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GRADUATE COLLEGE

SELF-CONTROL IN A CRIMINAL SAMPLE: A COMPARISON OF SEX OFFENDERS AND NON-SEX OFFENDERS

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Shawna Cleary Doering

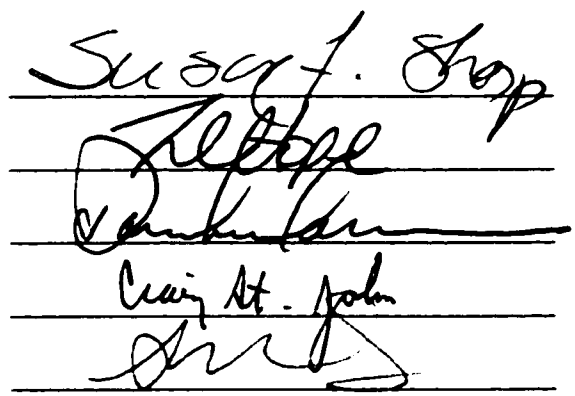
Norman, Oklahoma

2002

SELF-CONTROL IN A CRIMINAL SAMPLE: A COMPARISON OF SEX OFFENDERS AND NON-SEX OFFENDERS

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

BY



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It took a village to write this dissertation. Without the help of a large number of people I would never have been able complete this study or this dissertation. First, I would like to thank the village chief, Susan Sharp, chair of my dissertation committee. This project would have been impossible without the innumerable hours you have spent on it, from helping me to flesh out the survey to phone calls to Washington to the tables and on and on. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your support and expertise. I don't know how I got so lucky to have you as chair! I would also like to thank the other members of my committee: Trina Hope--you knew exactly what I wanted to do from the first and elucidated it much better than I could; Dan Lawrence--thank you for setting the project up with the DOC; Susan Marcus-Mendoza, thank you for giving me important input from the psychological perspective; and Craig St. John, thank you for bailing me out at the last minute! I would also like to thank Toni Terling Watt for her suggestions at the beginning of the project--caveat, caveat, caveat.

I would also like to thank my wonderful family who have stuck by me through the seemingly unending process of graduate school. First, my husband, Shaun, thank you for being patient with me during my middle-of -the-night computer meltdowns; I would never have gotten through this without your emotional support and gentle reminders to "do my homework." I also want to thank my son, Conner, for his patience when I needed help with the computer again and again! Mom, thank you for your emotional support and especially for editing virtually everything I've written throughout graduate school. And Dad, thank you for both the emotional and financial support--I could not have done this

without your help. My parents--I hope to follow in your footsteps and be the kind of teacher you will be proud of.

I could not have gotten the dataset together without the fabulous Judith Wartman, dataset mistress extraordinaire. You thought of everything I never would have, and I would still be struggling with it if it weren't for you. Michael Willis, thank you for helping me with data entry. I look forward to working together on our next project.

Next, I want to thank the indefatigable staff of the RSOTP. Margaret McPherren, thank you for letting me do this project with your program. I appreciate your sage advice on sex offenders in general and the survey in particular and the time you took to help monitor the surveys. Brian Johnson, thank you for expediting the scheduling and memos and for helping with data collection. I appreciated your input on the surveys as well. Thank you Brenda Strait (oops, Carter) for your help and advice. Thank you Jim, Monty, and Debbie for helping with data collection.

Thank you Deputy Warden Merritt of Lexington C.C. for taking the time from your busy schedule to help me with data collection. Your presence made it so much easier. Julia, thank you for typing the transcripts; I couldn't entrust it to just anyone and I felt complete comfort in turning it over to you. I'd also like to thank Dan Vogel for years of advice and support; the information you provided me years ago became the basis for this project. And I want to thank Joan Luxenburg for her mentorship throughout my college career. I would not be here today without your help. Thank you Bud Clark for doing the sampling. And last, I would like to thank my subjects from JHCC and LCC; without your cooperation this study could not have been completed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the criminal histories and analogous behaviors of three inmate samples (non-sex offenders, in-treatment sex offenders, and never treated sex offenders) would reflect the predictions of Gottfredson and Hirschi in their General Theory of Crime. This study utilized survey questionnaires and interviews to explore the relationships of abusive parenting to criminal history and analogous behaviors in both the two samples of sex offenders and the non-sex offender sample. In addition, the role of opportunity and routine activities in sex offenders' victim selection was addressed through in-depth interviews. This study found moderate support for the self-control assertion that offenders do not specialize. In particular, evidence was found in interviews with sex offenders that supported the generality of deviance. However, the survey data suggested that the in-treatment sex offenders differed from the other two samples in levels of self-control. Furthermore, mixed results were found for the relationship between low self-control and engaging in analogous and criminal behaviors among the three groups. The in-depth interviews did support the role of opportunity in sex offenders' victim selection through their physical proximity to victims and/or their knowledge of victims' emotional availability. Additionally, support was found for Cohen and Felson's Routine Activities Theory in the sexual offending of the respondents in this study, suggesting that available targets and lack of guardianship play an important role in victim selection.

CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Arguably one of the most popular crime theories of the last decade, Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime (1990) has been credited with a large role in the resurgence of interest in criminological theory (Paternoster and Brame 2000). According to Pratt and Cullen (2000:931), Gottfredson and Hirschi's book, *A General Theory of Crime*, which details the theory, ranks second in book citations for all books in the 1990's. In addition, the theory's authors have achieved number one (Hirschi) and number three (Gottfredson) rank individually for citations since 1991 in criminological and criminal justice academic journals (Pratt and Cullen 2000:931). And, Wright, Miller, and Britz (2002) ranked Hirschi and Gottfredson numbers one and two respectively in their list of most influential crime scholars as determined by page coverage.

Admittedly controversial, the theory advances the following: (1) its own definition of crime; (2) a comment on the "nature of crime" or a conception of crime as it really is; (3) particular behaviors which go along with crime but are not necessarily criminal; (4) self-control as related to both criminal and non-criminal behavior; (5) adequate parenting as necessary for the development of self-control in individuals (Cohen and Vila 1997; Evans, Cullen, Burton, Dunaway, and Benson 1997; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Pratt and Cullen 2000). The current study utilizes the General Theory of Crime as well as Routine Activities Theory to examine the behaviors and attitudes of sex offenders and non-sex offenders. This chapter will explain in detail the components of

this theory, discuss relevant studies of the theory, present current statistics on sex offenses, and state the reasoning behind the use of the theory in the present study.

Components of the General Theory of Crime

Gottfredson and Hirschi define crime as "...acts of force or fraud undertaken in pursuit of self-interest" (1990:15). The conception of crime put forth by their General Theory is consistent with the classical view of crime as a choice made by an actor to gain pleasure and avoid pain. It is also consistent with the range of theories known as "control theories," which as a whole emphasize crime prevention over offender criminality. Gottfredson and Hirschi, in fact, argue that the classical theories of yesterday are the control theories of today, as they both emphasize "...prevention of crime through consequences painful to the individual" (1990:85).

Crime is seen by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) as behavior that "...satisfies universal human desires... [and as to cause is]... indistinguishable from all other behavior" (p. 10). Moreover, they aver that crimes, sins, behaviors defined as deviant, and accidents have in common a lack of self-control in the actors who commit these behaviors. They note that treating these behaviors as distinct, stating, "...is one of the major intellectual errors of positive thought" (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:10).

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) are critical of crime theorists who both neglect to include definitions of crime consistent with their theories and who also ignore what they term "the nature of crime" (1990:15). They contend that positivistic approaches infer characteristics of crime from offender characteristics or from theory, asking what makes offenders commit crime. This is backwards reasoning, according to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990). Instead, they feel that questions should be asked about crime, its nature,

and what it takes for crime to occur. They argue that positivist theorists make assumptions about crime that make it seem more dramatic than it is; these theorists try to make crime fit their theories rather than studying crime on its own terms (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). This view is seconded by Marcus Felson, who notes that there are a number of fallacies about crime that must be debunked in order for the true nature of crime to be understood (Felson 2002). The true nature of crime, according to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and Felson (2002), is that crime is generally not dramatic, not ingenuous, and not particularly profitable. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:89) note the following characteristics of criminal acts:

(1) Criminal acts provide *immediate* gratification of desires.
(2) Criminal acts provide *easy or simple* gratification of desires.
(3) Criminal acts are *exciting, risky, or thrilling.*
(4) Crimes provide *few or meager long-term benefits.*
(5) Crimes require *little skill or planning.*
(6) Crimes often result in *pain or discomfort for the victim.*

This view of crime is supported by crime statistics that tend to show year after year that most crime is more trivial and less dramatic and is committed by people who tend to be young, opportunistic, and unrestrained (Felson 2002; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990).

The General Theory of Crime separates crimes from criminality. In this theory crimes are seen as acts while criminality is linked to the non-development of what the authors term "self-control," the problem of which is "...the differential tendency of people to avoid criminal acts whatever the circumstances in which they find themselves" (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:87). Self-control, according to the theorists, must be developed. Once developed it insulates the individual from temptation, and high self-control "...effectively reduces the possibility of crime" (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:89).

The absence of self-control does not require crime, nor does it motivate criminal acts (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Hirschi and Gottfredson 1993). Gottfredson and Hirschi define low self-control as "...the tendency of individuals to pursue short-term gratification without consideration of the long-term consequences of their acts" (1990:177). They argue that low self-control is not a criminal personality trait, but that people who lack self-control tend to be (1) impulsive, (2) insensitive, (3) physical rather than mental, (4) risk-takers, (5) short-sighted, and (6) nonverbal (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:90). But these characteristics, along with low self-control, are not in and of themselves predictive of crime; rather they are explanatory. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) explicitly deny that their theory is deterministic. Instead, they argue that low self-control acts in concert with opportunity and other factors to facilitate crime and other behaviors that are analogous to crime (Hirschi and Gottfredson 1993).

Low self-control, according to Gottfredson and Hirschi, "...can be counteracted by situational conditions or other properties of the individual" (1990:89). Gottfredson and Hirschi's reference to "situational conditions" can be seen as analogous to opportunity, which they argue is a natural adjunct to crime. They note that the opportunities to commit some crimes are limitless while the opportunities for others are limited, as in the case of petty larceny versus white-collar crimes. Self-control and opportunity, then, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as some crimes depend on certain conditions available to offenders (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1993:50). For example, white-collar crime requires a job, alcohol-related and/or drug-related crimes require access to alcohol and other drugs, child abuse and/or child molestation requires

access to children. In fact, low self-control without opportunity would almost certainly render a lack of crime.

Gottfredson and Hirschi note that many acts similar to crime, yet not necessarily criminal, should be seen as "...manifestations of low self-control" (1990:91). These acts that are analogous to crime typically involve immediate gratification and include smoking, drinking, gambling, using drugs, involvement in accidents, promiscuity, and having children out of wedlock (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:90). The General Theory of Crime expects those who commit crimes to engage also in acts analogous to crime, since both behaviors involve immediate self-gratification. The theorists also note that people lacking in self-control are not necessarily mean and/or antisocial. In fact, they may find that being charming, kind, and generous is self-gratifying (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:89-90). Because offenders tend to lack restraint, Gottfredson and Hirschi contend that they will be likely to engage in a number of crimes as well as in behaviors that are analogous to crime, making them versatile in their criminal pursuits, as opposed to specializing in certain crimes. Gottfredson and Hirschi, moreover, insist there is a large body of evidence that supports this assertion (1990:91).

According to the General Theory of Crime, self-control must be created. The theorists insist that "ineffective child rearing" is the major cause of low self-control (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:97). Drawing in part on the research done by Glueck and Glueck (1950), they note that adequate or effective parenting requires (1) attachment of parents to children, (2) supervision of children by parents, (3) recognition of children's deviant behavior by parents, and (4) sanctions of children's deviant behavior by parents (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:98-100). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) note that

ineffective child rearing relates to low self-control in that parents who lack self-control are less likely to raise children adequately than parents with self-control. In other words "...low self-control predicts low self-control better than it predicts any of its specific manifestations, such as crime" (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:102).

Studies Relevant to the General Theory of Crime

Pratt and Cullen noted in their meta-analysis of studies of the General Theory of Crime that self-control is a strong and relatively consistent predictor of crime, even though evidence does not show that it is the only cause of crime (2000:949). Pratt and Cullen found in their meta-analysis of 21 studies that low self-control had a mean effect size of about .27, which they noted made it "...one of the strongest known correlates of crime" (Pratt and Cullen 2000:952). Although the entire theory has not always found empirical support, measures of low self-control have been found consistent in their effects "...even after controlling for measures of competing criminological theories, such as strain, social bond, and differential association-social learning theories" (Pratt and Cullen 2000:934). Additionally, Hensley, Tung, Xu, Gray-Ray and Ray (1999), in their examination of racial differences in juvenile offending, found that the variables of self-control theory were better predictors than variables of the subculture of violence theory.

A variety of samples have been used in the testing of the General Theory of Crime. These have included adults (Arneklev, Grasmick, Tittle, and Bursik 1993; Burton, Cullen, Evans, Alarid, and Dunaway 1998; Evans et al. 1997; Grasmick, Tittle, Bursik, and Arneklev 1993; Keane, Maxim, and Teevan 1993) elementary students (Junger and Tremblay 1999), secondary students (Hay 2001; LaGrange and Silverman 1999; Nakhaie, Silverman, and LaGrange 2000; Winfree and Bernat 1998), college

students (Gibbs, Giever, and Martin 1998; Sellers 1999), adolescents in four different countries (Vazsonyi, Pickering, Junger, and Hessing 2001), juvenile offenders (Hensley et al. 1999), and adult offenders (Benson and Moore 1992; Hanson, Scott, and Steffy 1995; Kruttschnitt, Uggen and Shelton 2000; Longshore 1998; Longshore, Turner and Stein 1996; Longshore and Turner 1998). Self-control has had at least some measure of success in explaining the criminal and/or analogous behaviors in all of the above samples.

Researchers have used a number of different measures of self-control and a variety of methodological approaches in testing the General Theory of Crime. Studies have used attitudinal and/or behavioral measures of self-control and cross-sectional or longitudinal research designs, and a number of different multivariate models have been used to analyze the data (Pratt and Cullen 2000). One enduring argument among researchers relates to the best way to measure self-control in studies. Gottfredson and Hirschi, for instance, assert that attitudinal scales should be set aside in favor of behavioral scales that measure analogous behavior when self-control is tested (1993). Other researchers argue in favor of attitudinal scales, in part to avoid the charge of tautology leveled when measures of deviant behavior are used to predict criminal conduct, which is itself a form of deviance (Akers 1991; Akers 1997; Arneklev et al. 1993; Burton et al. 1998; Evans et al. 1997; Longshore 1998; Longshore et al. 1996; Pratt and Cullen 2000).

Various studies have focused on participation in analogous behaviors instead of, or in addition to, crimes as indicators of low self-control; some of these studies have used attitudinal scales as well. These studies have found at minimum that self-control has a consistent inverse effect on analogous or imprudent behaviors (Arneklev et al. 1993;

Grasmick et al. 1993; Junger and Tremblay 1999; Keane et al. 1993; Paternoster and Brame 1998; Pratt and Cullen 2000). Evans et al. (1997), using both behavioral and attitudinal measures, discovered in their study that low self-control had negative social consequences. They found a negative relationship between low self-control and quality of life, as predicted by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990).

Pratt and Cullen (2000) reported that the findings on the General Theory of Crime have been largely supportive across a variety of samples and methodological approaches. Self-control accounted fully for the gender differences in crime in a study of adults (Burton et al. 1998). The Burton et al. study compared measures of self-control, strain, social bond, and differential association theories and found that self-control not only accounted for the gender gap in crime, but also was more successful in explaining that gap than rival theories (1998). Low self-control was also significantly related to the analogous behaviors of males and females (Burton et al. 1998:137). In LaGrange and Silverman's (1999) study of secondary students, self-control provided partial explanation for gender differences in general delinquency. Preferences for risk seeking (in females) and impulsivity (in males) were predictors of increased delinquency. However, self-control variables, opportunity variables and their interaction reduced but did not eliminate the impact of gender (LaGrange and Silverman (1999).

Vazsonyi et al. (2001) extended the study of the General Theory of Crime across four countries with varying cultures. Their test used five different groups of males and females (n=8,500) ranging in age from middle to late adolescence in four different countries with varied levels of criminal and deviant conduct (Vazsonyi et al. 2001:119). The researchers used a self-report questionnaire which included demographic and

background variables, the Grasmick et al. (1993) scale as a measure of low self-control, and the Normative Deviance Scale, developed for the project to measure lifetime deviance (Vazsonyi et al. 2001:103-104). A number of findings were generated by this study, all of which are important for the General Theory of Crime. First, they state that the self- control measure works as predicted by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), and that the self-control measure was shown to be multidimensional in their study (Vazsonyi et al. 2001:119). Second, they state that their Normative Deviance Scale was successful in measuring less serious forms of deviance across their sample. Third, they found that the Grasmick et al. (1993) scale accounted for an average of twenty percent of total deviance across the sample after controlling for age and sex. This was consistent with previous work; however it explained a larger total amount of variance in their study (Vazsonyi et al. 2001:120). Finally, Vazsonyi et al. (2001) point out that their study provides support for the predictions of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) that their "...definition of crime and its predictor(s)" transcend "social groupings" (Vazsonyi et al. 2001:120). In their study, self-control predicted male and female deviance in various cultures and countries.

Only a few studies of the General Theory of Crime have focused exclusively on self-control and violent behavior (Hanson et al. 1995; Stevens 1994). Sellers (1999) found that self-control explained to some extent the use of violence in the dating relationships of a sample of college students. She noted that specific opportunity for crime combined with short-term gratification in her findings as empirically and theoretically valid elements of the General Theory of Crime (Sellers 1999:393). She also stated, however, that self-control without opportunity explained only 10% of the variance in courtship violence (Sellers 1999:392).

Pratt and Cullen's (2000) meta-analysis of 21 studies of self-control included only four studies using offender samples; all used a dataset developed by Longshore and his colleagues (Longshore 1998; Longshore and Turner 1998; Longshore et al. 1996). Pratt and Cullen also included Piquero and Rosay's (1998) study based on the findings of Longshore et al. (1996). The studies done by Longshore and colleagues utilized a sample of drug-using adult and juvenile offenders in the criminal justice system; 86% had been incarcerated at least once (Longshore et al. 1996:215).

Sex Offenses

Sex offenses are one type of crime not often addressed by criminological theories despite their relatively frequent occurrence. This is in part due to victims not reporting the crimes. For example, Holmes and Holmes note that "Rape is one of the most underreported crimes committed" (2002:179). In fact, it is estimated that only 10% of rapes are reported, and we know very little about the other 90% (Holmes and Holmes 2002:179). Our knowledge of the gap between rapes that have occurred and those that have been reported comes from comparing two data sources: the *Uniform Crime Reports* (UCR) (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001) and the *National Crime Victimization Survey* (NCVS) (U. S. Department of Justice 2001). However, because the NCVS is administered only to individuals age 12 or older, we know less about the true incidence of sexual offenses against children. Our information on that type of sex offense is limited to those incidents reported to authorities and incorporated in the NIBRS data (see Snyder 2000).

The problem with studying sex offenses is further compounded by inconsistency in definitions of some sexual offenses. For example, the crime of rape is defined in a

number of ways. The Federal Bureau of Investigation defines rape as "...the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will" (2001:25). Accordingly, their statistics (UCR) only reflect rapes perpetrated against women. It must be noted, however, that the FBI definition of rape is in marked contrast to rape definitions used by all fifty states and the federal government in the prosecution of rape. Traditionally, it was assumed that only females could be raped and only males could do the raping; however, in the last twenty years, society has come to the realization that males can also be raped (Allison and Wrightsman 1993; Douglas et al. 1992; Holmes and Holmes 2002; Holmes 1991).

Unfortunately, when the legal definition of rape is equated with intercourse, the prosecution of rapists is made more difficult: by definition rape becomes less like assault and more like sexual activity. This allows rapists to project blame upon their victims or to minimize their actions, attitudes that are often supported by judges and juries alike (Allison and Wrightsman 1993; Fairstein 1993; Holmes 1991; Holmes and Holmes 2002; Vachss 1993). In fact, Dianne Herman (1984) asserts that sex offenders are twice as likely as other offenders to insist that they are innocent. In addition, many rapists justify their actions by maintaining that their victims enjoyed the assaults (Scully and Marolla 1985).

Statistics on sex offenses are generally gleaned from law enforcement reports or victim surveys. The best known law enforcement report is the *Uniform Crime Reports* (UCR). The UCR is published by the Bureau of Justice yearly, and it features data contributed by most state and local law enforcement agencies that is then compiled by the FBI. Interestingly, the UCR collects data on forcible rapes of females only. It does not

measure male rape or child molestation. The *Uniform Crime Reports* (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001) state that for the year 2000 there were 90,186 forcible rapes reported to law enforcement authorities, a per capita rate of 32.0 overall, or 62.7 reported rapes for every 100,000 females. This constituted a 0.9% increase from the rates for 1999 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:26). While the United States' rape rate is consistently lower than that of any other violent crime except for homicide, the year 2000 count showed the first increase in reported rapes since 1992 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:26).

The UCR data on the rate of rapes known to law enforcement is consistently lower than that found through survey data. The best-known victim survey is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), operated by the U.S. Department of Justice. This survey collects data on the victimization of persons age 12 or older from a nationally representative household sample in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Justice 2001). In contrast to the information presented in the 2000 UCR, the NCVS found a significant decrease in rapes/sexual assaults reported to the survey by respondents between 1999 and 2000 (U.S. Department of Justice 2001:3). The rape/sexual assault victimization rate estimated by the NCVS, however, is higher than that reported in the UCR. The NCVS estimated there were 1.2 sexual assaults per 1,000 persons age 12 or older in the U.S. in the year 2000, compared to .627 rapes per 1,000 women reported by the UCR (U.S. Department of Justice 2001:3; Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001:26).

Other data focus on lifetime likelihood of victimization, further confusing the issue. The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAW Survey) measured violence against women and men (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). This survey found that one in six

women and one in thirty-three men in the United States have experienced attempted or completed rape in their lifetimes, 18% and 3%, respectively (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998:3). The NVAW Survey (1998) estimates that some 876,000 rapes and 5.9 million physical assaults are perpetrated against women in the United States annually (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998:11). Tjaden and Thoennes concluded that violence against women, including rape, should be "...treated as a major criminal justice and public health concern" (1998:11).

However, the UCR, NCVS and NVAW data may actually exclude information on the majority of sex offenses by focusing on adult victims. NIBRS data from 12 states for 1991 through 1996 were compiled into a report on sexual assaults against children (Snyder 2000). According to this report, two-thirds of all sexual assaults reported to authorities in these states had victims under the age of 18. Forcible fondling, forcible sodomy and sexual assault with an object were highly likely to have victims under age 18, while minors comprised less than half of the victims in forcible rapes (Snyder 2000). Children under the age of five were most likely to be the victims of forcible sodomy and sexual assault with an object, while fondling was most likely to occur with children ages 12 to 17, peaking at age 13 (Snyder 2000:2). Furthermore, the vast majority of victims in reported sexual assaults were female, with females accounting for 82% of the victims under age 18 (Snyder 2000: 4).

Finally, the NIBRS data indicate that popular representations of sex offenses and offenders may be inaccurate. Notably, most sexual assaults are not perpetrated by strangers. This is particularly true when the victim is a child. Furthermore, with young

victims, sexual assaults are highly likely to occur in a residence (Snyder 2000). In the following section, the ability of self-control theory to explain sex offenses is examined.

Self-Control, Opportunity, and Sex Offenses

Contrary to the popularized mythical representation of rapists as oversexed madmen, these perpetrators are in fact heterogeneous in background, personality, modus operandi, and specific motivation. Much of the research on sex offenders has focused on one type of sex offender: rapists. Interestingly, rapists are most similar in their universal denial of culpability for their actions (Herman 1984; Scully 1990).

Although rape remains a popular subject in both sociological and criminological study, the theories seeking to explain rapists and other sex offenders have predominantly come from within the realm of psychology. Surprisingly, even criminology texts fail to use criminological theory to explain such behaviors, preferring instead to concentrate on statistics combined with psychological and feminist approaches (Adler et al. 1998; Barkan 1997; Livingston 1996; Reid 1997). This might lead one to assume that criminological theory is useless in explaining rapists and other sex offenders. Quite the contrary, two crime theories fit the bill quite nicely. Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime (1990) explains sex offenders' behaviors while Cohen and Felson's Routine Activities Theory (1979) explains criminal opportunity leading to sexual offending as well as victim selection.

A current sociological explanation of rape was developed by Lee Ellis in 1989 (Allison and Wrightsman 1993; Gibbons 1992). Ellis' (1989) synthesized theory of rape combines feminist theory, social learning theory, and evolutionary theory. Summarized, this theory explains rape as a result of patriarchal societal assumptions about women

wherein women are seen as subservient and degraded; consequently, men learn that sexual aggression played out in rape is appropriate and rewarded behavior. Additionally, rape is portrayed as evolutionary or sociobiological in origin because of the male biological necessity "...emanating from natural selection pressure for males to be more eager than females for copulatory experiences with a wide range of sexual partners, and their use of forceful tactics to satiate their sexual desires " (Gibbons 1992:277). Ellis (1989) asserts that male rapists are fueled by the sex drive and the drive to possess and control; they also learn techniques useful to committing rape. This, combined with the drive to reproduce with multiple partners and high amounts of androgens and other sex hormones, produces rape (Allison and Wrightsman 1993; Gibbons 1992). Although this complicated theory may have application in part, as a whole it makes a number of biological and evolutionary assumptions which cannot be proven either statistically or in case study, nor can such assumptions be attributed to all rapists (Allison and Wrightsman 1993). Furthermore, the theory focuses on only one type of sexual offense: rape. Obviously, a better explanation of sexual offending is needed. This is provided through the use of the General Theory of Crime and Routine Activities theories. The following major rapist typologies can be linked to the General Theory of Crime while Routine Activities Theory explains both opportunities to offend and victim selection. As such, these theories will be presented as criminological explanations for sexual offenders' behaviors.

Instead of aligning rape with intercourse, which serves to support rapists' justifications, sexual offenses should be defined as sexually perpetrated physical assaults. This definition is gender neutral, it is general—meaning that it applies to all actions

which would fall under the realm of sexual offending, and it correctly denotes rape and other sexual offenses as crimes of violence, not of sex (Holmes and Holmes 2002; Holmes and Holmes 1996). Accordingly, this definition facilitates the use of criminological explanations of sexual offenses, since it presents them as criminally assaultive behavior that is different only in the location of perpetration. Rape and other sexual offenses, in fact, are crimes that also fit perfectly into Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) definition of crime in general as "...acts of force or fraud undertaken in the pursuit of self-interest" (p. 15).

Consistent with crime reports taken from both law enforcement and victim surveys, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) find that crime involves acts which are mostly trivial and involve little loss to victims and little gain to offenders; they assert that, in general, crime requires little skill, effort, planning, or preparation. Interestingly, much crime occurs close to offenders' homes (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:17-19). The message from this, they aver, is that crime's characteristics are consistent in general with the recreational activities of youth. In other words, their theory views crime in a way that is consistent with crime statistics. Both criminal offenders and victims are often young, male, and in pursuit of recreation (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Sacco and Kennedy 2002).

As described previously, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) state that offenders are fundamentally unable to resist temptation or defer gratification in the face of opportunity—which is the essence of low self-control. In contrast, persons exhibiting high levels of self-control "...are less likely under all circumstances throughout life to commit crime" (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:118). Beyond actual criminal acts,

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) propose that persons with low self-control tend to display behaviors that are analogous to crime, although not necessarily criminal in themselves. These behaviors tend to be immediately gratifying and require little planning. Traditional crime theories have based criminality on strain, cultural deviance, social disorganization, and physical and/or psychological attributes, but Gottfredson and Hirschi "...explicitly reject the argument of social causation in favor of social selection rooted in individual differences" (Evans et al. 1997:479). In this context people make life choices based on their level of self-control. Low self-control, then, produces a variety of negative social consequences including failure in school, jobs, and personal relationships. Interestingly, since people with low self-control have fewer friends, jobs, or close relationships or commitments, they in turn have less to lose through illegal or imprudent activities (Cohen and Vila 1997; Evans et al. 1997; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). By the same token, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) are careful to note that low self-control does not require committing crime; instead, low self-control can be contraindicated by circumstance or opportunity (Akers 1997).

Criminal opportunity, on the other hand, is well explained by Cohen and Felson's (1979) routine activities approach. Accordingly, criminal opportunity and its subsequent victimization is structured by three factors which must come together over space and time for crime to occur. For crime to occur there must be "... 1) motivated offenders, 2) suitable targets, and 3) a lack of capable guardians." The lack of any one of these elements would serve to prevent the successful completion of a criminal act (Cohen and Felson 1979:589).

Further, Cohen and Felson (1979) and Felson (2002) insist that crime rates are mediated by opportunity structure tied to changes in routine activities, with the greatest changes in such having been effected in the years since World War II. Cohen and Felson (1979) and Felson (2002) point out that crime rates may be explained by the timing and location of school, leisure, and work pursuits. In essence, the more often people are away from their homes, the more likely they are to come into contact with motivated offenders in the absence of capable guardians. The rise of crime rates since World War II can therefore be at least partially explained by the changes in peoples' routine activities. For instance, guardianship was affected as more people traveled longer distances to work, as more women entered school and the workforce, as people moved to the suburbs, as families went on longer vacations farther from home, and as people pursued leisure activities away from home and family. At the same time, many of these activities increased target suitability in the areas of value and/or desirability (Cohen and Felson 1979; Felson 2002).

Three studies on sex offenders have utilized Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) conception of crime and criminality. Stevens' (1994) study on predatory rapists, Hanson et al.'s (1995) study comparing child molesters and non-sexual criminals, and Kruttschnitt et al.'s (2000) event history analysis of sex offender probationers compared their samples with Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) descriptions of criminals, with differing results. Stevens (1994:423) noted that most of the participants in his study were congruent with Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) conception of career criminals: they had committed various crimes such as robberies and burglaries as well as violent crimes besides rape. In addition, Stevens (1994) noted that the predatory rapists in his sample

also fit Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) description of criminals as being focused on the benefits of their crimes rather than in the planning of them, resulting in "...crude, unplanned, and spontaneous attacks" (Stevens 1994:430).

In contrast, Hanson et al. (1995) maintained that their study presented child molesters as a distinct type of offender. They contended that many child molesters fit Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) conceptions of low self-control linked to opportunity but they felt that individual differences in offender motivation needed to be recognized as well (Hanson et al. 1995:336).

Kruttschnitt et al. (2000) found partial support for both Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory of low self-control and Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control in their study of 556 sex offender probationers. As predicted by Sampson and Laub, the authors found that job stability significantly reduced the probability of reoffense among the sex offender probationers in their study, although marital status did not appear to affect their level of reoffense (2000:80). Gottfredson and Hirschi's Self-Control Theory was supported in two areas. First, Kruttschnitt et al. found that criminal history, drug use, and age predicted both personal and nonpersonal offending (2000:79). Second, age had an especially strong negative effect on new crimes in "...all but the new sex offending models" (Kruttschnitt et al. 2000:80). The authors found, however, that when sex offender probationers with stable work histories received treatment their reoffending declined significantly. They argued that this finding was inconsistent with the predictions of Self-Control Theory (Kruttschnitt et al. 2000:81).

Stevens' (1994) study on rape and self-control mentioned Routine Activities Theory in the sample's victim selection. The offenders surveyed stressed that they

constantly searched for vulnerable appearing females as part of their routine activities, even though their searches were relatively rudimentary (Stevens 1994:430). Several other theories have also examined sexual offending using Routine Activities theory.

O'Brian (1991) combined a routine activities approach with Blalock's (1970) power-threat/power-competition hypothesis, as he used Guttentag and Secord's (1983) conception of the relationship between sex ratios and rape rates to develop his power-control theory of rape. O'Brian (1991) found strong negative relationships between the sex ratio and rape rates; a high sex ratio (relative abundance) of men predicted a low rape rate. O'Brian (1991:110) noted that when women were in short supply, their power increased both dyadically and structurally. This resulted in men "protecting" women through discouraging their career and educational goals and encouraging them to be homemakers and to marry at a young age. This structured women's routine activities around home and thereby decreased their victimization risk (O'Brian 1991:110).

South and Felson (1990) linked opportunity to racial rape patterning. They found that the racial patterning of rape was most strongly influenced by the opportunity for interpersonal contact between blacks and whites (South and Felson 1990:71). The most significant predictors of racial rape patterning were city racial composition and the degree of black-white residential segregation. Consistent with a routine activities perspective, interracial rape appeared to be a "...consequence of social-structural arrangements that shape opportunities for interracial contact" (South and Felson 1990:88). Accordingly, interracial rape was more common in areas with more interracial marriages. High levels

of black on white rape were associated with low levels of residential segregation (South and Felson 1990:89

Felson and Krohn (1990) theorized that motivation for sexually assaultive behavior can be explained using socio-sexual and punishment models. Their socio-sexual model proposes that sexual intercourse is the goal of rape (Felson and Krohn 1990:223). Harm or threat of harm is the means used to obtain the goal. They argue that since sexual behavior is socially and biologically processed, subjective sexual deprivation can be linked herein to non-sexual motives such as the need for power, status, or self-esteem. Felson and Krohn (1990:224) assert that their socio-sexual model thus explains sexually coercive behavior among college males, who report peer pressure related to sexual coercion. The socio-sexual model, however, does not explain rapes in which the rapist was sexually aroused by violence. Felson and Krohn (1990:224) explain this lack by arguing that since these individuals make up only 4 to 6% of offender samples, they can be explained solely as to their individual lack of inhibition. In addition, Felson and Krohn (1990:226) link their socio-sexual model to a routine activities approach in their assertion that young people are at greater risk for sexual assault victimization because their routine activities place them in situations where there is greater opportunity for sexual assault. For instance, young women are at greater risk for sexual assault because they are routinely out alone with men on dates or out alone at night. In this respect, suitable targets are placed in close proximity to motivated offenders in situations where capable guardians are absent (Cohen and Felson 1979; Felson 2002; Felson and Krohn 1990:226).

Felson and Krohn's (1990:227) punishment model, on the other hand, contends that sexual assault can be a means for harming a victim as a source of punishment. In this model, the rapist's goal is harm to the victim, which is justified by the offender because of a grievance. They expect that offenders who operate according to this model will cause greater harm to victims in close relationships with them and somewhat lesser harm to strangers or acquaintances (Felson and Krohn 1990:228). Overall, Felson and Krohn's (1990) view of motivations to rape is not inconsistent with Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) view of the nature of crime and criminality. Felson and Krohn (1990) emphasize that rape should be viewed within the greater context of violence in general, and they do not feel that the violence used in the majority of rapes is much different from the violence used in other assaultive crimes.

Other research on sex offenders has not used the General Theory of Crime but appears to be consistent with it. A well-known study of convicted rapists noted they were motivated by either excuses or justifications (Scully and Marolla 1984; 1985); this study classified rapists as either "admitters" or "deniers," depending on their individual criminal motivation. Scully and Marolla (1984, 1985; Scully 1990) also noted that the crime of rape was often accompanied by burglary and robbery. Rape was sometimes committed as an afterthought when the opportunity presented itself; and sometimes the reverse was true as robbery was committed after rape. This aspect of the crime of rape is congruent with Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) view of criminals as non-specialists who commit a number of different crimes rather than concentrating on one type of crime only. Scully and Marolla's (1984, 1985) sample of rapists was no different; 85% of them had previous criminal histories, but only 23% had records including previous sexual

offenses (Scully 1990:64). In fact, Scully and Marolla's (1984) rapist sample was remarkably close to their control group of general felons. This similarity would be predicted by Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) General Theory of Crime.

> They are as likely as other men to have significant relationships with women.... Further, the sexual experiences of rapists are unremarkable and do not differ significantly from those of other felons (Scully 1990:74).

As to criminality, Scully (1990) states that the majority of both the control and sample groups "...had a history of criminal charges, and, for both groups, the majority of these charges were for property crimes" (p. 77). This rapist sample illustrates Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime as it negates the traditional psychopathological model often associated with rapists (Scully and Marolla 1985). In contrast to the psychopathological model, however, "...empirical research has repeatedly failed to find a consistent pattern of personality type or character disorder that reliably discriminates rapists from other groups of men" (Scully and Marolla 1985:252).

Furthermore, their research fits well with Routine Activities Theory (Cohen and Felson 1979). When the stranger and group rapists in Scully and Marolla's (1984) sample went about the business of selecting their victims, they overwhelmingly chose women who were involved in routine activities. Victims were chosen for randomness and convenience; they were "... 'just there' in a location unlikely to draw the attention of a passerby" (Scully 1990:175).

There are a couple of notable differences, however, between Scully and Marolla's (1984) findings, Routine Activities Theory, and the General Theory of Crime. Although acquaintance rapists' victim selection pattern adhered to the basic tenets of routine activities theory in the conjoining of motivated offenders and suitable targets in the absence of capable guardianship, their victims were not selected randomly as they went

about their routine activities, but were chosen specifically because of sexual attraction. But the spontaneous aspect of the crime concurs with the General Theory of Crime's view, since spontaneity and an unwillingness to defer gratification are characteristics of low self-control (Evans et al. 1997; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990;).

Second, far from being spontaneous, the vast majority of stranger and group rapes described in Scully and Marolla's (1984) study were planned in advance. The offenders in these cases had been planning their rapes for a period of time from a few hours to a few days. These crimes did not fit the pattern associated with the General Theory of Crime as this sample exercised a higher amount of self-control in planning their crimes than Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) would have expected. Perhaps, though, the fact of having low self-control in general might not preclude an offender from the ability to pre-plan a much anticipated offense.

Linking Theory to Sexual Offending

Larragoite (1994:159) criticizes the current theories that explain sexual offending for being too specific and for lacking roots in any fundamental criminological perspective. He contends that the General Theory of Crime accounts for sexual offending in the same way it accounts for all crimes. He notes that rape is comparable in opportunity structure with burglary, which he explains by using a routine activities approach (Larragoite 1994:167-168). In addition, he notes that the typical sexual offender is no different in profile than the typical general offender, a point which has been supported in the studies of Scully and Marolla (1984, 1985; Scully 1990).

In contrast to the popular mythical view of sex offenders as oversexed madmen, they have been shown by studies to conform to Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) view of

criminals as shortsighted, impulsive, insensitive individuals who are unable to defer gratification and cannot exercise personal restraint when faced with temptation. This propensity to low self-control is manifested even in sex offenders who at first appear to have high self-control, as evidenced by their personal characteristics.

The individuals who commit sexual offenses are not "sick" as the psychopathological model asserts. Sex offenders are not specialists; in fact, they have been shown to be little different from other offenders except in their propensity to rape as well as to commit property crimes. Rapists and other sex offenders also typically display many of the behaviors that Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) maintain are analogous to crime and evidence of low self-control. One aspect of the General Theory of Crime not broached in this paper is Gottfredson and Hirschi's contention that low self- control and criminality remain stable over the life course. The question of whether or not sexual offending remains stable over the life course needs to be addressed in subsequent studies. Evidence of decreases in offending, however, should not be viewed as evidence of changing self-control. The General Theory of Crime suggests instead that aging out may be due to consequences of physical aging (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:141).

The routine activities approach explains both sex offender victim selection and the role of opportunity in sexual assault. Rapists and other sex offenders use their own and their victims' routine activities to structure opportunities to offend. In addition, many sex offenders used sexual assault routinely to deal with their interpersonal problems. It appears obvious that it is appropriate to link theories that explain sexual offending to criminological theories.

Use of the General Theory of Crime in the Present Study

In his "Current State of Differential Association" article, Matsueda (1988) relays the story of the origin of Sutherland's Differential Association theory. He notes that Sutherland devised the theory in response to criticisms of criminology levied by Michael and Adler, who charged that criminology was unscientific, had produced no scientific generalizations, and should be replaced by a panel of scientists from other disciplines (Matsueda 1988). In somewhat the same vein as Michael and Adler (1971), Gottfredson and Hirschi have specific criticisms of their colleagues (1990). They argue, along with Felson (2002), that the dominant positivistic approaches to crime are incorrect in their focus on criminality at the expense of noting the true nature of crime.

On the other hand, the General Theory of Crime has been criticized as tautological (Akers 1991, 1997) and non-general (LaGrange and Silverman 1999; Sellers 1999). And, empirical support for the theory in its entirety has not been found in all tests of the theory (e.g., Benson and Moore 1992; Hanson et al. 1995; Kruttschnitt et al. 2000; Sellers 1999; Winfree and Bernat 1998). Nevertheless, studies have found consistent support for a negative relationship between self-control and crime and analogous behaviors (Pratt and Cullen 2000:934).

Interestingly, although the General Theory of Crime has found support across various types of samples, only a few studies have utilized offender samples (Hanson et al. 1995; Kruttschnitt et al. 2000; Longshore et al. 1996; Pratt and Cullen 2000; Stevens 1994). Stevens' (1994) study examined sex offenders' victim selection techniques. Stevens trained thirteen inmates who were incarcerated for violent offenses as interviewers to facilitate data collection in a maximum-security prison. Although the

study was intended to test the rational choice perspective, Stevens (1994) noted that the respondents' accounts of their crimes were consistent with Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) view of offenders as short-sighted thinkers who looked for immediate gratification.

Hanson et al. (1995) used clinical assessments and archival records to examine recidivism differences between child molesters and criminals without sex offenses. This study found differences in both background variables and recidivism rates in the two samples. Findings in this study lent partial support to the General Theory of Crime. Child molesters differed from other types of offenders. Although low self-control and opportunity affected their behavior, the researchers felt that their individual offense motivations needed to be recognized (Hanson et al. 1995).

Kruttschnitt et al. (2000) used event history analysis of reoffense to test the predictions of Sampson and Laub (1993) and Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) on a sample of sex offenders placed on probation. Their findings partially supported both theories. The finding that job stability had a negative effect on offending supported Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control. Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime (1990) was supported in two ways: (1) overall, the effects were comparable across different offense types; (2) in all but the sex offending models, increasing age produced a significant negative effect on offending.

Longshore et al. (1996) analyzed data collected for an evaluation of Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC) programs in their study of the effect of self-control on an offender sample. The TASC programs identified drug-using juveniles and adults who were in the criminal justice system, then it assessed their needs for treatment, placed

them in treatment, and monitored their progress. Respondents were on probation, parole, or were charged with a crime. During interviews they completed an adaptation of the Grasmick (1993) scale and answered questions about their criminal histories (Longshore et al. 1996). Their results provided partial support for both the Grasmick (1993) scale, in particular, and self-report attitudinal measures, in general, in the testing of the General Theory of Crime (Longshore et al. 1996). Other researchers were then challenged by Longshore et al. (1996) to further tests of measures of self-control in criminal populations. Studies by Longshore (1998) and Longshore and Turner (1998) used the 1996 TASC dataset. Longshore and Turner (1998) found that offenders who scored low on self-control and those who had more opportunity to commit crime had a greater frequency of both property and personal crimes. They also found that self-control and opportunity had an interactive effect (Longshore and Turner 1998). In a further test of self-control and opportunity, Longshore (1998) found self-control to be a causal factor in criminal behavior in an offender sample, although its effect on crime might be partially contingent on opportunity. Self-control and opportunity, however, had modest explanatory power in this study (Longshore 1998:110). The present study will attempt to answer the challenge posed by Longshore et al. (1996) by using attitudinal and behavioral measures to test self-control in three samples of inmates. Three hypotheses will be tested.

HYPOTHESIS 1

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) maintain that offenders are generalists instead of specialists. They argue, in fact, that "...no credible evidence of specialization has been reported...[and]...the evidence of offender versatility is overwhelming" (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:91). Accordingly, I anticipate that the three sample groups (sex offenders in treatment, non-sex offenders, and sex offenders without history of treatment) will not differ significantly in their childhood delinquent behaviors, their criminal histories, or their levels of self-control. Additionally, I predict that sex offenders commit a variety of crimes, not just sexual assaults, including misdemeanors and felonies, nonviolent and violent crimes.

HYPOTHESIS 2

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) state that a person's level of self-control determines how he will function when faced with criminal opportunity. Persons with higher levels of self-control will be more likely to resist engaging in criminal behavior than those with lower self-control, regardless of the type of crime. In the current study, I am examining the relationship between self-control and deviant behaviors in offenders. Although offenders would be more likely to have lower self-control than the general population, I anticipate that there will be some variation in criminal and analogous behaviors, with some reporting more extensive and serious histories of offending. Because some research has suggested that sex offenders are different than other offenders, I am comparing sex offenders to non-sex offenders. Furthermore, to explore the potential of a treatment bias, two categories of sex offenders are examined: those in a sex offender

treatment program and those with no history of treatment. I hypothesize that low self-control will be related to behaviors which, while not necessarily criminal, are analogous to crime. I predict that the lower the level of self-control is, the higher the level of reported analogous behaviors will be. Additionally, I predict that, regardless of the type of offense, lower self-control will be linked to a more serious history of criminal behavior. Finally, I predict that poor parenting is predictive of criminal and analogous behaviors. I will examine the relationship of self-control, parenting, and demographic variables separately for each group to allow me to examine any differences in the predictors of criminal history and analogous behaviors among the groups.

HYPOTHESIS 3

Finally, this study suggests that, in accordance with the General Theory of Crime and Routine Activities Theory, opportunity is an important factor in victim selection for sex offenders. This will be explored by the interviews in the Phase II portion of this study.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS OF RESEARCH

Description of Research Methods

Violent sexual behavior has been a popular topic of study among scholars and feminists alike since the 1970's, but comparatively few of these studies have focused on samples of convicted offenders. Instead, the tendency has been for researchers to focus on either victimized women or surveys of college students (Scully 1990). A central focus of many of these studies has been on respondents' adherence to "rape myths," defined by Burt (1980:217) as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists." Studies of women victims helped to combat the rape myths which maintained that women "asked for it" while the surveys of college students helped to combat rape myths which argued that rapists were psychotic. Paradoxically, neither group of studies utilized the true experts on rape—the rapists themselves (Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas 1988; Scully 1990).

The purpose of this study was to ascertain whether the behavior of both male sex offenders and male non-sex offenders adhered to that predicted by Gottfredson and Hirschi in their General Theory of Crime, also known as Self-Control Theory. This study has measured levels of self-control, as defined by Gottfredson and Hirschi, of three groups of randomly selected inmates currently serving sentences in the Oklahoma prison system. It has also examined the relationships between self-control, criminal history, and analogous behaviors. Finally, it has explored the role of opportunity in sex offending.

This study utilized two phases. In the first phase (Phase I) of the study, a self-administered questionnaire was given to all respondents. They were asked to provide

information regarding their geographical, scholastic, work, religious, marital, sexual, and criminal histories. In addition, they were asked to respond to questions regarding their current and past relationships with parents or guardians.

In the second phase (Phase II) of the study, a sample of twenty-five inmates currently participating in a residential treatment program for sex offenders was interviewed in depth after completion of the questionnaire. These interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. In this portion of the study respondents were questioned about their processes of victim selection, their knowledge and feelings for their victims, any alcohol or other drug use associated with their crimes, and their feelings about their crimes. The respondents in this phase of the study were asked to detail all aspects of their crimes of incarceration, from victim selection to current feelings about their convictions. I anticipated that the answers from these questions would allow me to ascertain whether the respondents' victim selection patterns adhered to that predicted by Cohen and Felson in their Routine Activities Theory (1979). Some of the questions in the Phase II portion of this study were also designed to look at the role that opportunity played in the respondents' criminal activities and victim selection. I also looked for any evidence indicating support for Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime (1990), such as a history of criminal behavior and other behaviors analogous to crime.

The knowledge obtained from this study furthers criminological research relating the General Theory of Crime and Routine Activities theories to the actions of convicted criminals and their levels of self-control as predicted by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and on victim selection and criminal activity patterns as predicted by Cohen and Felson (1979).

Methodology

Sample

The Phase I portion of this study compares two separate randomly selected samples of male sex offender inmates to one randomly selected sample of male inmates who had no known history of sex offense convictions in their backgrounds on measures of self-control as defined by Gottfredson and Hirschi. In the Phase II portion of this study a second sample of the group of sex offender inmates currently participating in a residential sex offender treatment program was also interviewed about the crime(s) for which they are currently incarcerated, their victim selection, and interaction with their victims. The respondents who participated in this study resided in either a medium security prison or a prison that contained both medium and minimum-security level inmates in separate housing units. Both of the prisons are located within a mile of each other and both are in Oklahoma.

The samples were comprised of inmates convicted of sex offenses who are currently participating in the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program (RSOTP) at Joseph Harp Correctional Center (Group A1), inmates convicted of sex offenses with no history of participation in any treatment programs for sex offenders incarcerated at Joseph Harp Correctional Center and Lexington Correctional Center (Group C), and inmates with no record of having committed sex offenses incarcerated at Joseph Harp Correctional Center and Lexington Correctional Center (Group B). In the first phase of the study all respondents were asked to complete a survey questionnaire (Appendix A). In the second phase of the study, a sample of twenty-five participants from the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program (RSOTP) (Group A2) was administered the survey

instrument and interviewed in depth about the crime(s) (see Appendix B) for which they were incarcerated.

All of the research was conducted within Joseph Harp Correctional Center, a medium security correctional facility, and Lexington Correctional Center, a correctional facility that contains separate housing units for its medium- and minimum-security residents. The two prisons are located within one mile of each other, facilitating data collection. The majority of the respondents in this study were medium security residents. However, a small number of minimum-security respondents was included in the Lexington Correctional Center samples for two reasons. First, they were included in the computer generated random sample of non-sex offender respondents (Group B) because they fit the requirements for respondents in this study. Second, the entire population of sex offender inmates who had no record of sex offender treatment (Group C) was sampled at both participating prisons. This necessitated the inclusion of the minimum-security residents at Lexington Correctional Center. Excluded from the samples at both correctional centers on advice from prison administration were resident inmates who were considered by the Department of Corrections to be too physically or mentally ill or too mentally disabled to be able to successfully complete the survey questionnaire. Inmates who were living on the Restricted Housing Units (RHU) at both prisons were also deemed inappropriate for inclusion because they had committed serious infractions of prison rules; they were "locked down" in their cells and were not allowed out for security reasons. Inmates on "out" counts for court and trustees who worked off the facility grounds were not included because of scheduling difficulties.

Respondents were surveyed separately by group: Phase I respondents from the RSOTP (Group A1) were surveyed together, as were medium-security and minimum-security non-sex offenders (Group B), untreated medium-security sex offenders and untreated minimum-security sex offenders (Group C). The RSOTP Phase II respondents (Group A2) participating in the interviews were surveyed individually along with their interview sessions.

The goal for this study was to sample 100 non-sex offender respondents, 100 sex offender respondents with no history of treatment, and 100 respondents currently participating in the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program (RSOTP). At the end of data collection completed questionnaires had been collected from 295 respondents: 94 non-sex offender respondents (Group B), 83 untreated sex offender respondents (Group C), and 93 sex offenders from the RSOTP (Group A1); 25 additional RSOTP participants were surveyed and interviewed (Group A2), bringing the total of treated sex offenders to 118.

The Sampling Procedure

All of the samples used in this study were drawn by the Executive Assistant to the Chief of Classification and Programs for the Oklahoma Department of Corrections. Separate random samples were drawn for the RSOTP respondents at Joseph Harp Correctional Center (Phase I and Phase II) and for the non-sex offender respondents at both Joseph Harp Correctional Center and Lexington Correctional Center. The entire population of sex offenders without any history of participation in sex offender treatment programs was sampled at both Joseph Harp Correctional Center and Lexington Correctional Center. Although the sex offenders without history of treatment were

identified by the Oklahoma Department of Corrections as sex offenders, they could also have had charges reflecting non-sex offense charges as well. In total, the Oklahoma Department of Corrections generated six samples for this study: two samples of sex offenders from the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program at Joseph Harp Correctional Center (Groups A1 and A2), two non-sex offender samples from Joseph Harp Correctional Center and Lexington Correctional Center (Group B), and two untreated sex offender samples from Joseph Harp Correctional Center and Lexington Correctional Center (Group C).

The first sample (Group A1) drawn for Phase I of this study was a randomly selected list of 100 inmate participants from the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program (RSOTP) located within Joseph Harp Correctional Center (JHCC). Participants in the RSOTP at Joseph Harp Correctional Center may be mandated to the program by judicial decree or they may request entry into the program, but admission of guilt and demonstrated desire for change are necessary for inclusion into the program. The RSOTP program houses 160 residents in one unit, called "E" unit. During the sampling and data collection phases of this study the program was full at 160 beds. A second sample (Group A2) of 40 respondents was drawn from the remaining 60 residents for the Phase II (survey questionnaire plus interview) portion of this study. Ninety-three of the original list of 100 sampled respondents participated in the survey-only (Phase I) portion of the study to make up Group A1; 25 of the second sample of 40 respondents were surveyed and interviewed to comprise Group A2 for Phase II.

The non-sex offender sample (Group B) for the Phase I portion of the study at Joseph Harp Correctional Center was drawn from a total of 1,132 facility residents. From this

number the residents of the RSOTP were removed, leaving 972. Then the disabled/ill, out to court, trustees, and RHU (Restricted Housing Unit) offenders were removed, leaving 941. Three hundred and five of that total had convictions for at least one sex offense, which left 636 from which the random sample could be drawn. From this number a random list of 150 residents without a reported sex offense conviction was drawn. Fifty-seven completed Group B questionnaires were gathered in two separate data collection sessions at Joseph Harp Correctional Center.

The non-sex offender (Group B) sample at Lexington Correctional Center was drawn from a total of 848 facility residents. Of this number, 679 inmates did not have a reported sex offense conviction. From this number a random list of 150 names was drawn. Three of them were in an "out" count and 14 were on some type of RHU. The rest were given an opportunity to participate in the survey. As much as possible, the sample was limited to medium security inmates, although ten minimum-security inmates did end up in the sample. Data collection was done separately in medium- and minimum-security sections of the prison. Thirty-seven completed Group B questionnaires were collected in two separate data collection sessions at Lexington Correctional Center. A total of 94 questionnaires were collected from the non-sex offender (B) portion of the sample between the two facilities.

The entire population of sex offenders at Joseph Harp Correctional Center without a history of participation in sex offender treatment (Group C) was given an opportunity to be included in this study. At the time the samples were drawn, there were 304 sex offenders residing at Joseph Harp Correctional Center who were not currently in the RSOTP, but 116 of them had previously participated in some form of sex offender

treatment. That left 188 sex offender inmates; all of these inmates were asked to participate in the study. Two data collection sessions yielded a total of 40 completed Group C questionnaires.

As at Joseph Harp Correctional Center, the entire population of sex offenders at Lexington Correctional Center without a history of participation in sex offender treatment (Group C) was given an opportunity to be included in this study. When the samples were drawn, there were 169 inmates residing at Lexington Correctional Center with at least one conviction for a sex offense, but 37 of them had records reflecting some (at least one day) of sex offender treatment. That left 132 sex offender inmates without history of treatment. All of them were asked to participate in the study. Data collection was done separately in the medium- and minimum-security sections. A total of 43 completed Group C questionnaires were gathered. Twenty of these were from respondents residing in the minimum-security portion of the facility. Thus, from the two facilities a total of 83 questionnaires were completed.

Data Collection

The data used in this study were collected over a five-month period. At Joseph Harp Correctional Center, Phase I respondents were contacted individually by unit memoranda that requested that they report to the visitation room or the staff dining room, both of which were utilized as data collection sites. Phase II respondents were contacted by memo and asked to report individually to the "E" Unit Program Building at designated times to complete their questionnaires and interviews. Phase I respondents housed at Lexington Correctional Center were also informed by memoranda stating they had been chosen to participate in the survey. Data collection was done in the visitation rooms

separately for medium- and minimum-security respondents. All memoranda were generated by the individual prisons, which in addition took on the responsibility for data collection site selection and scheduling within each prison.

Phase I research was conducted anonymously. Prior to administration of the survey, respondents were given a cover letter that outlined the elements of informed consent. The cover letter stated that consent to participate was given by completing the attached questionnaire. Once all potential respondents were gathered together, I explained that I wanted to find out about their backgrounds and opinions on a variety of issues. In addition, I stated that I felt that in my field of study, criminology, not enough research had been done using inmates and that I intended to remedy that with my research project. Then, each group was told that anyone who did not want to participate was free to leave. The number of participants who left varied from none in Group A1 to a dozen or more in Group B and Group C at Joseph Harp Correctional Center. Respondents were allowed to keep their cover letters as proof of participation in the research project. No harm to respondents was indicated during or following completion of the study. The subjects received no compensation for their participation.

I was assisted by therapists from the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program in all data collections during Phase I data collection at Joseph Harp Correctional Center. Data collection of Group B at Lexington Correctional Center was accomplished with the help of the deputy warden. Group C data collection of the medium security respondents was done with the recreational director. An assistant to the minimum-security facility's recreation director helped with surveying the minimum-security Group C respondents.

All of the questionnaires and interviews of the Phase II respondents were completed in the Program Building of the "E" Unit, which houses all of the participants in the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program. The questionnaires for this group were self-administered, as in Phase I, and all interviews were conducted solely by this researcher. In order to allow as much privacy as possible without jeopardizing my safety, the respondents and I were given a private office in which to conduct the interviews, but I was never left alone in the building with the interviewees. Most of the time two or more therapists occupied the building while I conducted interviews. There were no correctional officers in the building during any of the interviews, and I never felt they were needed.

The research in Phase II was conducted confidentially. For protection of the subjects, a Federal Certificate of Confidentiality was obtained. The interviews were audiotaped with the individual subjects' permission. Permission to be interviewed and permission to be audiotaped were documented separately on an Informed Consent Form signed by the individual respondents and kept by me. Each Phase II questionnaire (on which I took notes during the interviews) and tape was given the same code number as the individual subject's corresponding Phase I survey questionnaire (for example, A2{1}, A2{2}, A2{3}). Tapes and questionnaires were kept separately from the consent forms. No identifying information was recorded on any survey instruments from Phase I or Phase II, the audiotapes, or any audiotape transcriptions. Great care was taken to protect the confidentiality of the Phase II participants. No project publications will allow identification of individual subjects and no harm to the respondents was indicated during

or following completion of the Phase II portion of the study. The subjects received no compensation for their participation in this study.

Description of the Survey Questionnaire

Demographic Variables

The first eleven questions of the Phase I questionnaire asked for demographic information. In question one, survey respondents were asked to indicate their date of birth. For this study's purposes *age* was counted from date of birth. In question two, respondents were asked to indicate state and country of birth. Question four asked for racial or ethnic group identification (*race/ethnicity*). These were coded with six dummy variables: *Black, White, Hispanic, Native American, Asian,* and *Other. Religious preference* was coded with twenty-five categories in question five.

Education level was coded as follows in question seven: respondents who reported less than twelve years of formal education were coded 1; respondents who reported high school graduation or GED were coded 2; respondents who reported some college, an associate's degree, or vocational/technical school training were coded 3, and those who graduated from college with bachelor's or graduate degrees or some graduate school were coded 4.

Respondents were queried about their *marital status* in question ten. Answers were coded as follows: never (0), once (1), twice (2), three times (3), and four or more marriages (4). Question eleven asked respondents to indicate how many *common-law* relationships they had that had lasted for longer than a year. This question was coded as follows: none (0), one (1), two (2), three (3), four or more (4).

Table 1 presents information on respondents' *race/ethnicity*, *education level*, *work situation at arrest*, and *age at arrest* for crime of incarceration. Both sex offender groups had more White (78% in A and 65.9% in C) and fewer Black respondents (11% in A and 13.3% in C) than the non-sex offender group (47.9% White versus 35.1% Black in Group B). In addition, group A had twice as many Hispanic respondents as the other groups (4.2% in A versus 2.1% in B and 2.4% in C), although the Hispanic population in all three groups was very small. The treatment group (A) had fewer Native American respondents (6.8%) than both of the non-treatment groups (B= 10.6%, C=9.8%). In addition, while both non-treatment groups had a few respondents who designated themselves as Other (B= 4.3%, C= 8.5%) the treatment group had none. I created a variable called nonwhite by collapsing all races other than white into a category called nonwhite, which was coded as 1; I then coded white as 0.

The education levels of the three respondent groups varied at the pre-high school graduation, high school graduation, and post-high school graduation levels. While the treatment group (A) had the highest percentage of high school graduates (48.3% versus 41.5% for B and 37.3% for C), the non-treatment groups B and C had higher percentages of respondents who had received post-high school education (34.7% for A versus 42.7% for B and 42.2% for C). Bachelor's degrees had been earned by 4.2% of Group A, 3.3% of Group B, and 4.8% of Group C; only 0.8% of Group A and 1.1% of Group B reported attending graduate school. Some of the respondents reported attending college without earning a degree, including 19.5% of Group A, 28.7% of Group B group, and 24.1% of Group C. Associate or Vo/Tech degrees were earned by 10.2% of Group A, 9.6% of Group B, and 13.3% of Group C.

Group C had the highest percentage of respondents who failed to complete high school (20.5%); 17% of the Group A respondents did not complete high school, and 16% of the Group B respondents also failed to finish high school. The percentages of those respondents who went to high school (grades 9-11) without completing it included 8.5% of Group A, 11.7% of Group B, and 16.9% of Group C. Respondents who reported less than an 8th grade education included 8.5% of Group A, 4.3% of Group B, and 2.4% of Group C. Only 1.2% of Group C reported having received no education.

The sex offender groups had higher percentages of full-time workers (A= 75.4% and C= 68.7%) compared to the non-sex offenders (B=52.7%). Group B had a higher percentage of part-time and temporary workers (20.4% versus 10.2% for A and 14.4% for C). Equal percentages of Group A (5.1% and 5.1%) worked part-time and temporarily, while 7.5% of Group B worked part-time and 12.9% worked in temporary jobs. Group C respondents worked part-time at a rate of 4.8%; 9.6% of them worked in temporary jobs.

The percentages of respondents who were unemployed included 10.9% of Group A, 24.8% of Group B, and 15.6% of Group C. There were no retired respondents in Group B, although 0.8% of Group A and 1.2% of Group C reported being retired. Although none of the Group C respondents reported being students before coming to prison, 2.5% of Group A and 2.1% of Group B reported having been in school.

Table 1. Frequency and Percent of Sample Demographics by Group

	Group A	Group B	Group C
Race/Ethnicity			
African-American	13 (11.0%)	33 (35.1%)	11 (13.3%)
White	92 (78.0%)	45 (47.9%)	54 (65.9%)
Hispanic	5 (4.2%)	2 (2.1%)	2 (2.4%)
Native American	8 (6.8%)	10 (10.6%)	8 (9.8%)
Other		4 (4.3%)	7 (8.5%)
Education (Highest Grade Completed)			
None			1 (1.2%)
Less than 8th grade	10 (8.5%)	4 (4.3%)	2 (2.4%)
9th-11th grade	10 (8.5%)	11 (11.7%)	14 (16.9%)
Completed High School/GED	57 (48.3%)	39 (41.5%)	31 (37.3%)
Associate (2 year) or Vo/Tech Degree	12 (10.2%)	9 (9.6%)	11 (13.3%)
Attended College but No Degree	23 (19.5%)	27 (28.7%)	20 (24.1%)
Bachelor's Degree	5 (4.2%)	3 (3.3%)	4 (4.8%)
Graduate School	1 (0.8%)	1 (1.1%)	
Work Situation at Arrest			
Full-time	89 (75.4%)	49 (52.7%)	57 (68.7%)
Part-time	6 (5.1%)	7 (7.5%)	4 (4.8%)
Temporary	6 (5.1%)	12 (12.9%)	8 (9.6%)
Unemployed	13 (10.9%)	23 (24.8%)	13 (15.6%)
Retired	1 (0.8%)		1 (1.2%)
Student	3 (2.5%)	2 (2.1%)	
Age at Arrest			
11-15		2(2.1%)	
16-20	8(6.9%)	10(10.6%)	11(13.3%)
21-30	30(25.9%)	35(37.2%)	27(32.5%)
31-40	50(43.1%)	30(31.9%)	21(25.3)
41-50	17(14.7%)	13(13.8%)	19(22.9%)
Over 51	11(9.5%)	4(4.3%)	5(6.0%)

Respondents' *age at arrest* was coded as follows: 11-15 (3), 16-20 (4), 21-30 (5), 31-40 (6), 41-50 (7), and over 51 (8). The only group with respondents in the 11-15 category was B (2.1%); 6.9% of Group A respondents were aged 16-20 at arrest, with

10.6% in Group B and 13.3% in Group C. In the 21-30 category were 25.9% of the Group A respondents, 37.2% of the Group B respondents, and 32.5% of the Group C respondents. The 31-40 category had 43.1% of the Group A respondents, 31.9% of Group B, and 25.3% of Group C. The 41-50 age category had 14.7% of the Group A respondents, 13.8% of Group B, and 22.9% of Group C. In the over age 51 category were 9.5% of Group A, 4.3 % of Group B, and 6.0% of Group C.

The next table presents the *ages* of the three respondent groups at the time of the study. Group B had the oldest minimum age (21), while both Group A and Group C reported the same minimum age (20). Group B also had the oldest maximum age (75); Group A was 74 and Group C was 65. Group B also had the oldest mean age (40.8), while the mean age of Group A was 39.4; Group C had the youngest mean age at 38.7.

Table 2. Means of Respondents' Age by Group

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
A Group	117	20.00	74.00	39.4017	9.96032
B Group	94	21.00	75.00	40.8085	12.56148
C Group	81	20.00	65.00	38.6667	11.27497

Dependent and Independent Variables

This study focuses on the effects of background on behaviors and attitudes in three groups of incarcerated offenders; it uses both behavioral measures and attitudinal scales. The dependent variables measure offenders' criminal histories and analogous behaviors. The variables were assessed from respondents' answers to questions relating to their current conviction, sentence length, arrest history, history and nature of convictions, and history and nature of delinquent acts.

The first question relating to criminal and delinquent behaviors (question number 12) asked for respondents' *crime(s) of conviction.* The respondents' current crimes of incarceration were categorized as violent, non-violent, or sexual offense. The non-sex offender group (B) was divided into 57.5% violent offenders and 40.4% non-violent offenders, with 2.1% who failed to report a crime of incarceration. Of the sex offender treatment group (A), 97.5% reported their crime of incarceration as sexual offense, while 2.5% failed to report a crime of incarceration. Group C had been identified by the Oklahoma Department of Corrections as sex offenders who had no history of treatment, yet 21.7% reported they were incarcerated for a violent crime and 14.5% reported they were in prison for a non-violent crime; 61.4% reported they were incarcerated for sexual offenses, and 2.4% failed to report a crime of incarceration. These data are reflected in Table 3.

Table 3. Respondents' Types of Crimes of Incarceration

	Group A	Group B	Group C
Crime of Incarceration			
Violent Crime		54 (57.5%)	18 (21.7%)
Non-Violent Crime		38 (40.4%)	12 (14.5%)
Sexual Offense	115 (97.5%)		51 (61.4%)
Missing	3 (2.5%)	2 (2.1%)	2 (2.4%)
Total	118	94	83

Sentence length (question #14) was coded with ten categories as follows: 10 years or less (1), 11-20 years (2), 21-30 years (3), 31-40 years (4), 41-50 years (5), 51-60 years (6), more than 61 years (7), life with parole (8), and life without parole (10). Sentence length by group is reported in Table 4.

Table 4. Respondents' Sentence Length by Group

Length of Sentence	Group A	Group B	Group C
10 years or less	20 (16.9%)	26 (28.0%)	26 (31.7%)
11-20 years	39 (33.1%)	13 (14.0%)	19 (23.2%)
More than 20 years	56 (47.4%)	35 (37.7%)	32 (39.1%)
Life with Parole	3 (2.5%)	14 (15.1%)	5 (6.1%)
Life without Parole		5 (5.4%)	
Missing		1 (1.1%)	1 (1.2%)
Total	118	94	83

The sentences that the respondents in this study are serving ranged from less than ten years to life without the possibility of parole. For the sake of parsimony the categories of 21-30 years, 31-40 years, 41-50 years, and 51-60 years were collapsed into a single category called more than 20 years. While 20.5% of Group B (non-sex offenders) are serving life sentences, only 2.5% of Group A (sex offenders in treatment) and 6.1% of Group C (untreated sex offenders) are incarcerated for life. On the other hand, more respondents from Group B and Group C were serving sentences of less than 10 years (28% and 31.7%, respectively), than the respondents in Group A (16.9%). More respondents from Group A (sex offenders in treatment) were serving sentences from 11 to 20 years (33.1%) than Group B (14.0%) or Group C (23.2%) respondents. In addition, a larger percentage of the Group A respondents were serving sentences of more than 20 years (47.4%) than both Group B (37.7%) and Group C (39.1%) respondents.

Question 19 asked respondents to indicate (coded 1 for yes, 0 for no) whether they had committed the following behaviors as a child: set fires, steal or shoplift, lie excessively, destroy own possessions, vandalize, torture animals, beat up other children, skip school, get suspended/expelled from school, hit parents or teachers, have repeated traffic offenses, with an open-ended category for other delinquent behaviors. The 12

items were subjected to a principal components factor analysis, the results of which are reported below (numbers in parentheses are the difference between the eigenvalue of the factor and the previous one).

Factor 1 3.750

Factor 2 1.229 (2.521)

Factor 3 1.037 (.192)

The analysis produced three factors with eigenvalues greater than one. However, the scree discontinuity test suggested that a one factor solution was best, as the largest break in eigenvalues was between factor one and factor two (2.521). Two items loaded on factor two: skip school loaded at .646 and get suspended/expelled loaded at .401, which was lower than its loading on factor one. One item loaded on factor three: have repeated traffic offenses. Because the scree discontinuity test indicated a one-factor solution was best, I then conducted a principal components factor analysis, forcing a one-factor solution. Three variables failed to load (repeated traffic offenses, skip school, and other). I then standardized the nine items that loaded on factor one. These were then summed to create the *analogous behaviors scale*. Factor loadings are reported below in Table 5.

Table 5. Factor Loadings of Childhood Delinquent and Analogous Behaviors

Item	Factor Loading
set fires	.681
steal or shoplift	.600
lie excessively	.571
destroy own possessions	.711
vandalize	.728
torture animals	.492
beat up other children	.690
get suspended/expelled from school	.545
hit parents or teachers	.561

Eigenvalue 3.515

Question 23 asked respondents to indicate their offense history as follows: (1) isolated events of minor misbehavior, but no intervention by authorities; (2) repetitive misbehavior of minor acts: truancy, running away/requiring intervention; (3) isolated misdemeanors/vandalism, drunkenness; (4) repetitive misdemeanors; (5) major criminal behavior-felony, isolated; (6) major criminal behavior-felony, repeated, or none/does not apply. The question was intended to measure criminal history prior to the crime for which they were currently incarcerated but was not worded well. All of those indicating "does not apply" were dropped; since the respondents were in prison they had committed at least one felony, therefore, respondents who had indicated no criminal involvement did not understand the question. I felt their responses should not be used.

I then created an ordinal level variable called *criminal history* to measure progressive involvement in the criminal justice system. Respondent's reported history of offenses was scored as: none = 0; isolated events of minor misbehavior with no intervention by authorities=1; repeated misbehavior of truancy and/or running away with intervention by authorities=2; isolated misdemeanors of vandalism and/or drunkenness=3; repetitive misdemeanors=4; isolated felony=5; and repeated felonies=6. Distribution of responses by group is reported below in Table 6.

Table 6. Respondents' Criminal Histories

Criminal History	Group A	Group B	Group C
None	4 (3.8%)	11 (12.0%)	19 (24.4%)
Isolated misbehavior uncaught	11 (10.6%)	8 (8.7%)	5 (6.4%)
Repeated misbehavior caught	2 (1.9%)	3 (3.3%)	2 (2.6%)
Isolated misdemeanor	10 (9.6%)	13 (14.1%)	14 (17.9%)
Repeated misdemeanor	4 (3.8%)	5 (5.4%)	4 (5.1%)
Isolated felony	42 (40.4%)	16 (17.4%)	17 (21.8%)
Repeated felony	31 (29.8%)	36 (39.1%)	17 (21.8%)

The next variable used in this study (refer to question #26 in Appendix A) was level of self-control as defined by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990). *Self-control* is a dependent variable in Hypothesis 1 and an independent variable in Hypothesis 2. Level of self-control (*self-control*) was measured by an adaptation of the 24 item Grasmick (1993) scale. For this study 23 items from the original Grasmick scale were used (α=.8976). The Grasmick (Grasmick et al. 1993) scale uses a Likert-type response format with strongly agree (4), agree (3), disagree (2), and strongly disagree (1) as the response options. On this scale, high scores indicate lower levels of self-control. As noted by Pratt and Cullen (2000), the Grasmick scale "...is perhaps the most carefully designed and valid measure of self-control" (p. 943). A principal components factor analysis was performed on the 23 standardized variables, the results of which are reported below; numbers in parentheses are the difference between the eigenvalue of that factor and the previous one.

Factor 1	7.379
Factor 2	2.168 (5.211)
Factor 3	1.897 (0.271)
Factor 4	1.484 (0.413)
Factor 5	1.072 (0.412)

The analysis produced five factors with eigenvalues greater than one. The scree discontinuity test suggested a single factor solution, as the greatest break in eigenvalues (5.211) was between factor one and factor two. This is comparable to the findings of Grasmick et al. (1993) who argued that the large difference between the eigenvalues of factors one and two in their study meant the "strongest case" (p. 17) could be made for a

one factor model. The 23 items were then forced to a one-factor solution with a 0.40 cutoff. The resulting loadings are reported below. As in the findings of Arneklev et al. (1993), Grasmick et al. (1993), Longshore et al. (1996), and Sellers (1999), the items measuring a liking for physical rather than mental activities had the lowest loadings, with the lowest overall loading occurring for the second item in the Physical Activities subscale. The following three items were dropped:

> I almost always feel better when I am on the move than when I am sitting and thinking.
> I like to get out and do things more than I like to read or contemplate ideas.
> I seem to have more energy and a greater need for activity than most other people my age.

The 20 remaining variables were standardized. I then created the *self-control scale* by summing the scores of the 20 standardized variables. Table 7 reports the loadings for these variables. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .9027.

Table 7. Factor Loadings of Standardized Adaptation of Grasmick Scale

Item	Factor Loading
Impulsivity	
I often act on the spur of the moment without stopping to think.	.541
I don't devote much thought and effort to preparing the future.	.520
I often do whatever brings me pleasure here and now, even at the cost of some distant goal.	.645
I'm more concerned with what happens to me in the short run than in the long run.	.537
Simple Tasks	
I frequently try to avoid projects that I know will be difficult.	.564
When things get complicated, I tend to quit or withdraw.	.643
The things in life that are the easiest to do bring me the most pleasure.	.488
I dislike really hard tasks that stretch my abilities to the limit.	.596
Risk Seeking	
I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky.	.472
Sometimes I will take a risk for the fun of it.	.586
I sometimes find it exciting to do things for which I might get in trouble.	.651
Excitement and adventure are more important to me than security.	.643
Physical Activities	
If I had a choice, I would almost always rather do something physical than something mental.	.458
Self-Centered	
I try to look out for myself first, even if it means making things difficult for other people.	.642
I'm not very sympathetic to other people when they are having problems.	.535
I will try to get the things I want even if I know it's causing problems for other people.	.731
Temper	
I lose my temper pretty easily.	.634
Often, when I am angry at people I feel more like hurting them than talking to them about why I am angry.	.701
When I'm really angry, other people better stay away from me.	.626
When I have a serious disagreement with someone, it's usually hard for me to talk calmly without getting upset.	.576

Eigenvalue 7.379

Much debate in the testing of the General Theory of Crime (1990) has centered around whether self-control as a construct is a unidimensional or a multidimensional trait or tendency (Piquero and Rosay 1998; Vazsonyi et al. 2001). Grasmick et al. (1993), Longshore et al. (1996), and Piquero and Rosay (1998) argued that Gottfredson and Hirschi felt that six components (impulsivity, insensitivity, physicality, risk-seeking, short-sightedness, being nonverbal) come together to form the unidimensional tendency toward low self-control (1990:90-91). A factor analysis of indicators of the components, then, should reveal a one-factor model. Under this scenario, evidence of multidimensionality would tend to refute the predictive power of low self-control (Grasmick et al. 1993; Longshore et al. 1996; Piquero and Rosay 1998). On the other hand, Vazsonyi et al. (2001) insist that Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:89-90) stated that self-control was multidimensional; the six components of low self-control do not have to be unidimensional to be predictive. They feel that the six components should be considered separately as indicators of "...the single latent trait of self-control" (Vazsonyi et al. 2001:980).

Although I was encouraged by the results of the factor analysis, which supported the argument for unidimensionality of the self-control concept, I think that a *caveat* is in order here. A number of respondents asked me whether I wanted them to answer this scale as they felt now (in prison) or as they felt when they were "on the street." I replied that they should answer the questions as they really felt. Of course, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) would reply that respondents' answers would indicate low self-control either way, but I think it would be worth addressing the issue of a possible difference in "pre-" versus "post-" conviction answers in future research.

The next two variables relate to inmates' family background and abuse. These were measured by two scales that asked about respondents' childhood experiences and current relationships with their mothers/mother figures and fathers/father figures (Umberson, Wortman, and Kessler 1992).

Question 28 asked about respondents' relationships with their mothers/mother figures. Question 31 asked respondents the same questions about their fathers/father figures. The scale used in questions 28 and 31 used 5 items to measure respondents' negative childhood experiences. The 10 items included measures of respondents' negative childhood experiences. The items asked how often respondents had, as children, experienced the following:

My mother punished me even over small offenses

My mother gave me more physical punishment than I deserved

I felt my mother thought it was my fault when she was unhappy

I think my mother was mean and grudging toward me.

My mother criticized me in front of others

My father punished me even over small offenses

My father gave me more physical punishment than I deserved

I felt my father thought it was my fault when he was unhappy

I think my father was mean and grudging toward me.

My father criticized me in front of others

Negative childhood experiences were measured with two five-item scales using the statements listed above, one relating to experiences with mothers/mother figures and one relating to experiences with fathers/father figures. Responses were coded as follows:

never (0), rarely (1), sometimes (2), often (3), and almost always (4) (Umberson et al. 1992).

Table 8. Factor Loadings of Abusive Parent Scales

Item	Factor Loading
Mother punished over small offenses.	.996
Mother physically punished more than deserved.	.997
Mother was mean and grudging.	.998
Mother criticized in front of others.	.997
Mother blamed when unhappy.	.997
Eigenvalue 4.969	

Item	Factor Loading
Father punished over small offenses.	.999
Father physically punished more than deserved.	.999
Father was mean and grudging.	.999
Father criticized in front of others.	.999
Father blamed when unhappy.	.999
Eigenvalue 4.995	

Separate principal components factor analyses were performed on the variables in the *abusive mother* and *abusive father* items, with a cut-off of .40. The *abusive mother* and *abusive father* factor analyses each produced one factor with an eigenvalue greater than one for each scale (*abusive mother* eigenvalue = 4.969; *abusive father* eigenvalue = 4.995). The results of these factor analyses are reported in Table 8.

The items loading in each analysis were then standardized and summed to make two separate scales, with five items each representing mothers' and fathers' abusive behaviors. A high score on each scale indicates a high number of negative experiences with a mother/mother figure or father/father figure. My objective in the creation of these scales was to obtain a sense of the range and extent of respondents' negative experiences with parents as that would surely affect the attachment, supervision, recognition, and

sanctioning of the respondents--and in turn the adequacy of parenting. Previous studies have proposed a link between sexually violent behavior and abuse experienced in childhood (Schewe and O'Donohue 1993; Scully 1990). Additionally, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) maintain that self-control is developed through adequate parenting. The scales utilized in this study measure physical and emotional punishment of respondents by parents in childhood (Umberson et al. 1992).

I then created a series of dummy variables to measure the groups respondents were drawn from. The first dummy variable, *Group A*, was coded one for all offenders drawn from the sex offender treatment program, with all others coded 0. *Group B* was coded 1 for all offenders with no record of sex offenses, with all others coded 0. *Group C* was coded 1 for all sex offenders never in a treatment program, with all others coded 0.

Finally, I examined the two groups of sex offenders to explore the issue of whether those in treatment were referred to treatment due to more serious offenses. To determine if the sex offenders in treatment were qualitatively different from the sex offenders who had never been in treatment, I examined the crimes of incarceration for both groups. The results are reported below in Table 9.

Among the sex offenders in treatment (Group A), 24.5% reported rape only, 5.1% reported sodomy, 13.6% reported both rape and sodomy and 39.5% reported charges involving minors. Among the non-treatment sex offenders (Group C), 25.3% reported they were incarcerated for rape, 8.4% reported they were incarcerated for sodomy, 2.4% reported both rape and sodomy, and 20.4% reported their charges involved a minor (lewd molestation or sexual abuse of a minor). Additionally, one Group C subject reported rape and first-degree murder; one reported rape and armed robbery; one reported rape,

sodomy, aggravated assault and robbery; and one reported rape, aggravated assault and manslaughter. Several Group C subjects reported no sexual offenses but did report armed robbery, assault, murder, drug and alcohol charges. Thus, it would appear that the two groups were fairly similar in terms of rape and sodomy charges. However, Group C subjects reported other violent offenses, while Group A subjects did not. On the other hand, Group A subjects reported more sexual offenses involving minors.

Table 9. Percentage of Inmates Reporting Select Sexual and Non-Sexual Offenses.

Offense	Group A	Group C
Rape only	24.6	25.3
Sodomy only	5.1	8.4
Rape and Sodomy	13.6	2.4
Sexual offense involving a minor	39.5	20.4
1st degree murder (with or without other charges)	*	2.4
Robbery (with or without other charges)	-	8.4
Assault	-	8.4
Drug or alcohol charges	2.4	14.4
No offenses reported	--	2.4

* One subject in Group A reported a rape and 2nd degree murder

I also spoke with the assistant director of the Residential Sex Offenders Treatment Program (RSTOP) and a case manager who assesses new receptions into the Oklahoma Department of Corrections to determine treatment needs. At the time of the research, sex offenders were not mandated by Department of Corrections into treatment. However, according to the case manager, approximately 15% of those in RSOTP self-select into treatment. The other 85% are referred by either a judge or a case manager. Interestingly,

the most serious offenders, those with life sentences or life without parole sentences, are often not referred because they will not be returning to the community and thus are seen as less in need of treatment. According to the case manager, all but about 5% of those who were court-ordered "Were mad as hell and manipulated their way out of it, if at all possible, including feigning mental illness -- usually they say, 'I hear voices,' and then they'd try to get psychiatric drugs prescribed for them. Other than that, they'd load up on other recommended programs in the hopes that by the time the rest of the programs were done they wouldn't have enough time left on their sentences to do the RSOTP." In his estimate, many of those who needed treatment never actually entered the program. Thus, many of those in Group C may have been referred to treatment but have not yet entered the RSOTP.

The in-depth interview questions in the Phase II part of the study related to offender victim choice and interaction with victim(s). The open-ended questions in this part of the study were adapted from Scully and Marolla (1984) and include offenders' perceptions of themselves and their victims, elements of victim choice, offenders' alcohol or other drug use in connection with the crime(s), use of weapon, offenders' perceptions of themselves, offenders' perceptions of rapists, and offenders' perceptions of rape. These interviews were covered by a federal certificate of confidentiality and were intended to provide an in-depth component to the study in which offenders were encouraged to provide a detailed analysis of their criminal actions.

Methodological Issues

Any research that uses incarcerated offenders is bound to be rife with the potential for methodological problems. Both the nature of the prison setting in which respondents

must be studied, and studying prisoners in itself bring many issues for researcher and subject alike which do not exist in research of non-offender populations. An additional methodological problem in this study related to the differences in offender populations in this study (Howard and Caslin 1999; Scully 1990; Stevens 1994).

Research conducted in a prison setting first requires cooperation with prison officials and staff; without their participation entry into the controlled prison environment would be virtually impossible. Therefore, researchers must develop what Schatzman and Strauss (1973) call strategies for entering in studies of inmates. This involved obtaining permission from the Department of Corrections and the wardens of each prison in which research was proposed, as well as cooperation from the staff who come into daily contact with the inmates (Schatzman and Strauss 1973; Scully 1990).

As far as this study was concerned, cooperation from prison administration and staff was never a problem. In fact, the Deputy Warden at Lexington Correctional Center assisted me in my Group B data collection there, a fact which I felt was not lost on the participants as only two refused to answer the questionnaires that day. Of course, it is possible that participants felt coerced because of his presence. In addition, the staff therapists and administration of the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program at Joseph Harp Correctional Center took a special interest in the study. They helped me with all Phase I data collection at Joseph Harp C.C., and did all of the scheduling for the Phase II interviews there. In addition, they made sure that one of them was in the Program Building where the interviews took place at all times to ensure my safety. Their help allowed the study to be completed with a minimum of wasted time and frustration on the part of interviewer and interviewees alike.

Additional problems encountered in research conducted in prison settings involve the restricted environment. As noted by Scully (1990) in her research on rapists in Virginia, "...there are obstacles in this kind of research that are not encountered when the target of inquiry is a noninstitutionalized population" (Scully 1990:29). For instance, in the event of lock-downs and inmate counts, all movement within the prison ceases and researcher and subjects alike are "frozen" until prison authorities allow movement again. This causes unforeseen delays in data collection and frustration in researcher and subjects alike. Any problems in the institution may delay data collection from days to weeks.

Also, random sampling of the respondent groups is complicated by inmate movement from one institution to another, which means that inmate samples have to be pulled close to the date of data collection, yet with enough time to allow staff to contact the respondents. The department of corrections official who did the sampling for this study somehow managed a 24-hour turnaround on the sampling, an amazing feat that facilitated the process immensely.

Because of the institutionalized setting, subjects in this study were contacted by unit staff, who asked those sampled if they would volunteer to participate. In addition, institutional protocol makes it necessary for data collection to be monitored by prison staff, although interviews are private. The success of this study depended on the good will of prison staff to a great extent. If for some reason staff refused to cooperate with researchers, the study would be at least compromised and at most impossible to finish. For this reason, the development and maintenance of good relationships with prison staff is essential (Lofland and Lofland 1995; Schatzman and Strauss 1973). One frustration I experienced with the data collection process in Phase I at both prisons was the fact that I

could not be sure that all potential participants on the sample lists were actually notified about the study. It was also impossible to "recruit" recalcitrant potential participants, since their sole knowledge about the survey was limited to their names being on a list prior to data collection. I wonder if I had been able to explain the study to those on the sample lists prior to the actual data collection, I might have had better compliance.

In addition to research problems related to the prison setting, this study was complicated by issues peculiar to the inmate sample. The first consideration as noted by Stevens (1994) is validity. This is because "...criminals lie a lot" (Stevens 1994:422). Because the questionnaire used in this study was both anonymous and self-administered (although monitored by the researcher and prison staff), there was no way to check demographic data. The rest of the questionnaire asked for respondents' opinions on a variety of scales, and it was impossible to discern whether or not they were lying in their responses on these items. In fact, at the data collection in the minimum-security unit at Lexington C.C., one older inmate commented, after he turned his questionnaire in, "Do you think most of these guys lie on these [questionnaires]? I bet they do. But I didn't!" He then indicated to me that he had really enjoyed completing the questionnaire. I couldn't resist looking at his questionnaire—it turned out that he was in his seventies and had been in prison eight times. His current crime of incarceration (he had served two or three years on it...) was armed robbery. In this study, validity of participant response in Phases I and II must be assumed, with awareness of the possibility of non-truthful answers.

Phase II of this study was dependent on the honesty of respondents concerning their feelings about their crimes and their victims. Previous studies on sex offenders have also

taken respondents at their word concerning some of the same issues with successful results (Haapasalo and Kankkonen 1997; Hazelwood and Warren 1989a; 1989b; Scully 1990; Stevens 1994). Some studies have checked the validity of respondents' answers about their crimes against written reports; because this study is anonymous, there is no way to check respondents' accounts against their records. But because the Phase II sample is made up of offenders in the Residential Sex Offenders Treatment Program (RSOTP), which requires admission of guilt and honesty about crimes, answer validity was assumed in Phase II with a degree of confidence. One fact that might have mediated the answers in the Phase II respondents, however, was that eleven of the twenty-five respondents were in pre-treatment. This meant that although they lived on "E" unit and were required to follow the rules of the RSOTP, they had not yet begun actual therapy, nor had they been measured by the polygraph. This might have allowed me to check their answers, if necessary.

An issue of great concern to this study was participant compliance. Respondents who participated in this study did not receive any compensation, and both sex offenders and non-sex offenders alike typically do not want to be identified as rapists or child molesters on the "yard" for fear of reprisal. Sex offenders, especially those with child victims, are considered to be the lowest inmates in the prison social strata, and non-sex offenders as well fear being misrepresented as sex offenders (Howard and Caslin 1999; Scully 1990). In fact, during the Phase II interviews three of the respondents brought up this issue.

One respondent said that being identified on the yard (as a sex offender) was an extremely important issue. He said that he knew of a child molester who had recently

been murdered in an Oklahoma prison because word got out that he had offended against children. This respondent indicated that rapists were also endangered in prison if they were identified. A second respondent said he had witnessed a child molester being beaten in a different prison where the respondent had previously served time. The same respondent insisted that he was innocent of the crime for which he had been convicted. He said that he had admitted doing the crime solely to get into the RSOTP as a protective measure because he had been convicted of rape. A third respondent argued that RSOTP participants who were transferred to other prisons were in danger of being killed because they were automatically identified as sex offenders since they had been in the program.

Identification is not an issue for the respondents who are currently in the RSOTP, as they live in a separate unit ('E" unit) from the rest of the offenders and are already known to the prison population at large to be sex offenders. Identification as sex offenders can be dangerous, however, for the sample of sex offender inmates who have not entered into treatment and who probably want to remain unidentified as such on the yard. It was crucial as well for the non-sex offender sample not to be identified with the sex offender samples, as they were likely to refuse to participate in the study if they discerned a danger of misrepresentation.

The problem with respondent compliance was brought home to me after the first data collection session at Joseph Harp C.C. Five therapists from the RSOTP, including the program director and assistant director, and the unit manager and administrative assistant had been pressed into service to help me collect questionnaires from 93 of the program residents (Group A1). Every aspect of data collection went beautifully—like a well-oiled machine. Everyone cooperated, all questionnaires were completely filled out, and the

participants were pleasant and well behaved. I was thrilled—it was so much easier than I had anticipated—but my elation was cut short when the director of the RSOTP said, "This group was easy because they are used to answering questions such as these as part of the program, and in order to stay in the program they have to cooperate. None of the other inmates here have to. Besides, now every inmate on the yard has seen 100 sex offenders go into this room with us, and they're not going to want any part of this." She stressed that neither the non-sex offender inmates nor the untreated sex offender inmates at Joseph Harp C.C. would want anything to do with something that seemed to be a part of the RSOTP. I needed to distance myself from the RSOTP to ensure participant compliance within the other groups, but the therapists were my only helpers with the data collection. It was a real catch-22.

We waited two months before we tried to collect data from Group B (non-sex offender) respondents at Joseph Harp C.C. This was due in part to scheduling conflicts with the prison and to distance data collection for Groups B and C from the RSOTP. As at the first data collection, I was assisted by therapists from the RSOTP, two females and two males. Data collection took place in two different rooms at the same time, the visitation room and the staff dining room. The two female therapists helped me in one room while the two male therapists helped in the other one. I went back and forth between the rooms as the respondents completed their questionnaires.

The procedure we had agreed upon for data collection was that as the respondents filed in, I would hand out statements of consent to each of them. Then when everyone was seated, I would give a short verbal explanation of the study and reiterate that anyone who wanted to was free to leave. I also offered to answer questions individually as

necessary while the questionnaires were being completed. At the first Joseph Harp C.C. Group B data collection, some participants left after reading the consent forms but before the verbal explanation, and some left after the verbal explanation. Some inmates approached the room, saw us inside, turned on their heels, and left. We also noticed that one or two participants who had left after reading the consent forms appeared to be advising other inmates not to participate in the study. My helpers explained that the reaction we were witnessing was due to the inmates' recognition of them as RSOTP therapists.

I took note of some of the excuses given by those who refused to participate. They included the following: "I don't have time for this," "I need to go to work," "I'm tired of talking about my family issues," "I don't want to do any more questionnaires," and "I don't want to give out any information on myself." One inmate refused to participate because he did not speak English well enough to understand the questionnaire. Interestingly, I noticed less compliance in the room where female therapists assisted me than in the room where male therapists assisted me. Forty-five completed questionnaires were gathered that day, but I felt that compliance would have increased had the potential respondents not recognized my helpers as RSOTP therapists.

The second Group B data collection session at Joseph Harp C.C. was completely different. This time only twelve respondents showed up to take the questionnaires, but there was complete compliance. In fact, one of the respondents, who identified himself as a minister, complimented me on the questionnaire.

Overall, there was more compliance at the Group B data collection at Lexington C.C., where I was assisted by the deputy warden, than at Joseph Harp C.C., although

fewer participants showed up to be surveyed. Only two inmates refused to participate in the medium-security data collection session, and there was complete compliance in the minimum-security data collection session. In fact, the success of the data collection at the minimum-security facility surprised me, because I noticed more older respondents among the sample there. I was afraid they would be put off by the sexual history questions; instead, a few expressed thanks for being included. Thirty-seven completed questionnaires were gathered from the two sessions at Lexington C.C.

Of the three samples, I was most concerned about surveying Group C. I deliberately surveyed them last in the hopes that they would not feel they were being singled out as sex offenders, and I was careful never to indicate that I knew they were sex offenders. I felt that the most difficult group would be Group C respondents at Joseph Harp C.C.; this was borne out by survey results. Although there was a larger sample of potential Group C respondents at Joseph Harp C.C., a few more completed questionnaires were gathered at Lexington C.C.

Group C data collection at Joseph Harp C.C. was completed in two sessions with the help of two male therapists from the RSOTP. Both sessions were uneventful except for two instances, one of which brought up a reason for inmate noncompliance. At the second Group C data collection, one respondent handed me his statement of consent and said that his father had just died and he was too upset to participate. But, after he left, the RSOTP therapist who was assisting me pulled me aside and told me that the real reason he left was that he was unable to read or write. The therapist had done the respondent's intake and recognized him. Although the high level of inmate illiteracy across the United States has been documented (Open Society Institute 1997), in an anonymous study there

is no way to determine how many potential respondents in a sample refuse to participate because they cannot read and/or write.

Another interesting incident occurred at the first Group C data collection session at Joseph Harp C.C. One respondent refused to participate in the survey; then he began to tell the therapist who was assisting me how "crazy" and "horrible" "those program people" were. My helper then identified himself as the assistant director of the RSOTP. The respondent then decided to participate after all. When he completed the questionnaire, he made a point of telling me that he did not agree with many of the questions because he was a monogamous Christian who had never had sex with anyone but his wife. This incident brought up a potential gender issue regarding the RSOTP therapists and the inmate population at Joseph Harp C.C. It is interesting that even though my helper was second in command of the RSOTP, an inmate who felt so strongly about the program still failed to recognize him. I wondered if that would have happened had my helper been one of the female therapists. After two data collections, a total of 40 Group C questionnaires were collected at Joseph Harp C.C.

The most successful data collection session was that of the Group C respondents in the medium security facility at Lexington C.C. Because of a scheduling conflict, the deputy warden was unable to assist me and assigned the medium security facility's recreational supervisor to serve in his stead. This was an unexpectedly advantageous turn of events, since he knew many of the respondents personally. Only one participant refused to be surveyed in this group, indicating that he did not have time to complete the questionnaire before he had to be at work. The rest of the group was not only cooperative, they were also the only group to express interest in the results of the study. I

promised to send a report of the results to be posted for them upon the study's completion. Most surprising of all was that a few of the respondents then expressed interest in being individually interviewed as well for the study. After the questionnaires were complete, the recreational supervisor commented that since it was so rare for a researcher to care about the opinions of inmates, I would now be greatly respected by them. He commented further that, in his opinion, I would now have no trouble with any of the inmates because I had gained their respect. He then stated that it was too bad that I could not interview one respondent in particular who had volunteered, because he was "one really sick puppy."

The last Group C data collection was conducted in the minimum-security facility at Lexington C.C. The situation at this session was different from that of the previous one. My assistant in this facility had been drafted at the last minute, and he was unaware of any details of the study. When we walked into the facility's dining/visitation room where the data collection was to take place, we were greeted by close to 20 respondents, some of whom were very angry because they thought they were going to be forced to complete the questionnaire. I quickly explained that the survey was voluntary and anonymous and that I could not use any questionnaires that were otherwise. About half a dozen members of this sample left immediately, although one man returned a few minutes later, saying that "he didn't want to take any chances" by not complying. The rest of the session was rather uneventful; one respondent had language difficulties, but another respondent and I translated for him. After the questionnaires were completed, one respondent said that he did not like the "sex questions," and another respondent noted that he felt the survey

labeled him as an offender. The two data collection sessions at Lexington C.C. garnered 43 completed questionnaires.

One of the first issues faced by Scully (1990) was the question of how the respondents would treat her. She relied on the limited methodological literature which stated that men tended to "open up" to women more readily than to other men, especially in regard to sensitive, emotional issues. She found that respondents offered more personal details than to her male research partner. Strangely, some of the rapists would only agree to be interviewed by her—they seemed to find it easier to talk with a woman, even though the subject was rape (Scully 1990). The respondents in the Phase II portion of my study did not appear to have a problem with my gender. Although some respondents talked more readily than others, I did not feel it was difficult to get them to "open up."

Another issue of concern relates to the threat of harm to the researcher in a study that involves inmates. As noted by Saulter (2000) sex offenders are dangerously manipulative of prison staff; researchers need to be cognizant at all times of this fact. In preparation for this study I attended three workshops specific to sex offenders given by internationally renowned experts on them: former FBI Special Agent Roy Hazelwood and Dr. Anna Saulter. All three workshops focused on sex offender behavior, including interview techniques specific to sex offenders and necessary precautions to be taken by researchers to keep them from harm. Perhaps because I took these precautions, I never felt that I was in any danger during this study, although I did experience considerable discomfort when listening to the respondents in Phase II as they described their crimes. Only once did I redirect an interviewee away from revealing too much detail. In this

instance, a self-defined sadistic rapist told me that he specifically became sexually aroused by the pain he saw in his victims' eyes. As he detailed the tortures he perpetrated on his stepdaughters and their pets, I began to be afraid that he would see pain in my eyes, too, and I subtly redirected my line of questioning. I felt that, although I may have missed some detail in his narrative, the greater goal of his not gaining power over my emotions had been accomplished.

During the Phase II interview process I kept in mind Cicourel's "double responsibility" (1964), eliciting spontaneous participation from respondents while constantly evaluating them. I frequently fought the desire to evaluate my interviewees as I questioned them. Sometimes, this was not easy. For example, in one interview an admitted child molester explained to me the reasoning behind his sexual molestation of two sisters, ages three and five. He said that they were curious about sex, and the only possible way he could explain it to them was through demonstration. Further, he said that if he "did not do it, someone else would, and they would get hurt." I had a very hard time keeping my evaluation of this man's behavior to myself.

Overidentification bias is a common problem in research that emphasizes in-depth interviews, but was not a problem in this study. On the contrary, through the development of rapport with subjects who have been convicted of reprehensible behaviors, I felt I was more affected by two of Lofland and Lofland's (1995) four common situations of emotional distress: (1) deception and fear of disclosure and (2) loathing and the desire to withdraw (p. 47). Most distressing was the role-playing necessary when trying to draw responses out of a reluctant respondent during the in-depth interviews (Reinharz 1992).

Another issue of methodological importance related to the inmate sample for this study. The sex offender sample in this study could not be representative of all sex offenders because it did not include offenders on probation or parole, offenders who have not been caught, and offenders whose sentences do not reflect sex offenses because of plea bargaining. In addition, since sex offenders who have been imprisoned tend to be more violent than sex offenders in general, this study may include an overrepresentation of violent sex offenders. Also, it is impossible to determine if there are any inmates in the non-sex offender sample who have in fact committed sex offenses and either have not been caught or accepted a plea bargain that does not indicate a committed sex offense (Scully 1990).

A final issue of importance to this study is the question of social desirability bias in respondents' answers. There is no way to determine whether subjects changed their responses to reflect what they thought was appropriate instead of what was factual. Of course, this is a potential problem in any type of survey research, regardless of sample.

Reasoning Behind the Use of Multiple Methods

Studies by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a, 1989b, 1990), Ressler et al. (1988), and Warren et al. (1991), working in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis in their studies to enhance the utility of their research on serial rapists. Qualitative methods were used to study the modus operandi of their respondents, the ways in which the offenders committed their crimes, and the signature aspect of their crimes, those behaviors that offenders do to satisfy their emotional needs (Douglas et al. 1992; Hazelwood and Warren 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Ressler et al. 1988; Warren et al. 1991). Quantitative aspects of the FBI studies

were also necessary for two reasons. First, statistical procedures would quantify whether there were significant behavioral differences between offenders. Second, quantitative analysis would help to statistically support identifying characteristics that could be used in the development of a profiling system for serial rapists (Hazelwood and Warren 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Warren et al. 1991). These studies used a combination of offender interviews, victim accounts, and case studies to ascertain levels of escalation in rapist behavior and prediction of rapist type from rapist behavior (Hazelwood and Warren 1989a, 1989b 1990; Warren et al. 1991).

Scully and Marolla's (1984, 1985) study of rapists had a predominantly qualitative approach. Like the FBI researchers, they chose to interview convicted rapists within the prison setting because they wanted to understand rape from the perspective of the rapists. In a little over a year, they interviewed 114 rapists and a contrast group of 75 other felons, hand-recording an 89 page questionnaire which concluded with 30 pages of open-ended questions inviting the respondents to become introspective about their crimes and criminal behavior. The interviews ranged from three to seven hours in length, and all the respondents were volunteers; the study eventually generated 700 hours of interviews and 15,000 pages of data (Scully 1990; Scully and Marolla 1984, 1985).

Scully (1990) maintains that rapists are the "...ideal informants on our sexually violent culture" (Scully 1990:4). Further, she states that it is necessary to study rapists to counter the impression that rape is the problem of the victim. She notes that since rape is the rapist's problem, rapists should be studied from their perspective (Scully 1990).

The unusual method of using inmates as interviewers in a prison setting was employed by Stevens in his 1994 study of convicted rapists' victim selection techniques.

Stevens (1994) trained 13 incarcerated felons as student-interviewers; they conducted 85 total interviews of which 61 were usable for the study. According to the author, using inmate interviewers facilitated the research. "Because criminals lie a lot, validity is a special methodological concern in prison" (Stevens 1994:422), and he felt inmates would lie less to a peer than to an outside researcher. In order to get the most valid data possible, the author collected data through inmate interviewers, conducted 20 interviews himself, and discussed all findings with offenders and professional prison workers to ascertain whether the responses seemed to be realistic (Stevens 1994). Haapasalo and Kankkonen (1997) interviewed a random sample of incarcerated inmates in their comparison study of childhood abuse among sex offenders and violent offenders. In addition, the researchers studied respondents' case files.

Event history analysis was used by Kruttschnitt et al. (2000) in their study of sex offender recidivism. This quantitative study used case histories of sex offenders on probation only. The data came from presentence reports, medical and psychological assessments, progress reports, and the original criminal complaints. Knight, Warren, Reboussin, and Soley (1998) also used quantitative methods only in their study of rapists and their crime scene variables. And in Porter, Fairweather, Drugge, Hugues, Birt, and Boer's (2000) study of the relationship between psychopathy and sexual violence, a statistical analysis of a file search was the sole method used. Additionally, Hanson et al. (1995) used archival records only in their comparison of the recidivism rates of child molesters and non-sex offenders.

To date, no published studies have been done which contrast treated and untreated sex offenders to non-sex offenders within the same prison population, utilizing both

quantitative and qualitative methods of research. For the inmate population in this study, a triangulation of methods was the best approach. The use of self-administered questionnaires was appropriate in the survey research because all of the respondents were monitored in a controlled setting to facilitate compliance. This is necessary with a deviant sample not predisposed to cooperation with academics (Scully 1990). For the Phase II research, where more detail was needed, the field study method is more useful, especially as inmates are in what Schatzman and Strauss (1973) would call "special classes."

Utilizing field studies has a long tradition in sociological history, predating the Chicago School but made famous by it. In particular, feminists have utilized fieldwork in their studies (Hammersly 1992; Reinharz 1992; Sieber 1973). Lever (1981) points out that multiple methods are useful in cross-validation of research findings. She argues that the divergence produced by multiple methods should be seen as an asset instead of a detriment since it can be used as an additional source of data. Sieber (1973) contends that a combination of survey and fieldwork facilitates research by mediating the bias inherent in single methods—an important point in the study of sex offenders. Also, as stated by Reinharz (1992:213), "Multimethod research creates the opportunity to put texts or people into contexts, thus providing a richer and far more accurate interpretation."

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Findings Related To Hypothesis 1

In the first hypothesis I anticipated that the three sample groups A (sex offenders in treatment), B (non-sex offenders), and C (sex offenders without history of treatment) would not differ significantly in their analogous behaviors, their criminal histories, or their levels of self-control. I also projected that the sex offender samples would have histories not only of sexual assaults, but also misdemeanors and felonies, as well as nonviolent and violent crimes. The findings showed partial support for my hypothesis, but there were significant differences between groups on some measures. The offender groups in this study were not the same. Mean scores for the three groups on these measures are reported in Table 10. For ease of interpretation, I re-created the scales using the non-standardized variables. The mean scores for the three sample groups indicated that group A reported higher levels of criminal involvement (criminal history= 4.3942), higher levels of delinquent behaviors as children (analogous behaviors=3.0427), and lower self-control (Grasmick scale=54.9573) than the other two groups. Group B reported lower levels of criminal involvement (4.0109) and childhood delinquent behavior (2.3448); their level of self-control (48.4624) was not as low as that reported by Group A. Group C reported the lowest level of criminal involvement (3.2564) and childhood delinquent involvement (2.0986) of the three groups; additionally, they reported the highest level of self-control (46.0122) of the three groups.

Table 10. Mean Scores by Group on Criminal History, Analogous Behaviors, and Grasmick Scale

GROUP	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Criminal History					
A GROUP	110	.00	6.00	4.1545	2.0100
B GROUP	92	.00	6.00	4.0109	2.18131
C GROUP	78	.00	6.00	3.2564	2.31559
Analogous Behaviors					
A GROUP	117	.00	9.00	3.0427	2.4544
B GROUP	87	.00	9.00	2.3448	2.2456
C GROUP	71	.00	9.00	2.0986	2.1854
Grasmick Scale					
A GROUP	117	34	76	52.3611	8.3548
B GROUP	93	22	84	46.5976	11.0508
C GROUP	82	23	62	45.0308	9.7819

Independent samples t-tests were then run to determine whether the differences between the three respondent groups on measures of criminal history, analogous and childhood behaviors and level of self-control were statistically significant. The results of the t-tests comparing the three groups of respondents' criminal histories, reported in Table 11, are notable in that significant differences were found between groups A and C ($p = .001$) and B and C ($p = .030$) only. There were no significant differences found between groups A and B ($p = .179$). The greatest level of difference in criminal history scores ($p = .001$) was between groups A and C--sex offenders in treatment and sex offenders with no history of treatment. This was an interesting finding since we might expect that the two respondent groups with the greatest similarity in category of offense (sex offenses) would also have the greatest similarity in criminal history. Instead, they had the greatest differences. It is also interesting that there were no significant differences in reported criminal history between groups A and B ($p = .179$), although they are different in offense categories and the fact that Group A is located in a residential treatment program within the prison while Group B is not. These findings will be explored further in testing Hypothesis 2.

Table 11. T-Tests of Mean Differences in Criminal Histories by Group

	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Group A/Group B			
Equal Variances Assumed	1.350	194	.179
Equal Variances Not Assumed	1.334	176.521	.184
Group A/Group C			
Equal Variances Assumed	3.737	180	.000
Equal Variances Not Assumed	3.605	140.526	.000
Group B/Group C			
Equal Variances Assumed	2.185	168	.030
Equal Variances Not Assumed	2.174	159.874	.031

The results of independent samples t-tests that compared the three respondent groups' analogous behaviors were somewhat different (reported in Table 12). Significant differences on this measure were found between Groups A and B ($p = .039$) and Groups A and C ($p = .008$). There was no significant difference, however, between Groups B and C ($p = .489$) in their reported analogous behaviors. As in the results of the t-tests for the criminal history measure, the two sex offender respondent groups had the highest level ($p = .008$) of significant difference, even though they had the greatest similarity in category of offense. Again, I further explored this relationship in Hypothesis 2.

Table 12. T-Tests of Mean Differences in Analogous Behaviors by Group

	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Group A/Group B			
Equal Variances Assumed	2.082	202	.039
Equal Variances Not Assumed	2.110	193.470	.036
Group A/Group C			
Equal Variances Assumed	2.663	186	.008
Equal Variances Not Assumed	2.740	161.185	.007
Group B/Group C			
Equal Variances Assumed	.694	156	.489
Equal Variances Not Assumed	.696	151.219	.488

The results of the independent samples t-tests on respondents' level of self-control as measured by the Grasmick scale, reported in Table 13, were similar to the results for analogous behaviors. Once again, there were significant differences between Groups A and B ($p = .000$) and A and C ($p = .000$), but not Groups B and C ($p = .371$). These findings differentiated most between the scores of the A Group and the other two groups. Group A had significant differences in scores related to level of self-control whether compared to the non-sex offenders in Group B or the untreated sex offenders in Group C, but Groups B and C did not differ significantly in their levels of self-control.

Table 13. T-Tests of Mean Differences in Self-Control Scores, by Group

	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Group A/Group B			
Equal Variances Assumed	4.095	191	.000
Equal Variances Not Assumed	3.944	154.062	.000
Group A/Group C			
Equal Variances Assumed	5.237	176	.000
Equal Variances Not Assumed	5.036	132.221	.000
Group B/Group C			
Equal Variances Assumed	.898	153	.371
Equal Variances Not Assumed	.910	152.126	.364

Hypothesis 1 states that there should be no difference in the level of self-control. However, I found significant differences between Group A and the other two groups. One possible explanation would be that demographic differences in age, education, or race/ethnicity accounted for the differences. Additionally, Self-Control Theory suggests that differences in self-control are a result of parenting. To further explore the relationship between the sex offender groups and whether these differences were due to demographic differences in the population or in parental abuse, I next regressed self-control on the variables age, race, education level, abusive mother, and abusive father. I entered dummy variables for Group B and Group C into the equation. The results are reported in Table 14. Group B was significant ($b = -6.028$, $p \leq .001$, indicating that when controlling for the demographic and abuse variables, Group B still reported

significantly higher levels of self-control. Likewise, the coefficient for Group C was significant ($b = -8.863$, $p \leq .001$), also indicating significantly higher levels of self-control, net of the effects of the other variables. The only other significant variable was education level ($b = -1.167$, $p \leq .01$).

Table 14. Regression of Self-Control on Demographic and Parental Variables, unstandardized coefficients (standardized in parentheses)

Variables	
Group B	-6.028 *** (-.253)
Group C	- 8.863 *** (-.353)
Age	- .009 (-.098)
Nonwhite/white	1.245 (.053)
Highest grade completed	- 1.167 ** (-.154)
ABUSMOT	.010 (..48)
ABUSFAT	- .105 (.045)
Intercept (B)	12.817
N	255
R^2	.157

*p≤ .05, **p≤ .01, ***p≤ .001

Thus, part of Hypothesis 1 was not supported. I found significant differences in criminal history, analogous behaviors, and level of self-control between the groups. Furthermore, the differences in self-control between groups remained after controlling for

demographic variables. To further explore the issue of generality of deviance, I next examined responses from the in-depth interviews of the sex offenders in treatment.

Generality of Deviance: Participation in Both Sex and Non-Sex Offenses

The interviews of the Phase II portion of this study provided more information about both criminal history and childhood delinquent or analogous behaviors for Group A. The interview data suggested that the in-treatment sex-offenders had extensive history of non-sex offenses. Ten of the twenty-five respondents reported that they had prior involvement with the criminal justice system for sex offenses other than that for which they were incarcerated. In addition, twelve of the twenty-five interviewees reported having committed non-sex offenses for which they had some involvement with the criminal justice system. Three of the respondents had spent time in prison before their current incarceration for other sexual offenses and three had spent time in prison for previous convictions for non-sexual offenses. One interviewee felt that his prior convictions for non-sex crimes were used to increase the sentence on his current conviction of first degree rape of his stepdaughter, stating, "Well, I've been in jail, prison, for something I was wrong on. You know, forgery and stuff like that...They used it to give me 50 years - they used my two formers."

Another respondent noted that he pled no contest to charges of lewd molestation of his daughter because of fear that his three non-sex-crime prior convictions would be used to give him a long sentence.

> I pled out, no contest. Because I knew that with me having priors, you know. I would have gotten hung if I had went...And I'd already had three convictions.

A third respondent informed me that he had seven DUI's prior to coming to prison on his kidnapping and attempted rape convictions. Also, a few years before his current incarceration, he had received a sentence of eighteen months on one felony DUI, which he discharged with a two month "shock program." He stated that although he beat the victim (his ex-girlfriend) after a three-day cocaine binge, he did not attempt to rape her. He argued that his criminal history was used against him by the criminal justice system: "...I was a dope dealer for many years...[but]...The only thing they could ever get me for was they got me for that felony DUI conviction...They have been after me for fifteen years." He stated that he pled guilty to the kidnapping and attempted rape charges because he could not afford a jury trial.

A fourth respondent had a similar tale. He maintained that he was not guilty of his crime of incarceration, the molestation of his eight-year old stepson, and that he had been railroaded by a crank-addicted ex-wife and a "...DA which, you know, she doesn't really like me anyway, because she knew me in the past...And she knew that I was a known drug dealer." This respondent argued that he was: "...coaxed into pleading no contest" by court-appointed lawyers. He said that in the past he sold drugs for a powerful person who had paid his way out of other drug sales-related troubles, but since he no longer worked for this individual, he received no assistance on the molestation charges. "They had been trying to get me off the streets for years. But my boss pretty much paid my way out of everything...you, know, there was a lot of things I probably should have been convicted before...And I wish I had of." Interestingly, he saw his current conviction as a type of "just desserts," stating, "It's kind of like bad karma."

One respondent indicated that he had been imprisoned in Texas prior to his current incarceration on a variety of charges, including child molestation.

> The first charge I was in on was...basically lewd molestation. Burglary of a motor vehicle. Parole violation. Forgery by proxy.

He also indicated a long history of sexual assaults not reported to law enforcement; he began molesting other children at age six. "I've had thirty-three female children [victims] and eighteen adults." In addition, he indicated that he had been sexually abused from age five to age thirteen.

Another respondent also reported a history of non-sex offenses, lending credence to the argument of generalizability. He had four DUI convictions at the time he committed his current crime of incarceration. He picked up his acquaintance victim at a bar. "Well, I was at a bar and she showed up at the bar. She went home with me." He noted that she acted "dumb" and he thought she would go home with him willingly. "She was the only one there that I thought I probably could maybe have sex with. I knew she liked me." He noted that he had probably raped other victims in the past who had not reported their assaults to law enforcement. "You know, I'm sure I'd done it before. But they probably didn't, they just didn't say anything. You know, they just thought it was a bad night." Later in the interview he admitted that he had been accused of rape three or four times in the past, but the victims had not reported him to law enforcement. He also stated that he had been convicted before of a sex crime. "I had a molestation charge in '85...I did three years in prison."

Other Group A2 respondents discussed with me their childhood behaviors as well as their behaviors analogous to crime, many of which included illegal drug use. Fifteen of the twenty-five interviewees reported alcohol or other drug use. Limited sexual access to

willing partners, oft cited as a factor related to sexual assault in rape myths, was not an issue in this study; interestingly, sixteen Group A2 respondents had consensual partners at the time they committed their sexual assaults.

Fifteen of the twenty-five respondents reported using alcohol or other drugs prior to raping/molesting their victims. One respondent, who raped and molested his stepdaughter and her friend with the stepfather of the stepdaughter's friend over a period of about six years, stated that as well as using alcohol and drugs himself, he also forced them on his victims. He noted that he would typically drink "...probably about half a bottle" of beer and/or whiskey and would smoke marijuana, "...probably two marijuana cigarettes," plus "A lot of times I would mix my, mix cold medicine with alcohol. Valiums and codeine tablets. Mix them with alcohol as well." The victims would be given "A couple of beers...[and] probably about half a [marijuana] cigarette."

Another respondent drank "...probably at least half of a fifth" (of whiskey) and smoked "...a couple of joints" on the day of the incident he chose to tell me about during which he raped his stepson. A third respondent noted that he had consumed "Three or four pitchers of beer, half a bottle of whiskey or something ... [And] I think I took a couple of diet pills" prior to raping a woman he had picked up at a bar. A fourth respondent told me that he and his victim drank alcohol and smoked marijuana "...well from 10:00 in the morning until midnight." He estimated that he and his victim had consumed at least a twelve-pack of beer each and smoked ten joints together prior to the rape. A fifth respondent admitted to drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana and cocaine prior to molesting his niece. " I had been looking for drugs that day. And I had been drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana and cocaine." All of these respondents

indicated elsewhere in their interviews that drinking alcohol and using drugs was not behavior that was solely associated with the victimization of others, but was behavior that they enjoyed and engaged in often.

Participation in a Variety of Sex Offenses

A distinction is often made between child molestation and other types of sex offenses or even between different types of rapists (cf., Douglas et al. 1992; Ressler et al. 1988). However, the General Theory of Crime (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990) suggests that offenders are generalists, not specialists. In other words, among those with low self-control, when opportunity is present then offending will occur. The in-depth interviews provided support for this contention, suggesting that sex offenders do not specialize in sex offenses. Group A2 respondents reported criminal histories that included various types of sexually assaultive behavior. Ten of the respondents reported sexual assault priors which included some involvement with the criminal justice system, three of those ending in time served in prison; twelve reported committing sexual assaults which were not reported to law enforcement. A common theme for the sample was prior involvement in child molestation. Twelve of the twenty-five respondents reported that they had molested at least one child as part of their criminal history--and one respondent estimated that he had molested (and raped), "Pretty close to, oh, somewhere between 500 and 1,000 [victims]."

One respondent noted that when he committed the crimes for which he is currently imprisoned he had been out of prison for four months. He had been incarcerated for approximately two years for the molestation of a niece. He indicated to me that he had, in addition, molested and sodomized his daughter before that incarceration. "Uh, I had

been molesting, oral sodomizing her since she was six years old." He then continued the behavior upon his return to the family, "Uh, I'd been having fantasies of attacking my daughter, raping my daughter...I was in the home. And I wasn't supposed to be." This respondent raped his eleven-year old daughter four times before he was arrested.

Another respondent, currently incarcerated for the molestation of an eight-year-old neighbor, was also accused of the molestation of two other victims. "I was accused twice prior to this...One was just an accusal [sic]. The other I was taken to jail and held overnight, and released the next day...And not arrested." In the incident in which he was held overnight in jail the victim and her family were leaving the country the next day; the parents did not press charges for that reason.

Two additional respondents indicated to me criminal histories that included many sexual assaults that were not reported to law enforcement. For example, one respondent noted that he had many victims other than his stepson, the victim in his crime of incarceration whom he had sexually abused for five years, but none of the others ever reported him to law enforcement. "Uh, I had 29 additional female child victims. Had 16 additional female adult victims. They was all either, you know, either friends of the family or whatever. Easy access." He had sexually abused his stepson's sister for five years before she moved out of the household; three years later he began to abuse his stepson. After five years of abuse the stepson told his sister--it was she who finally reported him to law enforcement, but she refused to press charges on her own abuse.

Another respondent reported to me a pattern of behavior he called "party time" which involved sexual abuse of scores of female children or teenagers in a video arcade he owned located next to a bus station.

> Mostly at the arcade...Watch for them to come in, see what they were wearing. You, know, if they were wearing dirt, what I would consider dirty clothes, or if they had bags...so that I could get runaways...or other children, you know, that were homeless. I would watch for them. I would target those children...I would find those children and then offer them something to eat and drink. Most of the time they didn't refuse. I would tell them, you can empty the ashtrays or sweep the floor, and I would give them, I would take them out to dinner. And then, they'd have no place to go. And I would say, well, I've got a room to catch this bus...You can stay here. I conveniently had a bedroom-type bed, you know, room. Okay? In the back. I told them, you can stay here. And sometime later, toward the end of the evening, I would put drugs into some microwave hamburgers, or whatever...And then eventually they would become unconscious...And I would remove their clothes, and would rape them with pool cues, plungers, candy bars. Any weapon I could find.
>
> (Interviewer) And what would you do afterwards?
>
> I would redress them the way they were. Bring them back in the bedroom. I would wake them up. Probably 90% of the time, they knew something had happened...But they didn't know what...Most of them, when they came to, I told them they could just get out, though...Take them to the bus station.

This respondent identified himself as a sadistic rapist, noting "I have always enjoyed inflicting pain." This respondent is in prison not for the crimes he described in the above interview but for rape and molestation of his two step-daughters. By his account, none of the children and teens raped in his video arcade ever reported his actions to law enforcement.

One respondent, incarcerated for the molestation and rape of his granddaughter and a foster child reported to me that he had four additional victims between the ages of 10 and 13 who never told anyone about the crimes. He stated that at the time of the molestation of his granddaughter and foster child he had rationalized that molesting them would not hurt them because they were both prior victims of sexual abuse.

A few of the respondents were quite young when they started sexually victimizing children. For example, one respondent noted that he was "Probably about six" when he

began molesting other children. Another respondent reported, "...my sexual deviancy started when I was eight years old. Abusing pornography and raping and molesting a five year old child when I was eight." A third respondent admitted that when he was between eight and nine years old he "...[spied] on or voyeurizing [sic] on [the] vagina. On a female child."

Although sixteen of the twenty-five respondents had consensual sexual partners who were agemates, five of the child molesters/rapists cited anger at their wives as part of the rationalization process which allowed them to victimize their children. For example, one respondent who is incarcerated for raping his daughter noted that "I thought my wife was having an affair. Uh, I'd been having fantasies of attacking my daughter, raping my daughter...I was angry at my wife, and you know, revenge. To get back at her." Another respondent stated that he began victimizing his stepdaughter during his wife's pregnancy. "I, my wife and I had, my wife had become pregnant. And, for about three months of her pregnancy she stopped all sexual activity. She said I was hurting her when we had sex. I felt, I thought she was lying to me. And I felt rejected."

A third respondent said that although he had been thinking about molesting his stepdaughter for about three years, he raped her on the day that he found out her mother (his wife) had been seeing another man. "At the time I said, I'll show her. I acted out." The fourth respondent's tale was similar--he had been fantasizing about his seven year old stepdaughter "for awhile" and began raping her because "My wife and I had a fight." The fifth respondent also indicated that resentment of his wife spurred him to rape his daughter, although he also admitted that he "...was sexually deviant [sic] aroused to her.

I started voyeurizing [sic] on her when she was eleven. And I decided to start molesting her when she was twelve. So, then when I raped her she was thirteen."

Sex Offenders and Low Self-Control

The finding that Group A had the highest mean score on the self-control scale, indicating the lowest level of self-control of the three groups in the study, was reflected in some of the responses given in interviews by the A2 group. One example would relate to the questions relating to temper, although the specific word used in interviews by respondents was anger. For instance, the anger felt by some of the respondents against their wives allowed them to rationalize it was acceptable to rape their daughters or stepdaughters.

In addition, some of the respondents mentioned that their decision-making when they committed their crimes was 'spur of the moment,' reflecting impulsivity. For example, one grandfather convicted of the molestation of his granddaughter noted that "It was a spur of the moment thing...I've thought about that a thousand times and I can't come up with the answer to [why I did] that." A second respondent noted that a five year pattern of sexual abuse of his stepson began the same way, " ...it was a spur of the moment thing. And then, the few times that it happened after that, I would think about it. I would think about what it was the first time, and then wind up getting myself aroused and go back and do it again."

Some of the respondents molested victims in risky locations--places and situations where they risked being caught. This, in fact, contributed to more than one respondent's eventual incarceration. For instance, one respondent molested his stepdaughter in the room next to where his wife slept. Another child molester victimized his eight-year old

neighbor in the living room of his apartment in front of a window. He was caught when her mother looked through the window and realized what had happened. A third respondent victimized the daughter of his girlfriend in their house; he was caught by his girlfriend in the act of molesting her daughter. Yet another respondent molested his daughter while she lay in bed next to her brother. A fifth respondent raped his stepdaughter for a year, usually at night while his wife was in bed asleep. He was caught when his wife woke up one night and walked in on him raping his stepdaughter. These instances illustrate some of the thinking patterns identified by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) as being indicative of what they term a tendency toward low self-control including a volatile temper, an inability to defer gratification, and a preference for risk.

Childhood Abuse

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) contend that the major contributor to low self-control is ineffective parenting, including lack of consistency and abuse. In Hypothesis 1, I predicted that abusive parenting would be linked to lower self-control. Thus, I asked the subjects questions about their childhoods. The main theme related to me by those who chose to discuss their childhood in interviews was their own molestation. In this sample of twenty-five, six respondents reported molestation as children. Often, they were molested by members of their own families. For example, "...I had been sexually abused whenever I was younger by several family members and friends of the family." And, "I was eight years old and molested." A third respondent, who reported that his own sexual deviance started at age eight, was himself raped and molested by a family member " ...when I was nine years old, waking up to find a fifteen-year old male cousin raping and molesting me when I was nine." A fourth respondent revealed that he had been sexually

abused for a number of years. "I was sexually abused as a child...I was abused from the ages of five to thirteen." He did not tell me who had abused him.

The fifth respondent's single incidence of sexual molestation occurred at the hands of a babysitter. "I was seven years old. Between seven and eight. A seventeen-year old family friend, babysitter, female. She molested me and then forced my penis into her." The sixth respondent seemed ambivalent about whether or not he had been molested.

> I might have [been molested] once, when I was young. It was when I was about seven or eight. A man came up looking to play a game, you know, I seen him around many times. I knew who he was. And he orally sodomized me. At the time, I didn't you know, see anything wrong with it.

None of the respondents who told me about being molested as children said they reported their victimization to law enforcement or anyone else.

Findings Related To Hypothesis 2

In Hypothesis 2, I predicted that lower levels of self-control would be related to criminal and analogous behaviors. I predicted that the lower the self-reported self-control, the more severe the history of criminal behavior. Additionally, I anticipated that regardless of type of crime committed, offenders would evidence low self-control prior to commission of crime as indicated by reporting analogous behaviors. Hypothesis 2 further suggests that the relationships between variables should not differ by group. Accordingly, I conducted separate analyses for the three groups on both dependent variables.

Table 15 reports the results of the regression of the dependent variable criminal history on the variables age at arrest, race, level of education, sentence length, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father for Group A, the RSOTP respondents. Four separate models were used. The first model regressed criminal history on age at

arrest, race, level of education, and self-control. Only age at arrest had a significant unstandardized coefficient ($b = -.592$, $p \leq .01$), which was also negative, indicating that Group A members who were arrested at younger ages tended to have a longer criminal history . R^2 for this model was .115. The second model added the abuse by mother variable, which was not significant; the unstandardized regression coefficient for age remained negative and statistically significant ($b = -.644$, $p \leq .01$). R^2 for this model was .123. The third model dropped the abuse by mother variable and added the abuse by father variable, which was not significant. Again, age at arrest had the only significant unstandardized coefficient ($b = -.572$, $p \leq .01$), which was negative. R^2 for this model was .112. The fourth model added both abusive parent variables to the regression, but age at arrest was again the only significant variable, with an unstandardized coefficient that was significant at $p \leq .01$ ($b = -.623$). R^2 for this model was .120. The variables race, level of education, sentence length, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father were not significant in any of the four models.

Table 15. Regression of Criminal History on Self-Control, Parental , and Demographic Variables, Group A, unstandardized coefficients (standardized in parentheses)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age at arrest	-.592** (-.299)	-.644** (-.321)	-.572** (-.289)	-.623** (-.311)
Nonwhite/white	-.001 (.000)	.009 (.002)	.002 (.005)	.003 (.006)
Highest grade completed	.034 (.025)	.048 (.034)	.042 (.031)	.056 (.040)
Sentence length	.081 (.071)	.060 (0.52)	.079 (.070)	.058 (.050)
GRASMSTD	.030 (.140)	.025 (.117)	.031 (.144)	.026 (.119)
ABUSMOT		.011 (.004)		.037 (.012)
ABUSFAT			-.007 (-.015)	-.007 (-.016)
Intercept (B)	7.107	7.404	6.931	7.237
N	98	96	97	95
R^2	.115	.123	.112	.120

*p≤ .05, **p≤ .01, ***p≤ .001

Table 16 reports the results of the regression of the dependent variable criminal history on the variables age at arrest, race, level of education, sentence length, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father for Group B, respondents who had no history of sexual offense convictions. As with the previous regressions, four separate models were used. The first model regressed criminal history on age at arrest, race, level of education, sentence length, and self-control. None of the coefficients were significant in this model. R^2 for model 1 was .059. The second model added the abuse by mother variable; again, none of the coefficients were significant. R^2 for this model was .058. The third model subtracted the abuse by mother variable and added the abuse by father variable. None of the coefficients were significant. R^2 for Model 3 was .077. The fourth

model added both abuse by mother and abuse by father variables. None of the coefficients were significant. R^2 for Model 4 was .074.

Table 16. Regression of Criminal History on Self-Control, Parental, and Demographic Variables, Group B, unstandardized coefficients (standardized in parentheses)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age at arrest	-.101 (-.052)	-.115 (-.060)	-.113 (-.058)	-.129 (-.069)
Nonwhite/white	-.351 (-.082)	-.310 (-.074)	-.287 (-.067)	-.233 (-.056)
Highest grade completed	-.241 (-.164)	-.236 (-.163)	-.297 (-.204)	-.284 (-.198)
Sentence length	-.079 (-.101)	-.076 (-.098)	-.089 (-.114)	-.086 (-.112)
GRASMSTD	.007 (.038)	-.000 (-.001)	-.001 (-.003)	-.008 (-.044)
ABUSMOT		-.025 (-.112)		-.020 (-.092)
ABUSFAT			-.038 (-.106)	-.029 (-.085)
Intercept (B)	5.374	6.438	6.713	6.779
N	82	80	81	79
R^2	.059	.058	.077	.074

*p≤ .05, **p≤ .01, ***p≤ .001

Table 17 reports the results of the regression of dependent variable criminal history on the variables age at arrest, race, level of education, sentence length, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father for Group C (respondents incarcerated for sex offenses who have no history of treatment). Four separate models were used. Model 1 regressed criminal history on age at arrest, race, level of education, and self-control. Only self-control was significant (b = .073, p≤ .01) indicating that Group C respondents

with low self-control also tended to have more serious criminal histories. R^2 for this model was .147. Model 2 added the abuse by mother variable, which was not significant; the regression coefficient for self-control remained statistically significant (b = .078, p≤ .01). R^2 for this model was .152.

In Model 3 the abuse by mother variable was dropped and the abuse by father variable added; self-control remained the only variable with a significant unstandardized coefficient (b = .083, p≤ .01). R^2 for this model was .163. The fourth model included both abusive parent variables in the regression; again, self-control was the only statistically significant coefficient (b = .086, p≤ .01). R^2 for this model was .168. The independent variables age at arrest, race, level of education, sentence length, abuse by mother, and abuse by father did not have any significant unstandardized coefficients in any of the four regression models on the dependent variable criminal history.

Table 17. Regression of Criminal History on Self-Control, Parental, and Demographic Variables, Group C, unstandardized coefficients (standardized in parentheses)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age at arrest	-.400 (-.193)	-.394 (-.191)	-.403 (-.195)	-.398 (-.193)
Nonwhite/white	-.473 (-.097)	-.435 (-.087)	-.610 (-.124)	-.561 (-.112)
Highest grade completed	.082 (.052)	.074 (.046)	.067 (.043)	.050 (.031)
Sentence length	.132 (.133)	.147 (.145)	.135 (.136)	.153 (.151)
GRASMSTD	.073 ** (.341)	.078 ** (.359)	.083 ** (.375)	.086 ** (.383)
ABUSMOT		-.189 (-.046)		-.035 (-.008)
ABUSFAT			-.429 (-.074)	-.462 (-.079)
Intercept (B)	5.374	5.271	5.164	5.133
N	68	67	67	66
R^2	.147	.152	.163	.168

*p≤.05, **p ≤.01, ***p≤ .001

To explore whether the differences in the predictors for the groups were significant, I conducted t-tests on the differences in unstandardized regression coefficients in cases where the coefficients were significant. Although age at arrest was significant for Group A only, the coefficients of Group A and Group B were not statistically different. The coefficients for age at arrest for Group A and Group C also were not statistically different. Since the self-control variable was the only significant coefficient for Group C, I then conducted t-tests to ascertain whether this was significantly different from Groups A and B. The t-value for the differences in coefficients between Group C and Group A was significant ($t = 1.645$, $\alpha = .05$, 1-tail).

The t-value for the difference between the coefficients for Group C and Group B was also significant (t = 2.7168, α = .005, 1-tail). Lower levels of self-control were able to predict criminal history in Group C but in neither of the other two groups.

Next, I performed regression analyses with analogous behaviors separately by groups. Table 18 reports the results of the regression of the dependent variable analogous behaviors on the independent variables age of respondents, race, level of education, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father for Group A. Four separate models were used. The first model regressed analogous behaviors on age of respondents, race, level of education, and self-control. Age was highly significant (b = -.093, p≤ .001) and negative negative, indicating that Group A respondents who were younger tended to report a higher amount of analogous behaviors. Self-control also was highly significant (b = .079, p≤ .001). R^2 for this model was .269.

In Model 2 the variable age of Group A respondents was still highly significant, and negative, with an unstandardized coefficient of -.303 (p≤ .001). Race was also significant (b = -3.203, p≤ .01) indicating that white respondents reported a higher level of analogous behaviors than nonwhite respondents. In addition, the variable self-control was highly significant (b = .185 p≤ .001) in Model 2. The abuse by mother variable was added in this model. It was statistically significant (b = 1.632, p≤ .05). The proportion of the explained variation of analogous behaviors explained by this regression model was .386.

In the third model the abuse by mother variable was dropped and the abuse by father variable was added, but it was not significant. Age was highly significant and negative, with an unstandardized coefficient of -.091 (p≤ .001). Self-control also was highly

significant (b = .080, p≤ .001) in this model. R^2 for this model was .267. The fourth regression model included both abusive parent variables. As in the three previous models, age was highly significant and negative (b = -.296, p≤ .001), and the variable race was significant and negative (b = -3.161, p≤ .01). Self-control was highly significant (b = .184, p≤ .001) as well. As in the second model, the abuse by mother variable was significant (b = 1.724, p≤.05), and R^2 for this model was .386. It is of interest that the two models that included the abuse by mother variable (which was statistically significant) were also the two models in which the coefficient for the variable race was significant. Neither level of education nor abuse by father were significant in any of the four models in these analyses .

Table 18. Regression of Analogous Behaviors on Self-Control, Parental, and Demographic Variables, Group A, unstandardized coefficients (standardized in parentheses)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	-.093 *** (-.404)	-.303 *** (-.517)	-.091 *** (-.397)	-.296 *** (-.507)
Nonwhite/white	-.909 (-.152)	-3.203 ** (-.224)	-.874 (-.147)	-3.161** (-.222)
Highest grade completed	-.006 (-.003)	-.024 (-.006)	.003 (.002)	.003 (.001)
GRASMSTD	.079 *** (.302)	.185 *** (.290)	.080 *** (.307)	.184*** (.289)
ABUSMOT		1.632 * (.190)		1.724 * (.202)
ABUSFAT			-.006 (-.010)	-.041 (-.032)
Intercept (B)	6.557	13.919	6.409	13.505
N	107	105	106	104
R^2	.269	.386	.267	.386

*p≤ .05, **p≤ .01, ***p≤ .001

Table 19 reports the results of the regression of dependent variable analogous behaviors on the variables age of respondents, race, level of education, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father for Group B. Four separate models were used. The first model regressed analogous behaviors on age of respondents, race, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father. Respondents' age was highly significant and negative (b = -.073, p≤ .001), indicating that younger Group B respondents tended to report more analogous behaviors. Self-control also was highly significant (b = .071, p≤ .001) in this model, which had an R^2 of .378. The second model added the abuse by mother variable, which was not significant. Age, however, was highly significant and negative

(b = -.176, p≤ .001). Self-control was also highly significant in this model, with a unstandardized coefficient of .179 (p≤ .001); R^2 for this model was .379.

In Model 3 the abuse by mother variable was eliminated and the abuse by father variable was added. It was not significant. The coefficient for age was negative and highly significant in this model (b = -.073, p≤ .001). In addition, the coefficient for self-control (b = .070, p≤ .001) was highly significant. R^2 for this model was .380. Model 4 included both abusive parent variables, but neither was significant. The highest coefficient for age (b = -.177, p≤ .001) for all of the models was found here, and self-control was also highly significant, with a coefficient of .178 (p≤ .001). R^2 for this model was .380. Variables in these four models that were not significant included race, level of education, abuse by mother, and abuse by father.

Table 19. Regression of Analogous Behaviors on Self-Control, Parental, and Demographic Variables, Group B, unstandardized coefficients (standardized in parentheses)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	-.073 *** (-.407)	-.176 *** (-.409)	-.073 *** (-.407)	-.177 *** (-.410)
Nonwhite/white	-.156 (-.035)	-.361 (-.033)	-.142 (-.032)	-.306 (-.028)
Highest grade completed	-.138 (-.088)	-.305 (-.080)	-.138 (-.088)	-.297 (-.078)
GRASMSTD	.071 *** (.378)	.179*** (.389)	.070 *** (.373)	.178 *** (.384)
ABUSMOT		-.052 (-.065)		- .052 (-.065)
ABUSFAT			.005 (.011)	.030 (.029)
Constant (B)	6.138	8.561	6.155	8.562
N	79	77	78	76
R^2	.378	.379	.380	.380

*p≤ .05, **p≤ .01,***p≤ .001

Table 20 reports the results of the regression of the dependent variable analogous behaviors on the variables age of respondents, race, level of education, self-control, abuse by mother, and abuse by father for Group C; four separate models were used. The first model regressed analogous behaviors on age of respondents, race, level of education, and self-control. None of the unstandardized coefficients were significant; R^2 for this model was .126. The second model added the abuse by mother variable; as with model one, none of the coefficients were significant. R^2 for this model was .147. In Model 3 the abuse by mother variable was removed and the abuse by father was added. Once again, none of the coefficients were significant. R^2 for this model was .143. Model 4 included

both abusive parent variables, but, again, none of the coefficients were significant. R^2 for this model was .150. For the Group C respondents, these regression models showed that analogous behaviors were not associated with age of respondents, race, level of education, self-control, or abuse by mothers and/or fathers.

Table 20. Regression of Analogous Behaviors on Self-Control, Parental, and Demographic Variables, Group C, unstandardized coefficients (standardized in parentheses)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	-.047 (-.250)	-.087 (-.197)	-.041 (-.221)	-.083 (-.188)
Nonwhite/white	-.411 (-.086)	-.694 (-.061)	-.263 (-.055)	-.544 (-.048)
Highest grade completed	.097 (.064)	.090 (.027)	.105 (.069)	.123 (.034)
GRASMSTD	.053 (.251)	.103 (.208)	.048 (.227)	.101 (.205)
ABUSMOT		1.462 (.161)		1.123 (.124)
ABUSFAT			.717 (.129)	.976 (.074)
Constant (B)	3.775	3.116	4.137	3.556
N	62	61	62	61
R^2	.126	.147	.143	.150

*p≤ .05, **p≤ .01, ***p≤ .001

I then conducted t-tests to determine if differences in coefficients between the models were significant. Since age, self-control and abusive mother were significant in Model 4 for one or more groups, I conducted the t-test on these coefficients. Only two tests indicated significant differences. Age predicted differently for Group A as compared to Group B ($t = 1.825$, $\alpha = .05$, 1-tail). The t-test for abusive mother for Group

A and Group B was also significant ($t = 2.413$, $\alpha = .01$, 1-tail), indicating that the differences in the models on those variables was real.

Hypothesis 3: Opportunity, Routine Activities Theory and Victim Selection

In Hypothesis 3, I predicted that opportunity would be an important factor in victim selection for sex offenders, as explored by my interviews in the Phase II portion of this study. Additionally, again using findings from the Phase II portion of the study, I predicted that respondents' behaviors would adhere to those predicted by Cohen and Felson (1979) in their Routine Activities theory.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1993) argue that low self-control acts in concert with opportunity and other factors to facilitate crime and behaviors that are analogous to crime. Although I did not have a measure of opportunity in conjunction with analogous behaviors in this study, this view was supported by the responses garnered from the subjects in the Phase II interview portion of this study. Overwhelmingly, the respondents noted that opportunity was a major factor in their victim selection. For this sample, opportunity was linked to availability of victims, many of whom lived in the same homes as the respondents, facilitating victimization. Also, in accordance with Cohen and Felson's (1979) Routine Activities theory, I found that the subjects in this study were motivated offenders who selected victims suitable to their purposes who lacked capable guardianship.

Fifteen of the twenty-five respondents offended against victims who lived in their homes, and two more victimized next-door neighbors. Of the remaining eight subjects, one molested a visiting granddaughter, one attempted to rape a girlfriend, one molested the children he babysat, and another molested a niece who babysat his children. Further,

one raped a co-worker, another raped a woman he picked up at a bar, and yet another molested a teenage friend of a friend who spent the night at his house. The only subject who did not know his victim before the day of the rape had spent approximately 14 hours with her prior to raping her.

I asked the subjects why they raped or molested their particular victim(s), as opposed to someone else. I was interested in learning about what factored into their process of victim selection; eventually, two themes emerged. The first theme was physical proximity: the victim(s) lived with or close to the subject, allowing ease of access. The second theme was emotional availability: the subjects used their knowledge of the victim's emotional state to gain access to them. The two themes were not always mutually exclusive; some of the respondents noted that they had both physical proximity to their victims, and they used knowledge of their victims' emotional availability to ease access to them as well.

A sampling of the answers from respondents whose victim selection was linked to physical proximity includes the following seven comments.

> Because he was living there at the house with me.
>
> I don't think, uh, the fact that it was her had anything to do with it. Uh, because her physical stature, and everything like that, I did not find appealing. Uh, I think she was just unfortunately there at the time that I wanted to act out.
>
> I think it was, she was there, and the situation was just presented.
>
> Well, in the beginning, I owned a video arcade, and most of my victims came from the video arcade. Or campgrounds, where I stalked. And then, inside some businesses. And [a machine fell] on my back, and I was paralyzed from the waist down. While I was laid up at home, and there I began to create sadistic sexual fantasies of both of my victims. Started voyeurizing [sic] on them.

> I guess because I had access to her in my home. I was divorced and had custody of her.
>
> I had easy access.
>
> She was right there.

The subjects whose responses are denoted above had in common physical proximity to their victims, who lived with them or were visiting them. These subjects noted that their victims were chosen because they were easily accessible--they were close by in the home. In contrast to rape myths that suggest sex offenders usually target stranger-victims, the subjects in this study tended to select victims who were known to them and who were proximate. Only one of the above subjects did not conform to this pattern; he also victimized customers of his video arcade, campers, and others. This subject, however, is incarcerated for raping and sodomizing his two stepdaughters, who lived in the home. In addition, the video arcade victims were physically proximate to the subject, easing the utilization of opportunity.

The four following responses typify the attitudes of respondents who utilized victims' emotional availability as a main factor in their victim selection.

> I was attracted to my victim because of the fact that I perceived her to be vulnerable, shy, quiet, obedient.
>
> I knew that her family was, you know, mentally and emotionally, and physically abusing her....She was always looking for someone to, you know, comfort her and protect her and talk to her. And I took advantage of that.
>
> I don't know. She was the only one there that I thought probably I could maybe have sex with. I don't know.
>
> Uh. Just the way that she carried herself...She just looked like, you know, wouldn't be no trouble.

The subjects who contributed the above responses recognized the emotional frailty of their victims, and selected them on that basis. The above victims exhibited low self-esteem; their abusers recognized this and used it to facilitate their victimization.

Two subjects described choosing their victims because they had been sexually abused before.

> ...I knew that both of them had previously been molested...assuming that, well, it's happened before, you know, she wouldn't care if it happened again.
>
> At the time this occurred, I'd seen her being molested. And I thought, I'm acting out on my stepdaughter, and this, this young child will let me act out on her also.

Both of these subjects noted to me two factors related to opportunity that affected their choice of previously molested victims. One, they felt these victims would be less likely to "tell," and, two, they felt that sexual abuse would not "matter" to victims who had previously been molested. In these cases, then, prior victimization facilitated opportunity for more victimization.

The responses of the following two subjects bear mention as well. Although both respondents were physically proximate to their victims, thus enhancing opportunity, they mentioned different reasons for their victim selection.

> Uh. I was going to because she was a virgin. I never really been with a virgin. And, uh, I wondered what it felt like being with a virgin.
>
> I think it was because of their curiosity about things and stuff. They were always trying to sneak peeks and stuff like that...That was basically it. Curiosity.

The first respondent lived with the victim; he was her common-law stepfather. The second respondent babysat his three- and five-year old victims regularly. Both of these subjects rationalized their behavior (at the time) as legitimate--they were teaching their

victims about sex. Opportunity was still a factor in their victim selection--neither respondent sought out any other victims to "teach" who were not proximate to them. These interviews show that for the majority of the sex offenders in this sample victim selection involved taking advantage of opportunities presented instead of utilizing carefully thought out plans to obtain their victims.

The interviews garnered from this study support one of the best verbalized descriptions of opportunity and crime, Routine Activities Theory (Cohen and Felson 1979). They viewed predatory crime as the result of a triangulation of motivated offender, suitable target, and lack of capable guardianship. The following are three examples of predatory crime as seen through Routine Activities Theory. In the first example the subject went to a bar where he drank a large amount of alcohol; he also wanted to find a partner for sex. He chose his victim because "I knew she liked me." That meant (to him) that she was likely to go home with him, which she did. They were alone in the subject's home when the sexual assault occurred.

> ...she was hunting for a boyfriend, and I was just hunting for sex, and I was done with it. And she wasn't, and that was two different ideas of a relationship. And, and, and I wanted to get what I wanted, not, with no regard for her feelings.

> ...I wasn't beating her. But I had no feelings for her....I was real drunk, she, she might have said no. I can't really remember. You know, I think, I think she might have said no....You know, I'm sure I'd done it before. But they probably didn't, they just didn't say anything. You know, they thought it was just a bad night.

This subject stated that he was motivated to offend by his desire for sex. In addition, he intimated that his behavior on that night was not an aberration--rather it was more or less routine.

> I was out to have sex. And, that's all I had on my mind. I was aggressive and I guess you can change aggressive into forceful....I had a one-track mind, and that's all I wanted. And after I got that over with, I laid down and went to sleep.

He chose a victim suitable to his needs, whom he thought of as "dumb." He then assaulted her in his home, where they were alone with no guardians to help her or to discourage him.

Another subject stated that he was motivated to rape his eleven-year old daughter by a desire for revenge against his wife. "I thought my wife was having an affair....And, uh, I was angry at my wife, and you know, revenge. To get back at her." He had also started to have rape fantasies about his daughter, who had matured while he was away in prison, serving a sentence for molestation of a niece. "Uh, I'd been having fantasies of attacking my daughter, raping my daughter....when I got out of prison, she had developed...I barged into a bedroom and saw her nude...And, that's when I thought, she's old enough. She's mature." He also stated that he chose to victimize his daughter because "I didn't think she would tell." He assaulted his daughter while her mother was at work, thereby assuring himself of no interruptions by guardians.

> ...I had been out of prison and I was in the home. And I wasn't supposed to be. And usually when I go in the home, my wife at the time, would take

> the children to school. And this particular morning she had to go to work early and left me to take the children to school.

This subject was motivated by a desire for revenge, chose a target attractive to him and assaulted her at a time and place devoid of guardians.

A third subject routinely molested, sodomized, and raped his daughter for a period of four years, from age eleven to age fifteen. He stated that he was motivated by "...the resentment I had toward her mother...[and] many times where I had difficulties at work." He noted that his daughter was a suitable target because he was attracted to her and she was available to him.

> I had deviant fantasies of raping her from the start. I had a fear of raping her. So I thought about molesting her until she got older. The first time I raped her, I had just intended to molest her....[Also] I guess because I had access to her in my home. I was divorced and had custody of her.

This subject made sure that there were no guardians around when he assaulted his daughter. "Usually, I would have her isolated at home. Most of the time, some of the time, abusing alcohol....Sometimes she would be asleep." He was motivated to offend by resentment of his wife and job stress, his daughter was a suitable target because of her availability and his attraction to her, and he made sure that his daughter was isolated from potential guardians when he assaulted her.

It was evident to me that offender motivation could be assumed for the subjects in the Phase II interview portion of this study. All of the subjects were motivated to offend, they were motivated by a range of emotions and issues. They also chose victims who

were suitable for their purposes; the most common variable related to suitability was access. Furthermore, the subjects in this study were careful to make sure that guardians were absent when they assaulted their victims, although a couple of them were caught by guardians who appeared unexpectedly.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of this study was to discover whether the levels of self-control, criminal histories, and analogous behaviors of sex offenders and non-sex offenders were similar, as might be suggested by Gottfredson and Hirschi in their General Theory of Crime (1990). The study was also designed to explore whether self-control predicted criminal history and participation in analogous behaviors among incarcerated offenders. Furthermore, I examined whether the predictors of low self-control, criminal history and analogous behaviors were similar among three groups: non-sex offenders, sex offenders in treatment, and sex offenders who had never received treatment.

The secondary purpose of this study was to ascertain whether sex offenders' victim selection patterns adhered to that predicted by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and also by Cohen and Felson in their Routine Activities Theory (1979). Both questionnaires and interviews were utilized in the hopes of achieving a valid measure of respondents' self-reported behaviors and attitudes.

Hirschi and Gottfredson (1993) have been critical of self-control measures using surveys only. They favor measures in which behavior (criminal or analogous to crime) is observed by others. Of course, studies of this type are confounded by opportunity. This is particularly true of studies that utilize an incarcerated criminal sample. I determined that a multiple methods approach was more appropriate for this study than survey

measures alone, as it would add to the richness of the data (Reinharz 1992). I believe that this study's findings support my choice of methods.

On the other hand, Hirschi and Gottfredson specifically note that "...the level of self-control itself affects survey responses" (1993:48). Because respondents who have a tendency toward low self-control may not answer honestly, Hirschi and Gottfredson argue that self-report measures seem to be "...less valid the greater the delinquency of those to whom they are applied" (Hirschi and Gottfredson 1993:48). Respondents' honesty in responding to questionnaires did become an important issue in the Phase I part of the current study. Additionally, the wording of the question about criminal history may have been unclear, resulting in questionable findings with this variable. In Phase II, however, I felt that many of the respondents revealed more than they originally intended to, and that they were more honest in interviews than they would have been had they been surveyed only. Their in-depth responses allowed me to explore the issue of generality among this group (Group A) as well as the importance of opportunity and routine activities in committing their offenses.

The first finding from this study was in relation to whether self-control as a construct is a unidimensional or a multidimensional trait (Piquero and Rosay 1998; Vazsonyi et al. 2001). Much debate surrounds this issue, as theorists argue whether Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) intended for self-control to be seen as a unidimensional or multidimensional (Grasmick et al. 1993; Longshore et al. 1996; Piquero and Rosay 1998;

Vazsonyi et al. 2001). After factor analysis, Grasmick et al. (1993) argued that self-control was unidimensional for his non-offender sample, but Longshore et al. (1996) used factor analysis of an adaptation of the Grasmick scale with an offender sample, and concluded that self-control was multidimensional. I also used an adaptation of the Grasmick scale on an offender sample and my findings were in accordance with Grasmick et al. (1993) for my offender sample. *Although initial analyses indicate the presence of five factors, the scree discontinuity test suggested that a one-factor solution was preferable.* This finding of self-control as a unidimensional trait is in accordance with studies done by Arneklev et al. (1993), Grasmick et al. (1993), and Piquero and Rosay (1998).

In the first hypothesis I predicted that, in accordance with Self-Control Theory, the three sample groups in this study would not differ significantly in their childhood delinquent behaviors, their criminal histories, or their levels of self-control. I also believed that the sex offenders in this study would be generalists as opposed to specialists, with criminal histories reflecting not only sexual crimes but also various other crimes. The findings from Phase I supported hypothesis 1 in part, but there were significant differences between the three sample groups.

I found that sex offenders in treatment were different from both non-sex offenders and untreated sex offenders in several ways. T-tests showed there were significant differences between the two sex offender samples' mean scores on criminal history,

analogous behaviors, and self-control. I found this to be surprising as well as counterintuitive. Overall, the A group reported a greater amount of criminal history, more analogous behaviors, and lower self-control than either the B group or the C group, with the largest differences between the A group and the C group.

I believe the greatest differences occurred between A and C groups because of a combination of three factors. One is treatment effect: it is possible that the A group answered differently on the three measures because of the effect their treatment program is having on them. The treatment effect could be a permanent or temporary change in outlook, or it could be awareness of "appropriate" and "expected" responses. Since these men are involved in a therapeutic program that stresses honesty, it could be that they felt they were expected to answer in a certain way. Treatment could also have affected the A group respondents so that they were more honest about their answers than those in group C. Because of the A group's residence on E Unit the whole prison population of Joseph Harp Correctional Center already knows they are sex offenders; therefore, they have no need to lie. Much time is spent within the RSOTP program getting the inmates to be honest about the extent of their crimes; for instance they must write a life history detailing every sex offense they ever committed. In the light of that, my questions regarding history of offenses and childhood and analogous behaviors were relatively non-threatening. Conversely, the non-treatment sex offenders may have found the questions very threatening.

In their study of sex offender probationers, Kruttschnitt et al. (2000) found that treatment did have an effect. When sex offender probationers with stable work histories received treatment, they were significantly less likely to re-offend. The researchers argued that this treatment effect was not consistent with the expectations of Self-Control Theory (Kruttschnitt et al. 2000). However, an alternative explanation could be that the treatment effect is transitory, fading after completion of treatment. Clearly, more research is needed on this topic.

The second possible factor is a population effect. Perhaps the treatment program is home to a more seriously criminal population. However, examination of the self-reported crimes of incarceration and reports by DOC staff familiar with the two populations suggest this is less likely. Overall, Group C subjects were more likely to report more serious crimes such as murder, robbery and aggravated assault. Indeed, they were more likely to report the types of crime that Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) indicate that their theory is suited to predict: acts of force and fraud. Group A subjects, on the other hand, were more likely to report crimes in which the victim was a minor. Thus, it may be that sex offenders in treatment are overrepresented by those who engage in child molestation and that this group of offenders is qualitatively different, as argued by Hanson and colleagues (1995). Hanson et al.'s (1995) study noted that child molesters should be seen as a distinct category of sex offenders who were different from non-sex offenders and other sex offenders alike. As noted previously, child molesters are in

danger of assault "on the yard" from other inmates. For this reason, all of the RSOTP inmates are housed together in E Unit, separate from the rest of the prison. Staff therapists noted to me that child molesters seem to be more likely to gravitate to the treatment program than rapists; I think it is possible some of them are more interested in the protection afforded by the program than in the treatment itself. In fact, two of my interview subjects adamantly denied being sex offenders, yet they were participants in a treatment program that required them to admit they were sex offenders. Federoff and Moran noted that sex offenders choose therapy after concluding that "...the benefits outweigh the risks" (1997:270). It may be that protection from other inmates is a benefit of treatment resulting in an overpopulation of child molesters, who need protection the most.

Furthermore, differences between the mean scores for A and C groups on criminal history and analogous behaviors indicate more severe criminal histories and more analogous behaviors reported by Group A. Because the program required a minimum of three years to complete and had a waiting list of inmates wanting entry at the time of this study, the RSOTP population tended to have longer sentences than Group C. Perhaps longer time spent in prison (or the contemplation of it) made a difference in the answers of Group A. These differences in the two populations may be making a difference in their answers.

The third potential cause of the discrepancies is the issue of response validity. It is possible that the C group downplayed their level of criminal and analogous involvement and embellished their level of self-control. I feel it is possible that the C group was less than honest in their self-reports on the above measures.

This poses a possible validity issue with the answers of the C group, a problem not unfamiliar to studies using inmate samples (Stevens 1994). According to RSOTP staff, my interviewees, and research, common knowledge dictates that sex offenders in general and child molesters in particular reside within the lowest social strata in the prison system (Howard and Caslin 1999; Scully 1990). Because of this many of them live in constant fear of assault by other inmates, and they are generally careful not to reveal their crimes of incarceration to anyone within prison walls. Thus, it would not be surprising if the C group felt it necessary to downplay their criminal and deviant histories. In fact, three of my Group A interviewees mentioned the necessity of sex offenders remaining anonymous "on the yard" for their own protection. One respondent mentioned (after the tape recorder was turned off) that he knew of a child molester recently murdered in an Oklahoma prison after his crimes of incarceration became known to other inmates. He noted that rapists are also in danger "on the yard." A second respondent argued that a transfer from the RSOTP to another prison could "get a guy killed." A third subject revealed that, when he was in prison the first time in Texas for child molestation, "I just, somebody asked me what I was in for and I would lie." Of

Hirschi have noted that lying is indicative of a tendency toward low self-control, so if the C group differences are related to lying, this finding would not be inconsistent with Self-Control Theory. It is also not inconsistent with the behavior of offenders as a whole. As noted by Federoff and Moran, "While there is no question that sex offenders lie about their sexual activities and minimize their responsibility, this is hardly unique to sex offenders" (1997:270). On the other hand, it is possible that some C group respondents did not reveal their sex crimes because they had a non-sex offense primary charge and the sex offenses were secondary. Finally, it must be noted that the Group A respondents reported the lowest levels of self-control, which would then suggest that they would be most likely to lie.

The results of the analyses on criminal history for Group A and Group B were consistent with the expectations of Self-Control Theory. As predicted, t-tests showed no significant differences between Group A and Group B on the mean scores regarding criminal history. There were significant differences, however, between Group A and Group B on both analogous behaviors and self-control. Once again, the treatment group sex offenders were different. Group A reported more analogous behaviors and lower self-control than Group B, and these differences were significant. This could reflect the treatment effect explanation or it could be that the differences in analogous behaviors and self-control between Group A and Group B reflect true differences between the two groups, a population effect.

Group B and Group C, however, were significantly different in their mean scores on criminal history only, with Group C reporting less criminal behavior than Group B. Consistent with Self-Control Theory, there were no significant differences between the sex offenders and non-sex offenders in either analogous behaviors or levels of self-control. The fact that these groups are so similar supports Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) contention that offenders are generalists who tend to be tempted more and controlled less. This finding also tends to reduce the impression that Group C was lying, and it supports the possibility that Group A had a different type of sex offender population than Group C. Or, it may be that the responses of Group A subjects were tempered by their participation in the treatment program.

The Phase II interview portion of this study supported Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) vision of offenders as generalists rather than specialists. Twelve of the twenty-five subjects in Phase II reported prior involvement with law enforcement for drug sales, burglary, motor vehicle theft, kidnapping, forgery, probation and parole violations for various crimes, illegal drug use, and DUI's. Three of the subjects had been in prison before for non-sex convictions. This was in accordance with the findings of Kruttschnitt et al. (2000) and Stevens (1994); in both studies researchers found that sex offenders committed both property crimes and violent crimes other than rape. Scully (1990) and Scully and Marolla (1984, 1985) noted that rape was often accompanied by burglary and robbery. In fact, 85% of the sample of rapists used in Scully and Marolla's (1984, 1985)

study had histories of previous criminal behavior, but only 23% of those had records including prior sexual offenses. In a study of 41 serial rapists by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a, 1989b, 1990) 71% of the sample admitted committing property crimes in addition to rape. Also, studies done by Longshore and colleagues found that crimes of force and fraud were significantly related to self-control in a sample of offenders with extensive criminal histories (Longshore 1998; Longshore and Turner 1998; Longshore et al. 1996). Thus, my findings reflect those of other researchers and provide evidence for the generality of deviance.

Other subjects reported long histories of involvement in sex offenses, adhering to Gottfredson and Hirschi's view that offenders lack restraint (1990). Ten subjects reported prior involvement with law enforcement for sex crimes; three reported spending time in prison for sex offenses. Twelve others alluded to committing sex offenses for which they had never been charged. One subject admitted that he had sexually assaulted "Pretty close to, oh, somewhere between 500 and 1,000 [stranger-victims]." To date, this subject has never been charged for any of these crimes. An extensive history of sexual offenses was also discovered by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a,1989b,1990), in their study 41 men had raped 837 victims. Kruttschnitt et al. (2000) note that underreporting of sexual offenses confounds the measurement of true offending and re-offending rates; further, Ward notes that "...clinical evidence and research tells us that

we treat only a small number of offenders, so many manage to avoid incarceration and the attention of correction agencies" (1999:299).

Other Phase II respondents described a pattern of generality in their sexual offending. Twelve of the sample of twenty-five had combined at least one child molestation with rape; the same number admitted committing sexual crimes which were not reported to law enforcement. A few of these subjects started offending at an extremely young age; youthful offending is also predicted by Self-Control Theory although it does not predict offenders who are age eight or younger, as a few of my subjects were when they began offending (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Larragoite 1994).

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that offenders commit not only crimes but also behaviors that are analogous to crime. Once again, my interviews confirmed their view. Fifteen of the twenty-five subjects reported they consumed alcohol or other drugs prior to committing sex offenses. Some also reported extensive alcohol or other drug use as a part of their daily lives. One subject described a pattern of promiscuous sexual behavior that centered around combining drinking alcohol with picking up women at bars for sex.

> I was out to have sex....And, that's all I had on my mind....I had a one-track mind, and that's all I wanted. ...She said no like I've heard a thousand times when I was, you know. Not a thousand times.
>
> (Interviewer): Okay. Had you used this kind of tactic to have sex with somebody before?
>
> Several times when I'm drunk.

This subject ingested diet pills and "Three or four pitchers of beer, half a bottle of whiskey or something" prior to taking the woman who would be his victim to his home, where he assaulted her. This subject personified Larragoite's depiction of the sex offender as someone who "...has simply not internalized norms that call for restraint of immediate gratification" (1994:167). Impulsivity and inability to defer gratification are important manifestations of low self-control (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). These are in turn manifested in analogous or imprudent behaviors as shown in the research of Arneklev et al. (1993), Burton et al. (1998), Tremblay, Boulerice, Arseneault, and Niscale (1995), and Wood, Cochran, Pfefferbaum, and Arneklev (1993).

Since Group A had the highest mean scores on low self-control, I was interested in any responses related to self-control given me by the interviewees. I found responses related to the issues of impulsivity, temper, and risk in relation to rationalization of and victim selection for sexual offending. Some respondents insisted that their offending was due to a "spur of the moment" impulse that they were unable to elucidate further. Other subjects indicated that their offending against a third party reflected anger against a second party; often, that second party was a wife. And, some subjects chose to offend against their victims in risky places where they had a chance of getting caught. All of this reflects the thinking patterns identified by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) as being indicative of a lack of self-control including an inability to defer gratification, a volatile temper, and a preference for risk. As such, they illustrate the questionnaire responses

given by the A group related to level of self-control. Similar findings were generated in a study by LaGrange and Silverman (1999) that found impulsivity in males and a preference for risk-seeking in females predicted increased delinquency. In addition, Sellers (1999) discovered that specific criminal opportunity combined with short term gratification explained some of the violence used in dating in a sample of college students.

I believe that hypothesis 1 was supported only in part. The sample group of sex offenders in treatment did not differ significantly in criminal history from the non-sex offender group as predicted, and the sex offender group without history of treatment did not differ significantly in either analogous behaviors or self-control from the non-sex offender group, also as predicted. However, I did find significant differences between the two sex offender groups on criminal history, analogous behaviors, and self-control. I also found significant differences between the non-sex offender group and the untreated sex offender group on criminal history. In addition, there were significant differences found between the sex offenders in treatment and the non-sex offenders on both analogous behaviors and self-control. These findings can be explained in part through a treatment effect in place for Group A, population differences between the two sex offender groups, or response validity problems within Group C. It is noteworthy that Group A did have a higher percentages of offenders convicted of sexual offenses against minors. Prior

research has suggested that child molesters may be different from other sex offenders, thus suggesting that there may be a true population difference (Hanson et al. 1995).

The Phase II interviews indicated that sex offenders do have histories of criminal behavior that are not always sexual in nature. In addition, the interviews revealed a pattern of behavior common to sex offenders that reflects the indicators of low self-control suggested by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990). These included analogous behaviors, inability to defer gratification, volatile temper, and a preference for risk.

In Hypothesis 2, I predicted that the lower the level of self-control, the greater the degree of analogous and criminal behaviors would be. I also predicted that abusive parenting would be related to non-development of self-control. The dependent variables criminal history and analogous behaviors were regressed on a number of independent variables in four models for each sample group. Most of the findings were not consistent with my predictions or those of Self-Control Theory. They provide very limited support for the theory.

When the dependent variable criminal history was regressed on self-control, parental, and demographic variables, age at arrest had the only significant coefficient for Group A. The coefficient was negative, indicating that sex offenders in treatment who were arrested at younger ages tended to have longer criminal histories. If we assume that Group A began their offending as youths, these findings are comparable to those of Polakowski (1994), who found that self-control did not have an effect on major deviance

at ages 16 to 17 when deviance at early ages (14 to 15) was used as a predictor. Polakowski noted that if prior deviance is seen as an alternate indicator of self-control then his findings are not inconsistent with Self-Control Theory (Polakowski 1994; Longshore 1998).

The same regressions and models were then used for Group B, the non-sex offenders. None of the coefficients were significant in any of the models for this group. Contrary to expectation, neither self-control nor parental abuse predicted a history of criminal behavior in the non-sex offender group. This finding contrasts that of Longshore et al. (1996) and Piquero and Rosay (1998), who found that self-control as measured by their adaptation of the Grasmick scale predicted crimes of both force and fraud in non-sex offender samples. However, the wording of this question was ambiguous. This may have led to varying interpretations and thus severely affected the validity of the measure. Therefore, any interpretation of these findings should be viewed with caution.

When identical regression models were run for the sex offenders without history of treatment, using the dependent variable criminal history, the results were different from those of the other two groups. The only significant coefficient was self-control, but it was significant in all models, regardless of whether the abusive parenting scales were used or not. The largest proportion of variance, almost 17%, however, was in the model that included both abusive parent variables. The finding that self-control predicted

criminal history in this group is comparable to Longshore et al.'s finding that self-control was associated with recent crimes of force and fraud committed by their offender sample (1996:222). Further studies on the same sample by Longshore (1998), Longshore and Turner (1998), and Piquero and Rosay (1998) again found support for self-control as predictive of crimes of force and fraud. However, given that the models for Group A and Group B did not show a relationship between low self-control and criminal history, it may be that my measure does not tap into criminal history as much as it taps into consequences of criminal behaviors.

Next, four different models were regressed on the dependent variable analogous behaviors for Group A. The results here were very different from those using the dependent variable criminal history. First, the independent variable age, measuring age of respondent in these regressions instead of age at arrest, was significant and negative in all four models, indicating that the younger respondents reported more analogous behaviors. Additionally, self-control was significant in all four models of the analogous behavior regressions, in accordance with studies by Arneklev et al. (1993) Cochran, Wood, Sellers, Wilkerson, and Chamlin (1996), Tremblay et al. (1995), and Wood et al. (1993) using non-offender samples.

There were differences, however, in the models that included the abusive mother variable. For the sex offenders in treatment, the abusive mother variable was significant whether introduced by itself or in combination with the abusive father variable. I believe

it is possible this group is more aware of maternal abuse issues because their treatment requires them to examine issues related to their childhoods. The abusive father variable was not significant in either model. Also, race was negative and significant in both of these models.

Interestingly, the largest proportion of variance, almost 39% for both models, in this regression, was for the two models that included the abusive mother variable. I could find no studies that examined the combined effect of abusive parenting and self-control on analogous behaviors, especially in deviant samples, but studies have been done on the effect of parenting, usually measured as monitoring and discipline, on low self-control. Cochran et al. (1998), using a sample of college students, found parenting did not have an effect on low self-control in college. On the other hand, Gibbs et al. (1998) found support for low self-control as a mediator of the effect of parenting on deviance in his sample of college students, while Hay (2001) found moderate support for a relationship between parenting and self-control. Clearly, more research is needed on the relationship between various aspects of parenting, self-control, and participation in behaviors analogous to crime.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) maintain that ineffective parenting is the major contributor to the non-development of self-control. Although I did not specifically address abuse by parents in the interview questions, some of the interviewees in Phase II chose to talk about their childhood abuse issues. The main theme was molestation, often

by family members. Three of the six respondents who reported their molestation to me were abused by family members, one was abused by a close family friend, one was abused by an adult acquaintance, and one did not reveal to me the identity of his abuser. In none of these cases did the subjects' parents step in to stop the abuse, nor was the abuse ever reported to anyone by the subjects. My finding of 6 out of 25 respondents as sexually abused was much lower than that encountered by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a, 1989b, 1990), who found that 76% of their sample of serial rapists reported sexual abuse as children.

Sexual abuse of children, especially continued sexual abuse and/or sexual abuse perpetrated by family or friends of family, is indicative of ineffective parenting. Obviously, effective parents do not sexually abuse their children, and if effective parenting were in place the child victims should feel comfortable enough to tell a parent about any abuse, who could then stop it. Several studies have linked abuse by parents to sexual and other violent offending. Knight and Prentky (1993) found that early and serious sexual abuse was connected to early sexual offending. Furthermore, severity of sexual aggression was related to sexual deviance and sexual abuse within the offender's childhood family. They also discovered that child molesters who began offending at young ages had experienced more physical abuse than child molesters who began offending later (Knight and Prentky 1993). Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, and Glaser (1979) also found that both young violent offenders and young sex offenders had experienced

about the same amount of childhood abuse. A study by Haapasalo and Kankkonen (1997) comparing sex offenders and other violent offenders discovered that although the two groups did not differ in extent of physical and sexual abuse, sex offenders reported more psychological abuse, including verbal abuse, than the other violent offenders. The sex offenders, in addition, tended to come from backgrounds that reflected slightly more abuse within the family (Haapasalo and Kankkonen 1997). Sexual abuse as children was also reported by 76% of the serial rapists in a study by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a, 1989b, 1990).

When identical regressions were performed on analogous behavior for Group B, the results were similar but not identical to those of Group A. Again, age was significant and negative in all four models, indicating that younger respondents reported more analogous behaviors. Also, self-control was significant in all four models as well, in accordance with studies done by Arneklev et al. (1993), Cochran et al. (1996), Tremblay et al. (1995), and Wood et al. (1993) on non-offender samples. The regression results for Group B indicated that the non-sex offenders in this study who had more analogous behaviors also tended to be young and have a tendency toward low self-control.

The last group of regressions on analogous behaviors was performed for Group C, the sex offenders with no history of treatment. Interestingly, none of the independent variables in any of the four models were significant for this sample. These findings are in contrast to those done on non-offender samples by Arneklev at al. (1993), Cochran et al.

(1996), Tremblay et al. (1995), and Wood et al. (1993), all of which found support for self-control in conjunction with analogous behaviors. Considering the strength of the findings for the other two groups on this dependent variable, I find it counterintuitive that the C group findings were completely non-significant, and I wonder if the three factors which I felt made the difference in t-tests between Group A and Group C (treatment effect, differences in population, response validity) were in play here as well.

I believe the fact that the abusive mother variable was significant for Group A but not for Groups B or C was most likely due to a treatment effect. One of the requirements of the RSOTP was that inmates divulged all of their sexual offending, charged or not. Group A members were also encouraged to discuss any abuse they had experienced. In fact, much time was spent getting the inmates to relate their backgrounds to their behaviors. Therefore, they may have been more in touch with their parental issues than the other two groups and so were more likely to divulge abuse. It may be, though, that these offenders were "treatment-wise"; that is, they may have given answers that they perceived were indicative of recovery.

In addition, it is possible that the C group findings were non-valid due to their fear of discovery. Although the questionnaires were anonymous, they may have not trusted that their answers would not be held against them somehow in the future. The respondent paranoia I experienced in the last data collection session at Lexington Correctional Center is illustrative of the fear of discovery. I believe that it is possible some Group C

respondents could have lied about their criminal histories, analogous behaviors, self-control, and even abuse experienced as a form of self-protection.

I also hypothesized that opportunity would be an important factor in the victim selection of my Phase II respondents; this was borne out in their interviews. Opportunity was realized in two ways for these subjects: one, through physical proximity creating access to the victim(s), and two, through the subjects' knowledge of victims' emotional availability. Some respondents reported both of these themes; they were proximate to their victims and had knowledge of victims' emotional availability. Their ability to use their individual situations to advantage for victim selection echoed Ward's finding that "...many sex offenders are skillful and effective manipulators of women and children, and have developed an extensive knowledge base and a range of strategies in the service of the goal of sexual offending" (1999:299).

Every one of the subjects interviewed in the Phase II portion of this study was incarcerated for the sexual assault of someone known to him who was either physically proximate or emotionally available or both. In this study, availability was equal to opportunity to offend which determined victim selection. These findings were almost identical to those of Hazelwood and Warren (1989a, 1989b), who noted that 98% of the 41 serial rapists in their study cited availability of the victim as their primary requirement for selection.

This study also supported Cohen and Felson's (1979) view of predatory crime. The Phase II subjects consistently described themselves as being motivated offenders who chose suitable targets that lacked capable guardianship. Felson and Krohn (1990) also contend that the crime of rape fits the routine activities approach. They feel that young people in particular are at risk for sexual assault because their routines often conjoin with opportunity for victimization (Felson and Krohn 1990). Stevens' (1994) study of rapists' victim selection techniques supported Routine Activities Theory as well. The subjects in his study described themselves as continually motivated offenders who were "...constantly scanning different social landscapes and opportunities in search of vulnerable appearing females" (Stevens 1994:430). Scully (1990) also noted that routine activities factored into victim choice in her sample of rapists. Their victim selection centered on women who were involved in routine activities; victims were usually chosen for convenience because they were in a location devoid of capable guardians (Scully 1990:175). Both the sex offenders in the studies cited above and the sex offenders in the present study used the routine activities approach in their victim selection to structure opportunities to offend.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the criminal histories and analogous behaviors of a sample of inmates, with a particular focus on differences between sex offenders and non-sex offenders. The relationships between self-control, ineffective parenting, criminal history, and analogous behaviors was also explored, along with the role of opportunity and routine activities and victim selection by sex offenders. This study answered the challenge put forth by Longshore et al. (1996), who noted that researchers needed to do more tests of Self-Control Theory using criminal populations. I felt it was important to use multiple methods in this study, combining the ease of survey research with the richness of interviews.

The current study provides limited support for the self-control assertion that offenders do not specialize. However, contrary to the predictions of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), there were some significant differences between my sample groups in terms of criminal history, analogous behaviors, and self-control. I found that the largest differences were between groups A and C, sex offenders in treatment and sex offenders without history of treatment, respectively. The A group reported significantly greater criminal histories, more analogous behaviors, and lower self-control than the C group. Although I posited three possible combinations of factors to account for this finding (treatment effect, differences in population, and response validity), I believe that the most

likely answer is treatment effect. Living in a residential treatment program had an effect on the A group respondents such that they were more forthcoming about their criminal histories, analogous behaviors, and self-control than C group. In addition, based on my interviews, I believe that A group respondents had less to lose in being honest in their survey responses and were used to being encouraged to reveal issues in their backgrounds such as those utilized in the survey questions. As long as they reside within the E Unit, the treated sex offenders are as safe as possible within a prison setting. Although the finding of a treatment effect is consistent with Kruttschnitt et al.'s (2000) study, it is inconsistent with the predictions of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), unless the treatment effect is transitory. Longitudinal research will be necessary to determine how well treatment works, perhaps future researchers can take on that challenge.

On the other hand, the C group had no such protection. If their crimes were revealed "on the yard" they would be subject to sanctions by other inmates, as noted by Howard and Caslin (1999), Scully (1990), and my interviewees. This issue, perhaps, is why this group of offenders was different from the other two groups.

When non-sex offenders were compared to sex offenders, t-tests showed partial support for Self-Control Theory. Groups A and B did not differ significantly on criminal history, but did differ in both analogous behaviors and self-control, with the treatment group (Group A) reporting higher levels of analogous behaviors and lower levels of self-control. This gives weight to my conclusion that treatment did result in more soul-

searching responses. The findings comparing Group B with Group C, however, were reversed. Groups B and C differed significantly on criminal history, but not in analogous behaviors or self-control. The latter lends support to Gottfredson and Hirschi's contention that offenders are more similar than they are different, that specialization in a type of deviance is more a construction of criminologists than of criminals.

Furthermore, the Phase II interviews provided the best support for Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) contention that offenders are generalists rather than specialists. In accordance with prior studies (Hazelwood and Warren 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Kruttschnitt et al. 2000; Scully 1990; Scully and Marolla 1984, 1985; Stevens 1994) I found that a large number of my interviewees reported prior involvement with law enforcement for crimes other than sex offenses. Some respondents also indicated extensive histories of sexual offending with many victims and a pattern of generality in their sexual offending. The interview subjects also reported a wide range of analogous behaviors. These included alcohol and other drug use by the majority of subjects and promiscuous consensual sexual behavior, coinciding with research using non-offender samples (Arneklev et al. 1993; Burton et al. 1998; Tremblay et al. 1995; Wood et al. 1993). Thus, it appears that at least in this group of sex offenders, there are two arguments that can be made for the generality of deviance. First, these sex offenders engaged in a wide range of deviant behaviors. Second, when focusing on sex offenses only, there was evidence of a lack of specialization.

I also found evidence in the interviews that indicated the behavior of sex offenders corresponded with the indicators of low self-control suggested by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990). These included analogous behaviors, inability to deter gratification, volatile temper, and a preference for risk. Gottfredson and Hirschi argue that these are indicators of what they deem low self-control. Clearly, in this group of offenders there was often evidence of various facets of low self-control.

This study also contributes to our knowledge about the dynamics of victim selection in sexual offending. The results of the Phase II interviews in this study showed support for opportunity as an important factor in the victim selection of sex offenders. Opportunity was realized in two ways: one, through physical proximity to victims, and two, through subjects' knowledge of victims' emotional availability. I found overwhelming support for Cohen and Felson's (1979) Routine Activities Theory in the sexual offending of my respondents in this study. All of my subjects were motivated offenders who chose victims suitable to their purposes and who frequently committed their violations when there was a lack of capable guardianship.

Suggestions for Future Research

The research in this project was confounded by the fact that we can never truly know the population of a deviant sample. Because of this fact, I cannot be absolutely sure that respondents in the B group had not committed sexual offenses, and were uncaught. I also cannot be sure that there were no subjects in the A or C groups who were unjustly

convicted of sex offenses. I also cannot be sure that the respondents answered honestly. As noted by Stevens (1994), offender samples cannot be counted on for truth all of the time. Of course, all self-report research has this limitation. Hirschi and Gottfredson (1993) have noted that low self-control could be expected to affect survey responses. On the other hand, lying is considered by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) to be a behavioral indicator of lack of self-control. The question, then, is how do we get the most truthful answers from a deviant sample?

I believe the answer lies in increased use of multiple methods as used in this project. The interviews greatly enhanced my understanding of the subjects' backgrounds, attitudes, and behaviors, and provided richness not possible in survey research alone. I think that more research utilizing interviews is necessary, in particular with studies on Self-Control Theory, as they will provide the best data on the behavioral evidence that Hirschi and Gottfredson (1993) favor for testing self-control.

I also agree with Longshore et al. (1996) that it is important for more studies on Self-Control Theory to utilize offender samples. After all, who knows more about criminal and analogous behaviors than those who perpetrate them? I would like to see more studies replicating this one with samples from various treatment programs to continue investigation of the possible treatment effect. In addition, I think more studies comparing sex offender groups are needed, including comparisons between sex offenders who assault children and those who assault adults. I would like to see a longitudinal study in

which interviews of sex offenders in treatment are compared to sex offenders with no history of treatment, along with a comparison of their survey data. It is also necessary for studies on sexual offending to address whether sex offenders "age out" of crime, as Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) assert all offenders do.

One thing I would have changed about this study is that I would have added interviews with members of the C group to my data as well as a greater number of interviews as a whole. In retrospect, since I had the greatest trepidation about the accuracy of C group's survey responses, it would have been good to have had more access to them to gather more detail about their backgrounds, behaviors, and attitudes such as I had for the A group. I would also like to know if Group C chose their victims differently from Group A. The information from the Phase II interviews supported both Self-Control Theory and Routine Activities Theory with detail that would have been unavailable in survey data alone, and other studies would benefit from the inclusion of qualitative methods as well.

Another thing I would include in future studies would be additional measures of ineffective parenting. The measures that I used only tapped one aspect of parenting--critical parenting. A more comprehensive measure would need to also address monitoring and supervision as well as positive aspects of parenting. Measures of emotional support could add to our knowledge about the role of parenting in the development of self-control and deviant behaviors.

As shown in the excerpts from interviews in this study, some of these subjects do an enormous amount of damage to large numbers of people over a long period of time. I think it is crucial that we discover more and better ways of dealing with them from both treatment and legal perspectives. In my opinion, it is appropriate for research that studies offender populations to focus, at least partly, on benefit to society. I believe that Self-Control Theory provides societal assistance through its focus on the true nature of crime and criminals, the assertions of which were supported by the findings in this study in part, if not as a whole. If Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) are proven correct by future studies in their assertion that offending patterns do not change except by aging out of criminal activity, our criminal justice system could benefit from that knowledge. Overall, the current study has added to our knowledge about sex offenders by utilizing a sociological theory to study some of the differences between sex offenders and non-sex offenders. This study also used sociological theories to explain the victim selection of a sample of sex offenders. Thus, the study has provided the field with expansion of the scope of theory-testing to new populations and more information on the etiology of deviance.

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APPENDIX A

PHASE I

DATE:_____ SURVEY NO.JHCC_____

LTAC _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please indicate the correct answer in the space provided.

PART I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

First, we would like to ask you some questions about yourself.

1. When were you born?

Month_____
Year_____

2. In what state or country were you born?

State_____
Country_____

3. What is your sex?

Male_____
Female_____

4. What racial or ethnic group do consider yourself?

African-American_____
Hispanic_____
White_____
Native American_____
Asian_____
Other_____
(specify)

5. Which ONE of the following religious groups, if any, do you identify with CURRENTLY? (Are you a Southern Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, or what?)

None_____
Muslim_____
Jewish_____
Hindu_____
Buddhist_____
AME_____
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon)_____
Christian Science_____
Seventh Day Adventist _____
Catholic_____
Methodist_____
Episcopal_____
Presbyterian_____
Christian Church_____
Missouri Synod Lutheran_____
Lutheran (other than Missouri Synod)_____
Southern Baptist_____
Baptist (other)_____
Church of the Nazarene_____
Church of Christ_____
Assembly of God_____
Church of God_____
Pentecostal_____
Other (specify)_____

6. How strongly do the beliefs of your religious group influence your behavior or how you live today?

Not at all_____
Somewhat strongly_____
Very strongly_____
Don't know_____
Doesn't apply to me_____

7. What is the highest grade of school you have completed?

None_____
8th grade or less_____
9th-11th grade_____
High school graduate or GED_____
less than 2 years of college (no degree)_____
Vocational/technical school or associate's degree (2 years)_____
more than 2 years of college_____
4 years of college (degree)_____
graduate school_____

8. If you did not graduate from high school, answer this question.
I DROPPED OUT OR QUIT SCHOOL BECAUSE:

I got someone pregnant_____
I got married_____
I got in trouble with the law_____
I could not keep up in school_____
My family moved around a lot_____
I had to go to work to support myself_____
I was bored with school_____
Other (specify)_____

9. Which of the following best describes your work situation at the time of your arrest for the offense for which you are currently incarcerated?

Regular full-time work_____
Regular part-time work_____
Occasional work/temporary_____
Unemployed but looking for work_____
Unemployed, not looking for work_____
Retired_____
Unable to work (disabled)_____
Stayed at home with children_____
Student_____

10. Before coming to prison this time I have been legally married:

Never_____
1 time_____
2 times_____
3 times_____
4 or more times_____

11. I have been in _____ common-law relationships that have lasted a year or more:

0_____
1_____
2_____
3_____
4 or more_____

12. What were you convicted of on your current imprisonment?
    a. rape_____
    b. sodomy_____
    c. abduction_____
    d. breaking and entering_____
    e. robbery_____
    f. armed robbery_____
    g. aggravated assault_____
    h. 1st degree murder_____
    i. 2nd degree murder_____
    j. manslaughter_____
    k. DUI_____
    l. drug offense (possession)_____
    m. drug offense (distribution)_____
    n. drug offense (other)_____
    o. other offense_____
    (specify)

13. What were the original charges?
    a. rape_____
    b. sodomy_____
    c. abduction_____
    d. breaking and entering_____
    e. robbery_____
    f. armed robbery_____
    g. aggravated assault_____
    h. 1st degree murder_____
    i. 2nd degree murder_____
    j. manslaughter_____
    k. DUI_____
    l. drug offense (possession)_____
    m. drug offense (distribution)_____
    n. drug offense (other)_____
    o. other offense_____
    (specify)

14. How long is your sentence?
    a. 10 years or less_____
    b. 11-20 years_____
    c. 21-30 years_____
    d. 31-40 years_____
    e. 41-50 years_____
    f. 51-60 years_____
    g. More than 61 years_____
    h. Life with parole_____
    i. Life w/o parole_____
    j. Death_____

15. How much time have you served on this sentence?

less than 1 year_____	7-10 years_____
1-3 years_____	11-20 years_____
3-6 years_____	More than 20 years_____

16. How old were you when you were arrested for this offense?

less than 5_____	21-30_____
6-10_____	31-40_____
11-15_____	41-50_____
16-20_____	Over 51_____

17. How did you plead on these charges?

guilty_____
not guilty_____
changed from not guilty to guilty_____
nolo contendre_____

18. How would you describe the way you feel about this conviction now?

a. admit having done it and is responsible_____
b. believe I am not fully responsible_____
c. believe I am not at all responsible_____
d have no memory of offense_____
e. deny committing offense_____
f. other (specify) _____

19. While you were growing up did you ever:

set fires_____
steal or shoplift_____
lie excessively_____
destroy own possessions_____
vandalize_____
torture animals_____
beat up other children_____
skip school (truancy)_____
get suspended/expelled from school_____
hit parents or teachers_____
have repeated traffic offenses_____
other (specify) _____

20. How old were you at your first arrest?

less than 5_____	21-30_____
6-10_____	31-40_____
11-15_____	41-50_____
16-20_____	Over 51_____

21. How old were you at your first conviction?

less than 5_____	21-30_____
6-10_____	31-40_____
11-15_____	41-50_____
16-20_____	Over 51_____

22. How many times have you been arrested? _____

23. History of offenses (check all that apply):

_____ isolated events of minor misbehavior, but no intervention by authorities
_____ repetitive misbehavior of minor acts: truancy, running away/requiring intervention
_____ isolated misdemeanors/vandalism, drunkenness
_____ repetitive misdemeanors
_____ major criminal behavior- felony, isolated
_____ major criminal behavior - felony, repeated
_____ none/does not apply

24. Nature of criminal acts:

____ violations against property only
____ violations against persons only
____ violations against persons and property
____ none

25. How many times have you been in prison? _____

26. Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following, as they apply to you:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I often act on the spur of the moment without stopping to think.				
I don't devote much thought and effort to preparing for the future.				
I often do whatever brings me pleasure here and now, even at the cost of some distant goal.				
I'm more concerned with what happens to me in the short run than in the long run.				
I frequently try to avoid projects that I know will be difficult.				
When things get complicated, I tend to quit or withdraw.				
The things in life that are easiest to do bring me the most pleasure.				
I dislike really hard tasks that stretch my abilities to the limit.				
I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky.				
Sometimes I will take a risk just for the fun of it.				
I sometimes find it exciting to do things for which I might get in trouble.				
Excitement and adventure are more important to me than security.				
If I had a choice, I would almost always rather do something physical than something mental.				
I almost always feel better when I am on the move than when I am sitting and thinking.				
I like to get out and do things more than I like to read or contemplate ideas.				
I seem to have more energy and a greater need for activity than most other people my age.				
I try to look out for myself first, even if it means making things difficult for other people.				
I'm not very sympathetic to other people when they are having problems.				
I tend to lose my temper pretty easily.				
I will try to get the things I want even when I know it's causing problems for other people.				
Often, when I'm angry at people I feel more like hurting them than talking to them about why I am angry.				
When I'm really angry, other people better stay away from me.				
When I have a serious disagreement with someone, it's usually hard for me to talk calmly about it without getting upset.				

The following section asks questions about your relationships with various people. You will be asked questions about the family in which you grew up, relationships today with family members, your friends, etc.

27. Thinking about when you were a teenager, about how often would you say your mother or the person who is like a mother to you used physical punishment, like slapping or hitting you. (Answer for the year in which this happened most.)

____ never

____ once

____ twice

____ 3-5 times

____ 6-10 times

____ 11-20 times

____ more than 20 times

____ don't know

____ did not live with mother (or mother figure)

28. I would like you to think about some things you may have experienced as a child. Please tell me how often each of the following occurred:

	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	Almost Always
My mother punished me even over small offenses.					
My mother gave me more physical punishment than I deserved.					
I felt my mother thought it was my fault when she was unhappy.					
I think my mother was mean and grudging toward me.					
My mother criticized me in front of others.					

29. Next, think about your current relationship with your mother (mother figure).

	Does Not Apply	Not At All	A Little	Some	Quite A Bit	A Great Deal
How much does your mother make you feel loved and cared for?						
How much do you feel she makes too many demands on you?						
How much is she willing to listen when you need to talk about your worries or problems?						
How much is she critical of you or what you do?						

30. Thinking about yourself when you were a teenager, about how often would you say your father or the person who is like a father to you used physical punishment, like slapping or hitting you? (Answer for the year in which this happened most.)

____ never

____ once

____ twice

____ 3-5 times

____ 6-10 times

____ 11-20 times

____ more than 20 times

____ don't know

____ did not live with mother (or mother figure)

31. I would like you to think about some things which you may have experienced as a child. Please tell me how often each of the following occurred:

	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	Almost Always
My father punished me even over small offenses.					
My father gave me more physical punishment than I deserved.					
I felt my father thought it was my fault when he was unhappy.					
I think my father was mean and grudging toward me.					
My father criticized me in front of others.					

32. Next, think about your current relationship with your father (father figure).

	Does Not Apply	Not At All	A Little	Some	Quite A Bit	A Great Deal
How much does your father make you feel loved and cared for?						
How much do you feel he makes too many demands on you?						
How much is he willing to listen when you need to talk about your worries or problems?						
How much is he critical of you or what you do?						

33. When you were a child, was your father ever violent around your family?

Yes_____
No_____

If YES, towards whom? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

Me_____
My mother or stepmother_____
My brother(s)_____
My sister(s)_____

When you were a child, was your mother ever violent around your family?

Yes_____
No_____

If YES, towards whom? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

Me_____
My father or stepfather_____
My brother(s)_____
My sister(s)_____

34. In my family (check all that apply)

I am the first person to come to prison_____
My mother has been to prison_____
My father has been to prison_____
I have brother(s) who have been to prison_____
I have sister(s) who have been to prison_____
I have a grandfather(s) who has been to prison_____
I have a grandmother(s) who has been to prison_____
I have an uncle(s) who has been to prison_____
I have an aunt(s) who has been to prison_____
I have a cousin(s) who has been to prison_____

35. When I was a child I was raised by (check ALL that apply)

My mother only_____
My father only_____
My mother and father together_____
My mother and stepfather_____
My father and stepmother_____
My grandparents_____
Other relatives_____
Foster parents or others_____

If either or both or your parents were in prison while you were growing up, with whom did you live when he/she was in prison?

_____

SEXUAL HISTORY

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your feelings about sex and some of the sexual experiences that you have had.

36. How old were you when you had your first sexual experience?

less than 5_____	31-40_____
6-10_____	41-50_____
11-15_____	Over 51_____
16-20_____	Never_____
21-30_____	

37. Who was your partner in this experience?

father_____
mother_____
brother_____
sister_____
adult male relative_____
adult female relative_____
male friend/age-mate_____
female friend/age-mate_____
adult male friend/acquaintance_____
adult female friend/acquaintance_____
significantly younger, prepubescent (age 13 or younger) male child_____
significantly younger prepubescent (Age 13 or younger) female child_____
significantly younger adolescent male (14-16)_____
significantly younger adolescent female (14-16)_____
adult male stranger_____
adult female stranger_____
prostitute_____
does not apply_____
other_____

38. Outside of prison, perhaps as a child, have you ever had a sexual experience in which you were an unwilling participant or in which you felt you were forced to participate?

yes_____ no_____

39. How old were you at the time of this experience?

less than 5_____	31-40_____
6-10_____	41-50_____
11-15_____	over 51_____
16-20_____	does not apply_____
21-30_____	

40. How many times have you had this type of experience?

___ 0	___ 4-5
___ 1	___ 6-10
___ 2-3	___ More than 11

41. Who was the person involved?

father_____
mother_____
brother_____
sister_____
adult male relative_____
adult female relative_____
adult male acquaintance_____
adult female acquaintance_____
adult male stranger_____
adult female stranger_____
male peer_____
female peer_____
does not apply_____
other_____

42. What types of sexual acts were involved?

touching_____	anal penetration_____
masturbation_____	does not apply_____
oral contact_____	other_____

43. How old were you when you began to date girls?

less than 5_____	31-40_____
6-10_____	41-50_____
11-15_____	over 51_____
16-20_____	does not apply_____
21-30_____	

44. How old were you the first time you had sex with a girl or woman?

less than 5_____	31-40_____
6-10_____	41-50_____
11-15_____	more than 51_____
16-20_____	never_____
21-30_____	

45. In general, how would you rate your sexual experiences with women?
very good_____
good_____
poor_____
very poor_____

46. Before coming to prison, how often did you feel you would like to have sex (not including masturbation)?
____ more than once a day
____ once a day
____ 2-3 times a week
____ once a week
____ 2-3 times a month
____ once a month
____ less than once a month
____ never

47. Before you came to prison, how often did you have sex (not including masturbation)?
____ more than once a day
____ once a day
____ 2-3 times a week
____ once a week
____ 2-3 times a month
____ once a month
____ less than once a month
____ never

48. Which of the following do you like to have as a sexual partner?
___ adult female
___ adult male
___ adolescent female(14-17)
___ adolescent male (14-17)
___ female child
___ male child
___ none

49. Towards whom are your sexual interests primarily directed?
males_____
females_____
both males and females_____
none_____

50. Towards what age are your sexual interests primarily directed?
significantly younger_____
same age_____
significantly older_____
any age_____
none_____

51. When you were young, do you remember ever being punished or feeling bad for doing something sexual?
yes_____ no_____

52. What kinds of sexual activity do you think turns women on?

53. Are there any sexual acts you enjoy that you think most other people do not enjoy? What are they?

54. The following questions relate to your perceptions about women and sex.

	All	Most	Many	Few	None	Don't Know
How many women do you think don't really like sex very much?						
How many women do you think like to be overpowered while having sex with men?						
How many women do you think enjoy having sex with more than one man at the same time?						
How many women do you think aren't really sexually satisfied by their husbands or boyfriends?						
How many women do you think enjoy being hurt while having sex?						

Research, like we are doing here today, shows that there is a great deal of variety in people's sexual behavior. Would you tell me which of the following things you have done or thought about doing?

55. Have you ever had sex in a group with two or more people? yes_____ no_____

56. Have you ever been involved in a sexual activity where two or more males had sex with one female? yes_____ no_____

Did you think the woman was willing? yes_____ no_____

How could you tell she was or wasn't willing?

How did you feel afterwards?

57. Now I am going to ask you some questions about men and women who are raped.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Nice girls don't get raped.				
Raping women is one way for men to prove their manhood.				
A woman can be raped even if she doesn't want to be.				
If a woman knows that she is going to be raped, she might as well enjoy it.				
Rapists are just normal men that get caught.				
Women often say that they have been raped to get even with men.				
Men who rape women are probably emotionally sick.				
In most cases, when a woman has been raped, it is not her fault.				
Most men rape because they want sex.				
Forcing a woman to have sex is one way for a man to show a woman who is boss.				
A raped woman is usually a guilty victim, not an innocent victim.				
Men rape because they want to do physical harm to women.				
Most women secretly want to be raped.				
To protect men, the law should make it very difficult for a woman to prove she was raped.				
When a woman says that she has been raped by a man that she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterwards.				
Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men.				
Men sometimes have sexual urges they can't control, especially when they see a woman dressed in sexy clothes.				
A woman should be responsible for preventing her own rape.				
Being drunk is no excuse for raping a woman.				
For most women, rape is a very upsetting experience.				
Most men accused of rape are really innocent				
A man who rapes a woman should get at least 25 years in prison.				

58. Here are a few more questions.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.				
Dealing with police officers and government officials is always a bad experience.				
Most people get killed in automobile accidents because of their own reckless driving.				
Maybe a decent fellow becomes a criminal because he can't stand to be pushed around so much.				
I easily lose patience with people.				
I often do things that I regret afterwards.				
It makes me mad when I can't do things for myself the way I like to.				
Occasionally I was in trouble in school.				
I almost never dare to express anger toward people for fear I may lose either love or approval.				
As a young kid, I often mixed with the wrong crowd.				

59. Please answer the following questions.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
A man is never justified in hitting his wife.				
Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women.				
Many times a woman will pretend she doesn't want to have sex because she doesn't want to seem loose, but she is really hoping the man will just take over.				
A wife should move out of the house if her husband hits her.				
Sometimes the only way a man can get a cold woman turned on is to use some force.				
Most women dislike men who try to be too physical with them.				
Most men like a woman to put up a struggle before agreeing to have sex.				
When a woman says no to sex it doesn't mean the man should give up.				
Some women like to be hit, they seem to think it means you care for them.				
The woman should be in control during a sexual encounter.				

APPENDIX B

PHASE II

JOSEPH HARP CORRECTIONAL CENTER RESIDENTIAL SEX OFFENDER TREATMENT PROGRAM INMATE INTERVIEW

I am going to ask you some questions about the specific sexual incident for which you are in prison.

1. How would you describe the person involved in the incident?
1. stranger_____
2. acquaintance_____
3. friend_____
4. lover_____
5. relative_____
6. other_____

2. How well did you know this person? Did you know him/her by reputation? PROBE: determine the nature of the relationship and if there had been any contact, including sexual, before the incident.

3. How old would you say this person was?
Age_____

4. Was he/she
   white_____
   black_____
   other_____
   don't know_____

5. Do you know what kind of work this person did? What?

6. Do you know if this person was
   1. married_____ 2. divorced_____
   3. single_____

7. What were you doing or thinking about the day of the incident?

8. Did anything special or out of the ordinary happen that day? What?

9. Where were you and what were you doing just before the incident?

10. Where was the person and what was she/he doing just before the incident?

11. What time of day or night was it?_____

12. What had you originally intended to do to or with this person? PROBE: sex, robbery, etc.

13. Were you the only one or were there other men involved in the incident(s)? _____
    a. If others, how many?_____
    b. Whose idea was it?_____
    c. Did they also have sex with her/him?_____
    d. Would you have done it if the others weren't there?_____
    e. Where were the others while you were having sex with the person?

14. Where were you while they were having sex with this person?

15. Before or during the time you were with this person, had you been drinking?
    yes_____ no_____

IF YES

a. What were you drinking?_____

b. How much did you have to drink?_____

c. Would you say you were drunk?_____

16. Had the person been drinking?_____

IF YES

a. What was she/he drinking?_____

b. How much did she/he have to drink?_____

c. Would you say she/he was drunk?_____

17. Before or during the time you were with this person, had you taken any drugs?

yes_____ no_____

IF YES

What drugs had you taken?_____

How much did you take?_____

18. Had this person taken any drugs?_____

yes_____ no_____

IF YES

What drugs did she/he take?_____

How much did she/he take?_____

19. Do you think the alcohol or other drugs affected your behavior?

yes_____ no_____

20. Do you think the alcohol or other drugs affected the person's behavior?

yes_____ no_____

21. As well as you can remember, what made you pick this particular person rather than someone else? PROBE: past experience, physical appearance, clothes, sexual appeal, behavior, place.

22. Can you tell me exactly when you decided to have sex with this person? PROBE: had you been thinking about it for awhile or did you decide on the spur of the moment?

23. At any point during the incident did you consider not having sex with her/him? If so, why did you continue?

24. Did you feel you knew what you were doing? In other words, did you feel you were in control of yourself?

25. When he/she realized that you intended to have sex with him/her, what was his/her reaction?

26. How do you think she/he felt toward you at this point? PROBE: get the respondent to describe any of the victim's behaviors that indicated his/her feelings toward him.

27. Would you describe this person as
very willing_____
willing_____
didn't seem to care_____
unwilling_____
very unwilling_____

28. What did she/he say or do to make you think this?

29. Did this person fight or cry or try to stop you from having sex with her/him?
yes_____ no_____
IF NOT
Why do you think she/he didn't put up a fight? What did she/he do or say?

30. What would you have done had you been in his/her place?

31. What did you do to get him/her to cooperate?

32. In your opinion, what could she/he have done to stop the incident without getting hurt?

33. Did you have a weapon?

yes_____ no_____

What was it?_____

IF NO WEAPON SKIP TO QUESTION 37

34. What did you tell him/her you were going to do with the weapon?

35. How did he/she react to the weapon? How do you think she/he felt at that point?

36. Did you use the weapon on him/her?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____

If YES, did he/she have any injuries? What kind?

If NO, would you have used it if he/she had refused to cooperate?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____

37. Did you use any other type of persuasion? For example, was she/he hit, held down, tied up, or threatened in any way? PROBE: threatening language, physical harm in any way? Injuries of any kind?

38. Had you used this kind of tactic to have sex with someone before this incident?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____

39. Why did you use it this time?

40. What sex acts took place during the incident? PROBE: Oral, anal, vaginal, were objects used?

41. What were your feelings for this person while you were having sex with her/him? PROBE: Was there a sense of power, anger, control on his part? How did he feel?

42. How do you think the person felt? What did the person say or do to make you feel that way?

43. What were your feelings immediately after the incident?

44. When it was over, what did you do next?

45. When it was over, was did he/she do next?

46. How do you think she/he felt once the sexual acts were over? PROBE: ask for behaviors that indicated feelings.

47.. Why do think she/he reported this incident to he police?

48. Would you call the incident that you just described to me "rape?"
1. yes_____ 2. no_____
IF YES SKIP TO QUESTION 57

49. In your mind, what made this incident different from rape?

50. Who would you say was primarily responsible for the incident, you or her/him?

If her/him, how did she/he cause it to happen?

51. Have you ever thought about why this happened to you? Very few things happen to us that we don't have some control over. Why did this happen to you instead of someone else? Why are you being punished if you didn't do anything wrong?

52. At the time, did you think that you were doing anything wrong?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____

53. Do you still feel the same way?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____
If NO, what made you change your mind?

54. Would you say that most other men that you know would have done the same thing if they had been in your shoes?

1. yes_____ 2. no_____

If YES, why do you think she/he called it rape?

55. Why do you think you went to prison?

56. What made this incident different from normal sex?

57. In your own mind, why do you think you raped this particular person?

58. Who would you say was primarily responsible for this incident, you or her/him?
If HER/HIM, how did she/he cause it to happen?

59. At the time, did you think that you were doing anything wrong?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____

60. Do you still feel the same way?
    1. yes_____ 2. no_____
    If NO, what made you change your mind?

61. Would you say that most other men that you know would have done the same thing if they had been in your shoes?
    1. yes_____ 2. no_____
    If YES, why do think you went to prison?

62. How do you imagine the person who accused you would have described you during the actual incident?

63. How do you imagine she/he would have described you after the incident?

64. Aside from the fact that you are in prison, do you think of yourself as an average guy or somewhat different from other men?

1. average guy_____ 2. somewhat different_____

If DIFFERENT, how are you different?

65. Did you ever think that you would go to prison for what you did?

1. yes_____ 2. no_____

66. Do you think you should have been punished for what you did?

1. yes_____ 2. no_____

67. Was this the first time that you had been accused of rape?

1. yes_____ 2. no_____

If NO, how many people have accused you of rape?_____

If NO, how many arrests for rape?_____

If NO, how many convictions for rape?_____

If NO, at the time, did you ever think that you were doing something wrong?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____
If NO, have you changed your mind?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____

68. What are your feelings for this person now that you are in prison and have had some time to think about it? Have they changed since the incident?

69. Has anyone in your family or anyone you know ever been raped?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____
If YES, how did you feel about it when you heard?

70. If your wife or girlfriend was raped, how would you feel about it? What would your reaction be? PROBE: for contradiction if it exists. Do you feel you should receive the same treatment?

71. Try to compare your wife, girlfriend, or partner to the person who accused you of rape. How are they different? How are they the same?

72. In your mind, when would you define or call someone a rapist? What does a man have to do to be called a rapist?

73. Do you think that definition fits you?
1. yes_____ 2. no_____

74. Do you think your friends (outside of prison) would agree with your definition of rape? Do you think other people in general would agree? If they would not, what would the difference be?

75. Do you think your family and friends think of you as a rapist?

76. Why did you decide to enter the Residential Sex Offender Treatment Program at JHCC?

APPENDIX C

PHASE I
Statement of Consent for Participation in the Research Project:

THE EFFECTS OF OFFENDER BACKGROUND ON BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES IN THREE SAMPLES OF OKLAHOMA INMATES
A Research Project Conducted Under the Auspices of the University of Oklahoma

Dear Participant:

You are invited to participate in a study concerning the effects of background on the behavior and attitudes of individuals who have been incarcerated in Oklahoma. Shawna Cleary, instructor of Sociology at University of Central Oklahoma and doctoral candidate at the University of Oklahoma, is the primary investigator (director) of this study. The research is being conducted under the direction of Dr. Susan F. Sharp, University of Oklahoma, Department of Sociology. The survey will include questions about a wide range of behaviors and attitudes, including need for excitement, lifestyle choices, relationships with others, childhood punishment, relations with family in childhood, sexual history, perceptions about women and sexual behavior, attitudes about rape victims, and attitudes about interpersonal violence.

Participation is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to complete a survey questionnaire. The survey should take approximately 1 hour to complete. The questionnaire will be anonymous. It will be coded with a number and will contain no identifying information. There will be no way to connect your answers with you, and the research team and myself will only see the surveys.

Because a person's background can effect his life, the information you provide could ultimately have many benefits. For this reason I would like to thank you in advance for your participation in this project. Because the questionnaire asks questions about sensitive information, you may possibly become uncomfortable while completing it. If this occurs, I will refer you to the prison staff psychologist or chaplain.

Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw as a participant at any time. There are no penalties associated with refusing to participate or withdrawing during the study. If you have any questions about the study or your role as a participant, please call Shawna Cleary at (405) 974-5520 or by e-mail: scleary@ucok.edu. Or you may contact Dr. Sharp at (405) 325-2829, or by e-mail: ssharp@ou.edu. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please call the OU Office of Research Administration at (405) 325-4757 or by e-mail: irb: ou.edu.

Completion of the attached questionnaire will serve as your consent to participate.
Thank you again for your time.

PHASE II - GROUP A2

Statement of Informed Consent for Participation in the Research Project:

THE EFFECTS OF OFFENDER BACKGROUND ON BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES IN THREE SAMPLES OF OKLAHOMA INMATES

A Research Project Conducted Under the Auspices of the University of Oklahoma

You are invited to participate in a study concerning the effects of background on the behavior and attitudes of individuals who have been incarcerated in Oklahoma. Shawna Cleary, instructor of Sociology at the University of Central Oklahoma and doctoral candidate at the University of Oklahoma, is the primary investigator (director) of this study. The research is being conducted under the direction of Dr. Susan F. Sharp, University of Oklahoma, Department of Sociology. You are being asked to complete a survey questionnaire and to participate in one or more in-depth interviews. The research will be in two parts. The questionnaire will include questions about a wide range of behaviors and attitudes, including need for excitement, lifestyle choices, relationships with others, childhood punishment, relations with family in childhood, sexual history, perceptions about women and sexual behavior, attitudes about rape victims, and attitudes about interpersonal violence. In the in-depth interview, you will be asked specific questions about the crime for which you are incarcerated. The survey will take approximately 1 hour, and the interview will take approximately one to two hours. With your consent, the interviews will be audio-taped. The tapes will be coded so that no identifying information will appear on the cassettes. They will be kept in a locked file and will only be heard by myself and a transcriber. Tapes will be erased after transcription. The survey will have the same code number as the interview materials.

Participation is voluntary. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will not be disclosed. No information will be released to any agency.

Because a person's background can effect his life, the information you provide could ultimately have many benefits. For this reason I would like to thank you in advance for your participation in this project. Because you will be asked questions about sensitive information, you may possibly become uncomfortable while completing it. If this occurs, you will be referred to the prison staff psychologist or chaplain.

This research is covered by a certificate of Confidentiality issued by the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). This Certificate will protect the investigators from being forced to release any research data in which you are identified, even under court order or subpoena, without your written consent. There is one exception to the promise of confidentiality. If we see or are told that a child is being abused or neglected or that there is a risk of harm to yourself or others, we will disclose this information to the proper authorities. You do not have to answer any questions about which you feel uncomfortable or that you feel might incriminate you.

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw as a participant at any time. There are no penalties associated with refusing to participate or for withdrawing during the study. If you have any questions about the study or your role as a participant, please call Shawna Cleary at (405) 974-5520 or by e-mail: scleary@ucok.edu. Or, you may contact Dr. Sharp at (405) 325-2829 or by e-mail: ssharp@ou.edu. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please call the OU Office of Research Administration at (405) 325-4757 or by e-mail: irb@ou.edu. You are entitled to a copy of this consent form.

Thank you again for your time.

Completion of the questionnaire is your consent to participate in that portion of the study. Your signature on the line below indicates that you agree to be interviewed.

_____

Signature Date

I agree to be audio-taped ____ (Yes) _____

____ (No) Signature Date

The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

October 30, 2000

Ms. Shawna Cleary
2516 Patti Place
Oklahoma City OK 73120

Dear Ms. Cleary:

The Institutional Review Board-Norman Campus, has reviewed your proposal, "The Effects of Offender Background on Behaviors and Attitudes in 3 Samples of Oklahoma Inmates." The Board found that this research would not constitute a risk to participants beyond those of normal, everyday life except in the area of privacy which is adequately protected by the confidentiality procedures. Therefore, the Board has approved the use of human subjects in this research.

This approval is for a period of 12 months from this date, provided that the research procedures are not changed significantly from those described in your "Summary of Research Involving Human Subjects" and attachments. Should you wish to deviate significantly from the described subject procedures, you must notify me and obtain prior approval from the Board for the changes.

At the end of the research, you must submit a short report describing your use of human subjects in the research and the results obtained. Should the research extend beyond 12 months, a progress report must be submitted with the request for re-approval, and a final report must be submitted at the end of the research.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Susan Wyatt Sedwick

Susan Wyatt Sedwick, Ph.D.
Administrative Officer
Institutional Review Board

SWS/pw
FY01-6

cc: Dr. E. Laurette Taylor, Chair, Institutional Review Board
Dr. Susan Sharp, Sociology

1000 Asp Avenue, Suite 314, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-0430 PHONE: (405) 325-4757 FAX: (405) 325-6029

CONFIDENTIALITY CERTIFICATE

MH-00-194

issued to

The University of Oklahoma

conducting research known as

"The Effects of Offender Background on Behavior and Attitudes in Three Samples of Oklahoma Inmates"

In accordance with the provisions of section 301(d) of the Public Health Service Act 42 U.S.C. 241(d), this Certificate is issued in response to the request of the Principal Investigator, Susan F. Sharp, Ph.D., and Shawna Cleary, a doctoral candidate under her supervision, to protect the privacy of research subjects by withholding their identities from all persons not connected with this research. Dr. Sharp is primarily responsible for the conduct of this research.

Under the authority vested in the Secretary of Health and Human Services by section 301(d), all persons who:

1. are enrolled in, employed by, or associated with the University of Oklahoma and its contractors or cooperating agencies, and

2. have in the course of their employment or association access to information which would identify individuals who are the subjects of the research pertaining to the project known as "The Effects of Offender Background on Behavior and Attitudes in Three Samples of Oklahoma Inmates",

are hereby authorized to protect the privacy of the individuals who are the subjects of that research by withholding their names and other identifying characteristics from all persons not connected with the conduct of that research.

This study will compare the levels of self control for three groups of convicted offenders to a random sample of non-offender adults from an extant Oklahoma City Survey dataset. Data will be collected by means of a survey and interviews.

A Certificate of Confidentiality is needed because sensitive information about criminal history and unlawful behaviors will be generated. The certificate will help researchers avoid involuntary disclosures which could expose subjects and their families to adverse economic, legal, psychological and social consequences.

Page 2 - Confidentiality Certificate

All subjects will be assigned a coded number and identifying information and records will be kept in locked files at the Institution.

This research is underway, and will end on December 31, 2001.

As provided in section 301 (d) of the Public Health Service Act 42 U.S.C. 241(d):

> "Persons so authorized to protect the privacy of such individuals may not be compelled in any Federal, State, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative, or other proceedings to identify such individuals."

This Certificate does not govern the voluntary disclosure of identifying characteristics of research subjects but only protects subjects from compelled disclosure of identifying characteristics. Researchers are therefore not prevented from the voluntary disclosure of such matters as child abuse or a subject's threatened violence to self or others; however, the consent form should indicate clearly a researcher's intention to make any such voluntary disclosure.

This Certificate does not represent an endorsement of the research project by the Department of Health and Human Services. This Certificate is now in effect and will expire on December 31, 2001. The protection afforded by this Confidentiality Certificate is permanent with respect to subjects who participate in the research during the time the Certificate is in effect.

Date: December 7, 2000

William T. Fitzsimmons
Executive Officer
National Institute of Mental Health