the child. This low self-confidence results in childhood social incompetence. Childhood social incompetence continues

into adulthood. Self-esteem appears to be largely determined in males, particularly young males, by their sense of sexual ability (Schimel 1974). This young male, lacking self-confidence and also social competence, can turn to a child to seek sexual gratification. People convicted of child sexual offense have been found to lack self-esteem (Marshall, Christie, and Lanthier 1979). Thus it is incumbent to identify any self-esteem issues that the interviewed population may have.

It is recognized that relatively little is known about the sexual development of pedophiles (Seto 2008). Thus identifying turning points in the sample population becomes an important part concerning the etiology of sexual offending. Puberty appears to be a crucial period for the development of long term sexual proclivities and also an important time for developing social competence (Marshall and Barbarbee 1990). Knight et. al. (1983) found that childhood social incompetence predicted adult social incompetence but more important to this study it also predicted adult sexual pathology.

Transitions occur as a result of turning points experienced during the life course. In other words, individual life course trajectory changes occur as a result of a turning point occurring. These turning points indicate the beginning of new or different long term stable behavior, (Sampson and Laub 1993). Transitions signal much longer durational behavior and can result in a singular adaptation or multiple adaptations tried by the individual in an effort to conform to their social position. That position can either be conventional or illegal. However, these positions should not be considered mutually exclusive or somehow illustrate a total “buy in” by the offender to either category. A metaphorical example may help illustrate the point: A freshman college student has just experienced a turning point in their life (entering college). Their transition into being successful academically at the post-secondary level does not occur promptly. Many learn through trial and error about adapting to the rigors of university academia.

This is a transitory period that for some can take a single semester, semesters, or not at all.

Successful adaptation, in general, is a result of an accumulation of experiences.

An accumulation of either successful adaptations or unsuccessful adaptations will result in either a positive outcome (graduation in the example) or a negative outcome (being academically excused from school). In the context of this research the same cumulative effects resulting in transition can be applied to the sex offender population under study.

The concepts of trajectory, transition, and turning point are central tenets of life course theory (Sampson and Laub 1993). Each of these three areas of life course has been examined above. Specifically the life course trajectory of sex offenders legally defined through Kansas law as sexually violent predators in this study will be important. Life experiences prior to the onset of sexual behavior will be included as an instrumental piece of this research. Thus the onset of sexual offending behavior is not the start, but events prior to the start of sexually abusive behavior are important to consider. Turning points such as the possible sexual abuse of the participants (sex offenders interviewed) are valuable. Finally, transition or continuity of behavior is notable. This indicates either persistence or desistence of sexually abusive behavior toward children.

Onset, persistence, and desistence

The final segment of life course theory has three important aspects: Onset of child sexual assaultive behavior, persistence, and desistence from this particular type of crime. Each of these three aspects will be examined, keeping in mind that onset of sexual offending behavior against children is important (Seto 2008), but also considering that life course theory stresses an importance of cumulative effects of behavior when looking at turning points (Sampson and Laub 1993). In other words, prior non-sexual crimes may provide a cumulative effect and influence

future sexual offending behavior towards children. This research will examine why offenders may have persistently sexually offended or why they quit offending behavior altogether and then resumed, or altered their offending behavior. However, it must be noted that the vast majority of sexual offenders do not reoffend (Hanson and Bussiere 1998 and Hanson and Morton-Bourgon 2005). In a meta-analysis of over 30,000 US and Canadian sex offenders Hanson and Bussiere (1998) found that approximately only 14% of those offenders sexually reoffended within five years from release from prison.

It is expected that general criminality (i.e. burglary, public drunkenness etc.) will be found in a great majority of these participants (for review see Butler and Seto 2002, Caldwell 2002, Francis and Hudson 1993, and Hanson and Bussiere 1998). Early onset of offending can be caused by exposure to multiple deficits and more extreme levels of those deficits, it is reasonable to assume that the stronger the deficits are the more stable (criminal offending) they are likely to be over time (Thornberry in Sampson and Laub 2005). It seems that since more extreme deficits are needed to bring about early onset of offending and in turn since more extreme deficits are themselves more likely to be stable these impairments will remain in place and continue to cause antisocial behavior over time. Since the strongest deficits are associated with the earliest stages of onset, this source of continuity is likely to be greatest for offenders with earlier rather than later onset. Antisocial behavior then becomes embedded in a series of mutually reinforcing causal loops over time.

Children who have learned criminality or simply aggressive behavioral styles in the family are apt to extend that behavior to settings outside the home, such as peer relationships and school behavior. There is now substantial evidence that aggressive children are more likely to be rejected by their peers (Coie and Dodge 1998) and that those rejected children lose possible

positive influences of pro-social peers. This could result in the loss of the chance to acquire social and behavioral competencies. The loss of these competencies can carry over from adolescence into adulthood.

Social incompetence of sexual offenders is widely seen as a factor for these offenders to prefer to offend against children (Finkelhor 1984, Marshall and Barbaree 1990, Hall and Hirschman 1992, Marshall and Marshall 2000, and Ward and Siegert 2002). Most of the hypotheses about the etiology of sexual offending posit that sex offenders seek out children as sexual partners because they cannot fulfill their sexual and emotional needs with age appropriate peers. It is therefore expected that sex offenders would have deficits in pro-social adult skills of conversation and understanding cues relating to adult behavior, especially sexual cues. The importance that this carries for this study is to identify any patterns that may exist concerning timing and mitigating factors that could curb offending such as involvement with a conventional significant other or facilitation of offending behavior due to departure of a conventional significant other.

There is substantial evidence that isolation in deviant peer networks, coercive behavioral styles, and academic failure all brought on in part by early antisocial behavior lead to continuing involvement in delinquency during adolescence (Thornberry in Sampson and Laub 2005). The importance for this study lies in identifying if those same factors are important for offenders that sexually abuse children. Antisocial behavior reduces pro-social social bonds and then weakens attachment to conventional behavior; or, at a minimum reduces opportunity to affiliate with pro-social others. This can then increase possible affiliation with deviant peers and reinforce or foster deviant belief systems. This can disrupt an orderly and timely transition to conventional adult roles. Thus, it becomes easy to identify a cumulative affect toward deviance that Sampson and

Laub (1993) posit. Thornberry and Krohn (2001) hypothesize that individuals who initiate antisocial behavior, and are very young, are more likely than average to persist in general criminal behavior because the causal factors are likely to remain in place and because early involvement in antisocial behavior generates cumulative and cascading consequences in the person's life course.

Developmental theories of sex offending behavior have been proposed (Lalumiere et al 2005; Quinsey, Skilling and Lalumiere and Craig 2004; Seto and Barbaree 1997; and Seto and Lalumiere 2005). These theories have drawn largely on the work of Moffit (1993). Moffit (1993) distinguishes between two developmental taxonomies. The first are life course persisters. These offenders are much smaller in number than the second category but are characterized by neuropsychological difficulties and early childhood adversity such as neglect and abuse (Seto 2008). These early experiences result in cumulative consequences that make it more difficult to desist from criminal behavior. As their name may suggest, offending behavior is chronic throughout the life course.

Smallbone and Wortley (2006) suggest similar categories for sex offenders that they modified from Cornish and Clarke's (2003) categorization of general criminal offenders. Smallbone and Wortley (2006) advise that there are three types of sexual offenders: anti-social predator, opportunists, and the provoked offender. These offender types are based on individual criminal disposition and situational factors that play immediately prior to a criminal event. The first category is the anti-social predator. These sexual offenders are high frequency, chronic sexual offenders. Smallbone and Wortley (2000) advised that compared to non-persistent sexual offenders these offenders are more likely to have experienced sexual abuse as children, have

sexual contact with child victims when they (the offender) were relatively young, abuse male victims, and abuse victims outside of the family.

Moffitt (1993) discusses another category of general criminal offender—the “adolescent limited” offender. These offenders are a much larger group of people. The age of criminal onset is much later than their life course persistent counterparts (Moffitt 1993). They are thought to mimic some criminal behaviors of life course persisters because during adolescence these people (life course persisters) may exhibit signs of success like money or sexual conquest, thus appearing as a role model. However, as both adolescent limited and life course persisters continue to age and mature life course persisters lose the role model status and adolescent limited offenders gain access to pro-social opportunities. Due to the later onset of criminal behavior they have not amassed an identity or self-concept as a delinquent, nor have they been adversely affected by society enough to bar them from assuming a more conventional life course path.

Sampson and Laub (2005) advise that persistence in general criminal offending is more than simply weakening social bonds and desistance is more than the presence of social bonds. Focusing purely on institutional or structural turning points and opportunities is incomplete. These items are mediated by the perceptions of the individual. Thus there needs to be focus on how those individual perceptions are mediated by changes in social structure. Routine activities theory provides an opportunity to further explore such turning points and opportunities in sex offenders’ lives.

Routine Activities Theory

Routine activities theory (RAT) is comprised of three elements: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and a lack of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson 1979). The general public

may assume that all sex offenders are highly motivated to reoffend. Yet, empirical data shows that the vast majority of sex offenders tend to sexually recidivate at relatively low levels (Grenflied 1997; Hanson and Bussierrie 2005).

Routine Activities Theory, according to Felson and Cohen (1979), is an attempt to explain predatory crime. These predatory acts are defined as illegal acts in which a person purposefully takes or damages property or harms another person (Cohen and Felson 1979). Sex offenders and sexual offending behavior can certainly be deemed a predatory act according to this definition.

The rationale given concerning legislation such as residential restriction zones appears to contain the three elements of RAT. This legislation, in essence, is an attempt to de-motivate the offender by not exposing him to an excess of situations in which he may find targets (Zgoba et. al 2006). Also the suitability of targets may be hampered by creating geographic distance between the potential offender and the potential target. The target becomes less suitable because of the difficulty involved in getting to the initial recruitment site and then possibly transporting the victim from the recruitment sight to a place where the sexual assault can take place (e.g., the offender's home) (Smallbone and Wortley 2006). This study seeks to determine if the three elements of RAT as applied to general offending are relevant to sexual offenses against children.

The convergence of guardianship, motivated offender, and suitable target in the context of child sexual victimization is explained as follows— sex offenders are perceived by many as perpetually motivated to commit future sex crimes. Also, conventional wisdom dictates that places where children congregate make for a target rich environment, by increasing target suitability due to increasing the overall availability of children. In other words there is an over-

abundance of potential victims in a certain place. Lastly, guardianship is diminished because children are away from parents.

Initially, R.A.T was an explanation for crime rates. Thus, it appears to have a macro explanation for crime. However, the theory has been expanded to include a routine activity perspective targeted at the individual level (Osgoode et al. 1996). This notion of the routine activity of the individual will be examined here. The suitability of a child victim being recruited from a place where children congregate will be challenged. This will be challenged by asserting that children are actually less suitable targets when considering initial recruitment because they are in public places as opposed to places that might conceal sexually assaultive behavior. Smallbone and Wortley (2006) report almost 70% of child sex offenders committed the sexual offense at their own homes.

Those few offenders that do target stranger victims may actually reason that a victim recruited farther away from their residence is more suitable. Petrosino and Petrosino (1999) studied sex offenders labeled by authorities as sexual predators in Massachusetts with child victims. They discovered that the suitability of a target may be enhanced the farther away the perpetrator lives from potential victims due to factors like recognition. In other words, if the offender seeks out a child near to his residence, police would be more likely to investigate him because of the close proximity of the offender and the crime. This runs counter to the rationale of residency restrictions because it bars sex offenders from living within a short distance (usually half a mile or less) from places where children congregate, when in actuality it may be the case that sex offenders that seek out child victims may want to live some distance from places where children congregate in order to avoid detection. Thus target suitability may be enhanced because of the increased distance from victim recruitment site.

Lastly, the capable guardianship aspect of sexual offending will be disputed. Are the guardians of children really the people that the public should be more concerned about as opposed to the stranger danger concept? Guardianship may be enhanced as a result of the child being in a public place like a playground or pool (Meithe et. al. 1987), as these public places may offer more surveillance.

As stated above, RAT posits that when a motivated offender and a suitable target converge in the absence of a capable guardian, then the probability of a crime increases substantially. This theory is thought to be especially useful when explaining why predatory street crimes occur (Cohen and Felson 1979). These types of predatory crimes are exactly the type of crimes that residency restrictions target. They are geared toward the stranger-victim relationship. This, then, is an area of interest for a simple reason: the stranger-victim offender relationship in child sex crimes is a rare occurrence. In addition, it appears that those crimes that do involve the stranger-victim dichotomy do not usually involve victim recruitment from places where children congregate.

Motivated offender

Many different types of other legislation besides buffer zones are based on the assumption that previously convicted sex offenders will continue to sexually reoffend. One could make the case that sex offenders have been given this extra attention in all forms of new more restrictive legislation because there is a general perception that this group of offenders sexually reoffends at a considerably higher rate than other criminal groups. However, it is important to note that sex offenders are not a homogenous group of offenders. In other words, very few sex offenders specialize in sex crimes (Dexter-Mason and Hoffman 2005; Wijk, Mali, and Bullens

2007; Subic-Kemper and Kristner 2007; Sample and Bray 2006). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argued that there is little specialization among criminal offenders of any kind.

However, there are a small portion of sex offenders that do only commit sex crimes. To advise otherwise would be inaccurate, but just as there are career thieves or serial murderers those that sexually reoffend appear to be a very small group of people. Smallbone and Worley (2006) advise that only 5% of their sample of child sex offenders could be classified as specialists. Wijk, Mali and Bullens (2007) also noted that sexual offenders specialize in only a very small portion of their sample of sex offenders. Thus the notion of an offender specializing in sex only offenses is minimal.

Sex offenders committing a new sex crime is relatively rare. Hanson and Bussierre (1998) reported that the overall recidivism rate for those convicted of a sex offense is about 13%. However, sex offender recidivism rates differ between different types of sex offenders. For instance, those convicted of rape of adults were found to have considerably higher rates of recidivism than those with a child victim (Quinsey, Rice, and Harris 1995). The difference in sexual recidivism amongst this very diverse population of sexual offenders is substantial. For example, on average, heterosexual adult rapists recidivate at a much higher rate (40%) than do heterosexual familial child molesters (3%). According to the Kansas Department of Corrections (2000) 2.2% of sexual offenders on probation were arrested and convicted of a new felony. The report did not specify if the new conviction obtained while on probation was a new sex offense. This is important when considering the motivation of the target population of buffer zones. Thus the motivation to sexually reoffend amongst a general population of sex offenders appears to be minimal.

Sex offender specific treatment also serves to de-motivate offenders. Those convicted of initial sexual offenses often receive some type of counseling specific to sexual offending. Mandated treatment based on offense is not unique to sex offenders. Treatment is mandated for a variety of other criminal offenses such as substance abuse treatment for DUI offenders or anger management for perpetrators of domestic violence. Yet the public appears to be very skeptical of treatment having some impact on sexual recidivism. Alexander (1993) found that recidivism rates for treated offenders were about half the rate for untreated offenders (10.9% for treated and 18.5% for untreated offenders). In addition those that received sex offender specific treatment and developed relapse prevention plans have recidivism rates of 5.9% compared to 13% that didn't receive sex offender treatment or develop relapse prevention plans (McGrath 1995). According to Malloy (2005) sex offender treatment had a significant negative effect on sex offender recidivism. It appears that sex offender specific treatment prior to release and during parole appears to negatively impact offender motivation. Thus this could be considered a turning point towards desistance along the life course. This study intends to capture such turning points.

The reality appears to be that sexual offenders that do sexually reoffend appear to be a very small segment of the sex offender population. Indeed sex offenders traditionally have lower recidivism rates than most other violent felony offenders (Malloy 2005). Even those that received probation still don't recidivate at very high levels, around 4.5% (Hepburn and Griffin 2004). Although some sex offenders are unique and may require extra sanctions, in general they (general population of sex offenders) possess most of the same characteristics that are associated with recidivism of the general criminal population (Center for Sex Offender Management 2001). Therefore it would seem that sexual offenders in general are a rather unmotivated group of offenders to sexually reoffend.

The motivational aspects of sex offenders can be the result of a myriad of variables that come together at certain points in time. The convergence of these factors can be as unique as the individuals themselves. Individual offending behaviors may be the result of a very broad constellation of precipitating factors such as poor self-esteem (Marshall and Barbarbee 1990), difficulties in regulating anger (Gray and Pithers 1993), viewing a child as an object, or having a general lack of empathy (Yates 2003). Psychosexual attributes such as a history of sexual abuse or sexual arousal toward children are also notable variables (Wurtele and Miller-Perrin, 1992).

Lack of capable guardians

Another of the three important elements in routine activities theory is the lack of capable guardians. This aspect assumes that the presence of a guardian that is unfavorable to the criminal act occurring will act as a deterrent (Cohen Felson 1979). An example of this might be a playground attendant or some type of security guard acting as a visible deterrent. Alternatively, a capable guardian may come in the form of a person that is not a figure of authority, but a person that deters the potential crime because the potential offender prefers not to sever or damage a valued relationship (Osgoode et. al '96). In essence there are capable guardians that protect the potential victim and those that prevent the offenders from committing crime. Thus guardianship can protect the potential victim as well as provide surveillance of the potential offender.

It becomes vitally important to identify the relationship between the sex offender and the victim when examining the lack of the capable guardianship aspect. If the offender is the guardian in most instances the efficacy of buffer zones becomes a serious issue. If this is the case the danger area isn't the spots between home and a place where children congregate but the home itself. In this case guardianship can ebb and flow as a result of turning points reached. For instance getting a new strict supervisor on a job that no longer allows the offender time to recruit

children as victims while on the job can impact recruitment opportunities. Smallbone and Wortley (2006) advise that often times in situational crime prevention concerning sex offenses the path of least resistance is taken and that a person providing some type of surveillance can operate as a deterrent. They concluded that techniques such as increasing risk of being caught and increasing effort to commit the crime decreases sexual abuse. Guardianship or the appearance of guardianship can facilitate offenses also. For instance, the offender can be involved in a relationship with an age appropriate other but use this relationship to gain access to her children. Thus there is the appearance of conventional capable guardianship but in fact it can become a facilitation of sexual offense. Elliot et al. (1995) reported that disrupting and preparation by restricting access in the form of some type of guardianship inhibits sexual abuse.

Indeed, it appears that the vast majority of sexual offenses perpetrated against children take place at the hand of those the victim knows. Greenfeld (1997) reports that less than 10% of inmates incarcerated for the sexual assault of a child reported the victim to be a stranger. Synder (2000) noted that just 7% of those that perpetrated a sex crime against a child were strangers. Also of importance is that of those 7% of stranger-victim relationships older children (12 -15 year olds) were more apt to be sexually assaulted by strangers. Those older children may be victims of sexual assault because their (the victim's) routine activities allow them more freedom and less supervision because of their social position as adolescents.

Another area of interest concerning guardianship is how sex offenders gain access to their victims. Again, buffer zones are an attempt to limit opportunity for sexual offenders to gain access to new victims. If access is gained at home through the relationship of a parent, stepparent, or other acquaintance type of relationship, then the proximity of the residence to places where children congregate becomes moot.

It appears that in an overwhelming number of sexual assault cases the offender is known to the victim or the victim's family. The notion of stranger danger is not as important as public perceptions dictate. In the vast majority of cases the real danger may lie at home. Buffer zones, as they are currently worded, do not prevent an offender from living in the same house, apartment complex, or marrying another person that has children. Yet this seems to be where the most danger lies. More than 75% of parents convicted of a violent crime committed against their own children were in prison for a sex offense (Durose et. al 1995). Concerning those offenses committed by parents against their own children those offenses occurred in the residence 70% of the time (Durose et. al 1995). Thus the best interests of children may not be in the hands of those thought to be traditionally capable guardians.

The location of many sexual offenses makes guardianship a very difficult area to police or control (Smallbone and Wortley 2006). Brown et. al. (1993) conducted research involving English sex offenders (N=91). Those that were interviewed reported that 61% sexually assaulted children in their own home. They also reported that 66% of the sample were either a family member or acquaintance. Of that percentage that knew their victims 32% were parents or step parents. This again challenges the efficacy of buffer zones, as the victim recruitment site in these instances is not places where children congregate. One must remember that buffer zones are in theory supposed to curtail the routine activities of the offender. If the majority of offenders live in the victim's home, or vice versa, then the purpose of buffer zones is defeated.

Elliot et. al. (1995) report that the strategies used to perpetrate the offense involve guardian or caretaker qualities. Strategies include isolating the victim during babysitting or using play or teaching techniques. These are certainly classified as caretaking or guardian types of behavior, supporting the notion that a majority of sex offenses are committed by people

categorized as caretakers/guardians. One in five of the offenders in the study said they gained the trust of the entire family. As such, the concept of stranger danger is challenged due to the perpetrator gaining complete trust of the family. In addition, some sexual offenders spend time grooming not only the victim but the victim's family (Furby et. al 1989).

Only one third of the offenders reported abusing the child on only one occasion (Elliot et. al. 1995). The majority obviously went on to repeat sexual offenses against the victim on multiple occasions. This also is evidence that sexual offenses are perpetrated not by strangers that offend one time and go on to offend against another. Elliot et. al. (1995) noted that their subjects appeared to spend time grooming certain children in order to cultivate a repetitive secret relationship. This allows the offender to repeatedly assault a child for quite some time. Once again this would challenge the notion of a stranger committing a one-time assault. This supports the notion that more often than not the perpetrator is a known person to the victim due to repeated access.

Another feature of the capable guardian that demands further investigation is the age of most offenders. According to National Incident Based Reporting (2000) over fifty percent of sex offenders are those aged at or near 15 years old. Thus most perpetrators of child sexual assault victims are children themselves. This would support the notion that a sex offender's routine activity and a sexual victim's routine activity overlaps. There is a noticeable increase in offender age in the early 20-30 year old range for child victims 6 and under (about 25 per 1000 victims). Also for child victims age 6-11 there is a slight increase for 30-35 year old offender range (about 25 per 1000 victims) and for the age 12-17 victim cohort for offenders 25-35 years of age (about 20 per 1000 victims). While the increase is notable it is nowhere near the rate for the 15 year old offender (about 62 per 1000 victims). In essence what appears to be the case is that older

offenders appear to assault relatively young victims (6-11 year olds). This could be that those older offenders have access to and control/authority over young children. Young sex offenders, those near 15 years of age, tend to assault those close to their own age. Leclerc et. al. (2009) noted that offender modus operandi can be based on age of the offender. For instance they noted that young sex offenders tended to use force when perpetrating a sexual offence against a child. Older offenders tended to use more coercive non-violent tactics. The violence used by the young offender can be the result of immaturity or not knowing how to manipulate children in order to get them to cooperate. Also older offenders may be in a social position that allows them the guise of guardianship and therefore leverage over the child.

In summary the lack of capable guardians in most sexual assault cases is a relative matter. The relative nature concerns the social position the offender occupies in relation to the victim. Seventy seven percent of all child sex crimes reported to the police took place in the home of the victim and/or the offender (BJS 2000). According to the same (BJS 2000) data a firearm was only brandished in two percent of all sexual assault victimizations. Thus force or threat of force is seldom used.

Suitable targets

Approximately sixty seven percent of all sexual assault cases reported to the police have child victims. Of that percentage, 34% of those victims were under the age of 12 (BJS 2000). Children make suitable targets for sexual abuse for many reasons. To some, children are just preferable sexual partners. For others children are just easier targets than an adult due to size and being less difficult to manipulate both physically and mentally. NIBRS (2000) data advise that the age at which a male is most likely to be the victim of sexual assault is 4 years old. It would appear that most 4 year olds, whether they are male or female, would be in the care of a guardian

or caretaker and not walking home alone from school.. According to the same NIBRS (2000) data a female's greatest chance of being sexually assaulted is at age fourteen.

Target suitability may be related to time of day as guardianship from capable conventional guardians may be lacking. For instance, the possibility for victimization may increase when a capable conventional guardian leaves for work and the offender is left to babysit. Smallbone and Wortley (2006) noted that offenders babysitting victims was an often used method of gaining access to child victims. They also noted that socio-economic status can impact guardianship as children may be left with less than suitable babysitters because a more reputable caretaker is not affordable. Thus when turning points are reached in other's (not offenders) lives, victims that were once not suitable may become more suitable due to outside factors. For victims less than six years of age the most dangerous times of the day are the 9:00 AM, 12:00 PM, and 6:00 PM hours (BJS 2000). This would suggest that the hours of 9:00 AM and 12:00 noon might be times of the day when a parent or someone with access to the child might be alone with the child due to another working parent(s). Victims age 6-11 years of age were also victimized greatest at approximately the same times as the younger cohort with the exception of substituting the 6:00 PM for 3:00 PM in the 6-11 age cohort. For children ages 12 through 17 the most dangerous times were 12:00 PM, 3:00 PM and 12:00 AM. Looking at these times one could assume that the most dangerous times for school age children are at 12:00 PM (noon), 3:00PM (just after school lets out), and 12:00 AM for our oldest cohort (12-17 yr. olds). The routine activities of offenders may converge with victims during these times. Guardianship may be lower due to victims leaving school and going home. Once at home the offender may be the only other adult or person in the home. Thus the offender and potential victim now meet.

The recruitment of victims is arguably the most important element in the suitability of a child sexual abuse target. It is important to consider how the sexual offender gains access to the child victim. Elliot et. al. (1995) noted that only thirty-five percent of the offender's recruited victims from public places like shopping malls, playgrounds and parks. In that study they didn't consider the offenders place of residence in relation to the recruitment site as a factor. Thus, the offenders in that study may have lived adjacent to the recruitment site or miles away. It remains undetermined if such a variable was a factor in recruitment in that study. Importantly, the other two thirds of the sample recruited children from either becoming the child's friend or a family friend, or when the child approached them. As noted previously very few offenders are strangers to their victims. BJS (2000) reported that only fourteen percent of all child victimizations reported to police were strangers to their victims.

The suitability of a target appears to be a child the offender knows well, has some initial non sexual relationship with, and sexually offends in the victim's home (Elliot et al. 1995; BJS 2000, Center for Sex Offender Management 2002). Kaufman et. al (2006) also advise that victims may be suitable to offenders based on characteristics of the offender such as cognitive developmental deficits and general developmental immaturity of the potential victim.

The use of routine activity theory to solely explain child sexual abuse is not sufficient. However, a combination of the Routine Activity and Life Course theory gives a much more detailed picture of sexual offending. Routine activity theory has neglected several aspects and background factors that facilitate crime (Meithe et al 1987). Cohen and Felson (1979) advised that they do not seek to understand offender motivation. The motivational aspect in Routine Activity Theory is assumed to be constant. However, very few sex offenders continue to commit sex crimes (Hanson and Busierre 1998). Yet, motivational factors are a key aspect of sexual

offending against children (Smallbone and Wortley 2006; Marshall and Barbaree 1990; Seto 2008). This study will examine motivation along the life course of SVP interviewees.

Cohen and Felson(1979) hypothesize that due to changes in American lifestyle such as getting out of the house more often, people are naturally exposed to more offenders as a result of leaving the house. However, Meithe et. al. (1987) advised that leaving home can actually increase guardianship of potential victims especially concerning crimes of violence as these types of crimes are perpetrated by offenders that the victim knows. This type of offender victim relationship (where the victim knows the offender) is more common in cases of child sexual abuse (Synder 2000; Grenfeld 1997). Thus in cases of child sexual abuse, the danger levels are increased when offender and potential victim are isolated at home or in other private confines. Thus the notion of guardianship in child sex abuse cases warrants a more nuanced examination than is supposed currently.

Cohen and Felson (1979) also advise that exposure to risk as a proximate cause of victimization is important to their theory. Cohen et al. (1981, p. 507) define exposure as "the physical visibility and accessibility of persons or objects to potential offenders." Meithe et al (1987) advise that exposure to risk warrants further exploration. The aforesaid definition is too simplistic and exposure to risk in child sexual abuse cases is more nuanced. Cohen and Felson (1979) state that as people leave the home, they are subject to more exposure to motivated offenders. However, as has been discussed, home can be a very dangerous place in child sex abuse cases. Thus the public space with proper surveillance can be safer than home.

Cavan and Ranck (1938) note the difference between "predisposing" (i.e., structural) and "precipitating" (i.e., situational) factors in exposure to risk. In other words, there are structural factors that predispose more immediate precipitating criminal factors. These structural factors set

the stage or allow for the more immediate precipitating factors to potentially occur. This contention will be examined in this study. Explicitly stated events along the life course will structure individual routine activities. In other words, life course turning points and subsequent transitions (structure) alter routine activities (situational risk). These alterations (structural changes along the life course) can either inhibit child sexual abuse or facilitate it.

When considering the above critique concerning Routine Activities, the deficiencies in explaining crime in general, and child sexual abuse more specifically, it becomes necessary to view child sexual offending through a broader lens. That is what this research seeks to do. Routine Activities Theory takes a snapshot of the criminal event by examining the convergence of a motivated offender, suitable target, a lack of a capable guardian. However, without examining or understanding the etiology of those motivations, or how the suitability of a target is determined, and finally the role of guardianship in both protecting a potential victim and guardianship that constrains a potential offender, then only a partial picture of the offending process is given.

Due to routine activities deficiencies concerning offender motivation, situational crime prevention will provide a better understanding of the immediate environment that facilitates child sexual abuse. Situational crime prevention literature will be utilized to inform the reader about not only offender motivation but also target suitability and guardianship of the victim and the offender. Situational crime prevention and routine activities share many similarities (Smallbone and Wortley 2006). They both use ecological aspects to explain facilitation of criminal behavior (Cohen 1979 and Smallbone and Wortly 2006). This supplement expands routine activities place in this study.

The elements of routine activities, lack of capable guardianship for both the offender and the victim, offender motivation, and the suitability of a target are influenced by the individual life course. When turning points are reached any or all three of the elements contained in routine activities can be altered. Thus the potential for sexual offending against children can either begin, persist, or desist as a result of a life course turning point being reached. It becomes important to examine sex offending behavior more intricately. Just as life course (turning points and transitions) can influence individual routine activities, routine activities can influence the environmental situation or that point in time prior to an abusive event that impacts the final decision to sexually assault a child. Sampson and Laub (2005) note the importance of human agency when considering criminal events. Here the convergence of environment and human agency intersect.

Situational Crime Perspective

The situational crime perspective attempts to answer how, when, where, and why of sex offenses. Empirical evidence increasingly indicates that sexual offenses against children are significantly affected by opportunities and other environmental conditions (Smallbone and Wortly 2006). Routine activities is often referred to as a theory of opportunity (Cohen and Felson 1979 and Osgoode et al 1998). Kaufman et. al in Smallbone and Wortley (2006) devised a conceptual model of situational crime prevention focused on child sexual abuse in which routine activities provided a direct influence on the crime opportunity structure.

The main premise of situational crime prevention is the focus on the immediate aspects of the environment that encourage or permit crime to occur. It is premised on the basis that all crimes are the result of the interaction between the characteristics of the actor (i.e. psychological,

interpersonal abilities, and psychosexual) in the circumstances around which the act is performed (Smallbone and Wortley 2006).

The immediate environment an offender finds himself in plays a significant role in shaping the action. The probability of crime varies according to the criminal disposition of the individual and the crime facilitating nature of the environment. In other words the offender motivation is influenced by the immediate environment. Thus the environment and the offender's interpretation of criminal possibilities or cues become important.

There are two main tenets to situational crime perspective. The first is rational choice (Clarke and Cornish 1986) or human agency. Situational crime perspective involves manipulating the immediate environment of crime in order to increase the cost benefit ratio of offending as perceived by the potential offender. This is referred to as opportunity reduction.

Opportunities for crime are reduced by manipulating three environmental dimensions: 1)making crime more risky, 2)increasing effort to commit crime, 3)reducing rewards of crime and removing excuses for neutralization. Crime (in this case child sexual abuse) becomes more risky if there are capable guardians providing surveillance for both the potential offender and the potential victim. It should be noted that the vast majority of sex offenses are perpetrated by those known to the offender often when no guardianship for either the victim or offender are near.

The second tenet is the relationship to social and environmental psychology. There is a subtle but intimate relationship between individual and immediate environment (Smallbone and Worley 2006). For example, a person may be aggressive but not aggressive all the time. There is an emphasis on the instigating role of immediate environment. For example Tremblay (1993) studied male child sexual abusers in metropolitan areas in Eastern Canada. He found that certain environments (clubs/discos) provided an atmosphere in which sexual contact with boys under

eighteen was normal. Many of those interviewed didn't feel as though they were sex offenders. The environmental notion can be related more commonly by comparing normative behavior in a church versus normative behavior in a bar. The behavior for both is contingent upon the immediate environment.

According to the situational crime perspective there are four ways the environment can facilitate crime (Wortley 2001, 1998, 1997). The first is by exerting social pressure on a person. This does not necessarily have to come in the form of peer pressure. Marshall and Barbarbee (1990) advise that the social pressure and cultural aspects of manliness combined with social incompetence facilitates child sexual abuse. Secondly, there is a weakening of moral restraints and so permit potential offenders to commit crime. The use of alcohol and/or drugs, the use of pornography, or a general mental state of depression or anxiety can weaken control in which sexual assaults perpetrated against a child can be elevated (Marshall and Barbaree 1990; Cotter and Levenson 2005; Center for Sex Offender Management 2000; Briddell et. al 1978). Third, there is some emotional arousal that provokes a criminal response. Lastly there are cues perceived by the offender that prompt individual behavior to perform the criminal act. These are often referred to as cognitive distortions (Seto 2008). For example an offender may perceive that a child victim is flirting with them or even seducing them before sexual contact takes place.

Relevance

The life course perspective posits that individuals have undetermined life trajectories (Sampson and Laub 2005). These trajectories are altered by turning points experienced throughout the life course. These turning points are often the result of cumulative effect of experiences as opposed to singular events. Turning points result in changes termed transitions. Transitions are stable and durable behavior in which individual routine activities develop.

Routine activities theory of crime suggests that when a motivated offender, a lack of capable guardianship of both the potential victim and offender, and a suitable target converge the possibility of crime increases (Cohen and Felson 1979). Each of these three elements of routine activities as they relate to child sexual abuse has been elaborated on above. Also the shortcomings of routine activities have also been identified and thus situational crime perspective was introduced in order to provide a more detailed examination of child sexual abuse.

The situational crime perspective provided detail concerning the interaction between person and physical environment. Human agency and offender perceptions about opportunity and thus motivation are better understood along with a better understanding of target suitability and perception.

Chapter 3 - Data Collection Techniques and Methods of Analysis

The research plan for this project addressed two primary questions regarding target selection of child sexual abuse victims. One focused on a general population of convicted sex offenders and is situationally guided. That is, how and where do sex offenders, in general, find and recruit child victims at a given point in time? The second approach was specific to offenders identified as sexually violent predators of children. The question investigated how target selection methods are conditioned by life course events over time. Both questions were explored through interviews with known sex offenders with child victims.

The framework of this chapter is segmented into two parts. The first segment identifies the samples under study and how the data was collected and analyzed. The second segment explains the etiology of the methods employed, such as the life history calendar and the rationale for their use in this study. This section is included in order to give the reader a base of knowledge concerning the methods employed in this study.

Methodology

The etiology of the methods utilized in this study is given below. This section will inform the reader about the rationale for using the methods employed. In doing so, the reader should become familiar with the life history calendar and its relation to tracking turning points along the life course and why certain domains were chosen. Factors associated with the elements of routine activity theory (target suitability, offender motivation, and a lack of capable guardians) are also explained. Finally, the rationale for employing Grounded Theory as the procedure for analyzing the data is explained.

Life History Calendar as a Data Collection Method

This sample of offenders has been incarcerated for a number of years. Their offense(s) may be well over a decade old, creating an issue of memory recall. In order to address this issue, the retrospective data collection method of using a life history calendar is especially appropriate.

The objective of the life history calendar (LHC) method is collection of data on the timing and sequencing of personal events in the lives of individuals. The LHC method has several potential advantages for the collection of these types of data. Recall of the precise timing of various life events can present a cognitively challenging task for respondents (Eisenhower, Mathiowetz, and Morganstein 1991; Tourangeau 1984). Due to many of the participants being incarcerated for a number of years, the events that led up to their sexual offending behavior may be difficult to recall. Also, many of these individuals will likely have several offenses in their background, thus confusing and complicating recall. Therefore, a simple list of questions asking the participant to recall events and behavior becomes problematic.

The LHC methods are designed to make this task easier by providing a matrix of visual cues, which respondents can use to help them recall the timing of those life events (Freedman et al. 1988; Petersen and Kerwin 1992; Caspi et al. 1995; Belli 1998). Due to the ability of life history calendars to collect high quality retrospective survey reports, this method has been utilized in many fields of study including sociological, psychopathology, and drug abuse studies (Axinn, Barber, and Ghimire 1997; Caspi et al. 1996; Freedman, Thornton et al. 1988). For example, Caspi (1996) found at least 90% agreement between retrospective reports of activities for a given month on a LHC and concurrent reports obtained three years earlier with living arrangements, cohabitation, schooling, employment, and job training. Yoshihama (2005) also conducted a study to examine the effectiveness of the life history calendar compared to more

traditional survey methods concerning past behavior. She found that LHC were effective for memory recall in a sample of domestic violence victims.

The LHC method has been used successfully with many diverse populations, including women in Nepal with limited literacy who recalled lifetime reproductive history (Axinn, Pearce, & Ghimire 1997) and youths in the United States and New Zealand involved in risk-taking behavior (Caspi et al. 1996; Magdol et al. 1997; Martyn & Belli 2002). In addition to enhancing the recall of an event, the LHC method helps the respondent to place its timing in relation to other events during the life course (Yoshihama 2005).

Theoretically, LHCs acquire the ability to elicit high quality retrospective reports from tapping into available idiosyncratic structures in autobiographical memory (Belli 1998). LHCs encourage a narrative style of interviewing and remembering which events from respondents' past experiences are used as cues to facilitate the recall of other related events (Belli 2000). Consequently, a semi-structured interview of the participants was used. This allowed the participants greater latitude to recall significant life events (turning points) and their relation to variables that correspond to routine activities, such as the lack of a capable guardian or the suitability of a target, or perhaps why they became motivated to sexually offend. Much of the life history calendar literature advises that remembering which events are used as cues will facilitate the recall of other related events (Belli 2000). The sequencing of life events is important to this study as effects of social structural conditions are expected to influence individual routine activities. Cues are particularly important since they allow participants to use the timing of the most significant events in their lives to recall the timing of less significant events.

Together, these visual cues may help participants recall the precise timing of events and recall the sequencing of intertwined events. LHC methods encourage recall at both thematic and

temporal levels, which may increase the power of respondents' autobiographical memory (Belli 1998). The same visual cues, which are designed as an aid to help participant's recall, help to structure the interviewer's questions (Axinn, Pearce, and Ghimire 1999). This combination of structure and flexibility will be utilized to direct questions that are more pertinent to individual participants while also allowing for contingencies. The flexible recording techniques usually employed through the use of calendar methods also help facilitate the recording of complex sequences of personal events (Axinn, Pearce, and Ghimire 1999).

Belli (1998) specifically points to three types of mechanisms that are included within the structure of autobiographical memory: top-down, sequential, and parallel cueing. These cueing mechanisms activate interrelationships among autobiographical memories for lifetime periods, general events, and specific events, which are organized within a hierarchical structure (Barsalou 1988; Conway 1996). Top-down cueing occurs when memories of lifetime periods remind individuals of general events, which in turn index specific events. For example, remembering past employment in any job may draw the participant back to specific relationships with individuals that allowed them access to children or the suitability or guardianship altered to facilitate an abusive event. Sequential cueing refers to the chronological sequencing of general or specific events and their transitions within a particular lifetime period (e.g., within one's marital history). This procedure relies on events being organized on the basis of what happened earlier (backward chronologically) and later (forward chronologically) in time. Lastly, parallel cueing refers to how the associations of events influence or impact other events that exist across different lifetime periods. For example, being convicted of a crime may influence family relationships. Thus, a participant may remember why they became divorced at a certain time in their life and how it may have affected other life events.

The physical makeup of the LHC is relatively simple. However, the actual physical layout incorporates many life experiences over a broad range of time and may quickly become complex. The calendar format is usually a large grid. One dimension or domain of the matrix details the behavioral patterns being investigated. For instance, domains of interest may relate to routine activities, such as guardianship of victim and offender, suitability of target, and motivation. Also, domains that relate to life course turning points such, as marriage or incarceration, are important. Domains will also consist of domain cues, such as employment or place of residence, which may also be considered as turning points or routine activity domains. For instance, a change of residence can be a turning point by cutting off associations with delinquent peers, while at the same time serving as a cue for exploring new associations or activities.

The other dimension is divided into time units for which these behavior patterns are to be recorded. The interviewer fills in the cells of the matrix with information provided by the respondent (Freedmen et al. 1988). The behavioral patterns under investigation are cued by other recall cues, either top-down, sequential, or parallel. These mechanisms for recall have been mentioned above. See Appendix D for further examples.

Life Course Domains

This research is directed at desistence of sexually abusive behavior toward children and persistence of such behavior. Developmental life course theory posits that criminality changes throughout the life course, due to turning points and transitions that occur during one's life (Sampson and Laub 1993). There are multiple pathways toward offending. This research seeks to explore these pathways toward sexual offending. Seto (2008) advises that a developmental understanding of sexually abusive behavior is valuable because of the myriad differences among

children, adolescents, and adults. There is persistence and desistance in sexual offending across the life course (Barbaree et al. 1993). In particular, many juveniles with sexual behavior problems desist from sexual offending. Carpentier et al. (2006) found that only 2% of a group of children with sexual behavior problems continued to be sexually abusive as adults. The possible cumulative effects of the initial sexual abuse, coupled with other factors, such as lack of family support and school failure, could press the offender to continued sexual misconduct.

As stated, turning points are an important feature in life course theory. These turning points will be operationalized as domains on the life history calendars. Important cues, such as place of residence, will be used to help facilitate memory recall. Also, as mentioned before, these cues are not singular. In other words, memory cues can serve as memory recall and turning points. For example, marriage can serve as a recall mechanism but also is an important turning point in the life course (Sampson and Laub 1993). Incarceration is another important turning point – not in the sense that desistance from sexually offending against a child would occur, but that the offender may have experienced specific deterrence for a period of time after release. For instance, those under community supervision are less likely to sexually recidivate (Smallbone and Wortley 2006).

Domains that include the sexual development of the offender are important turning points (Seto 2008). The onset of puberty in the offender is an important turning point as sexual interest begins to develop an attraction to not only adolescent peers but also possibly an attraction to prepubescent peers. The onset of sexual intercourse is important, as is the number of sexual partners (Seto 2008). The final sexual development domain concerns age of onset relating to the beginning of sexually abusive behavior.

Other important turning points for this sample concerns the offender's own possible sexual victimization at the hand of another, childhood neglect and or abuse, and school failure. Seto and Lalumiere (2007) conducted a meta-analysis and found significant differences between adolescent sex offenders and other adolescent offenders with a general criminal history. They reported that sex offenders were five times more likely to have been abused sexually than their general offending counterparts. Even among sex offenders, those who sexually abused children (child molesters) were much more likely to be victims of childhood sexual abuse than those sex offenders who assaulted peers (rapists) (Seto 2008). Others have targeted childhood neglect and or abuse as related to persistent offending (Sampson and Laub 2005; Moffitt 1993), and school failure is considered to have a negative cumulative effect on criminality (Seto 2008). Thus, school performance is an important domain to consider when mapping the life course as a possible turning point.

Using the life history calendar (LHC) as a method to obtain longitudinal retrospective data greatly enhances the data acquired in this study. The cues that the LHC uses allows for better recall of the participants. The LHC will also allow for the examination of sequential events that enhances the literature of sexual offending data. The sequencing of these events will then expose pathways to sexual offending behavior. It will also expose persistent sexual behavior and desistence. Finally, this allows for the examination of the interplay between structural life course turning points and routine activities or agency of the individual.

Routine and Situational Factors

Recall that Cohen and Felson (1979) describe routine activities of criminal behavior as needing three components to converge together at the same time in the same place. These components are a motivated offender, suitable target, and a lack of capable guardians. This study

will draw on some situational crime prevention strategies as outlined by Cornish and Clarke (2003) and Wortley (2001). The use of these strategies allows for a better understanding of an offender's routine activities prior to a sexual abuse event. Elements of target suitability, due to lack of guardianship while in the presence of a motivated offender, are common properties of both situational crime prevention and routine activities.

Wortley (2001) and Cornish and Clarke (2003) developed several different situational crime prevention strategies. However, this study will use four strategies as identified in Wortley and Smallbone (2006), as they relate more directly to child sexual abuse and incorporate the three elements of routine activity. These four strategies are: increasing effort, increasing risk, controlling prompts, and reducing permissibility. The combination of using turning points in the life course to examine sexually offending against children represents a gap in the literature (Seto 2008).

Offenders will select targets that require the least effort and involve minimal deviation from their routine activities (Cohen and Felson 1979). Thus, open ended questions relating to target selection should be utilized, such as target attractiveness and how the offender viewed guardianship of the victim, as well as their own situation pertaining to others surveilling them. A target may become more suitable, depending on how the sex offender views the situation. Therefore, the general domain of target suitability is established. Tactics for increasing effort include limiting access to targets by attempting to control where sex offenders can live or work; target hardening can also increase effort. For instance, if security cameras are known to be in areas like stores or arcades, these places can be less attractive places to recruit victims, and controlling tools like placing GPS units on offender's person. (Smallbone and Wortley 2006). Again, questions pertaining to access to potential victims were be asked, such as employment in

a job that allowed the offender to be in an authoritative position, such as a coach. Also, questions pertaining to target hardening were utilized, such as asking about living a distance from a place where children congregate, which might make it more difficult to find potential victims. Further, the absence of these components may make sex offending against children more likely to occur.

Domains for target suitability pertaining to access include situations such as employment (especially places that include working with children or babysitting), or working in places with access to children. Also, if a child is seen as vulnerable, this may make a more suitable target to the offender (Smallbone and Wortly 2005; Brown et al. 1995). The victim residing in a family that is secure and protective makes a less attractive target (Conte et al. 1989; Kendall-Tackett et al. 1993), while grooming (i.e. preparing a victim for future sexual abuse) and spending time with the victim makes them more suitable. The vast majority of offenders victimize children they know. Grooming makes the target more suitable in order to secure trust of the victim and to insulate the actual abuse. Thus, offenders were asked if they used grooming activity and, if so, what type of grooming strategies were employed.

The lack of a capable guardian is another general domain, recalling that the vast majority of child sexual abuse takes place in the home of the offenders and/or victims (Synder 2000; Smallbone and Wortley 2006). Thus, guardianship can be assessed by the offender living with others who can qualify as capable guardians (i.e. who else is living with the offender and the quality of the relationship), or if the offender is in some type of authority position. Another capable guardian domain would concern out-of-home placement as a juvenile sex offender.

Being placed out-of-home by juvenile courts is one of the three recognized settings for sex offenses as recognized by Smallbone and Wortley (2006)³.

The final general domain involves offender motivation. Offender motivation domains include the offender's use of pornography. Child sexual offenders have reported using/viewing various types of pornography prior to sexual offending as a motivating factor to the actual offense (Seto 2006; Smallbone and Wortley 2006; Leclerc et al. 2009). Further, the use of alcohol/drugs relationally prior to sexual offending is widely regarded as a risk factor and potential motivational factor (Leclerc et al. 2009). Another domain concerns the offender actually physically looking for victims by visiting places where children frequently congregate, such as shopping malls.

In conclusion, all of the domains identified pertaining to routine activities can be operationalized in a number of different ways. The use of open-ended questions allows for a great deal of latitude for determining offender motivation, how a target is viewed as suitable or not, and how an offender views guardianship as a factor in the offending analysis.

Analysis of the Data

Strauss and Corbin (1997) contend that qualitative data analysis is the search for general relationships among categories of data, which will be analyzed in this study. However, as the qualitative analytic strategy literature suggests, the research questions guide the strategy for data

³ The other recognized settings from Smallbone and Wortley (2006) are also broad categories: Domestic (i.e. households) and public (i.e. public restrooms)

analysis (Marshall and Rossman 1999; Schatzman and Strauss 1973; Crabtree and Miller 1992). Crabtree and Miller (1992) advise “nearly as many analysis strategies exist as qualitative researchers” (p. 17). Marshall and Rossman (1999) note that tightly structured, highly organized data analysis schemes often filter out pieces of information. They also identify the typical qualitative analytic procedure has six phases: 1) organizing data; 2) generation of categories, themes, and patterns; 3) coding data; 4) testing emergent understanding; 5) searching for alternative explanations; and 6) writing the report. By incorporating these six procedures, a flexible strategy for analyzing the data will then be provided.

Organization of the data was carried out using both computer and paper resources for this project. The life history calendars were filled out both on paper and later entered into a computer. The interviewer and project participant fills out the life history calendar together. This accomplishes two things. First, it allows the offender to be active in recording information. This prevents any errors or misinterpretation by the interviewer. Secondly, offender involvement should foster rapport building, which is important in qualitative data collection (Berg 2006). The semi-structured interview portion was audio taped and later transcribed. Important themes relating to the life course were to be identified.

The next aspect was to generate categories, themes, or patterns. There is partial reliance on the literature in developing categories or patterns of behavior. For instance, Cohen and Felson (1979) identify three explicit categories in routine activity theory: motivated offender, suitable target, and lack of a capable guardian. These are obvious categories, but behaviors that fit into those categories might be more ambiguous, thus flexibility is imperative, and the qualitative nature of data collection and analysis is favored here. Other themes and subtopics will develop from this analysis.

Coding the data is the next step advised. Coding of the collected data utilizes acronyms in order to simplify data organization and allows for ease of input for computer software analysis (Weitzman and Miles 1995). An example is detailed below:

Sex offender victim non-stranger = SOVNS

Sex offender victim stranger = SOVS

Again, due to the flexibility inherent in qualitative data collection and analysis, coding the data should evolve as the study continues.

The fourth step is to test emergent understandings. In this phase, the researcher performs an evaluation of the developing understanding of the data from the information explored. The researcher is to view the believed understanding of the collected data and search for negative instances of patterns or counters to the proposed argument. This process facilitates a self-evaluation about the usefulness of the data, including a search for alternative explanations.

The final step involves writing or detailing the information discovered as a result of analyzing the emergent themes. Of particular importance is detailing the patterns of behavior identified, especially linking those patterns of sexual offending behavior perpetrated on children with turning points experienced during the participant's life course. The examination of these data (life course turning points and trajectories conditioning routine activities) allows the research question to be addressed. Thus, comparisons of patterns can be made by looking at sequential behavior prior to and after a turning point. It is expected that certain themes will be apparent between individuals such as desistance in offending because of involvement in a legal relationship with another (Sampson and Laub 2005).

Methods

Two distinct samples informed this research. The first sample involved inmates either on parole or incarcerated in the Kansas Department of Corrections. This sample was used to answer the research question pertaining to the recruitment of child victims by a general population of sex offenders. The data used in this portion of the research were limited to the narrow question of situational recruitment; however, it was important to the entire study because it served as delineation between target selection of the general sex offending population and the sexually violent predator sample.

The second sample was obtained from persons currently housed in the Larned State Security Hospital Sexual Predator Treatment Program. This source of data was used to answer the second set of research questions regarding life course events, persistence, desistance, and the conditioning of target selection over time. Sample II sought to understand individual change and circumstances in the child sex offender trajectory.

Sample I

There were two phases of data collection from Sample I participants. The first phase involved collecting information from participants' sex offender treatment files. All relevant information (i.e. information such as offender demographics and the victim offender relationship) pertaining to this study was collected for analysis from these files. Eighty three files were examined (N=83), due to the researcher's time limitations. Notations were made to determine if the victim in these cases were strangers to the offender. Other demographic information was harvested as well as demographics, such as age and sex of the victim. Notations were also made about particulars concerning the crime such as substance use directly prior to the sex crime.

The second part of the study utilized open ended semi-structured interviews in order to distinguish themes about victim recruitment, especially routine activity aspects, such as offender motivation, guardianship of victims, and the suitability of targets, and further identified offenders that had a victim-offender relationship.

Participation was solicited from current inmates and parolees in the Kansas Department of Corrections who are also current participants in sex offender treatment. Sex offender treatment is administered via a contract between the Kansas Department of Corrections and a private counseling firm, Douglas County Concerned Citizens on Alcoholism (DCCCA). Offenders were contacted at sex offender group meetings. These meetings were held both in prison and at various parole offices throughout the state. Offenders were contacted for this study at Lansing Correctional Facility and at Hutchinson Correctional facility. Parolees were contacted at the Wyandotte, Olathe, and Wichita, KS parole offices. At each group meeting offenders were informed of the current study and asked to participate.

The researcher attended sex offender treatment group sessions in order to garner initial participation. These group sessions were attended at Lansing and Hutchinson Correctional Facilities, and at counseling group sessions at the Wichita, Kansas City, and Olathe parole offices. Sex offenders involved in the prison sex offender treatment program were typically involved in primary treatment, while parolees were typically graduates of the primary treatment program and currently involved in after care. However, when prisoners/parolees were contacted either in prison or at parole offices, no determination about treatment position was determined. Treatment position had no effect on participation. After a brief introduction, group attendees were informed this research would pertain to the offender-victim relationship and also the methods employed by offenders to recruit victims. While the introductions were taking place,

informed consents were given out to each group participant (See appendix A for consent form example). Questions from inmates were fielded by the researcher. When all questions were answered, participation in the project was requested. Prospective participants were informed that no negative or positive consequences would result whether or not they chose to participate in this study. Those who agreed to participate signed the informed consent forms.

The participant's files were reviewed and data pertaining to the study was collected and stored on paper templates. This information was later transferred to SPSS software to allow for descriptive analysis. Individuals with child stranger victims were also identified through this process, which allowed the researcher to collect a pool of possible interviews.

Those participants who were identified in the initial data collection as having stranger victims were selected for semi-structured interviews. These interviews took place approximately five months after the initial file reviews were conducted. These interviews were to ascertain victim selection based on the routine activities of those offenders. Interviews averaged approximately forty-five minutes and were held in private rooms at various places within the prison; with only the interviewer and the participant in the room. Doors were kept open due to safety concerns, however, these rooms were located in areas of the prison with very infrequent personal traffic. Participants were asked initial questions pertaining to their personal situation at the time of the criminal event such as marital status, education level, and living situation. This allowed a general context to the offending event to be illustrated and rapport to be built. The use of open-ended questions allowed the participants to reflect awareness that they may have viewed the situation from a point of view different from the official record. This technique allowed the offender to "tell their part of the story." This was important, not only because perceptions vary,

but also in order to develop rapport that allowed for a better flow of information (Berg 2006). Questions pertaining to target selection were left relatively open-ended.

Before the interview questions were asked of the offender, he was again reminded of the purpose of the study. Each participant was given an informed consent form (see appendix B) and requested to sign the form if they wished to participate in the interview process. All prospective interviewees were informed that participation was voluntary, and if they chose not to participate in the interview there would be no negative consequences. They were advised that they could end the interview at any time they wished (see appendix C for semi-structure interview questions).

To analyze the findings, the tape recorded interviews were transcribed and combed multiple times by the researcher for recurring themes, using criteria of selection for certain themes that pertained to the study. The criteria selection involved information and themes gathered from the literature review as they related to offender motivation, the suitability of the chosen target, and the lack of capable guardians for the victim. A systematic indexing system was utilized in order to better identify themes (Berg 2006). Here themes pertaining to routine activities of the offender were separated into three categories as stated in the theory: lack of capable guardian for both the victim and the offender, suitability of the target from the offender's perspective, and finally the offender's motivation to offend at that specific time. Qualitative software (Nvivo 9) was employed to assist in identifying patterns.

Sample II.

Sample II consists of sexually violent predators, and the data reflect changes over time. Sampson and Laub (1990) contend that continuity and change in criminality over the life course are evident and that these changes in trajectories are impacted by bonds to adult institutions and

social control mechanisms. Data collection was accomplished through a qualitative longitudinal retrospective approach, utilizing life history calendars as a collection method. This approach garnered a better understanding of the dynamics of human behavior by explicitly incorporating the timing and sequencing of life course events (Marini 1984; Modell, Furstenberg, and Hershberg 1976; Modell, Furstenberg, and Strong 1978; Winsborough 1978).

The first phase of data collection was similar to data collected from the general population of offenders. The first phase involved asking for participant's approval to review their personnel files maintained by Larned staff. The second phase involved semi-structured interviews utilizing life history calendars to facilitate memory recall.

Offenders at the SVP Unit in Larned, Kansas were informed about participating in this research approximately one week prior to the researcher's arrival. Upon arrival inmates in the SVP Unit were alerted to the researcher's presence on campus and asked if they wished to listen to the solicitation for participation in the project. Inmates were released from one pod at a time. Those people from the respective pods were allowed to collect at the auditorium in most cases and in one instance members of a pod (Jung Unit) were briefed about the research in a small room on that unit. Those that arrived to listen to the researcher were informed about the parameters of the research as well as the expectations of the initial file reviews and that they could be selected for possible interviews at a later time. The researcher answered questions that potential participants had. Each presentation lasted approximately 30 minutes. Twenty-eight (N=28) SVPs signed the informed consent to allow for file reviews. At that point individuals were assigned a number to ensure confidentiality.

The researcher went to the records department located on the hospital grounds and collected the files of those agreeing to participate. The files were reviewed by this researcher and

information pertaining to the study, offender demographics, criminal history, and the nature of the offender victim relationship was collected and stored via a template document on a computer. Those SVPs that had stranger victims were identified for possible future interviews.

The information from the files reviews were transferred into SPSS as a separate file and in combination with the general population sample for later descriptive analysis. See chapter 4 for results.

The second phase included semi-structured interviews of SVPs. The SVPs were selected for possible participation in these interviews for their extensive sexual offending history as well as the victim stranger relationship. Staff at Larned were consulted per prior agreement concerning contacting potential interviewees. It was agreed that five offenders could be interviewed. The five prospective interviewees were contacted by Larned staff to initially assess their receptiveness to participate in interviews. Those five agreed to participate.

This researcher then contacted each prospective interviewee in person. The prospective interviewees were informed of the purpose of the interview via the informed consent and the researcher. Questions from the SVPs were addressed at that point. Each signed the form and the interview began. Information was recorded via short hand field notes. The interview participant was informed about what a life history calendar is and it was completed via a joint effort, all calendars were done on paper. Each initial interview lasted approximately 2.5 hours.

The calendars were reviewed by the researcher and inconsistencies as well as more questions concerning offending behavior arose. Each interviewee was then re-contacted and asked to submit to follow-up interviews. The duration of follow-up interviews ranged from one hour to three hours. One of the interviewees was interviewed on five different occasions as his offending history was extensive and questions inevitably arose.

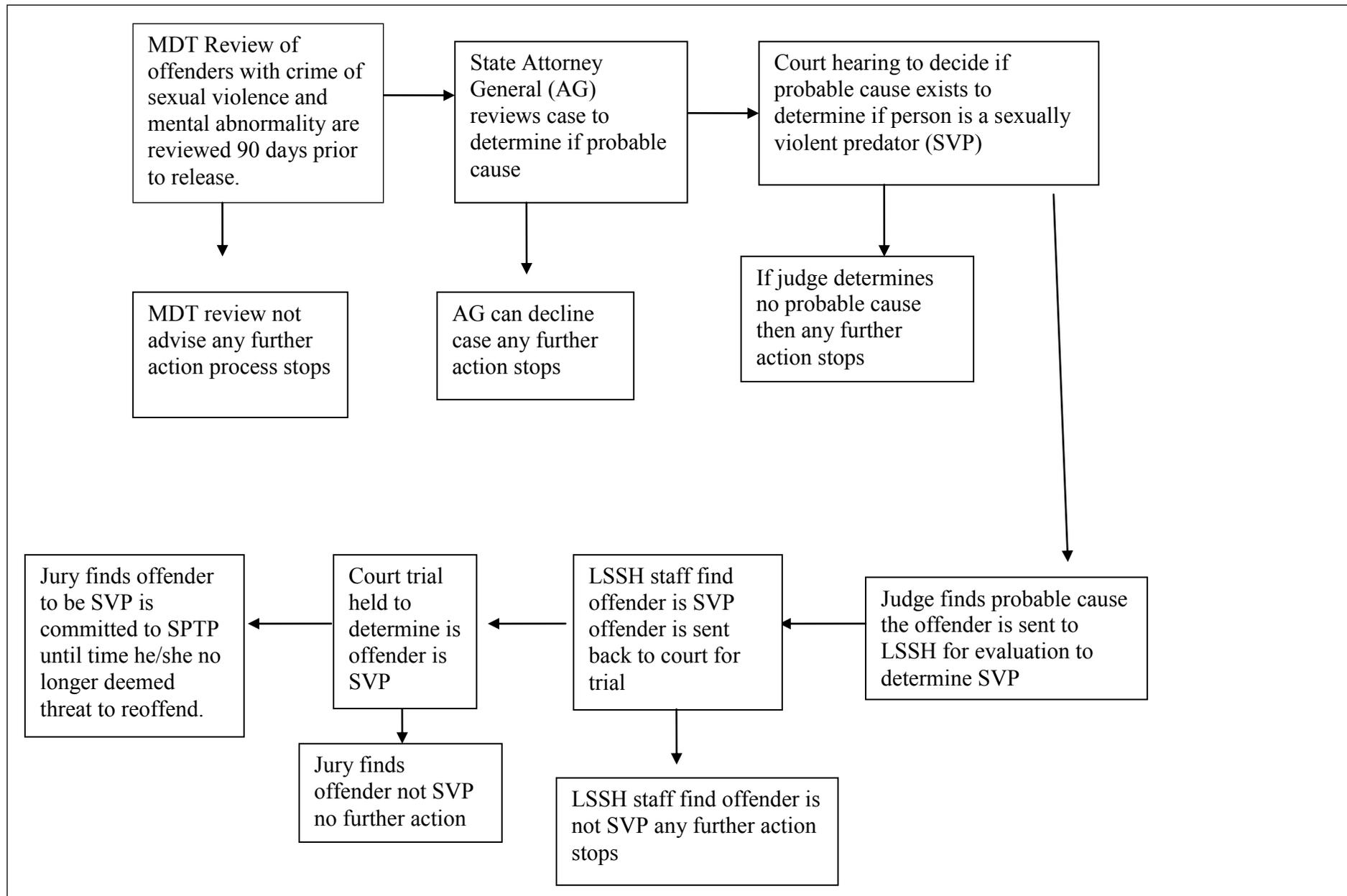
All the data collected was input into qualitative software (Nvivo 9). Themes and patterns were identified via line by line coding. For instance statements relating to using treats or gifts were coded as grooming and collected in “nodes”, categories Patterns relating to changes in child victim recruitment began to develop around turning points.

Sexual Predator Program

This sample was collected from residents currently housed at the Larned Sexual Predator Treatment Program (SPTP) unit located in Larned, KS. This population of offenders was separate and distinct from the general sex offending population. The sexually violent predator program at Larned was established in 1994, as a result of state legislation (Kansas Statutes Annotated 59-29A01). This program was implemented to address public concern about offenders finishing their criminal sentence and being released back into the community. Some sex offenders were still seen as dangerous even though they had finished their criminal sentence. This sentiment was crystallized into law as the result of a high profile murder of a young Pittsburg State college student (KS Legislative post audit 2005). As will become evident, the population of sex offenders housed in the SPTS program is qualitatively different from other sex offenders not admitted into the program. The difference from other offenders is due to the fact that they are deemed to be sexual predators. Very few sex offenders meet the criteria for a sexually violent predator as stated in Kansas law (See KSA 59-29a02 for definition of predator). The SPTP program is administered by the state of Kansas Social and Rehabilitative Services (SRS). All residents housed in the program have served their criminal sentences. They have been deemed by a Kansas Court to fit the definition of a sexually violent predator. A sexually violent predator according to Kansas law defines a sexually violent predator as: “Sexually violent predator” means any person who has been convicted of or charged with a sexually violent

offense and who suffers from a mental abnormality or personality disorder which makes the person likely to engage in repeat acts of sexual violence and also "Likely to engage in repeat acts of sexual violence" means the person's propensity to commit acts of sexual violence is of such a degree as to pose a menace to the health and safety of others. Thus all the residents housed in this program have finished their criminal sentences but have been found in a court to be a sufficient threat to the community that they have been involuntarily civilly committed to this program. A sex offender must go through an exhaustive battery of clinicians trained in the areas of sex offending and eventually a court must determine if a person meets the requirements of a sexually violent predator. Figure 3.1 illustrates the process.

Figure 3.1 Process for Civil Commitment



SPTP has two goals; the first is community safety. Accordingly, the facility is a secure facility with prison-like environs (i.e. high fences, locked doors, and security officers). The second goal concerns rehabilitating the offender so that they may rejoin society when they are no longer deemed to be a risk by SPTP staff (SRS report Nov. 2008 report to the KS Corrections Dept and KS Juvenile Justice Authority). It is expected that the vast majority of residents in this program will have been incarcerated for a number of years. This may make memory recall of some life events difficult. However, as evidenced in other studies (Belli 1998; Caspi et al. 1996; Ensel, Peek, Lin, & Lai, 1996; Belli 2001; Yoshihama 2005), evidence has provided support for the use of life history calendars to help facilitate memory recall. This method of data collection was employed in this study and is more fully discussed later in this chapter. The offenders housed in the SPTP participate in some type of sexual offender treatment program, so speaking about past experiences, including their sexual offenses, was a usual topic.

Entry into the SPTP includes a process of recommendations from mental healthcare professionals, correctional agents, and is ultimately decided in court. Thus, just as the larger criminal justice system acts like a funnel with multiple exit points, the process of determining if an offender meets criteria for placement into the SPTP contains exit points. Figure 3.1 illustrates the multiple exit points for a person undergoing the civil commitment process after the term of criminal confinement terminates. The first step of the process involves a multiple disciplinary team (MDT) review of the offender's crime(s) of sexual violence (see KSA 59-29a01 for definition of sexual violence). If the MDT review recommends that further civil court commitment action be taken, the case is moved to the State's Attorney General Office for review. The Attorney General's office can decline further action or petition the court of original

jurisdiction for a probable cause hearing. A judge from the original county court of conviction determines if there is probable cause to believe the person in question is a sexually violent person (SVP). If the judge deems that there is probable cause, the offender is transferred to Larned State Security Hospital for an evaluation by staff. If staff at the facility deems that the offender meets the criteria of a SVP, the offender is transferred back to the court of original jurisdiction where a jury trial determines if the person should be civilly committed to the SPTP at Larned State Security Hospital. Figure 3.2 illustrates the attrition of cases at each point as described above.

Figure 3.2 Kansas SVP Data

Kansas SVP Data FY 1999- 2008

Fiscal Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Assessed by MDT for possible SVP commitment	681	611	428	403	329	330	348	455	327	338
Assessed "High" by MDT	164	182	164	160	139	113	111	109	99	93
Filed on by Prosecuting Review Committee	51	54	47	40	51	36	22	26	38	46
Probable Cause Hearing held and probable cause found to proceed	39	52	46	37	47	28	22	22	27	36
LSSP Evaluation "yes" found to be a predator	21	19	22	30	37	15	15	12	9	8
LSSP Evaluation "no" not found to be a predator	18	33	24	7	10	4	2	7	8	23
Court hearing/SVP Trial/Stipulate	15	19	26	23	33	23	21	18	12	20
Committed to SPTP	14	17	18	21	28	23	21	18	15	20

Source of data: KDOC Activity Summary: SVP Act (Yearly report of activities)

Data during FY08 for MDT process does not include one person included in LSSP evaluation and commitment counts. (Court by-passed the MDT step)

9/08

The SPTP is comprised of seven separate phases: 1) orientation and preliminary identification of issues; 2) academic learning of principles; 3) application of principles; 4) completion of in-patient issues and development of a relapse prevention plan; 5) reintroduction to open society and preparation of transition; 6) demonstration of ability to perform transition tasks (e.g., getting a job, paying bills, outpatient therapy); and 7) formal transition (ordered by the Court). Phases 1 through 5 are located at LSH; phases 6 and 7 are located at Osawatomic State Hospital (SRS report Nov. 2008 report to the KS, Corrections Dept and KS Juvenile Justice Authority). The completion of each phase is not time sensitive, so advancing to the next phase is subject to staff approval.

The program currently houses about 170 offenders (SRS report 2008). However, it is projected to grow in total number of residents to somewhere between 384-850 residents in the next 20 years, depending on the increasing number of offenders recommended for civil commitment by assigned multidisciplinary teams and those actually committed to the program via actual court commitments (KS Legislative post audit 2005). An additional population factor is the consideration that very few offenders may be released completely from SPTP (See figure 3.3 for details). The vast majority of residents currently in the program are diagnosed pedophiles per professional medical staff at Larned (KS Legislative post audit 2005).

Figure 3.3 Summary of Corrections Sex Offender and SPTP Activities

Summary of Kansas Department of Corrections Sex Offender and SPTP Activities FY's 2004-2008							
Fiscal Year	# of KDOC commitments with one or more sex offense	% of KDOC commitments with one or more sex offense	KDOC releases from facilities with one or more sex offense	% of KDOC facility releases with one or more sex offense	# of commitments to SPTP	Monthly averages (divided by 12)	% representing all KDOC releases with sex offense
2004	300	8.9%	595	16.4%	23	1.92	3.8%
2005	298	8.5%	584	13.6%	21	1.75	3.6%
2006	349	9.0%	559	10.0%	18	1.50	3.2%
2007	313	8.7%	413	8.5%	15	1.25	3.6%
2008	374	10.9%	399	8.4%	20	1.67	5.3%

This fact, coupled with the reality that most of the people have chronic sexually offending behavior, makes them especially well-suited for this study. As stated in chapter 1, the primary purpose of this study was to examine the life course of sexual offenders. Specifically, to examine how life course turning points, such as developing positive relationships with significant others, may influence the frequency of sexual offending via disrupting or changing the routine activities of the sample population.

This sample is not representative of the larger sex offender population in Kansas or the wider sex offender population. On average, only about 5.5% of all offenders recommended for civil commitment in Kansas are actually committed to the SPTP (KS Post Audit 2005) annually. Very few sex offenders are serious persistent chronic sex offenders (Hanson and Busssierre 1998; Worlty and Smallbone 2006). However, keeping the above information in mind, this sample allowed for the examination of multiple events leading up to multiple sexually abusive events. The frequency of such events allows this research to examine multiple pathways to offending or desistance behavior within an individual's life course trajectory. It also allowed for the examination of change in routine activities that could affect persistent sexually abusive behavior and/or desistance from such behavior, even if the desistance is measured in months and not years.

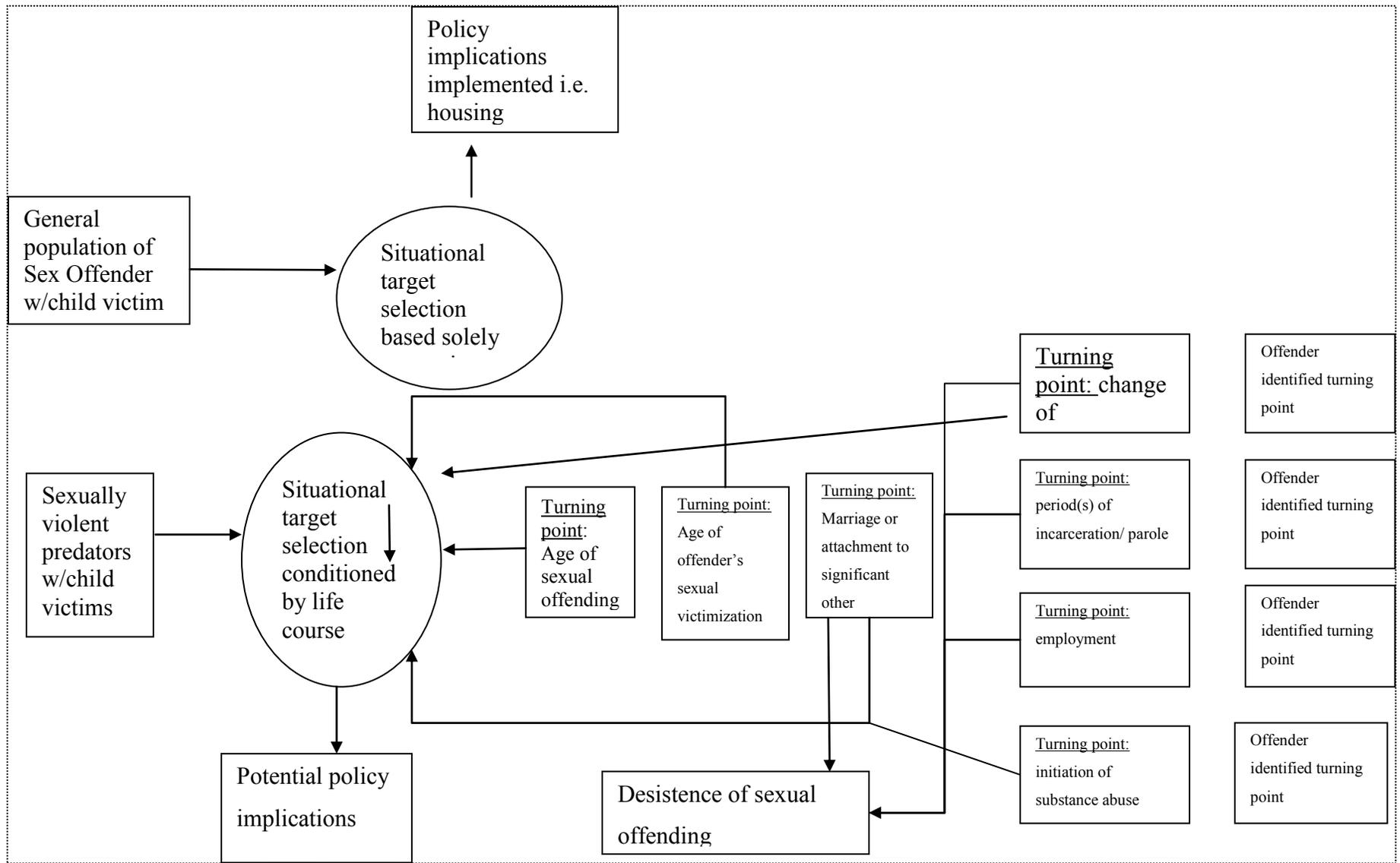
Researcher Personality

The issue of sex offenders and sex offending has been an area of interest for this researcher for a number of years. The earliest professional experience was gained as a parole and probation officer supervising sex offenders. The ability to casually speak with and interview sex offenders became a valuable asset for this project. There was a comfort level gained early in the interview process concerning talking about very personal matter such as the details of the offense and other behavior that may be difficult for other to talk about. This comfort level helped establish a rapport with offenders which put them at ease and their appeared to be trust established fairly quickly.

The researcher's personal experience with sex offenders also allowed for some access to this population that may have been difficult for others not familiar with key personnel to obtain. The familiarity with administrators in the prison system and sex offender treatment staff allowed this researcher to utilize trust previously earned to develop sampling procedures and provide insight about how best to approach this population. The shared insight between the researcher and staff yielded benefits in raw participation numbers and when conducting interviews.

Those professionals knew that the researcher's previous experience with this population, especially where confidentially issues were a concern would be handled professionally and ethically. The Institutional Review Board at Kansas State University considered this experience as a positive aspect when approving the research. Prior experience in community corrections proved to be invaluable to this project for the reasons mentioned above.

Figure 3.4 Conceptual Model



Chapter 4 - Analysis and Findings of the Data

Chapter 4 presents findings from file reviews and interviews with two different populations of sexual offenders. The first section provides demographics and descriptive quantitative data on the two samples; these data were collected through file reviews of 112 institutionalized sex offenders.

The second section addresses the general population of sex offenders who were incarcerated within the Kansas prison system or under parole supervision at the time of data collection. The data from this population were specifically analyzed for the purpose of investigating victim selection (target suitability), guardianship of the victim and the offender, and offender motivation to commit the instant sexual offense for which the offender was currently incarcerated (a snapshot of a single sex crime). In particular, this phase of the research was designed to examine the viability of Routine Activities Theory (RAT) in determining child recruitment, which, in turn provides evidence for the feasibility of legislative efforts to contain sex offenders to specific geographic locations – the rather large set of initiatives commonly referred to as buffer zones.

The third section of Chapter 4 organizes data from offenders legally classified as sexually violent predators (SVPs) under Kansas law (see KSA 59-29a01). Data collected from this population were analyzed in relation to the same recruitment strategies – victim selection, guardianship of the offender and the victim, and offender motivation – but with regard to events along the life course; offenders reported these data retrospectively, using the Life History Calendar (LHC) and interactive personal interviews. In particular, the research was structured to allow examination of changes in routine activities conditioned by structural life course events.

This phase of the research was designed to significantly extend what we know about child recruitment via RAT, by asking the critical question of how recruitment, persistence, and desistence changes across the life span.

Chapter 4 is primarily descriptive. The researcher has attempted to present the data in its most direct form, as it came directly from the two samples of sex offenders. From time to time, the researcher used field notes to augment and provide context for the milieu and situation in which the interviews took place.

Quantitative findings

The descriptive quantitative data analysis includes data from both sources (general population of sex offenders and the SVP population). This study proposes that both groups (N=112), SVPs and general population of offenders, are sufficiently similar concerning offender demography and victim offender relationship to provide an informative analysis. A statewide breakdown specifically concerning sex offender demographics was not available; thus, a comparison between the sample group(s) in this research and the full population of Kansas sex offenders is not possible. However, the descriptive data as given provides an illustration of the entire sample, while several comparisons between the two subsamples are also provided (see Table 4.1)

Table 4.1 The following table represents the status of the general and SVP population of offenders prior to their incarceration.

Race	General Offenders N=83		SVP Offenders N=28	
	White	63	76%	24
other	20	24%	4	15%
Age (quartiles)			Quartiles specific to SVPs	
18-24	23	25%	19-29	25%
25-33	21	25%	30-37	25%
34-40	19	25%	38-41	25%
41-73	20	25%	41-72	25%
Education Level				
No HS diploma/GED	30	36%	9	32%
HS Diploma/GED	40	48%	8	29%
College degree	5	6%	2	7%
Graduate level	2	2%	1	3%
Employed				
Yes	41	49%	18	62%
No	42	51%	10	35%
Marital status				
Married	40	36%	8	29%
Divorced	15	13%	11	38%
Never married	21	19%	9	31%
Criminal History				
No convictions	42	38%	5	17%
1-3	27	33%	12	42%
4-6+	14	11%	11	25%

The demographic statistics can be seen in Table 4.1. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the demographic statistics concerns the racial make-up of the sex offender sample and the age distribution. It is widely known that there is a racial disparity amongst the general criminal population in the US; in particular, Black Americans are dramatically overrepresented. However, there seems to be a reversal in disparity when considering incarcerated sexual offenders, with whites making up the vast majority of incarcerated sexual offenders. Note that 76% (N=63) of the general sample population is white and 85% (N=24) of the SVP population is white.

Age is an important component when considering life course as social structure; age determines many social positions. For instance, it is culturally acceptable and some may say expected that an adult have a full-time job when one would not expect a 13-year-old to be in the same position. As will be demonstrated throughout this analysis, age becomes a very important component (note the age distribution in table 4.1)

The average age of offenders when they committed the sexual offense for which they were incarcerated is 34 years of age (Std. dev.= 12.5). However, when looking at the quartiles of the entire population (Table 4.1), one-quarter of the sample population is between the ages of 18 and 25 years of age. Fifty percent of the entire population is packed within a span of 13 years (18-33 years of age). In other words, half of the general population committed their sexual offense (for which they were incarcerated) at a relatively young age.

When considering the quartiles of the SVP population, one-quarter of the SVPs was arrested for the offense for which they were currently incarcerated between the ages of 37 and 41. Therefore, this span of four years contained a significant number of SVP offenders as compared to the general population of offenders in which the most densely packed quartile of

offenders was the ages between 18 and 23 (refer to Table 4.1). This difference suggests that offenders in the general population had not built up their offending record or criminal history sufficiently to meet criteria for possible SVP commitment; in fact, 80% of the SVP sample had a criminal history while only 50% of the general population had some type of prior offense.

One should note that offenders in the SVP sample have multiple victims that vary in guardianship status. An example would be that an SVP offended against their own child (which shows guardianship) and also sexually abused strangers at various points during the life course (no guardianship). However, when data were collected for the purpose of quantitative assessment, only the instant offense for which the offender was incarcerated was recorded here.

Table 4.2 concerns further quantitative data collected, including variables related to routine activities such as offender guardianship over the victim (for instance, the victim of the instant offense being a family member or not); target suitability (such as the victim's age); or motivation (such as number of victims).

Table 4.2 The following table represents the status of the general and SVP population of offenders prior to their incarceration.

Guardianship	General Offenders N=83		SVP Offenders N=28	
Under community supervision				
No	N=69	83%	N=22	79%
Yes	17	17%	6	21%
Crime location				
Victim's home	19	23%	8	27%
Offender's home	59	71%	18	64%
Public place	5	6%	2	7%
Recruit from a public place				
No	67	81%	23	82%
Yes	16	19%	5	18%
Motivation				
Substance use				
No	46	55%	22	72%
Yes	37	45%	5	18%
Number of criminal counts				
1	44	39%	10	36%
2	26	23%	10	35%
3+	13	12%	8	29%
Number of victims				
1	65	58%	18	64%
2	12	12%	6	21%
3+	6	6%	4	15%
Suitable Target				
Stranger victim				
No	57	69%	21	75%
Yes	26	31%	7	25%
Victim family member				
No	20	24%	8	71%
Yes	63	76%	20	29%
Victim's sex				
Male	10	9%	5	18%
Female	73	88%	23	82%
Victim's age			Age range for this population was 2-15	
3-7	9	11%	10	36%
8-12	22	27%	11	39%
13-16	52	63%	3	18%

This study found that only about 19% of the both general population and the SVP population recruited their victim from a public place. Only one of the SVPs recruited any victim from places such as schools, pools, parks or playgrounds. Other reported public recruitment included victim selection from grocery stores, shopping malls, and parties. Only five of the 28 SVPs recruited victims from public places. Those include retail stores (N=2), a party held outdoors (N=1), a church (N=1), and a park (N=1). However – and important for the consideration of buffer zones – only four offenders from 111 surveyed recruited their victim from a school, pool, park, or playground.

These findings challenge the notion that sexual offenders recruit child victims from places where children congregate. Even after assessing where SVPs – supposedly the worst of the worst – recruit child victims, only one out of a sample of 28 recruited their victim from a place commonly identified by buffer zone restriction laws as places where children congregate. To this researcher’s knowledge, this is the first time a sample of legally defined SVP child recruitment locations has been determined. Though limited in number, the results shed important light on the subject of child victim selection; sexual predator recruitment of child victims in this sample does not commonly occur at places where children congregate.

General Population and Routine Activities

In addition to file reviews, a sub-sample of sex offenders from the general population were selected for semi-structured interviews; inmates (N=19) that met the stranger-victim dichotomy provided data for this portion of this project (See Appendix C for interview schedule). This is important because even though most sex offenders know their victim, buffer zone legislation assumes stranger recruitment. These interviews focused on activities of the offender that centered on child victim selection.

Themes quickly emerged concerning all three elements of routine activities (target suitability, offender motivation, and guardianship). Of course, questions were designed to elicit this information. However, unexpected findings also emerged. This section will first address the components most relevant to RAT and the viability of buffer zone legislation. Again, recall that these research participants were sex offenders with a stranger-child victim relationship – representing a very small proportion of child sex offenders.

Routine Activities

Findings of this portion of the project indicate that the three elements of routine activities are not mutually exclusive in nature. For instance, some offenders were motivated to commit the sexual crime because there was a lack of guardianship of both the offender and the victim. When **Jamie (20)** was asked about how the lack of guardianship affected his decision to sexually assault his victim, he responded:

The only reason is because they, they probably just say, Mom, I'm going to a friend's house and they could be gone all night, and mom wouldn't even call her, wouldn't even check up to see where they are, see if they are at their friend's house, so that made it easy.

Also, some victims became more suitable targets because of lack of guardianship or motivation was spurred through deficits in conventional relationships.

Sam (22) stated the following when asked about his victim's family:

I think she had too much issues at home with her family trying to, cause there was a lot of, there was a lot of drugs and partying issues with the, with the one victim's family and I think she was just looking for close relationship with somebody.

The reader should not consider each category (motivated offender, suitable target, or a lack of guardianship) as mutually exclusive, but as a loose amalgamation of conditions that facilitate the phenomena being investigated.

Age

Perhaps the most striking finding is that almost everything under investigation (target suitability, offender motivation, and a lack of capable guardians) was conditionally dependent upon the offender's age. For instance, young offenders' (age 17-20) routine activities coincided with routine activities of young adolescents, such as going to parties or loitering at the mall. Older offenders' (age 33-73) routine activities certainly differed from that of their younger counterparts. For the older group, they typically crossed paths with their victim through associations with work, neighbors, or rather indirect situations such as having an offspring or another family member who was babysitting other children. Bill illustrates just such a relationship:

-Bill (40): I talked to her mother off and on. We were doing some confidentially stuff with her, too. . . .They also gave me permission to take care of her, the first aid or anything in case if she got hurt.

Bill also explained that his daughter had "babysat for them multiple times."

Larry's case also shed light on positions that were related to an older position in life:

- Larry (53): Her mother wasn't watching her close enough, I don't really think.

On, uh, for instance, I could show up and, uh, and, uh, ask her if she wanted to come over to the house at her house, see?

- Researcher: Um huh.

- Larry: Her mother and her father were there. They said yes, uh huh.

The older offenders selected victims closer to their homes or in the course of their employment.

When **Bob (39)** was asked why he chose his particular victim over other possibilities, he answered:

Cause she was at the home. She was that available.

The following is an exchange with **Thomas (44)**:

Researcher: Were you friends or an acquaintance with the victim's guardian?

Thomas: With his mother, it was a professional relationship.

Researcher: Okay. Uh, do you think that that relationship helped you gain access to this person?

Thomas: Yes.

Researcher: Okay.

Thomas: That was the only way I had access.

The older offenders were more likely to come home from work, associate with neighbors, and/or target neighborhood children. It became evident that the target selection method of the general population of sex offenders is contingent upon his or her particular routine activities.

Grooming

Motivational aspects of offenders were measured by looking at how the offender prepares the victim for recruitment, stress level of the offender, cruising or actively looking for victims, and use of substances. This sub-section focuses primarily on grooming – the process through which the offender prepares the victim and build trust for greater access. The more motivated offender is more apt to spend considerable resources (i.e., groom for a longer period of time,

spend money, and so forth). Note that many of these categories illustrate differences between older offenders and young offenders.

The analysis yielded results indicating that younger offenders very seldom groomed their victim with money and large gifts. Rather, they recruited victims at social events where the meetings were relatively short.

Steve (19) stated:

He'd, uh, brought her over to a party so that's where we met.

Doug (18): I met them at Wal-Mart, and the other one was uh, just a girl I met, or well she was a friend of my, a boy I was hanging out with, my friend I was hanging with.

Jeff (18): We met at a party I wasn't looking for nothing but we met and things just happened.

Young offenders in this study did not have to expend resources on their victims due to the nature of the initial contact. Young offenders were more apt to describe their relationship with the victims as short interludes. Cody was asked about his grooming technique while a resident of a court ordered group home. He responded:

Cody (20) I ____ gave them cigarettes.

Researcher: And the grooming period might last?

Cody: About three or four days.

Older offenders were more likely to groom by bribing victims in an attempt to establish an emotional investment with the victim (see Figure 4.1). They also tended to groom their victims for a longer period of time compared to the younger counterparts.

Larry (53) was asked about his method of grooming he responded:

Uh, uh, we had, uh, treats in the refrigerator like ice cream bars or cokes or whatever, candy bars, whatever.

Researcher: Did you use that to. . .(groom her)?

Larry: Yeah.

Researcher: How long did this occur?

Larry: 'bout 3 or 4 months

Thomas (44) was asked about his grooming techniques:

Researcher: How long did you know the victim?

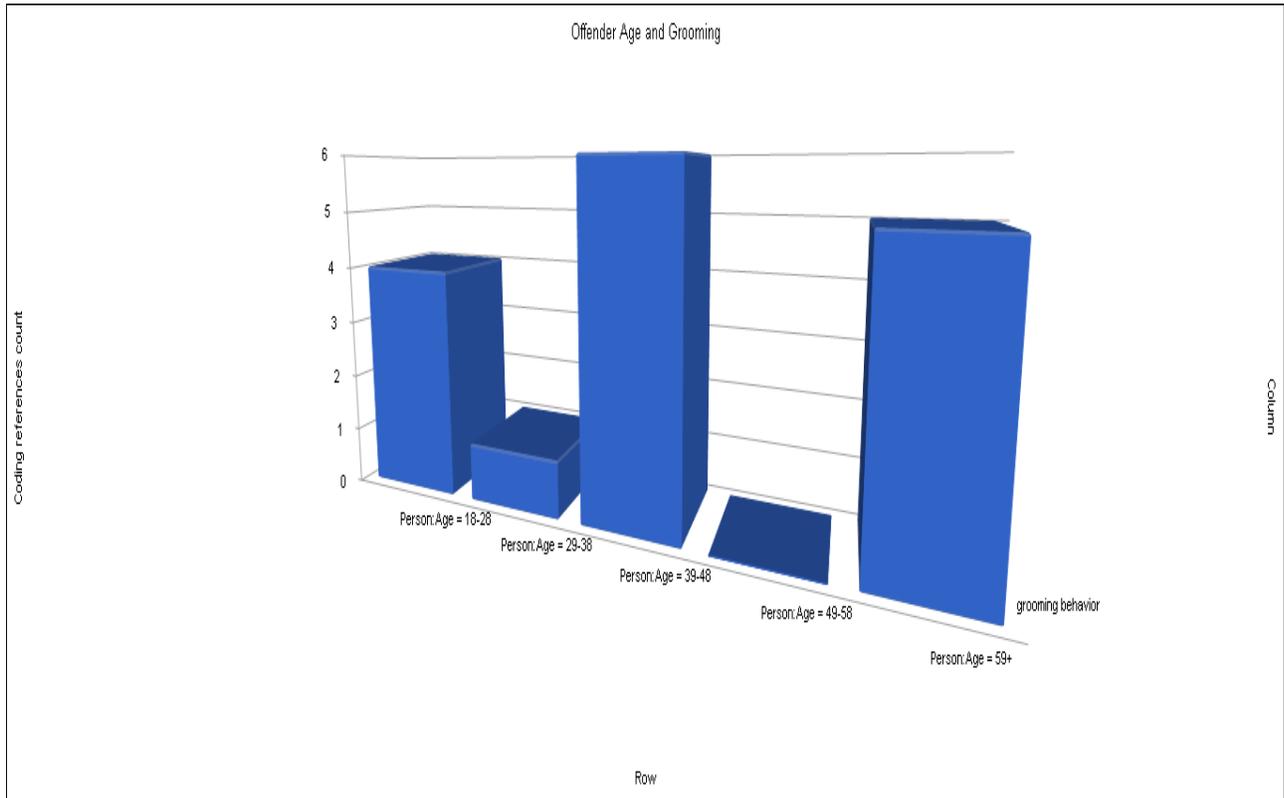
Thomas: A little less than a year _____

Researcher: Did you use that, uh, that initial access with the counselor, as a counselor role, in knowing the, knowing the guardian. . .

Thomas: Yes, that's when you start your grooming.

The kind of grooming witnessed through these excerpts is certainly due to the nature of the routine activities of the respective offenders. Younger offenders do not have large amounts of time to spend around prospective victims, due to the nature of the encounter (e.g., parties), nor do they typically have (or perhaps need) monetary resources as an enticement. The older participants did have time to groom victims due to the nature of their daily activities as these activities centered on their residence. They also had more resources, and often found them necessary in order to entice and gain trust of the child. Figure 4.1 illustrates offender age categories and the level of grooming behavior noted activity noted through from the interviews.

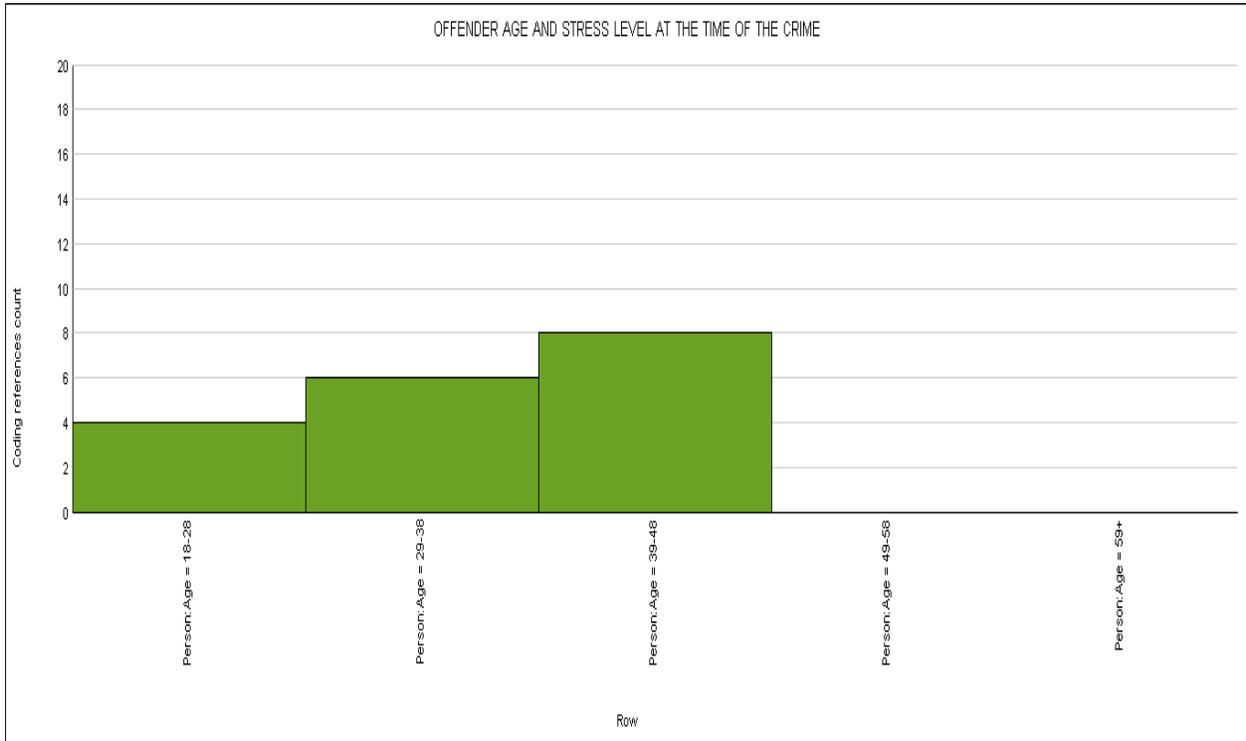
Figure 4.1 Offender Age and Grooming



Stress

The older offenders in this study also advised that they experienced some type of stress prior to the sexual crime. These stressors seemed to relate to relationship issues with significant others or financial problems (see Figure 4.2). This graph illustrates the number of times age groups of offenders reported feeling stress immediately prior to their crime.

Figure 4.2 Offender Stress at Time of Event



Bill (40) stated the following when asked about stress prior to his crime:

But financial, yes. Marital, yes.

I'm not going to give you sex type situation (in relation to issues with his wife).we've always had marital, uh, money problems.

Thomas (44) responded the following when asked about stress prior to his crime:

Researcher: Uh, did you experience some sort of stress prior to the incident then? Like a major stress, maybe a death in the family?

Thomas: Yes.

Researcher: Okay, go ahead.

Thomas: Uh, yeah, I had a long term relationship with an older individual he moved to Florida. I did things that I would not normally do. I don't think I would normally have, you know, taken the inappropriate video.

It may very well be that these stressors are indicative of the general civilian adult population and are not specific to this group of people or be a cause of their offence. However, noting the existence of these stressors is important to this study because of the observed age difference; that is, they could be motivating factors in the sexual abuse of children in older offenders and may not play a significant role in victim recruitment in younger offenders. This observation illustrates the importance of the life course approach to studying sexual victimization, as encounters with stressors may not impact younger offenders, in the way they do older offenders.

Cruising

The act of “cruising” or actively looking for child victims is characterized as motivational due to its explicit nature. The offenders selected for interviews were chosen because their relationship with the victim could be characterized as a stranger-victim association. The possibility of uncovering cruising behavior should have existed due to the nature of that relationship. However, only two (Jack and Fred) offenders interviewed initially contacted their

victim while in transport. Those two offenders were on their way home from work or in route to a store. Two offenders (Fred and Thomas) advised that they did cruise looking for prostitutes.

Thomas (44) stated:

Yeah. I used to cruise for male prostitutes down in the cruising areas, you know.

I mean, uh, there's a place called Independence Avenue in Kansas City and then the Liberty Memorial used to be a place that you would go and looking, people who were looking for that sort of thing would congregate there.

Cruising, or rather the lack of active cruising is mentioned here. This is important because it informs us as to the rarity of cruising behavior in this population.

Substance use

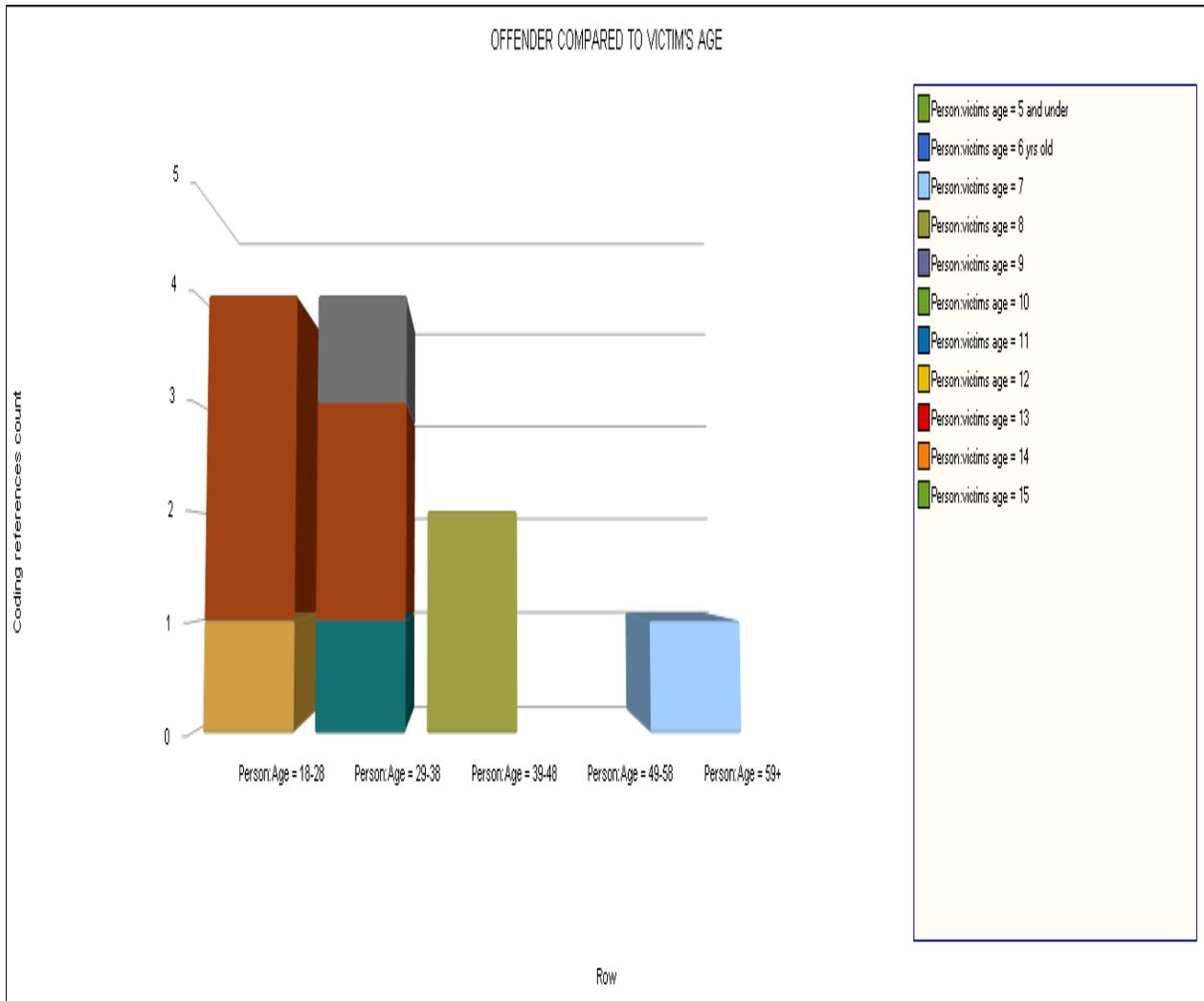
The offender's use of substances as a motivational aspect or its role in sexual assault crimes has been often debated and will not be repeated here. However, it is important to note because, again, it indicates differences between young and older offenders. Five participants advised that they had used alcohol or other drugs immediately prior to their sexual crime. Three advised they used marijuana and one alcohol. All advised that substance use played no role in their crime and that all routinely either smoked marijuana or drank alcohol. **Cody (20)** stated the following when asked about his substance use prior to the crime:

I was drinkin we was all drinkin but I still knew what I did was wrong.

The issue of drinking is highlighted here, not so much as a motivational factor per se, but because it was regularized as part of the offender's routine activity (i.e., gathering at parties or associating at other places where the routine activities of adolescents occurs). One can understand the nature of victim recruitment through the social structures of what a young adult might do or be expected to do, act, or where they spend time. This research does not contend that

going to parties or hanging out with friends causes sexual assault. However, it is important to note that recruitment strategies of relatively young sexual offenders and adolescent victims tend to gather around lifestyle. Figure 4.3 illustrates this point as the younger the offender, the more likely their victim was an adolescent.

Figure 4.3 Victim and Offender’s Age Comparison



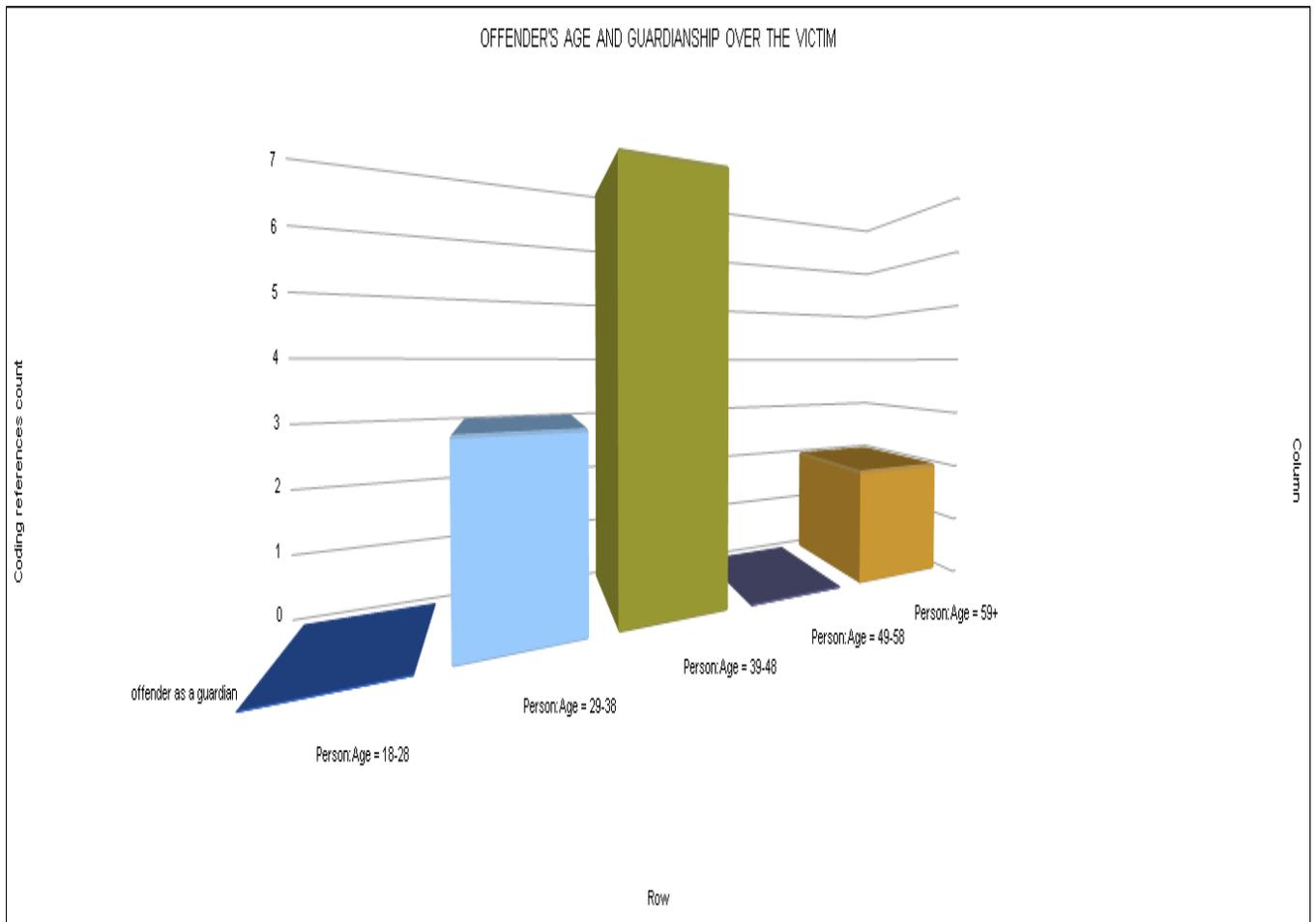
Regarding motivational aspects, characteristics focused around substance use among the offenders, cruising behavior, offender stress, and grooming behaviors. None of those four characteristics are being challenged here as being more or less involved in offending, but rather it draws attention to the nature of each as they relate to offender routine activities and victim

recruitment. In all four, a pattern relating to age of the offender was exposed. Stress was not present in the young offenders; cruising, as referred to in sexual offending vernacular, did not occur in relation to the instant offenses of participants. However, two participants did advise that they cruised specifically looking for sexual partners. Still, patterns tended to gather around age. The younger offender had victims that were not in close proximity to their residences because their active lifestyles carried them to places where the crime occurred. Older offenders victimized children because their routines limited them to their residences where neighbor children became targets.

Guardianship

The guardianship aspect of routine activities was also age dependent. In other words, the age of the offenders and guardianship for the victim varied. For instance, older offenders tended to have some type of guardianship over their victim based on conventional social roles (see Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Offender Age and Guardianship over Victim



An example would be an offender who is old enough to have his own children who babysit. This type of situation allows non-familial children into his home for legitimate reasons. Access to the potential victim is increased due to the nature of the babysitting relationship. The relatively younger offenders had no guardianship roles over their victims.

The guardianship of the victim and offender were probed through various questions that addressed the victim's lifestyle, or at least the offender's perception of the victim's lifestyle.

Bill (40) stated the following in regards to a question about his guardianship over the victim:

My daughter only babysitted her about a week or so. They (parents of the 8 year old victim) also gave me permission to take care of her, the first aid or anything in case if she got hurt.

Thomas (44):

I was his counselor....The victim came to me for protection and help.

He was a client, he was someone who needed someone in his life to protect him from his parents. From his mother who basically, you know, her boyfriend was the most important thing in her life and what that boyfriend did to those kids is okay as long as the boyfriend was there for her _____. You know, she just didn't care, I think. The boyfriend was abusive, uh. He always had cigarettes. He always had beer. They both had cigarettes and beer. Uh, the kids often didn't have enough to eat. No toys.

Several additional questions delved into the offender-victim relationship. The initial contact with the offender and victim was also ascertained. The offender's own guardianship was questioned, and offenders were asked if they were married or in a serious relationship, as well as if that spouse provided any type of surveillance. Offenders were asked if they were on probation or parole at the time of the crime. Finally, questions relating to the type of relationship the victim and offender shared, where the crime occurred at, and if the offender knew the victim's guardians were addressed.

Offenders were asked about their victim's lifestyle especially pertaining to the guardianship of the victim. As stated previously, older offender's tended to have relatively

younger victims than young offenders. However, the nature of that feature has not been made explicit up to this point. Older offenders in this study tended to have a different type of access to young (ages 0-12) victims than young offenders. Older offenders had access through employment. As one example, Bill switched counseling duties in order to work with young children. This gave him access to the child on a regular basis. Thomas was given access to his victim by his own child being old enough to babysit the victim. Due to his social position as an adult, as well as training in the medical field, he had access to the victim as ultimate caretaker when his daughter was babysitting the victim. In such ways, older offenders were able to groom their victims for a period of time. **Bill (40)** recalled:

My job let me take him (victim) to the movies one day and the next day shopping to get toys..... I was grooming the victim.

This type of access to young victims was different than that afforded to young offenders (age 18-21), who displayed no guardianship role.

The young and older offender sets did share one similarity. None of the offenders used any overt physical force to perpetrate their crime. All the offenders in this portion of the study gained the cooperation of the victim or tactic submission of the victim. That is not to say that one or all the victims did not feel fear or pressure to submit to the act, but no physical force was visited upon the victims. These claims were checked through an examination of the offenders' case files.

Young offenders were more apt to advise that they though the victim was older than they

were. **Terry (19)** stated:

That's another reason I thought she was of age because, you know what I'm saying? How many 13 year olds are out and drinking, having a six pack of beer and shit. I don't know. When I was 13, I didn't.

Tim (18) recalled:

We was there, me and my buddies, we got some, we _____ some alcohol and went to his house and the girls showed up, so they wanted to go with us. We all wanted to go hang out.

The set of young offenders advised that they were not actively looking for young underage females to have some type of sexual relationship with. They were at these parties to socialize, use substances, and look for sexual opportunities. However, they were not there with the explicit purpose of selecting persons not of legal age for sexual purposes. Rather, they reported that the person they were with happened to be under the age of legal consent for sex. They knew their victims for relatively brief periods of time, such as through the course of a night of partying.

The nature of the victim/offender relationship was also explored in order to assess the guardianship of the victim. In other words, the offender may have been the guardian of the victim. This type of relationship allows better access to the victim and illustrates that the three aspects of Routine Activity (motivated offender, suitable target, and lack of capable guardians) are not mutually exclusive. In this case, the type of relationship (offender as guardian of the victim) can make for more attractive or suitable targets. The suitability of a target can increase over time as the offender is allowed to assess the level of victim guardianship, or lack thereof,

thereby making the victim more suitable. This again was best demonstrated by the older offenders as they were allowed to have more access to their victim simply through their position within the social structure as adult caretaker.

Larry (53) stated the following in regards to his social position:

I was the one that in charge of this part of the neighborhood, you see?
pretty soon she got the idea that I was the boss, I guess.

Bob (39) stated,

Sometimes mom (victim's) was gone to the store or bowling she went to bowling league bowling games, or you know just late at night and I would be the one taking care of her.

This again addresses a research question of target selection. The older offenders selected targets that they could spend more time with. The younger offenders did not appear to have time to cultivate a relationship as their routine activities only allowed them to cross paths for a brief period. Older offenders were allowed time to assess their targets and possibly formulate a sort of cost-benefit analysis of the situation, whereby they could assess the victim's guardianship in relation to how much effort it would take to gain the victim's trust.

Offenders were also asked if they were not guardians or did not have any type of guardianship role over their victim, or if they knew their victim's guardians. Five offenders responded that they did not know their victim's guardians. These offenders tended to be young offenders.

Steve (19) stated:

Researcher: Okay. Uh, were you, were you friends or acquaintance with the victim's guardian? Did you know this person's mom, dad. . .

Steve: No. _____, I never met them.

Ted (22) stated the following in response knowing the victim's guardian:

I never knew 'em, I barely knew her.

Only one of those five offenders (Fred) met his victim someplace besides a party or some type of social event. Fred picked up his victim on a city street as she was a prostitute.

Four of the offenders responded that they did have some type of guardianship role over their victim. This type of guardianship ranged from being a stable legal guardian such as the victim's step-father, to a more temporary guardian such as counselor, to an implied type of guardian due to the victim's parents being largely absent. This is best illustrated by the following interview excerpt:

Larry (53)

I was kind of a fatherly figure...And then, uh, she'd tend to hang around a little bit, and, uh, living next door, well she would just leave out of her house without permission, come over and sit on my front porch or whatever, you know, if I wasn't there.

Offender guardianship was also investigated. Three of the offenders were on some form of community supervision at the time of the instant offense, all for a past sex crime. Two of those three offenders were on community supervision for sex crimes committed as juveniles. Only two of the offenders were married at the time of the crime. Both indicated that they were invested in their relationship with their spouse. This relationship did not seem to deter the sexual abuse, but it did affect the situational aspect of the crime.

Bob (39) was asked about his relationship with his victim he stated:

I was her step-dad.

He further stated the following about how he would come to be alone with the victim:

I had to wait for her (victim's) mom to leave to the store, sometimes I would just taker her (victim) when I felt like doing something and her mom wasn't goin anywhere.

They both committed the offense when their spouse was not around. They advised that the presence of their spouse would deter them from sexually abusing their victim. Neither spouse had any knowledge of the event until alerted by others. In one case, the spouse called police after learning that the offender had sexually abused her biological daughter, the offender's step-daughter.

The location of the sexual crime was also explored in order to assess the guardianship at the time of the instant offense. This gives a better understanding of the situational aspects of the criminal event itself, and allows for examination of situational crime components. Three of the offenders sexually abused their victim in a public place. However, none of these three offenders recruited their victim from a public place. The three that did sexually assault their victims in a public place did so in the confines of their own vehicle while parked either in a parking lot or a city park. The location of the sexual events does seem to be situationally motivated. Another of the aforementioned three, **Scott (19)**, sexually assaulted his victim while on dates with her. The offender would pick his victim up at her house with the full knowledge of the victim's parents, in that a dating relationship existed between the offender and the victim.

Scott stated the following:

Researcher: Do you think that the relationship with, uh, the lady, uh, helped you gain access to the daughter?

Scott: Yah, cause really when I, when I got with the daughter (victim), uh, she, her mom was the one that pursued me into actually dating her daughter, and she kept asking me, you know, why wouldn't I. And, uh, I finally ended up giving in

to her mother and actually dated her daughter. But there was really no sexual, nothing sexual between me and the daughter for a while.

The last of the three **Tim, (18)** sexually assaulted his 13- year- old victim the same night he met her at a party. Tim and Sam advised that the victim's guardians were not effective caretakers in their opinions. Tim and Sam stated the following when asked about his perception of the victim's guardians, Tim stated:

They let her run the streets.

Sam also recalled:

I think she had too much issues at home with her family trying to, cause there was a lot of, there was a lot of drugs and partying issues with the, with the one victim's family and I think she was just looking for a relationship with somebody.

The lack of capable guardianship concerns both the guardian of the victim and offender's guardianship (i.e. surveillance). In this section, the guardianship of the offender was measured by determining whether or not the offender was married, and if that marriage provided surveillance which impacted offending behavior. Only two of the offenders were married at the time of the sexual abuse. The fact that both were married did facilitate the sexual offense through routine activities of the offender allowing the offender to directly become a guardian (step-daughter/step-father relationship) or, more indirectly, the offender having a daughter old enough to babysit. They both share similarities in that, due to social position they are allowed to occupy as parents, they are allowed access to their victims.

Target Suitability

The final aspect of RAT relates to target suitability. For instance, a regular question asked of offenders was, “Why did you choose this person?” or “What made this person a more suitable target as opposed to someone else?” The major theme revealed was access to the victim. It appears that access to the victim was largely based on guardianship of the victim. In essence, the guardians were gatekeepers, allowing offender access to child and adolescent victims.

Bill (39) stated the following when asked about how he came to be alone with his victim:

They also gave me permission to take care of her, the first aid or anything in case if she got hurt. My daughter babysat her (victim) but I was the one watching her.

When **Larry (53)** was asked about his access to his 8 year old victim he replied: Her mother wasn't watching her close enough, I don't really think. On, uh, for instance, I could show up and, uh, and, uh, ask her if she wanted to come over to the house at her house, see?

Researcher: Um huh.

Larry: Her mother and her father were there. They said yes, uh huh.

The nature of the relationship the victim and offender shared was important when considering access. Again, this type of relationship was based on age of the offenders. Many of the older offenders knew the guardian or were, in fact, the guardian of the victim. These relationships allowed older offenders access to their victim and thus made the target more suitable. It allowed them to begin to share routine activities with their respective victims. Roles of the offenders changed into more of a guardian or quasi-guardian role through the sharing of routine activities with their victim.

Younger offenders had no guardianship roles over their victims. However, it was noted

that those victims of relatively young offenders had ineffective guardianship. Again, this is not a new discovery. However, it is new when looking at offender recruitment tactics considering the age of the offender. In this study, access affects victim suitability, and the type of access granted to a potential victim is dependent upon the age of the offender.

It appears that in respect to physical attributes of the victim, physical attraction is important. **Thomas (44)** was asked about attractiveness:

I thought they were both really cute little kids, you know. Nice little kids. And I was videotaping them at the swimming pool. Well, I took the camera back into the locker and got them changing, too.

Tim (18) response to physical attraction:

I was attracted to her and she was attracted to me.

The attractiveness factor becomes important because just because an offender may have access to a potential victim does not mean that they will sexually abuse any victim. However, one must consider all factors when addressing target selection. For instance, the offender may initiate contact with a person because they are attracted to that person's child/children. Therefore, the suitability of a victim is the motivating factor in obtaining some type of access perhaps through a type of guardianship (i.e., babysitting).

Child recruitment from public places is one of the major suppositions for buffer zones. These places are supposed to provide a target rich environment of suitable targets. However, as was discussed previously in this study, the pool of interviewees was somewhat difficult to find given the parameters of the stranger-victim relationship. These parameters were significantly widened in order to obtain a pool of interviewees, thus indicating that the vast majority of the general population of sex offenders in Kansas had some type of relationship with their victim prior to the sexual abuse. Recruitment of a child victim from a public place does not happen with

any sense of regularity. There were only two offenders interviewed in this study that advised he did cruise for sexual partners. Neither indicated that they cruised specifically for children, but rather frequented places where prostitutes were known to operate. **Thomas (44)** stated:

I used to cruise for male prostitutes down in the cruising areas, you know. I mean, uh, there's a place called Independence Avenue in Kansas City and then the Liberty Memorial used to be a place that you would go and looking, people who were looking for that sort of thing would congregate there.

Thus one can see that frequenting places where children congregate does not occur with any regularity. It is also of note that both individuals (Thomas and Ted) who did cruise for sexual partners did so from distances more than a mile from their residence. **Thomas** lived in Kansas at the time he was cruising for partners in Kansas City, Missouri. He recalled the following:

Most sex offenders go away from their home..... there, there was a saying, you don't get your meat where you get your bread.

Ted lived over 40 miles away from an urban center in Kansas where he cruised for sexual partners. Please note that "sexual partners" is the term used here as opposed to child victims; both offenders did not specify if they exclusively cruised for child victims or adult partners.

What works?

Finally, offenders were asked questions pertaining to the efficacy of buffer zones and also what they thought worked to prevent future child sexual victimizations concerning both themselves and other sexual offenders. Surprisingly, a vast majority of offenders advised that they were in favor of some type of buffer zone restriction, though with limitations.

Steve (19) noted:

I'd have to say it depends on the sexual offense. If you lump sum everybody, this,

it's, it's not gonna, it's gonna hurt more for everybody than it's going to help.

Ken (19) noted:

It would depend on the sexual, the person that is convicted of a sexual offense.

They advised that such restrictions needed to be executed on a case-by-case basis and not a blanket restriction. None of the offenders advised that a buffer zone would have prevented their specific sexual criminal offense that resulted in their current incarceration; none believed that such a restriction should be enforced upon them upon their release. It bears noting that according to information gathered from their interviews and information obtained through DCCCA files that residency played no part in their current offenses.

Eight offenders advised that they believe that prison (especially Jessica's Law, which in Kansas significantly stiffens punishment for repeat sexual offenders) will help deter them from repeated sexual offenses **Pat (20)** stated:

If you get caught with underage chick now in these days, you're probably in jail for 25 years. If you have a sex case, when you get out and commit another offense, you're probably going to be back in jail for 50 years.

Terry (19) stated:

Prison's a nightmare, but yes, it's beneficial. If I wouldn't have been arrested, this would may have happened again.

While some advised that deterrence would affect future sexual crimes, others believed that their time in prison allowed them to mature as opposed to simply being punished.

Steve (19) stated the following about maturing in prison:

...it was a makes me mature mentally and not only that, I would've learned them tools.

Ten others advised that prison programs did influence their thoughts about offending and would, in turn, decrease the possibility of future sex crimes. **Adam (22)** stated the following about the in-prison sex offender treatment program, DCCCA:

Well DCCCA works for one.

Ken (19):

“Treatment does, I believe it will work. Yes, if they, if they actively participate in it, yes.”

The offenders were also split by age when asked the question about what works to prevent future sex crimes. As evidenced above, younger offenders were more apt to say that maturing and thinking about behaviors before acting was important, and that sex offender treatment was more apt to work for them. Additionally, younger inmates also related that prison does serve as a deterrent to future sex crimes, and that they desired not to spend any more time in prison than possible. Older offenders were more apt to say that there are not any programs in prison that really work; they were more likely to say that they (all sex offenders) should not be lumped into the same category.

Thomas (44):

Prison or any program cannot change what is in a person, they have to do it on their own.

In conclusion, the general population of offenders was queried about matters of victim recruitment; structured, open-ended interview questions related to victim recruitment or target selection, and were assessed qualitatively. These are central questions of this project. It was discovered that target suitability depends on victim access, and access is contingent upon age of the offender. For instance, access to victims for older offenders was determined by an

individual's social position as an adult caretaker. In other words, the social position (social structure) affected individual routine activities of the offender, and allowed offender and victim to cross paths. Younger offenders occupied social positions that allowed them to cross paths with adolescent victims at parties and other social events, even without grooming. Also, offender motivation and guardianship are influenced by social position of the offender.

The impact of social position(s) on victim recruitment, as well as method of target selection, varied by age of the offender in this study. This demands further examination. By examining a sample population of offenders that have chronically sexually offended against child victims (SVP), one can measure variation of offending throughout the life course. This examination will address differences (if any) in methods of target selection across the life course. Also, one can examine changes that occur in social position, which, in turn, directly influence offender routine activities. Such changes potentially allow for identification of persistence and desistence of sexual abuse.

The findings from this portion of the project spurred the second portion of this project: an investigation of those who chronically abuse children (SVPs) throughout a substantial portion of the life course. Potentially, such a strategy identifies how changes in elements of child sexual abuse, such as target selection or guardianship, are altered by events throughout the life course.

Sexually Violent Predator (SVP) Data Analysis

A purposive sample of SVPs was interviewed in order to collect data relating to chronic sexual abuse of children along an offender's life course. This was done to examine how a sex offender's social position (transition and turning points across the life course) affects his routine activities (his method of target selection, as well as persistence in sexually abusive behavior towards children and desistence from such behavior). Five (N=5) SVPs were interviewed. These

five were chosen because of their chronic abuse of children across the life course. All were read informed consent documents designed specifically for the interview portion of this population of offender. All SVPs interviewed for this portion submitted to interviews on at least two separate occasions. The first occasion involved the use of a Life History Calendar (LHC) to collect retrospective data. The second interview involved follow up questions gleaned from information obtained through use of the LHC. These questions usually related to routine activity of the offender throughout the life course. One participant was interviewed four times due to the extensive nature of his offending. Interviews lasted approximately two hours per occasion.

This data was collected for three purposes. The first was to reveal trends in target selection of child victims. A second objective was to collect data concerning how routine activities are altered via life course turning points and transitions that, in turn, facilitate offending. Finally, the collection process sought data relating to how routine activities are affected by turning points and transitions which may enable desistance from child sexual abuse.

Trends in target selection

Four of the five SVPs initiated sexual contact with others at a very early age. John started to play doctor with a neighbor girl when he was five years old; Frankie, when he was eight, had sexual experiences with his older brother; Ed would fondle his eight-year-old step-sister. **Phil** talked about the following interaction with his older brother and sister, which occurred when Phil was 12:

My sister let me play with her tits....my older brother would let me look at his Playboys if I would suck his dick.

It is no surprise, given the routine activities of children, that an offender's first sexual contact was with a family member or neighbor child. Four of the SVPs initiated sexual contact

with another between the ages of six and twelve. These instances were often predicated by the offender becoming sexually active, such as beginning to masturbate as early as age five, and then having sexual contact with a family member, or, in one case, with a neighbor girl of approximately the same age. Thus, target selection occurs because the routine activity of the child victim and the routine activity of the offender cross paths in the venue of childhood situations and encounters.

Target selection for the first sexual offense in the SVP varies, as the age of the offender varies in relation to their first sexually abusive event for which they could have been prosecuted. Three of the five participants interviewed reported that their first sexual crimes occurred between the ages of fifteen and sixteen. The other two participants advised their first sexual crimes occurred at ages 27 and 34.

Chris (27) stated the following in respect to his first sex crime:

The neighbor girl started coming over and asking about sex. Me and my fiancé was having a bad time, so I just started in.

When asked why he did he this at that particular time he responded:

I was just having a tough time. Things were falling apart at home, I wasn't working I just felt myself slippin.

The SVPs who committed their first prosecutable offense between the ages of 15 and 16 selected their targets through the course of the typical routine activities and social position commonly given to adolescents. One of the participants was babysitting for another family. He was given temporary care of the infant child; thus, a lack of guardianship allowed him access to the child for a period of time.

Ed was 15 years of age when his first sex crime occurred he stated:

I was babysitting and was changing the boy's diaper. I just put my mouth around his penis.

Another of the three offenders began to expose himself during the course of his drive home from a part-time job. His social position as a teen legally allowed him to drive. The legitimate purpose of going to and from a part-time job allowed him access to his parents' car and, in turn, the potential of "flashing victims."

Phil 16 years of age at the time of his offense stated the following concerning his first sex crime:

I would be driving to or from work and would look for women in parking lots, if no one was around I'd park walk by and flash them.

The third of the three teen SVPs was allowed access to a relative at a sleep over. His social position as a young teen allowed him access to the young family member that an older adult family member would not have had. There are three different access points to victims for the teenaged SVPs, but all are allowed that access due to their social position either as a babysitter, part-time commuter, or teen family member sleeping over.

Facilitation

Target selection and persistence appears to evolve for SVP offenders as they continue through the life course, depending on certain life situations. Ages of the offenders bring different social positions, and access to some victims opens, while access to others closes. Similarly, methods of child victim recruitment change through each offender's life course, dependent on age and co-occurring social status. The two offenders who did not initiate criminal sexual

activity until older (27 and 34) had access to children at those ages, whereas access before that age appeared to be very limited.

A special note of clarification should be made concerning access to children. The absence of access to children does not mean that there were no children around at all. The actual routineness and regularity of daily life allows an offender to obtain knowledge about that child's level of guardianship. There becomes a level of familiarity that the offender has with a potential victim. Such a situation allows access that can result in potentially offending behavior. For instance John recalled the following concerning times when he did not assault a child:

I would befriend a family but I did not act because he did not feel that he was close enough to the victim's family in order to gain trust thus the victim may tell and be believed because the family didn't know him.

Access to potential child victims did not occur for the two late initiator SVPs until their late twenties and mid-thirties. For instance, **Frank** was sent to a state hospital until he reached 18. When he was 19, he was accused of sexually assaulting a peer. Both of those later starters had recently divorced their wives, whom they both characterized as domineering and watchful of their actions. **Chris** recalled:

She (wife) watched me all the time. I couldn't leave home for long, otherwise she check up on me.

Upon their respective divorces, Frank and Chris occupied social positions that allowed them access to potential victims. For both, the situations involved relationships that developed with adult women who had female children. These initial victims were neighbors whose parents, according to the SVPs, were not effective caretakers of their children. **Chris** recalled the following in reference to his first victim's mother, who lived next door:

The girl's mom was a "whore." She was never around and the girl would stay the night at my house often.

Here it appears that access to potential victims is granted for the first time for the two late-starters when significant life events caused a change in social position and daily routines.

The three SVPs that initiated sexually abusive behavior early in their lives changed recruitment methods as their social positions changed. For all three of these participants, the first sexual contact was with family members. **John** recalled:

My brother and I masturbated each other when looking and porn magazines.

Phil: When I was 12, my sister let me feel her boobs all the time.

Chris: I used to fondle my 8-year-old step sister, we shared the same room.

However, as events arose and turning points were reached along the life course, recruitment methods changed. As social positions changed, accompanying life situations, events, and opportunities for access also changed. These changes in social position along the age-graded life course heavily influenced the routine activities of these SVPs, and, in turn, the venues in which child victims could be found.

John: When I got fired because I was under investigation by the police, the only person I could abuse was my daughter.

For instance, we saw in the previous discussion of the general population of sexual offenders, young adult offenders typically centered their activities with those that regularly crossed paths with adolescent females. This would usually happen through the course of parties and other social events, giving rise to acting upon impulses that had developed for whatever

reason. It is of significant interest, though, that when these offenders were no longer young adults, the ages of their victims decreased. These and other instances provide a good illustration of instances when offending occurs around routine activities and ways in which it “matches” with those of the victim. The routine activity of the young SVP (age 10-12) matches the routine activity of his very young child victim (ages 2-6), at least some of the time. As the offender ages into teen years or young adulthood, his routine activities change. He then occupies the social position of a young adult and assumes roles and behaviors that include parties and social events with others similar in age and situations. Statutorily, these perpetrators are identified as child sexual offenders.

However, the trajectory is not straightforward. That is, we cannot assume, of course, that older offenders always target their contemporaries. For child sex offenders, age typically brings new social positions – that of father, uncle, worker, school board member, or even grandfather. As the offender continues to age, he occupies new social positions, which, in turn, present access to a different set of potential victims. For this group of SVPs, age brought access (and perhaps preference) to young victims around the ages of seven, eight, and nine.

A very important observation occurred: without these social positions and the corresponding “proper” access to children, desistance occurred. This research highlights why that is the case. With the previous assessment of the general population of sexual offenders, it was not possible to examine what might have changed offending behavior. Offenders from that sample reported that prison and sex offender treatment would help; and that, for many, change in behavior would come from internal measures such as maturation and changing attitudes, not external measures such as legislation. This aspect of the project allows for examination of periods of desistance through the life course.

Desistence

It appears that limiting access to child victims is very important when considering desistence for this population. Once again, “limiting access” does not mean preventing offenders from seeing children in stores or living next to parks, but rather refers to preventing regular activities from crossing paths with those of potential child victims. These offenders were often times granted access to victims when they became friends with children’s guardians through professional venues, or through indirect relationships that facilitated the crime. A critical aspect for this research was to understand the point of access. This point is not static as it moves along the life course, opening venues of recruitment up and closing others as social positions are discarded. When considering desistence for this sample of SVPs, limitation of access was vital.

Transitions and turning points during this sample’s life course also contributed to detectable desistence from sexual abusive behavior toward children. These turning points were most notable at points during the SVPs life course where, according to them, there was an attempt to stop because they wanted to adopt more conventional behavior.

John stated:

I stopped working in parts of work that did not allow me access to children.

Ed recalled:

I got a full time job, lived in a place I liked, started taking care of a dog. I wanted to stay out of trouble.

When asked what spurred this change or desire to change behavior, these SVP offenders responded with examples such as guilt for past offenses, a need to take care of something (such as a dog) that was dependent on the offender, and concern about pending allegations lodged with police and Social Services. These all played a part in what turned out to be at least temporary desistence.

The presence of a guardian also influenced desistence in the SVP interview pool. The guardianship was not necessarily the watchful eye of a caretaker of the victim, but rather the surveillance of a significant other, such as a wife.

Chris recalled this about the relationship with his wife:

My wife watched me all the time, would tell me where I could go and what I could do. She was always at home. That's why when I saw her (victim) at the Y (YMCA) I took her to the basement and asked about teaching her about sex.

John recalled the following in reference to the frequency of the sexual abuse of his daughter:

Once we moved to a house with a second story the sexual abuse with my daughter happened more and more. I could leave my wife downstairs where I would go upstairs away from her (wife) to my daughter's room.

Guardianship of the SVPs also came from the general public. At one point during the interview,

John related that he went to a swimming pool to watch children and masturbated in his car.

When asked if he continued this practice John responded:

There were too many eyes (surveillance).

SVPs did assess the guardianship level of potential victims when determining whether or not to abuse a child:

John:

I would look to see if they had a strong relationship with their mom or dad, if the parents seemed to care about them (victim). If they appeared to be lonely I would show them "love" that was one of my ways in.

When asked about how he chose his "flashing" victims, **Phil** responded:

I would drive by and make sure they were alone.

Thus it appears that guardianship of victims as well as guardianship (surveillance) provided by SVP's significant others provides can provide a measure of desistance.

The general population of offenders interviewed stated that the sexual abuse treatment program they were currently in at the time of the interview provided them with knowledge about themselves and areas of concern.

When asked about what he thought was beneficial for him **Steve** responded:

DCCCA really works for me but you gotta do the program

Jeff responded to the same question:

I learned a lot in treatment, I know some of the things I need to avoid

The participants from both samples appeared to illustrate that when turning points are reached that either remove access to children via a change in social position such as changing employment or there is a provision of a conventional transition such as an emotional investment in a relationship even with a pet desistance can occur:

Ed (an SVP) relayed the following about a period in his life when offending behavior stopped for a while:

I had a new apartment and a new job that I really liked. The apartment was just a motel, but I had that place and a dog that I bought. I had something to care care of when I had that dog.

In conclusion, this data was collected from a sample of the SVP population in order to address three questions: How do child sexual abusers develop target selection? What is the role of events across the life course on sexual abuse persistence? What is the role of life events on desistance? Target selection and persistent sexual abuse evolves as the offender continues

through the life course. Importantly, we have been able to identify significant turning points that affect patterns of child sexual abuse across the life course; each interacts with age and social position of the offender.

Two Illustrations of Recruitment

The following vignettes serve to illustrate two types of offenders in this study. This study typically resists hard categories; however, for illustration purposes, it is useful to look at two vignettes that underscore important differences in recruitment patterns. The first follows the life course of an SVP (John) as he reaches turning points along the life course. These turning points shape (or are shaped by) social position, which, in turn, influence the routine activities and ultimately whom he sexually offends. The second is a compilation of general offenders that contrast with John's case and serves to demonstrate that John is *not* a typical sex offender, one who is certainly not representative of the sex offender population. Of course, such considerations should be emphasized when considering legislative initiatives – it would be virtually impossible to mandate a wide-sweeping piece of legislation based on a miniscule proportion of the offending population. A brief discussion illustrating where child victims are recruited by both samples and the relation to buffer zones concludes this section.

John: A case study

A case study of John is included below to illustrate the changes in child victim recruitment throughout his life course. This vignette provides examples of turning points in John's life that, due to his social position at certain points, allowed him access to different victims. This change affected his routine activities, and subsequently, his recruitment methods. Targets became more or less suitable, or guardianship of potential victims increased or decreased. For instance, John was allowed access to more victims due to his social position as a

nurse. When that position changed, due to an accumulation of factors, or turning points, his access to victims was changed or even eliminated. Similarly, John's motivation to commit such crimes seemed to ebb and flow.

John was an ideal candidate to examine concerning sexual offending across the life course. A review of his case file indicated that he had almost 100 victims identified through treatment and other interviews. He had been sexually abusing children since he was 15 years old and, except for relatively brief periods of time, had not stopped offending until he was finally arrested at age 37. The case file indicated that his victims included strangers, acquaintances, patients from his employment as a healthcare worker, and his biological daughter. John best illustrates the changes in victim recruitment across the life course due to those factors. By examining John's case, one may better understand target selection trends, turning points that affect persistence, and those that may influence desistence – all within the same life span. John was interviewed on four different occasions at the SVP unit; in total, his interviews totaled about 12 hours.

The following represents a truncated portion of his interviews. The turning points are identified by number and are presented below:

1. He was sexually assaulted at five years of age by a teenage neighbor. Shortly afterward, he began to masturbate at home, school, in the bathroom, and so forth. He reported being stimulated by possibility of getting caught.

John: I liked to run around the woods naked; the thrill of not getting caught was fun.

John reported that when he was sexually assaulted by the teenage neighbor girl, he became sexually active and sexually confused. John marked this as a turning point in his life. Throughout my conversations with John, the idea of thrill was important. During this period of

time, John's mom and dad divorced. His mom remarried fairly quickly, and he moved to a new home.

2. John, at 15 years of age, moved back with his family to Kansas. He soon sexually assaults a three-year-old cousin while she sleeps. He also states that he begins to masturbate on a daily basis. He dated girls his age infrequently.

John: I saw her naked earlier, and I was interested more than anything.

John related that he thought that his uncle was abusing his cousin, and that he saw her (the cousin) earlier in the night get out of the bathtub naked. He became excited, and when bedtime came, he asked to sleep in his cousin's room. When she fell asleep he fondled her.

3. John, at 18 years old, was living on his own. He started to molest adolescent girls. He traded rides in his car for fondling; he meets girls at parties.

John: I had a car and would drive 'em around I told them they had to do things for me.

It became evident that John was taking advantage of his situation as a person with a car. He used it as a new way to recruit adolescent victims. This is one of the few times in John's offending career when he sexually assaults adolescent females – more evidence that age interacts with social position.

4. John, at 19 years of age, stops molesting and tries to date. John meets and marries his wife.

This turning point marks one of the few times when John attempts to make an effort to stop molesting children. It was not clear why that, at this time in the life course, he chose to try and date females his age. Without further information, we can assume it was because of his status as a late teen, observing people around him in permanent (or semi-permanent) relationships.

Nevertheless, he did meet his wife; this turning point signaled a drastic change in his routine activities as his status changed to husband. However, eventually, his offending behavior reappeared as he gained access to more victims in the form of new family members.

5. John, at 21 years of age, began working in the healthcare field. Here, he takes advantage of his social position as a nurse and began to molest child patients – obviously because employment changed both activities and access. He did not molest adolescent females, as he explains:

John: They are too risky and would tell. You can't manipulate them.

6. John, at age 27, was fired from work due to allegations of sexual abuse. This is the only other brief period when his offending behavior slowed down. He no longer had access to children at work and could not work and abuse patients again. The only access he had was to his two-year-old daughter. John states:

John: I thought I would never abuse her.

He recalls that:

John: There were so many things going on and I had to look at things.

There appears to be an accumulation of events that do affect John's offending behavior. The police, as well as Social Rehabilitative Services, were investigating the allegations of sexual abuse. He moved out of his house briefly, and he was fired from his job. This accumulation of factors signaled a brief turning point, or period of desistence. It is an interesting note that approximately two years prior to his allegation, another sex abuse allegation was made but was quickly dismissed. Due to a lack of an accumulation of factors, his offending behavior remained undeterred until this particular time.

7. At the age of nine, John's daughter had friends over. About the same time, when John was 33 years of age, his wife started a daycare.

John: I looked for a victim that was sad or lonely... they were less likely to tell and I could draw them in easily.

His daughter turning nine years old is very significant in John's offending behavior. This allowed him access to young girls; he stated:

John: Four to 10-year-old blond haired, blue-eyed girls really fit my template.

When John refers to "template," he means a victim with preferred characteristics. John continued to molest his daughter at this time but also molested or attempted to molest girls that stayed the night. He appeared to become more sophisticated in his selection process.

John: I would feel them out, like, walk in the bathroom at times, or say dirty things to see what their reaction would be.

This incident represents an opportunity for John's regularized activities at home to overlap with potential victims. He no longer was recruiting victims from the workplace, as he had no access. But he did have access at home. As a result, there was a marked change in his recruitment methods. About the same time, his wife started a daycare center in the home. This allowed him much more access to smaller children.

John: People just trusted me, and I played on that. I used that to my advantage.

8. John reported that at 36 years of age:

John: I was completely out of control.

He further recalled:

John: I went to stores and followed children around even if they were in shopping carts. I'd try to look up their dresses and see their panties. I'd go the

bathroom and masturbate. Once I went to the toy aisle and saw a four-year-old's panties and then went to the bathroom and masturbated.

We can witness a significant change in John's routine activities. He did continue to molest his daughter, her friends, and some of the children at his wife's daycare. However, he then progressed toward stalking complete strangers in retail stores. This researcher was unable to determine exactly why John extended his sexually abusive behavior to strangers. It might be an escalation or the need for heightened excitement. He did allude to wanting a new "thrill." John was arrested when he was 37 years old. He has been incarcerated since.

During John's offending career he had multiple changes in routine activities affecting child victim recruitment. The change in his routine activities allowed him to cross paths with a potential victim's routine activity. Often, his status as either a nurse, father, or husband was key to perpetrating his offending patterns. These social positions allowed him access to different victims at different times throughout his life course. John's case study provides an instructive illustration of turning points, which affect his sexual abuse episodes.

General population

In contrast to the predator population as exemplified above by John's history, this segment serves to illustrate recruitment of the vast majority of the sex offending population. This accounting represents a vignette or compilation of the general population of offenders.

A vast majority of offenders in the general population with stranger-victims stated they did not plan to sexually assault anyone and, in some cases, believed the person they were having relations with was over the age of legal consent (in Kansas, age of consent is 16).

Tim: We was just out for the night and I was chillin they (victim and friends) came over and we started to party. Next thing I knew we was kissin and rubbing up on each other.

Sam: My parents forced me to get out of the house and I just saw them at the skating rink waiting in line. Afterward we just hooked up.

Cody: We were at a party drinking, most everyone was from college. I didn't think she (13-year-old victim) could be at a party like that. Who would have thought a 13-year-old would be there?

In contrast to the SVP (John), these offenders showed considerable lack of planning to seek out an underage person for sexual activity. When asked if they were attracted to children or young adolescents, this population often responded in the following fashion:

Cody: I'm attracted to girls my own age or maybe a little older. I thought the person I was having sex with that one night was older. She told me she was older.

Jamie: She (victim) came over with my older sister. Everyone told me she was 17 later I found out she was 14. When I knew that everything stopped.

Ken: I thought she was a prostitute, who would think that a 13 or 14 year old would be out on the street hooking looking for money and dope.

Concluding Remarks

It is of considerable importance for this study to note spaces from which child victims were *not* being recruited. The SVPs interviewed did not recruit children from places commonly associated with buffer zone restrictions, such as schools, pools, parks, and playground. Further, among the SVP sample, only one (John) indicated he did go to such places (a pool) to watch

children and masturbate. Even in John's case, he did so only on one occasion. When asked why he did that one time he responded: "There were too many eyes."

These accounts counter the logic that places where children congregate make a target rich environment. These areas may, in fact, have many children there. But more important, there is also much more surveillance provided. Surveillance appears to make these places actually unappealing as a recruitment opportunity for sex offenders.

The general population of offenders was interviewed based on their status as a stranger to their victims. None of the offenders in the general population of interview participants recruited their victim from a public place. As noted earlier, older offender in this population tended to recruit victims from their neighborhood who were at least somewhat known to the offender, or through employment associations. The younger offenders tended to recruit their victims from places such as social events.

The research sought to discover how a sample population of general sex offenders and a sample of SVPs recruited child victims. Here it was discovered that the general population recruited victims differently based on their respective social positions. These social positions were determined by ages of the offenders. Younger offenders routine activities allowed them access to adolescent victims. Older offenders allowed them access to child victims because of their social position such as caretaker or professional. The social position or status influenced the target suitability, offender motivation, and the level of guardianship of the victim and of the offender. This aspect of the research informed the second aspect of the research- life course influence on routine activity.

The life course of offenders was investigated and confirmed that the three elements of routine activities are situationally determined throughout the life course. The social position

occupied by the SVPs interviewed influenced their routine activities which affected victim recruitment. Persistence and desistence of sexual abuse was based on turning points in their lives as these turning points influenced target suitability, affected their motivation, and both their guardianship and the victim's guardianship.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion and Looking Forward

The aim of this research project was to address five separate questions pertaining to recruitment of children for sexual abuse. These questions were prompted by legislation that sought to restrict where people with sex crimes can live in relation to places where children congregate. The premise of such residential restrictions is based on the thought that sex offenders recruit child victims from these public places.

Empirical data advises that the vast majority (at least 80%) of sexual offenses are perpetrated by someone the child knows, such as a family member or acquaintance (Greenfeld 1997; Synder 2000). These consistent findings should render residency restrictions ineffective because most child victims were obviously not recruited from public places by strangers. However, because both public perception and legislative initiatives persist in believing that such “stranger danger” polices are appropriate, a thorough investigation into child victim recruitment by strangers was necessary.

The sample of a general population of sexual offenders addressed questions concerning overall child victim selection, investigating whether or not the small proportion of stranger recruitment holds for this group, and gleaned fairly extensive details of motivation and opportunity routines. Two phases of this data collection method resulted in the analysis of demographics and patterns of offenders and victims, as well a qualitative assessment of victim recruitment strategies. This portion of the analysis was guided by Routine Activity Theory (RAT) (Cohen and Felson 1979).

The second methodology of data collection – reviewing files and interviewing offenders determined by Kansas Courts to be sexually violent predators (SVP) – allowed in-depth examination of how life course events influence and alter routine activities. The innovative Life

History Calendar (LHC) methodology, facilitating targeted memory recall, enabled us to optimize retrospective accounts in a longitudinal fashion.

What does this tell us?

The first research question proffered sought to answer where sex offenders tend to recruit their victims. An initial review of offender general sex offender population files confirmed that child sexual abuse, where the offender was a stranger to the victim, was relatively infrequent, confirming what others have found. Most important, the study noted that only one of the 83 files reviewed from the general population recruited their victim from a place where children congregate (in that case, a park). Further, none of the SVPs interviewed recruited a child for sexual contact from a place where children are commonly found to congregate.

Routine Activity and Access

The second research question sought to address the typical target selection of the general population of offenders. A review of the general population of offenders revealed that access to victims depended upon the routine activities that the offender occupied at the time of the instant offense. Those offenders that were young adults, 18-25 years of age, recruited their victims where they and the victim's routine activity crossed paths – for instance, at parties and other social events. The offenders, by virtue of their social position as young adults, have access to adolescents in these venues; such young offenders were more likely to sexually assault an adolescent as opposed to a young child victim.

Young offenders are more likely to assault victims nearer their own age (young adolescents), and, as offenders grow older, they are more likely to assault young victims (children and infants). This finding, standing alone, is not surprising; others have found age differences in victim selection. Yet, heretofore, there has been no explanation for this finding.

Here, we now know that adult offenders benefit from a special status (i.e. parent, neighbor, health care provider), which may affect their strategies to recruit child victims. Further, these social positions change over time, explicating differences between age groups in nuances of recruitment such as motivation and grooming. This aspect of the current research project explains that relatively young adult offenders tend to recruit adolescent victims because their social positions allow them access to those victims.

The older offenders in this study recruited child victims based on their social position as adults (i.e., caretakers or responsible parties). Relatively older offenders – those over 25 years of age – were more likely to recruit a victim through routine activities associated with their social position as caretaker, usually via babysitting or through employment. Older offenders are able to recruit a younger victim because their everyday life is organized around a specific social position that regularizes contact with children. The victims in these circumstances tended to be relatively young and were in need of adult supervision. For instance, older offenders may have occupied the social position of a father who could access his children’s friends or even his own child. This social position as “caretaker” allowed him access to young victims in a way not afforded to a younger offender. Conversely, young adult offenders in this study had easy access to adolescent victims by virtue of their social position as young adults; for the most part, grooming was not necessary in these situations.

Routine activities associated with specific social positions of the victim and the offender tends to provide a crossing of paths in certain venues. The convergence of such routine activities allowed the offender adequate time to assess guardianship levels of the victim, the suitability of that target (perhaps based in part on victim’s guardianship), and their own motivation based on target characteristics and effort necessary for a successful contact. Those venues or areas of

access are dependent upon offenders' social positions at certain periods along the life course. Those social positions affect an offender's routine activities, which, in turn, affect the situation.

Situational criminal events related to child sexual abuse often take the path of least resistance. When a motivated offender, a suitable target, and a lack of capable guardians converge, a predatory criminal event is more likely to occur. Yet, neither situational crime prevention nor routine activities address the environs that facilitate the path of least resistance, or the convergence of the three elements described by routine activities. This project explains how the criminal stage is set up. In other words, we have revealed how the path of least resistance is laid out before the offender, and/or how the three elements of routine activities are allowed to converge at that point. Social position – often associated with offender age and life events – becomes the key connector.

These findings in the general population of offenders spurred a need to further examine the impact of social position on an offender's routine activities across the life course. The initial aspect of this study, a review and examination of the general population, allowed for a snapshot of the instant offense. However, the opportunity to examine impacts of turning points across the life course on offender's routine activities was necessary in order to gain a fuller appreciation of changes in targeting and recruiting children. These social positions are dynamic across the life course. Access to certain victims is allowed because of reaching these changes, or turning points, while access to other children is denied by virtue of the offender's social position.

Life Course

The major objectives of the qualitative work with SVPs sought to address research questions as identified in Chapter 1 of this study: identifying victim selection methods, and discerning turning points, or times in the life course of a sex offender in which offending was

more or less likely, or time in which the pattern or characteristics of offending changed. The researcher found that certain turning points emphatically changed victim selection; this finding was exemplified through examination of the SVP's life course, discovering pivotal times and positions that affected routine activities. The identified turning points indicated a change in the routine activity of the offender and either access to victims (persistent sexual behavior) or the denial of victims (desistence) was noted. When a SVP reached a specific turning point in their life, it usually signaled a change in target selection methods. For instance, when John's daughter reached an age when she could have friends spend the night; the offender was allowed access to a new set of victims – the daughter's guests. This example helps explain how an offender may deviate from a specific victim template or change their modus operandi.

These turning points also at times signaled desistence from sexual abuse or a decrease in sexually abusive behavior. These decreases in offending behavior were not due to limiting access to child victims by external forces, but primarily by changes within the offender's individual life events. Turning points such as obtaining a stable job with good pay, coupled with an emotional investment, curtailed offending behavior in one SVP. For another SVP (Phil) the offender, upon detection by authorities of possible abuse, decreased victimization (detected and alleged but not imprisoned). Access for this SVP was externally limited at this time, but also he advised that he wished to personally change and made a short-lived effort to curtail his sexually abusive behavior. Whether self-imposed want of change through investment in conventional means or through outside intervention serving as a warning to possible future incarceration, desistence was detected at these turning points. Whenever there was denial of access to children, self-imposed or externally imposed, desistence was identified.

The researcher was able to glean important anecdotal evidence, the modest number of SVPs interviewed did not reveal a clear pattern of discernable desistence relating to events such as employment or investment in a relationship. The one pattern that did emerge concerned the access to potential victims. This access decreased offending or stopped it all together. Thus, the issue of access to potential victims became key to identifying periods of desistence. We have reason to suspect that greater numbers of interviews and more longitudinal data would reveal even more patterns related to persistence and desistence.

Access to children due to changes in social position, which, in turn is often connected to age, has been identified in this project as an important piece of the offending puzzle. The context of access should not be misconstrued. It does not mean that offenders, whether in the general population of offenders or in the SVP population, accessed their victims through places where children congregate via a stranger-victim relationship. It has been quite the contrary. When reviewing SVP files, seven of the 28 offenders recruited victims from public places. Also, none of the offenders interviewed (general population or SVP) ever selected a victim from places where children congregate. Access to child victims is more nuanced. This project has identified access as the ability to intermingle routine activities of the victim and offender through the social position occupied by the offender. Such positions allow access to certain victims such as young children in need of daycare or babysitting services, whereas an adolescent victim would not be in need of such services. Time spent intermingling paths over time does play some part in offending as it allows the offender to assess the level of risk (situational crime aspects).

Theoretical conclusions

This project utilized life course perspective, routine activities theory, and, to a much lesser extent, situational crime prevention. Life course was used to illustrate how, when turning points are reached along an individual's trajectory, routine activities are altered. In this case, the routine activities specifically relating to child victim recruitment for sex offenders was investigated. It was discovered that recruitment is contingent upon the social position the offender occupies, such as an older adult with children or a career. This social position affects their routine activity. Targets now become suitable because there is access.

Motivations arise because they feel alienated by a cumulative number of factors that a younger offender has not had time to experience. Guardianship is impacted as the offender now occupies a social position that allows them this status. The situational aspects are impacted by the routine activity of the offender. Therefore the three factors in routine activity are impacted throughout the life course.

This study utilized three theories of crime causation and underscored the fact that although they may be seen as mutually exclusive perspectives, the three separate theories demonstrate instances that also are conditioned by the others. Though this research is not designed to test theories or causation per se, there does appear to be a temporal order in life events of a sex offender. Life course offers structure in the individual's life, much like social institutions offer structure in an individual's life. This structure defines or dictates daily routine activities. These activities, in turn, affect situational or decision-making points during a person's day, suggesting a quasi top-down approach and raises about the trajectory of sex offending.

Individual decisions create a feedback loop of sorts that affect a trajectory along the life course, as illustrated through identified trajectories of the SVPs in this sample. For instance,

when their offending behavior was discovered and allegations by authorities were made, their life course trajectories changed dramatically. Their social positions changed. These top-level changes in social position affected subsequent lower-level routine activities. The changed activities did not allow for access to potential victims, and situations to commit crime disappeared or were severely limited.

Though these scenarios suggest a somewhat simplistic trajectory, of course life course events and situations are not simple at all. The three theories used to understand the complex events surrounding child sexual abuse may assist researchers in sorting out certain aspects such as initiation, persistence, and desistance. However, as this research makes abundantly clear, the complexity of human behavior – as well as the postulates of the three theories under study – should be considered as intersectional and interactive, each interrelated.

The theoretical contributions of this study also serve to address faults of RAT and LCT. In particular, RAT is criticized by scholars for solely focusing on the crime and not addressing the underlying context of the crime, such as why the offender may be motivated more at some times and less at others, or why some targets are more suitable than others. This study addresses that criticism by looking at how turning points structure or shape routine activities. It provides the context behind the motivation such as an accumulation of factors (i.e., the presence of guardians, investment in employment, and change in social status that shapes access) that influence motivation, target suitability, or guardianship of both victim and offender.

RAT is also criticized for only considering predatory crimes whereby an offender perpetrates a crime against a stranger. As has been illustrated in this study, victimization most often took place at the hands of someone known to the victim. However, this study demonstrates

that routine activities can certainly be applied to crimes that involve someone known to the victim, and how target suitability, guardianship, and motivation define that criminal venue.

This study also addresses LCT criticisms that relate to aspects of desistance and persistence of crime. Life course has often found that turning points such as becoming married to a conventional other or steady employment signals a turning point whereby desistance from crime occurs more frequently. However, when looking at sex offenders and how they recruit victims, events such as marriage or employment *may* have the opposite effect. Such events can open access to new victims that did not exist previously, making clear that turning points are not always positive. I propose that certain turning point events, while positive for most of the population, are actually conditional for sex offenders, and may be adverse or even errant. I propose the concept of *conditioned choice* to advance further exploration in this area.

Policy Implications

By looking at how sex offenders (general population and SVPs) recruit children. We are given an understanding of how policymakers can potentially make decisions that are better informed by science. Here we find that very few sex offenders, both SVP and general population, recruit child-stranger victims. Participants reported that stranger victims are less preferable because there is more danger of detection. Importantly, we also now know that an even smaller proportion recruit in public places where children congregate.

This study contends that it is equally important to recognize that places where children congregate are actually places where the vast majority of offenders would *not* recruit victims, primarily because there is too much surveillance. It is more preferable to recruit a victim the offender is familiar with and knows. Thus, policies like residency restrictions are imprecisely targeted but also detract from finding real solutions.

When the general population of sexual offenders was asked what works, a number responded that sex offender treatment and maturity strategies were beneficial; some even said that confinement can aid in both these issues. Of course, only time will tell if these assumptions are correct for this particular group of offenders. We must also acknowledge that it is easy to tell an outside person something that they would supposedly want to hear. However, it is of note that this combination of factors – treatment, maturing, and confinement – may indeed facilitate some type of positive turning point in their lives. A major problem is that all too often confinement alone is the go-to solution.

When considering what works to prevent sex crimes, it becomes very important to look at each case and determine the best course of action. Recall that many of the general population offenders advised that housing restriction zones may indeed be appropriate for some offenders. However, a one-size-fits-all solution such as blanket residency restrictions is counter-productive. A careful classification of sex offenders, based on a careful, scientific approach, would allow a more nuanced approach to punishment, treatment, and supervision.

Researcher's Position

As the researcher, I occupied a unique position when conducting this project. As a former probation and parole officer who exclusively supervised sex offenders, I had knowledge of the sex offender treatment process utilized in Kansas prisons at the time, as well as an understanding of the security and litigation concerns of facility staff. This knowledge also allowed me to communicate with staff and participants in a helpful way, where I was familiar with terms and reasons for certain procedures. I was able to network, become acquainted with key personnel, and provide an expertise that proved to be beneficial toward accessing the general population and the SVP population. This prior experience and set of networking capabilities was

incalculably helpful for both accessing this guarded population and relating to the concerns and positions of the participants. Most important, my knowledge of the population of study allowed me entrée and the ability to gain trust of these participants and thereby optimize confidence in their reports; I am most grateful for their contributions. .

Limitations

The limitations of this study serve to highlight areas that other researcher may wish to pursue. The routine activities of the victim were only accessed through the offender's perception of guardianship. It would be beneficial to have some information from an outside source to evaluate victim's guardianship. Likewise, information from third party sources such as wives or employers of the SVP offenders would have been useful in identifying turning points that offenders did not report.

The small number of SVPs interviewed was also a concern. Although turning points were identified as important indicators of persistence and desistence, it would be useful to further explore additional, potential turning point patterns. Future research should also explore whether there are differences in turning points between general population of offenders and SVPs. Such an investigation may help identify differences in general and SVP populations that would be useful in determining SVP criteria.

The limitations of the study offer a chance to further explore and investigate this area. The connection between life course, routine activity, and situational aspects of crime are important to study. They appear to affect one another. But more questions remain, especially as they relate to the adverse turning points identified in this study. It would be beneficial to assess a larger sample so that patterns relating to aspects like employment or investment in a relationship detect items that contribute more strongly to desistence. Samples from different areas of the

country may reveal regional differences in offending behavior. Certainly, more investigation is warranted into the intersection between age, social position, and offending.

Looking ahead

The field of sex offender research will continue to be a strong area of interest. Public interest concerning sex crimes and sex offenders does not seem to be fading and can, in fact, be considered a valuable asset for academics interested in this field of study. Just as public interest affects legislation, it also influences opportunities for research funding.

In the future, it would be beneficial to examine the routine activity of the victim. It would no doubt be a very difficult undertaking because of the nature of minor victims; this type of crime does not lend itself to easy examination. However, it may be possible to assess information through secondary parties. There could be avenues of inquiry pursued through social services data or police reports. If possible, the lifestyle of the victim and victim suitability could be determined through examination of such data. Further, the Life History Calendar data collection method could be used in a similar way to facilitate victim retrospective recall. All of this inquiry should, of course, be sensitive to not only confidentiality, but also carry heavy cautionary warnings against victim-blaming.

Another avenue to pursue would be investigating proactive measures that inhibit recruitment. Access to potential victims was identified as a major contributing factor to sexual victimization, giving rise to the importance of examining guardianship approaches. These efforts could take the form of educational information provided by schools that advise children as well as caretakers of facts surrounding child sexual abuse. In this way, schools and education could become a type of pseudo-guardianship for vulnerable children.

A cultural shift may also be necessary. Though changing culture is an incredibly difficult thing to accomplish, it occurs in steps. One strategy would be to explicitly inform the public concerning how the vast majority of children are sexually abused, including methods employed by offenders to recruit victims. This research has revealed that recruitment methods often reveal the sex offender as “con man,” a method that can include a rather long process of recruitment. Not only are children sometimes enticed to somehow passively participate in their own victimization, but also parents may be secondary victims of the manipulation.

Other strategies include the education of parole and probation officers, pointing out that older offenders tend to recruit victims close to home, while younger offenders tend to recruit from social events. At the same time, one should not overlook empirical data concerning sex offender recidivism rates, which are relatively low. Restrictive measures that make reintegration and treatment difficult can be counter-productive..

The issue of sexual offending and what to do with those who commit sexual offenses against children is often controversial. Some want to preserve as much civil liberty as possible while also protecting the community and those most vulnerable. Others want to allow the death penalty for sex offenders. Legislative measures such as housing restrictions appear to be an uninformed reaction to a fearful public. These measures target all identified as a sex offender and takes a see-what-sticks approach toward an important public safety issue. Through understanding sexual offending behavior of children, the general public, practitioners, and legislators can make more informed decisions about how to best handle an extremely difficult situation.

It is time to stop reaching blindly in the dark and start utilizing research that informs decisions.

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Appendix A - Informed Consent General Population File Reviews

Kansas State University Informed Consent: Review of DCCA files

PROJECT TITLE: Buffer Zones for Sex Offenders? Reality Versus Public Perception

APPROVAL DATE OF PROJECT:

EXPIRATION DATE OF PROJECT:

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: L. Susan Williams, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Sociology
Kansas State University

CO-INVESTIGATOR: Ryan Alexander, Ph. D. candidate in Sociology
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PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH:

The issue of released sex offenders in the community recently has become an important topic of debate. Several communities are considering severe restrictions on sex offenders, including place of residence.

This study will address the question: Are geographic buffer zones for sex offenders an effective community protection measure?

PROCEDURES OR METHODS:

This part of the research involves a review of your DCCCA sex offender treatment file. The researcher will only be concerned with information that pertains to the instant offense (that is, the offense that brought you to your current status). No other offenses or crimes will be considered. In particular, this study is interested in victim selection and the location of the offense relative to the offender's place of residence. Only information that is important to the research of buffer zones will be used. While we will make every effort to limit the scope of information visible to the researcher, it may be the case that the researcher will unintentionally view items that are not a part of this research project, such as treatment records. None of such irrelevant information will be collected or used in this project.

LENGTH OF STUDY:

Extracting data from an individual file may take from 10 to 30 minutes. The study will begin around July 15 and continue until interviews and analyses are completed. It is estimated that review of files will be completed by November 1, 2007.

RISKS ANTICIPATED:

Participants may experience some emotional discomfort in thinking about the instant offense and their participation in it. All participants are enrolled in sex offender treatment and may discuss any anxiety with their counselor. Participants are able to withdraw their consent at any time, without penalty or repercussions. Neither your participation nor withdrawal from the study will have any effect whatsoever on current or future release considerations.

BENEFITS ANTICIPATED:

Your participation will benefit the community and society as a whole by informing policymakers about the advisability of legislation related to sex offender management, including whether or not limiting place of residence is an effective community safety policy. Neither your participation nor withdrawal from the study will have any effect whatsoever on current or future release considerations.

EXTENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY:

We will attach numbers and created names to the data, including only general locations and characteristics of the respondents. All data will be kept in locked facilities and will be available only to the P.I. and co-investigator. Confidentiality of all respondents and any identifying markers will be maintained at all times. Data will be released only in summary form and will never be used to the disadvantage of individual participants.

TERMS OF PARTICIPATION:

I understand this project is research, and that my participation is completely voluntary. I also understand that if I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw my consent at any time, and stop participating at any time without explanation, penalty, or loss of benefits, or academic standing to which I may otherwise be entitled.

I verify that my signature below indicates that I have read and understand this consent form, and willingly agree to participate in this study under the terms described, and that my signature acknowledges that I have received a signed and dated copy of this consent form.

PARTICIPANT NAME (please print): _____

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE: _____ **DATE:** _____

WITNESS SIGNATURE: _____ **DATE:** _____

Appendix B - Informed Consent Personal Interviews

Kansas State University Informed Consent: Personal Interviews

PROJECT TITLE: Buffer Zones for Sex Offenders? Reality Versus Public Perception

APPROVAL DATE OF PROJECT:

EXPIRATION DATE OF PROJECT:

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: L. Susan Williams, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Sociology
Kansas State University

CO-INVESTIGATOR: Ryan Alexander, Ph. D. candidate in Sociology
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PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH:

The issue of released sex offenders in the community recently has become an important topic of debate. Several communities are considering severe restrictions on sex offenders, including place of residence. This study will address the question: Are geographic buffer zones for sex offenders an effective community protection measure?

PROCEDURES OR METHODS:

This part of the research involves personal interviews with people who are currently participating in DCCCA sex offender treatment programs. In particular, this study focuses on offenders who had no personal relationship with the child victim. A list of questions allows for gathering focused information about motivation, victim selection, and available guardians or oversight of the child. The interview plan also allows for open-ended discussion, thus allowing the participant to offer additional information related to the importance of buffer zones as community policy. It is emphasized that ONLY the instant offense for which the subject is currently incarcerated or on community supervision will be discussed. No other offenses or crimes will be discussed.

LENGTH OF STUDY:

Interviews are expected to take about one hour. Interviews will begin around October 1 and continue until approximately 40 interviews are completed. It is estimated that the interview process will be completed by March 1, 2007.

RISKS ANTICIPATED:

Participants may experience some emotional discomfort in thinking about and discussing the instant offense and their participation in it. All participants are enrolled in sex offender treatment and may discuss any anxiety with their counselor. It is stressed that the participant may decline to answer any question and/or may stop the interview at any time, without penalty or repercussions. Neither your participation, your responses, nor withdrawal from the study will have any effect whatsoever on current or future release considerations.

BENEFITS ANTICIPATED:

Your participation will benefit the community and society as a whole by informing policymakers about the advisability of legislation related to sex offender management, including whether or not limiting place of residence is an effective community safety policy. Neither your participation nor withdrawal from the study will have any effect whatsoever on current or future release considerations.

EXTENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY:

We will attach numbers and created names to the data, including only general locations and characteristics of the respondents. All data will be kept in locked facilities and will be available only to the P.I. and co-investigator. Confidentiality of all respondents and any identifying markers will be maintained at all times. Data will be released only in summary form and will never be used to the disadvantage of individual participants.

TERMS OF PARTICIPATION:

I understand this project is research, and that my participation is completely voluntary. I also understand that if I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw my consent at any time, and stop participating at any time without explanation, penalty, or loss of benefits, or academic standing to which I may otherwise be entitled.

I verify that my signature below indicates that I have read and understand this consent form, and willingly agree to participate in this study under the terms described, and that my signature acknowledges that I have received a signed and dated copy of this consent form.

PARTICIPANT NAME (please print): _____

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE: _____ **DATE:**

WITNESS SIGNATURE: _____ **DATE:**

Appendix C - Interview questions

Context and Victim Selection

1. How old were you the time of the event?
2. What was your level of education at the time of the event?
3. Were you employed at the time of the event? If yes, occupation.
4. Were you married or involved in a serious relationship at the time of the event?
5. Was the victim(s) under the age of 18? What age(s)?
6. What was the victim's sex? If multiple each victim sex.
7. What type of relationship did you have with the victim in this case? If the victim was an acquaintance, please explain the length and nature of the relationship?

Suitable Target

1. Could you please describe the victim in terms of attire, physical characteristics, activity, and demeanor at the time. Looking back do you think something about the appearance or actions of the victim helped in your selection of the victim? If so please explain.
2. Did you live in close proximity (within 6 blocks) of your victim?
3. Thinking back do you remember frequenting public places where children congregate? If yes please explain how you would plan to visit those public places? If not how did you meet your victim?
4. Were you an acquaintance with the victim's guardian? If so do you think that the relationship may have helped you gain access to the child?
5. Thinking back do you think the victim approached you with the intent of some type of friendship contact? Some type of sexual contact? Did you think so at the time ?
6. Did the victim in this case help find or recruit other children to participate in any kinds of sexual acts? Do you think the victim would have recruited other children if you asked?

7. Sometimes I don't know the right questions to ask. Can you please tell me exactly how you were able to choose your victim? Once you chose your victim how did you gain access to the victim?

Capable Guardian

1. Were you the legal guardian of your victim? If so were you the sole guardian?
2. Were you a teacher, coach, or other authority figure for your victim?
3. Where did the instant offense occur? (your home outdoors, etc.) If not in your home how far from your home?
4. Did you use any type of promise or gift to gain the victim's trust?
5. Did the offense occur while you were alone with the victim? If so what happened to present the situation? i.e. how did it happen that you were alone with the victim?
6. Do you think there was not enough protection for your victim? That is do you think that there was a lack of capable guardians for this child? How could someone have prevented the crime?

Motivation

1. Looking back now do you think that you planned to seek out a child with the intention of having sexual contact with the victim? (if so how much time did you spend looking or planning)
2. What type of transportation did you have at the time of the event? Do you think transportation was an issue in facilitating the offense?
3. How did you get the idea to gain access to the victim? (own experience)? If not what? (media, another's advice etc.)
4. Did you experience some sort of stress prior to the event? If so what type of stress and what was the time proximity of the stressful event to the instant offense?
5. Did you use drugs/alcohol or both prior to the event? If so types of substances used and time proximity of usage to time of instant offense.
6. Did you work in a location that was near a place where children congregate? Do you think this helped you locate a possible victim?
7. Did you frequent places where child prostitutes or child pornography were known to be?

8. Thinking back now, what do you think motivated you to have sexual contact with the victim?
9. In your opinion would a geographic buffer zone for a person convicted of a sex offense be beneficial? Would changing your place of residence have prevented you from accessing your victim? Should registered sex offenders be restricted from living in certain places? Why or why not?
10. What should we know to help prevent sex offenders of children from reoffending? What, in particular, would keep you from reoffending?

Appendix D - Domain Sample

Domains

1. A) Where you ever married or have you ever lived with a significant other? If Yes complete calendar
 - B) Which of these relationships if any would you say were coveted? (mark with *)
 - C) Did you have any children with this person? Include children that may not be viewed as a significant other
- Comments:

Significant other #1	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Married Y/N												
Children Y/N												
1 st child M/F name:												
2 nd child M/F name:												
3 rd child M/F name:												
4 th child M/F name:												
5 th child M/F name:												

1=Jan; 2=Feb; 3=Mar; 4=Apr; 5=May; 6=June; 7=July; 8=Aug; 9=Sept; 10=Oct; 11=Nov; 12=Dec; 0=Doesn't know

M=married S=Separated L=living with spouse/significant other A=living away from spouse D=divorced W=widowed

Born=B Died=D Lived with=L not live with=N

2. This domain concerns your residence/whereabouts. List all your places of residence.

Comments:

Place of residence	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006

1=Jan; 2=Feb; 3=Mar; 4=Apr; 5=May; 6=June; 7=July; 8=Aug; 9=Sept; 10=Oct; 11=Nov; 12=Dec; 0=Doesn't know

I= offender was incarcerated R=living with roommate/significant other etc. P=living with parents Sp=living with single parent

3. This domain concerns your employment. Please try to remember all the places of employment. Were you invested in your job? Did you find it rewarding or fulfilling? Did any of these jobs allow access to children?
Comments:

1 st job:										
Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2001	2003	2004

2 nd job:										
Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2001	2003	2004

3 rd job:										
Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2001	2003	2004

4 th job:										
Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2001	2003	2004

5 th job:										
Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2001	2003	2004

6 th job:								
Year	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001	2001	2003	2004

1=Jan; 2=Feb; 3=Mar; 4=Apr; 5=May; 6=June; 7=July; 8=Aug; 9=Sept; 10=Oct; 11=Nov; 12=Dec; 0=Doesn't know

F=Full time employment P=Part time employment A=Access to children due to employment

4. This domain seeks to establish when you were in school. When you were in school did you find it fulfilling? Were you successful in academics?
 Comments:

In School	yes	no												
Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008

1=Jan; 2=Feb; 3=Mar; 4=Apr; 5=May; 6=June; 7=July; 8=Aug; 9=Sept; 10=Oct; 11=Nov; 12=Dec; 0=Doesn't know

E=elementary school

M=middle school

H=high school

P=Post secondary

5. This Domain seeks to determine when/if you were sexually abused. Also were you physically abused other than sexual abuse. Also were you neglected? If you were a victim of any of the above please complete the following:
 Comments:

Sexually abused by whom	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007

1=Jan; 2=Feb; 3=Mar; 4=Apr; 5=May; 6=June; 7=July; 8=Aug; 9=Sept; 10=Oct; 11=Nov; 12=Dec; 0=Doesn't know
 sexually abused=S Physical abuse=P neglect=N

6. The domain seeks to determine all sexual activity including both sexually illegal behavior and legal sexual behavior. Also about when did you experience puberty? Also when did you start/stop fantasizing about illegal sexual behavior?
 Comments:

Type of sexual behavior	Victim was a stranger Y/N	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006

1=Jan; 2=Feb; 3=Mar; 4=Apr; 5=May; 6=June; 7=July; 8=Aug; 9=Sept; 10=Oct; 11=Nov; 12=Dec; 0=Doesn't know
 legal sexual behavior=L illegal sexual behavior=I puberty=P fantasizing about illegal sexual behavior=F

7. This domain pertains to substance abuse. When did you start to abuse substances? Duration of the substance abuse is important here. For instance when did you start to abuse alcohol regularly (not exact dates but the duration of use).

Comments:

Type of Substance used	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007

Viewing pornography:	Yes	No
Child pornography	Yes	No
Produce/traffic child pornography	Yes	No

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003

1=Jan; 2=Feb; 3=Mar; 4=Apr; 5=May; 6=June; 7=July; 8=Aug; 9=Sept; 10=Oct; 11=Nov; 12=Dec; 0=Doesn't know

OTHER DOMAINS WILL BE CREATED AS NEEDED IF THE PARTICIPANT WANTS TO INCLUDE OTHER PREVIOUSLY UNIDENTIFIED DOMAINS

Descriptive Statistics for both populations

Descriptive Statistics General and SVP sample population

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Offender's Race 1=white 0=other	111	.00	1.00	.7568	.43099
Age of the offender at the time of the crime	111	18.00	73.00	34.1081	12.52151
Educational level 1=no HS diploma or GED 2=HS diploma HS diploma or GED 3=Some College 4=College Deg.	111	.00	18.00	11.3063	2.91950
Employment at the time of the crime 1=employed 0=unemployed	111	.00	1.00	.5405	.50061
Marital status at the time of the crime 1=single 2=married 3=divorced	111	.00	3.00	1.6937	.93218

Criminal history at the time of the crime 1=no prior criminal history 2=1-3 prior convictions 3=4+ prior convictions	111	.00	16.00	2.0721	2.93478
Offender on some type of community supervision at the time of the crimes 1=was under community supervision 2=not under supervision	111	.00	1.00	.0541	.22715
Substance abuse at the time of the crime 1=yes 2=no	111	.00	2.00	.6216	.57294
Victim stranger relationship 1=yes 0=no	111	.00	1.00	.2973	.45914
Victim was a family member 1=yes 0=no	111	.00	1.00	.6396	.48228

Crime location	111	1.00	4.00	2.0090	.87900
1=unknown					
2=offender's home					
3=victim's home					
4=public place					
Recruited form a public place	111	.00	1.00	.1892	.39344
1=yes					
0=no					
Victim's sex	111	.00	1.00	.8649	.34342
1=female					
0=male					
Victims age Chronological age	111	2.00	26.00	11.6937	3.73629
Crime type	111	1.00	6.00	3.9099	1.43685
1=other					
2=possession of child porn					
3=sexual exploitation					
4=Indecent Liberties					
5-Aggravated Ind. Lib. Rape of a child under 14					
Sentence range In months	111	.00	9999.00	155.3964	943.61530
Number of criminal counts For the instant offense	111	1.00	16.00	2.0090	1.98401
Number of victims in the instant offense	111	1.00	99.00	2.3423	9.35608
Valid N (listwise)	111				

Descriptive statistics for Gen Pop.

Descriptive Statistics General Population of sex offenders

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Race 1=white 0=other	83	.00	1.00	.7229	.45029
Age of the offender at the time of the crime	83	18.00	73.00	32.8434	12.64958
Educational level 1=no HS diploma or GED 2=HS diploma HS diploma or GED 3=Some College 4=College Deg	83	.00	18.00	11.2048	2.74865
Employment at the time of the crime 1=employed 0=unemployed	83	.00	1.00	.5060	.50300
Marital status at the time of the crime 1=single 2=married 3=divorced	83	.00	3.00	1.6024	.96196

Criminal history at the time of the crime 1=no prior criminal history 2=1-3 prior convictions 3=4+ prior convictions	83	.00	9.00	1.6265	2.42804
Offender on some type of community supervision at the time of the crimes 1=was under community supervision 2=not under supervision	83	.00	.00	.0000	.00000
Substance abuse at the time of the crime 1=yes 2=no	83	.00	1.00	.4458	.50007
Victim stranger relationship 1=yes 0=no	83	.00	1.00	.3133	.46664
Victim was a family member 1=yes 0=no	83	.00	1.00	.7590	.43027
Crime location 1=unknown 2=offender's home 3=victim's home 4=public place	83	1.00	4.00	2.1325	.83770

Recruited form a public place 1=yes 0=no	83	.00	1.00	.1928	.39687
Victim's sex 1=female 0=male	83	.00	1.00	.8795	.32750
Victim's age at the time of the crime	83	3.00	16.00	12.3494	2.91520
Crime type 1=other 2=possession of child porn 3=sexual exploitation 4=Indecent Liberties 5-Aggravted Ind. Lib. Rape of a child under 14	83	1.00	6.00	3.9277	1.62138
Sentence range In months	83	.00	204.00	63.4337	38.05394
Number of criminal counts for the instant offense	83	1.00	16.00	1.9759	2.19743
Number of victims in the instant offense	83	1.00	13.00	1.4819	1.54100
Valid N (listwise)	83				

Descriptive Statistics for SVP Pop.

Descriptive Statistics for Sexually Violent Predator Sample Population

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Race	28	.00	1.00	.8571	.35635
1=white					
0=other					
Age of the offender at the time of the crime	28	19.00	72.00	37.8571	11.54609
Educational level	28	1.00	17.00	11.6071	3.41391
1=no HS diploma or GED					
2=HS diploma HS diploma or GED					
3=Some College					
4=College Deg					
Employment at the time of the crime	28	.00	1.00	.6429	.48795
1=employed					
0=unemployed					
Marital status at the time of the crime	28	1.00	3.00	1.9643	.79266
1=single					
2=married					
3=divorced					

Criminal history at the time of the crime 1=no prior criminal history 2=1-3 prior convictions 3=4+ prior convictions	28	.00	16.00	3.3929	3.84264
Offender on some type of community supervision at the time of the crimes 1=was under community supervision 2=not under supervision	28	.00	1.00	.2143	.41786
Substance abuse at the time of the crime 1=yes 2=no	28	.00	2.00	1.1429	.44840
Victim stranger relationship 1=yes 0=no	28	.00	1.00	.2500	.44096
Victim was a family member 1=yes 0=no	28	.00	1.00	.2857	.46004
Crime location 1=unknown 2=offender's home 3=victim's home 4=public place	28	1.00	3.00	1.6429	.91142

Recruited form a public place 1=yes 0=no	28	.00	1.00	.1786	.39002
Victim's sex 1=female 0=male	28	.00	1.00	.8214	.39002
Victim's age at the time of the event	28	2.00	26.00	9.7500	5.08174
Crime type 1=other 2=possession of child porn 3=sexual exploitation 4=Indecent Liberties 5-Aggravated Ind. Lib. Rape of a child under 14	28	3.00	5.00	3.8571	.65060
Sentence range in number of months	28	24.00	9999.00	428.0000	1876.20223
Number of criminal counts for the instant offense	28	1.00	5.00	2.1071	1.16553
Number of victims in the instant offense	28	1.00	4.00	1.5357	.83808
Valid N (listwise)	28				

Age Distribution both samples

Age Distribution of both sample populations

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18.00	7	6.3	6.3	6.3
	19.00	3	2.7	2.7	9.0
	20.00	3	2.7	2.7	11.7
	21.00	2	1.8	1.8	13.5
	22.00	7	6.3	6.3	19.8
	23.00	2	1.8	1.8	21.6
	24.00	4	3.6	3.6	25.2
	25.00	6	5.4	5.4	30.6
	26.00	8	7.1	7.2	37.8
	27.00	2	1.8	1.8	39.6
	28.00	2	1.8	1.8	41.4
	29.00	2	1.8	1.8	43.2
	30.00	2	1.8	1.8	45.0
	31.00	2	1.8	1.8	46.8
	32.00	2	1.8	1.8	48.6
	33.00	4	3.6	3.6	52.3
	34.00	4	3.6	3.6	55.9
	35.00	3	2.7	2.7	58.6
	36.00	1	.9	.9	59.5
	37.00	5	4.5	4.5	64.0
	38.00	5	4.5	4.5	68.5
	39.00	2	1.8	1.8	70.3
	40.00	4	3.6	3.6	73.9
	41.00	4	3.6	3.6	77.5
	42.00	2	1.8	1.8	79.3
	43.00	2	1.8	1.8	81.1
	45.00	3	2.7	2.7	83.8
	46.00	2	1.8	1.8	85.6
	48.00	2	1.8	1.8	87.4

	50.00	2	1.8	1.8	89.2
	52.00	1	.9	.9	90.1
	53.00	1	.9	.9	91.0
	54.00	3	2.7	2.7	93.7
	55.00	2	1.8	1.8	95.5
	58.00	1	.9	.9	96.4
	61.00	1	.9	.9	97.3
	72.00	1	.9	.9	98.2
	73.00	2	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	111	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.9		
	Total	112	100.0		

