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A STUDY OF SEX OFFENDERS ON PROBATION

Hofstra University

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This study was supported by a grant from:
The Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect
and
The Nassau County Probation Department

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APR 13 1987

ACQUISITIONS

FOREWORD

The conduct of research in field settings is difficult. Most previous research concerning sex offenders has been done in mental hospitals, with prison inmates referred to mental health clinics, or with volunteers solicited through various forms of advertising or announcements. The present study had its impetus in the awareness on the part of Mr. Robert Bennett, Director of the Nassau County Department of Probation, Mr. Joseph Sciarrotta, Deputy Director for Administration, and Mr. William Botwinik, Director of Research and Staff Development, of the need for more information concerning the sex offender population under the Department's jurisdiction. It was their idea that the population they served might be those for whom there was a better chance for rehabilitation if more were known about them, than would be true for sex offenders in mental hospitals or jails.

To undertake such a study requires an unusual level of cooperation among individuals and agencies, each with their own primary mission. Thus the present study could not have been undertaken without the encouragement of Ms. Jean Forman and the Board of Directors of the Nassau Coalistion for Child Abuse and Neglect, as well as the Nassau County Department of Probation. The coalition's concern with the problem was manifest in their willingness to work closely with representatives of the Department and Hofstra University.

We also would like to recognize President James M. Shuart of Hofstra University for creating an atmosphere of encouragement and support which assisted greatly in the execution of this study. His interest in the project went beyond that of a University President's concern with the efforts of his faculty. It was an extension of his prior experience in the human services activities of Nassau County.

Finally we must thank the many probation officers who managed to give extra time and effort beyond their normal reponsibilities. Clearly, without their cooperation the study would not have been possible.

A STUDY OF SEX OFFENDERS ON PROBATION

Purpose

The purpose of the present research was to study and evaluate identified sex offenders for the purpose of developing a profile of sex offenders and their environment; and to use this information to develop programs of treatment, education and prevention that could be carried out through schools and social agencies.

Background of the Research

Acts of sexual violence and abuse represent one of the most distressing forms of anti-social behavior in our society. While there are many crimes in which the victim is injured, victims of sexual offenses almost invariably experience both physical and psychological injury, which injury often has a psychological effect on the victim's family as well. Along with child abuse, which often represents only a form of sex abuse, the concept of sex offences is one of the most repugnant to members of our society. Despite this repugnance and the effect of this type of anti-social behavior has on communities, what is known about the characteristics of sex offenders and the environmental factors that may precipitate or contribute to sexual violence and abuse is both limited and often contradictory. Those who must work with sex offenders, such as probation officers, and child protective workers feel most keenly this gap between the need to be effective in dealing with the offender and what is known about how to be effective.

An awareness of the fact that a large number of sexual offenders were coming to the attention of the probation department, and the fact that the community was asking for more information about treatment and prevention of this type of problem behavior caused the Probation Department of Nassau County to propose that a study be made of the sex offenders in Nassau County who had been placed on probation by the judicial system. The Probation Department was acutely aware that sexual offenders needed to be evaluated carefully and given the kind of attention desirable if repetition of the offenses was to be limited. In addition, no one was quite sure of the number of sex offenders who might be active in the county, but who were charged with other offenses. It was the experience of the Probation Department that some

sexual offenders had been able to plead guilty to less serious offenses and thus hide the full gravity of their behavior.

Many sex offenders are known to public and private agencies for difficulties related to emotional problems, job related problems and drug and alcoholic abuse. Each agency, public and private tends to maintain confidentiality and thus finds it difficult to share data already on file. In view of this the Probation Department determined that it would be desirable to enlist the aid of a community agency, specifically interested in the area of sexual offenses, and one that had an ongoing involvement in this kind of problem on a day to day basis. The Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect an organization consisting of 70 public and private agencies, each of which is directly or indirectly involved with child abuse and neglect, seemed the ideal organization to disseminate a proposal for such a study, to evaluate the proposals submitted, and to interact with the agency that received the grant once it was awarded.

To provide a basis for this study the Nassau County Director of Probation requested that all probation officers identify the probationers under their aegis who had been convicted of some form of sexual offense and placed on probation. The number of potential subjects at the time the study was proposed was 212. The study was undertaken by members of the Psychology Department of Hofstra University, who worked in conjunction with members of the research department of the Nassau County Probation Department. The agreement regarding the maintenance of confidentiality with respect to the participants in the study as requested by the Probation Department and the Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect appears in appendix A.

Review of the Literature

A review of the literature reveals that scientific studies regarding human sexual behavior are of fairly recent origin. When Kinsey (1948) began his study of sexual behavior in the human male he could find only 19 studies which met the criteria of being of adequate sample size based upon complete case histories which involved systematic coverage of the same items for each subject and which utilized some statistics. Of this number eight involved the sexual behavior of college students and an additional six were of patients of physicians or in state mental hospitals. Only nine utilized interviews, the remainder relied upon mailed or group administered questionnaires. One of the earliest, and the only one directly relevant to the present study was carried out by a probation officer (Merrill, 1918) who interviewed 100 boys who were under the jurisdiction of the Seattle Juvenile Court. The boys ranged in age from 8 to 18. The data, although not systematically collected, indicated that 31% had been involved in oral homosexual contact. Since the age of the offenders and the other boys were not given, it is difficult to determine what percentage would have fallen under the present definition of child molestation.

Prior to Kinsey's study most of the material related to deviant sexual behavior was of a theoretical nature or involved clinical reports. As early as 1886 Krafft-Ebbing published the first medical text on this topic, "Psychopathia Sexualis". This was an attempt to alert professionals that sexual disorders were frequently medical illnesses and therefore were of interest to them as well as to the criminal justice system. During this same period Havelock Ellis (1859-1939) published works covering the whole range of sexual deviations. In 1905 Freud published "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality", and following this a number of other theoretical articles were published on sexual disorders, mostly from a psychoanalytic viewpoint.

Kinsey's study provided an impetus to look at sexual behavior in a more scientific manner and to avoid "the obvious confusions of moral values, philosphic theory, and the scientific fact"(p.9). Kinsey's material, however, although a monumental achievement, was not oriented toward the sex offender, but rather presented data regarding factors effecting sexual behavior and sources of sexual outlet. Since that time, however, there have been a great number of studies relating to sexual deviance and most have involved sexual offenders

in both prisons and mental hospitals. Very few have involved offenders on probation.

The studies with regard to sexual offenders since Kinsey's time may be roughly classified into those that have attempted to determine background factors contributing to sexual offenses, those that were interested in personality profiles of sexual offenders, those attempting to determine whether sexual responsiveness in sex offenders differed from normals and among different categories of offenders, and those concerned with treatment and prevention.

Many conclusions drawn from studies of sexual abuse and sexual offenders carried out in the fifties, sixties and seventies have been contradicted by the results of more recent studies. This is not surprising since there are a number of major problems facing those who do research in this area. One of the difficulties is obtaining accurate data. Since the nature of many crimes of a sexual nature are deemed shameful as well as illegal, it is difficult to determine whether or not the offenders are telling the truth. An example of this comes from a study by Scully and Marolla (1984).

As part of their study, Scully and Marolla sent letters to every inmate in 17 prisons in Virginia asking for volunteers for a study of men's attitudes toward sexual behavior and toward women. They received a 25% return and from these a sample was selected. The final study was based upon in depth interviews of 114 convicted rapists. Despite their convictions, plus the fact that 39% had been convicted for burglary as well and 11% for first or second degree murder and 82% had a prior criminal history, only 41% admitted they had committed the rape, 28% admitted it was a sexual act, but denied it was rape and 31% denied the rape completely. Those who denied told completely different stories from the police records and the victims.

Since Scully and Marolla were interested in the reasons given by the rapists for their behavior, they eliminated the group who denied the rape entirely, and the remainder of the study is based upon the 89 who admitted that some sexual act took place. Among these 89, the 47 men who admitted the rape viewed their behavior as wrong and blamed the influence of drugs or alcohol, emotional problems or tried to place the blame on the victim by stating she had not resisted enough. Those 32 men who denied the act was rape tried to justify their behavior by presenting the victim in a light that made her appear culpable. They relied upon five themes,

among them that women are seducers, women mean yes when they say no, most women eventually relax and enjoy it and nice girls don't get raped, and it really wasn't a big thing. On the basis of their material, Scully and Marolla take issue with the view that rapists are sick. "dominated by psychiatry and the medical model, the underlying assumption that rapists are "sick" has pervaded research. Although methodologically unsound, conclusions have been based almost exclusively on small clinical populations of rapists, that extreme group of rapists who seek counseling in prison and are the most likely to exhibit psychopathology." (p.542). This conclusion by Scully and Marolla leads to the next difficulty associated with research in the area of sexual abuse and that is the unrepresentativeness of samples upon which many studies are based.

In general most of the studies involved with sexual offenders have been carried out with prison inmates or offenders placed in mental hospitals for treatment. Other reports have been based upon single case studies or very small samples. How representative these offenders are of the general population of offenders is not known. Researchers are acutely aware of the limitations of conclusions drawn from these populations, but it is difficult to find other samples. Sexual offenses are strongly condemned by society and sex offenders are more likely to minimize their wrongdoing than to exaggerate them. Society accords no status nor recognition to sexual offenders and the same is true of prison populations, hence they are not likely to come forward to be studied. Many experts in the field believe that those who are caught represent only the tip of the iceberg. Those who are caught, however, comprise a sizeable number, as a study by Longo (1982) would indicate. He found that in 1977, there were 7,424 males arrested for sex related offenses in Washington State. In addition a survey of the young men committed to correctional institutions in that state showed that 10% had been committed for sexual offenses, and one third of the inmates had a sex offense history.

The undetected extent of sexual crimes is attested to by the results of a study by Groth, Longo & McFadin (1982), who investigated two prison populations composed of rapists and child molesters in Florida and Connecticut. They found that 65% of the 83 rapists in the combined Florida and Connecticut sample had more than one offense that was known to the courts, and 37% of the 54 child molesters in the combined samples had more than one offense that was known to the court. When asked about offenses which had not been detected, 67% of the

rapists admitted to an average number of 5.2 such offenses and 50% of the child molesters admitted to an average number of 4.7 offenses. These results are in contrast to a conclusion drawn by the New Jersey Commission on the Habitual Sex Offender, which was issued in 1950 and cited in Federal Probation in 1966. In this report the Commission states"Sex offenders have one of the lowest rates as "repeaters" of all types of crime."(p.55).

This contrast between the results of the 1982 study by Groth et al. and the 1950 report indicates how recent research is challenging and changing old notions regarding sex offenders. While in many instances reviewing studies done prior to the last ten years gives a historical picture of the field, it only highlights how little was known about sexual offenders until recently. It suggests that many of the present results should be looked upon with caution and also indicates the need for continued research so that conclusions will not be drawn unless the results of one study can be supported by the results of others.

An example of the need for such caution is indicated by two published accounts of results of surgical intervention carried out on sex offenders in Europe. Heim (1981) reports on a follow up of 39 released sex offenders who had agreed voluntarily to surgical castration while imprisoned in West Germany. The findings indicated that frequency of intercourse, masturbation and sexual thoughts were strongly reduced, but male sexual capacity was not extinguished. Rapists proved to be sexually more active after castration than child molesters or homosexuals. The author concluded that the findings did not justify surgical castration as a reliable treatment.

In another study, Rieber & Sigusch (1979) reported that in West Germany 70 men had undergone sterotaxic hypothalamotomy, a surgical procedure for sexual offenses, despite the fact that the indication for surgery was based on questionable scientific and clinical data. There was no evidence that the procedure produced the desired results. The author concludes that this type of surgery should be suspended until the possible therapeutic effectiveness are demonstrated.

As may be seen from the studies by Heim (1981) and Rieber & Sigusch (1979) society is often willing to go to great lengths to find some solution, no matter how drastic to the problem of the sex offender. Frequently sweeping legal remedies have been sought. Greenland

(1984) reports on the effects of a law passed in Canada in 1948, which remained in force until 1977. This law required indeterminate sentences for sexual offenders with mandated psychiatric assessment and treatment in order to reduce the offender's assaultive potential and thus protect the public. Greenland claims the law failed to fulfill its promise for several reasons: 1. the government did not provide effective treatment facilities, 2. there were no known treatments for socially determined conditions, which Greenland believes sex offenses are, 3. the courts and psychiatrists were incapable of distinguishing between harmless pedophiles and dangerous rapists.

A similar law, called the Mentally Disordered Sex Offender Statute, was in effect in California for forty years until its repeal in 1982. According to Oliver (1982) the law was ineffective and scientifically unsound because it was based upon the faulty premise that sexual offenders are the result of an identifiable and treatable mental disturbance. This conclusion by Oliver agrees with that of Greenland and attributes the genesis of sex offenses to environmental and societal causes.

Other investigators, however, have sought to discover whether or not there are identifiable predispositions within the sex offender that will differentiate him from the general population. Wormith (1983) assessed 205 Canadian imprisoned sex offenders andfound that 25% had intellectual limitations. Other studies such as the one by Tarter, Hegedus, Alterman & Katz-Garris (1983), who studied violent and non-violent criminals and sex offenders in prison, found no intellectual differences between them and the general population. This latter finding was similar to that of Vera, Barnard & Holzer (1979) who worked with rapists and found that their intelligence was within the normal range.

One characteristic of sexual offenders that has been shown to appear rather consistently is that of poor social skills. Barlow, Abel, Blanchard, Briston & Young (1977) in looking at a group of sex offenders, which included pedophiles, exhibitionists and rapists, found their heterosocial skills were much poorer than the average man. Based on this and other studies, the authors developed a checklist for heterosocial skills for males to be used in future research.

Segal and Marshall (1985) found similar results. They assessed rapists and child molesters who were in prison, along with non-sex offender prisoners and two

control groups of community based men from high and low socioeconimic status. Rather than relying upon self report, the men were observed as they engaged in an open ended conversation with a female confederate. All three prison groups were found to be less socially skilled than the community based men and the high socioeconomic status men were more skilled, less anxious and more assertive than their low socioeconomic counterparts. One problem with this is that the sex offenders were not differentiated from the other men who committed non-sexual crimes.

Overholser and Beck (1986) carried out a similar study with five groups of 12 male subjects each. Three groups, the rapists, the child molesters and the non-sex offenders were in prison. In addition there was one group of community based low socioeconomic men and one group of college males. The men were observed and videotaped in a conversation with a female confederate. Following this a galvanic skin response was taken as a measure of anxiety. In addition eight paper and pencil self-report measures of various components of social anxiety, hostility and impulsivity were taken. The results showed that although the rapists and child molesters did appear socially unskilled in comparison with the community based controls, the other measures did not differentiate the groups. The authors concluded that rapists and child molesters "did not appear all that dissimilar."

One other area of research that has shown some consistent results with respect to sex offenders has been their response to the physical measurement of penile arousal in response to audio tapes, video tapes or pictures depicting adults, children, males and females in different forms of sexual activity. Earls (1983) believes that the chief advantage of the direct measurement of penile tumescence is that it offers a reasonable quantification of sexual arousal using instrumentation whose operating characteristics have been well defined and it avoids an overreliance on self reported sexual preference. He goes on to say that the results have consistently shown that by using this method it is possible to discriminate various forms of homo and heterosexual arousal, and exhibitionists from child molesters and rapists. In many instances, such as one cited by Earls, individuals deny being attracted to children or using force with children, but their response to material indicate they are aroused by children and by the use of force.

Freund, Langevin & Barlow (1974) sought to determine whether normal men's verbal report of their arousal to nude pictures of men and women would correlate with their actual arousal as measured by their penile reaction. There was a positive correlation between the two, but the verbal report was accurate in only 59% of the instances. Langevin, (1983) in a later work supports the continued use of verbal report, not only because it supplies considerable information about the individual, but also because the discrepancies between the actual events and when they occur adds another dimension to the study. In general many normal individuals show erotic arousal to pictures and tapes of sexually explicit scenes of children, both male and female and other divergent situations, but this arousal is much less than that to their preferred sexual outlets.

In general two or three conclusions appeared to have been confirmed in the literature. One is that the offenders tend to be socially inadequate and to show poor social skills in comparison with other populations of a similar nature. Another is that different patterns of sexual arousal have been shown to appear when groups of child molesters, rapists and other offenders have been compared. A third finding has been that child molesters, frequently have been molested themselves as children. This finding, however, has been questioned in more recent articles because as more research has been focused on child physical and sexual abuse, the figures suggest that there are a large number of individuals who have been sexually abused as children who have not indulged in similar behavior as adults. One thing is clear from the literature is that more research is needed with respect to sexual offenders, and that the opportunity to work with men on probation, whose offenses may not be as serious as those in prison, may provide some additional insight into this area. The Hofstra study was designed to meet this need.

Method

PROCEDURE

A detailed procedure was developed to allow for the systematic collection of data on those sex offenders who were on probation during the time of the study. The purpose was to accumulate new scientific knowledge while being aware both of prior scholarly contributions and of the particular needs of the Nassau County Department of Probation whose personnel must deal with these offenders on a daily basis. Each step was discussed and reviewed by the research team prior to its implementation.

1. Team Selection and Responsibilities

The project directors at Hofstra University were:

J. Richard Block, Ph.D. who served as a liasion member between the Department of Probation and Hofstra University. He reviewed all material.

Julia Vane, Ph.D., A.B.P.P. who supervised the on-going work and maintained liason with the Director of Research and Staff Development of the Probation Department so that arrangements could be made to effectively conduct the study.

The members of the primary research team were Michael Barnes, Ph.D., Howard Kassinove, Ph.D., A.B.P.P. and Robert Motta, Ph.D. This team was responsible for the overall research design. In addition, they participated in meeting the offenders and collecting the data from the families, probation officers and victims. In these latter activities they were assisted by Michael Abruzzese, M.A., Deborah Draving, M.A., Stephen Liljegren, M.A., Mathew Lippman, M.A., James, John Monopoli, M.A., and Michael Stango, M.A.

Charles Dill, Ph.D. and James Ludwigsen, M.A. were responsible for the data analysis and working with the Hofstra University Computer Center

The Probation Deptment liason team consisted of:

William Botwinik A.C.S.W., Director of Research and Staff Development of the Nassau County Probation Department, Brian Loddigs and Gerrard Ryan, Assistant Probation Directors and members of the Probation team who helped with scheduling of appointments.

Following selection of the team, a series of initial meetings were held to discuss the primary aims of the study and to assign various tasks to each of the research and clinical psychologists.

2. Meeting at the Probation Department

The Director of Probation and members of his administrative staff met with members of the team. Initial visits to the Department of Probation were made to introduce the staff and develop a time table for the project. Mr. Botwinik explained the various operational systems of the Department, including availability of the case records, scheduling interviews with probationers, and assigning rooms and facilities for interviewing the probationers.

3. Review of the Literature

A review of the literature was undertaken to assess the depth of prior knowledge about sex offenders and particularly sex offenders on probation. In addition, it was hoped that this literature base would allow the team to tally the number and kinds of dependent variables used in prior studies of probationers. Over 100 books, journal research articles, and publications from the US Government sources were reviewed.

4. Development and Selection of Measures

Since the literature review indicated that we would be working with a relatively unstudied sample the team developed a series of measures based not only on the literature review but even more so on their years of combined experience as clinical psychologists in agencies, institutions and private practice.

5. Review of Records

With the assistance and help of Mr. Botwinik the research team went to the Department of Probation on six occasions to review 193 records made available to them by the Department and the Criminal and Family Division. Data were recorded from the records to the Initial Case Review Form. This allowed the team to get an initial sense of the persons who would be available to interview and to formulate initial diagnostic categories.

6. Team Training

Team members met again to review findings from the case reviews and to prepare them for the initial meetings with probationers. The team used role playing techniques to determine which questions had to be modified and how to increase the probability that some sensitive questions would be answered more honestly. Some modifications in the interview form were made at this point.

7. Interview of a Test Sample

Before beginning the bulk of the interviews the decision was made to examine a sample of 12 probationers to eliminate any questions which might be misunderstood or which might not yield the desired data. Following these interviews the team reviewed the findings and made final changes on the interview form.

8. Interviews with Offenders

Each of the available remaining offenders was interviewed. Most of the interviews were held at the Department of Probation offices. However, a few were held in the community or in the homes of the probationers. The Probation Liason arranged the entire process, making rooms and time schedules available to the research team. To help initiate each interview smoothly, each member of the research team was introduced to the probationers by his probation officer

9. Interviews with Probation Officers

Each member of the research team met with the probation officer who was assigned to the offenders that the team member had interviewed. Thus, after becoming

familiar with the offender, the research team member had the opportunity to talk to the probation officer about his/her experiences with the offender and to assess the officer's predictions about the possibility that the offender would become a recidivist.

10. Interviews with Relatives of Offenders

When the offender was willing and the probation officer judged it was desirable, attempts were made to interview a relative of the offender. This allowed the team to obtain a judgement about the current status of the offender and a perception of the family member as to the present situation regarding the offender.

11. Interviews with Victims or Family Members of Victims

Attempts were made to interview victims or family members of victims to assess the effects of the crime and their perceptions of what had occurred.

12. Therapist Contact

In some of the cases it was known that the probationer was involved in psychological therapy. In those cases the Therapist Response Form was mailed to the therapist to assess perceptions of the probationer's current status and what improvements, if any, had been made. Permission had been obtained from the offenders for this request for information.

13. Final Probation Officer Report

At this point in the study four or five months had elapsed since the offenders had been seen. The probation officers were now asked to answer a series of questions regarding the current status of the offender.

14. Data Scoring and Analysis

Each of the objective psychological tests was scored, either by hand or with the help of specially designed programs to be used on Apple microcomputers. The overall data were then entered into the Hofstra University mainframe computing system and appropriate data analytic procedures were used.

15. Discussion of Findings

A series of conferences were held to discuss the findings and to formulate recommendations and conclusions.

16. Writing of the Report

The final report was developed, discussed, and written, rediscussed and rewritten.

MEASURES USED

It was decided that objective psychological tests and interview data forms, combined with reviews of the records, would be most likely to yield the kind of data the team was looking for. All data in the records were considered confidential and were protected in accordance with the Confidentiality Agreement signed by the University and Probation Department (appendix A). Again, a series of team meetings were held and the following measures were agreed upon.

1. The Sex Offender Study Questionnaire
Developed for this study, this eight page interview form was used to collect data on the probationers opinions and thoughts about the crime, his family, sexual, educational, and occupational background and to assess the probability of the existence of a variety of classical psychological disturbances such as obessions and compulsions, memory disturbances, etc.

2. Wide Range Achievment Test-Revised
(Jastak and Wilkinson, 1984). The reading section of this test was given to each offender to assess his skill level in the recognition of words.

3. State-Trait Anxiety Inventory
(Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1970). This objective, standardized psychological test was used to assess the probability that the offenders would experience anxiety in a variety of situations (Trait Anxiety) and to test their anxiety response to a presumed stressful interview (State Anxiety).

4. State-Trait Anger Inventory
(Spielberger, 1983). This objective, standardized psychological test was used to assess the probability that the offenders would experience anger in a variety of situations (Trait Anger) and to test their anger response in a presumed stressful interview (State Anger).

5. Child Abuse Potential Scale
(Milner & Ayoub, 1980). A shortenend and modified version of this case was given to the probationers to assess their ridigity of thinking.

6. Initial Case Review Form

7. Probation Officer Interview Form

8. Interviewer/P.O. Agreement Review Form

9. Family Member Interview Form

10. Victim Interview Form

11. Therapist Response Form

12. Last Follow Up

A copy of each of these forms and psychological tests appears in the Appendix.

THE OFFENDERS

The subjects for the present study were 77 male sexual offenders who were on probation in Nassau County. These 77 were drawn from the sample of 212 cases supplied by the Probation Department. The number of potential cases was reduced to 193 because the 5 women and 14 non-English speaking males were considered atypical with respect to the overall sample. The sample thus consisted of 193 males whose records were reviewed. A review of the records revealed that between the time when the list was prepared and the study was begun, 55 men had completed their probation, 2 were in a mental hospital, 14 were in an upstate prison and 6 were in the Nassau County Jail. The administrators of the correctional facilities were not willing to have these offenders interviewed because they were concerned about the negative reaction of the other prisoners with regard to the offenders. An additional 15 had moved out of the county or were in violation of probation, so they could not be interviewed. Of the remaining 89, 11 refused to cooperate. Since the study required that no undue pressure be placed upon the probationers, these men could not be included. The number of interviews and completed case records thus came to 78. One of these, a transvestite, was eliminated because he was on probation for a non-sexual offense. The final study was composed of 4 cases from the Family Division, and 73 from the Criminal Division. The offenses of the 77 were as follows:

child molestation	40
public lewdness	16
sexual assault	10
rape	8
obscene phone calls	3

In view of the variations in behavior among the different types of offenders and the fact that other studies in the literature treat the different groups independently, the results of the analysis of the data from the five groups is reported separately.

Child Molesters

DEFINITION

Child sexual abuse is defined as the forced or coerced sexual behavior imposed on a child and/or sexual activity between a child and a much older person, whether or not coercion is involved. Much older is usually defined as 5 years or more. Child molesters, therefore, tend to be defined as older persons whose sexual desires and behavior are directed, at least in part, toward young children and adolescents who are too young to give informed consent. According to experts in the field such as Browne & Finkelhor (1986), Kelly (1982), Langevin (1983) and Lanyon (1986) child molestation or child sexual abuse is a term that covers a wide variety of behaviors ranging from rape of a child to fondling to taking nude photographs.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature relating to child molestation indicates that originally such behavior was attributed to childhood sexual fantasies (Freud, 1905-1953). With time, however, society and professionals became aware of the reality of such abuse, but at the same time many tended to blame the victim and to deny the negative effects of the abuse on the child. In a recent article (1986) Alter-Reid, Gibbs, Lachenmeyer, Sigal & Massoth state that today because of the increased awareness of the prevalence of child sexual abuse the "blame is more likely to be attributed to the psychopathology of the offenders than to the child". (p.249). While this statement may be true to some extent, there are still many in the field who place partial blame on the victim. This is also a position taken by many offenders in general.

As an example of this, Plummer (1981) in writing about stereotypes of pedophila says "A third stereotype suggests that the sex act is forced on the child and is uncontrolled. It is not" (p.225). Plummer goes on to buttress this position by quoting a statement from Mohr (1968) that most children could have avoided the experience if they wanted to. Plummer quotes articles purporting to show that many times the experience is not disturbing to the child. He does admit,however, that this is a complex issue and that a distinction should be made between experiences he considers consensual (pedophilia) and those that are not (child rape).

In a review of research on the impact of child abuse on the victims Browne & Finkelhor (1986) found that immediately following sexual abuse, from 20% to 40% of the children seen by clinicians showed pathological disturbance. When studied as adults, victims as a group showed impairment when compared with non victims, but under 20% evidenced serious pathology. These figures might lead to the conclusion that the effects of child abuse are not serious. The literature indicates that there are some contributing factors relating to victimization that are more frequently associated with later trauma than others. There is evidence that when there is abuse by fathers or stepfathers or when experiences involving genital contact and force by adult men, rather than women and teenagers, the effect is more disturbing. Although many see the child as the innocent victim of the child molester, many do not. Articles by Plummer (1981) and Mohr (1968) suggest they consider that the child may find the involvement desirable. This point of view is advanced by both O'Carroll (1980) and Presland (1981) who argue for the rights of children to express themselves sexually and to choose whom they wish for sexual partners. In England the members of the Pedophile Information Exchange are lobbying to have the age of consent for sexual relations between children and adults lowered and to gain acceptance for child adult sexual relations. All this suggests that not all consider child molestation in some of its guises undesirable.

The variety of experiences considered molestation and persons labeled as child molesters has made it difficult to develop any single theory regarding the etiology of child molestation. Many attempts have been made to develop classification systems that would result in more homogeneous subgroups. Mohr, Turner & Jerry (1964) categorized the offenders in their study on a trimodal age distribution. They distinguished an adolescent group, characterized by delayed development in socio-sexual functioning, a middle aged group characterized by regression to immature partners following social and sexual failure, and a senescent group in the mid to late fifties, whose offenses were seen to result from social isolation and loneliness.

Swanson (1965) whose observations were based upon 25 cases referred by the courts for psychiatric evaluation, classified the offenders into those who expressed a lifelong interest in children, the pedophiles, and the child molesters. These latter Swanson defined as situational offenders who may have preferred adult sexual interactions but become involved with children because of

unusual life circumstances. Swanson found 75% of his sample had a normal sexual orientation and their choice of a child was convenient or coincidental. These men gave a variety of reasons for their involvement with children, such as illness of a wife, alcohol, marital difficulties or economic stress. Most situational offenders tend to be known to the child and often are family members, relatives, neighbors or friends.

West (1977) divided child molesters into three classifications. One was an adolescent group, the members of whom are seen as retarded in social and sexual development and who are passive and unable to compete successfully with more extraverted peers. Such men frequently turn to children for sexual satisfaction. West believed that this group had the greatest possibility of being helped to develop usual heterosexual outlets. The older group of men whose interest in children had persisted over time he saw as likely to continue and to be resistive to change and treatment. He differentiated both these groups from the psychopathic child molester, whose involvement with children occurs in the context of general indiscriminate sexual behavior as well as deviance in non-sexual areas. In other words this latter group does not choose children specifically, they just happen to be there.

Another classification of offenders was suggested by Groth and Birnbaum (1978), who divided the child molesters into fixated and regressed. Fixated are defined as those whose primary attraction is children and whose thoughts and fantasies focus on children throughout their lives. Those who are fixated tend to avoid adult sexual involvement and such involvement is often associated with feelings of anxiety and inferiority. The regressed child molester is defined as one who is a situational offender in Swanson's terms (1965). This is an offender whose primary orientation is toward adults, but because of stresses in life he turns to a child. This can occur when he is rejected by his wife, to get even with his wife for refusing him favors or when depressed or feeling stressed. Since this kind of offense is atypical for such individuals, they often feel guilt and remorse with respect to the crime. Such offenders usually are closely related to the child or neighbors or friends of the family.

Finkelhor (1984) in reviewing the various theories of child molestation concludes that none are sufficient to account for what we currently know. He suggests a 'Four Preconditional Model of Sexual Abuse' under which "all factors relating to sexual abuse could be grouped as

contributing to one of four conditions that needed to be met before sexual abuse could occur" (p.54). These factors include:

a. motivation to sexually abuse
b. overcoming internal inhibitors
c. overcoming external inhibitors
d. overcoming the resistance of the child

Such a model he believes accounts for the fact that only some individuals have strong motivation to become sexually involved with children. Of those who do, only some overcome their internal inhibitions. Those who do overcome their internal inhibitions then must overcome the external inhibitions, such as the surveillance of other family members or lack of opportunity and thus act on the motives. At this point the child becomes the last obstacle and the act depends upon whether the child gives in or resists by running away, telling or by some other means.

Child molesters also are often categorized in relation to the age and sex of the child molested. Baxter, Marshall, Bararee, Davidson and Malcolm (1984) in their study of 59 child molesters who were in prison divided their sample into four categories: a) heterosexual pedophiles or those who molested girls under the age of 12; b) homosexual pedophiles or those who molested boys under the age of 12; c) heterosexual hebephiles or those who molested girls 12 to 16 years and d) homosexual hebephiles or those who molested boys from 12 to 16 years. Incest offenders were placed in a separate category.

Although the above categories permit classification of subgoups of child molesters, most studies have not included a sufficient number of molesters to permit adequate comparisons on the dimensions studied. Most of the studies do show, however, that apprehended child molesters include large numbers of men who are closely related to the child or are friends or acquaintances of the family, and who most often are situational or regressed offenders. Peters (1976) examined 64 victims of child sexual abuse at a Philadelphia hospital and found that 32% of the molesters were family members and 59% were friends. Mrazek,Lynch and Bentovim (1983) reported on 622 cases of child sexual abuse known to professionals in the United Kingdom. Of this number 43% were relatives and 31% acquaintances. Similarly DeJong, Hervada & Emmet (1983) found that 53% of the offenders who had molested the 566 children receiving treatment at a sexual assault center in Philadelphia were relatives or

acquaintances. McCabe (1986) in a study of 145 molested children under the care of the Protective Services Agency of New York City, found that 21% of the molesters were paramours of the mothers, 20% were fathers and all but 4% of the remainder were other relatives or neighbors. In this sample 80% of the children molested were girls. McCabe as well as Finkelhor (1979) and others believe that there is considerable underreporting of sexual molestation of boys. McCabe believes many boys are unwilling to report sexual molestation because it would appear they were not strong enough to resist and that by being involved in the incident people might consider them homosexual.

Finkelhor (1979) based his conclusions on a study in which questionnaires which asked about child sexual abuse were given to 796 college students. The results showed that 28% had been molested as children, 19% of the women and 9% of the men. This suggests that a larger percentage of boys are molested that is commonly assumed, although it is lower than the percentage of girls molested. Because the 9% of the men had been molested represented only a relatively small number of the subjects in his study Finkelhor limited his analysis to the family backgrounds of the 152 women. On the basis of this a check list was developed that included the eight strongest indicators of sexual victimization. These were: having a stepfather; living without a mother at any time; not close to mother; a mother who never finished high school, a sex punitive mother, no physical affection from the father; income under $10,000 and two friends or less in childhood. Among children with none of the factors present, victimization was virtually absent, whereas among those with five factors, two thirds had been molested. The presence of each additional factor increased a child's vulnerability between 10% to 20%.

The relationship between child physical abuse and child sexual abuse has received limited attention. Usually studies limit themselves to one or the other category. Avery-Clark, O'Neil & Laws (1981) surveyed 80 articles relating specifically to either sexual or physical child abuse. Only 9% included a discussion of both. Although the incidence of reported cases of physical child abuse far outnumber the reported cases of sexual child abuse, the authors believe that there are strong similarities between parents in both groups. They describe the parents as "very immature, dependent and irresponsible people who have great difficulty making decisions, holding down employment and providing nurturance for those dependent upon them." (p.11). Both

abusive mothers and fathers tend to alternate between being ineffectual and withdrawn at time and then suddenly becoming aggressive and emotional.

Milner (1980) developed a scale "The Child Abuse Potential Inventory" which is designed to detect potential child abusers. The scale attempts to measure distress, unhappiness and rigidity, as well as problems with the child, the family and others. Depression and unhappiness often have been used by physical abusers to describe their moods prior to involving themselves in physical abuse, and sexual offenders often have used the same descriptions to explain what precipitated the sexual abuse. The factor of rigidity relates to a strong, rigid, authoritarian notion of how children should act. Milner & Wimberly (1980) and Milner & Ayoub (1980) found that many of the physical child abusers held these rigid ideas about how children should behave. Although no work has been done with this inventory with child molesters, in view of the areas of similarity shown between the two groups by some of the studies, this would seem worthwhile area to explore further.

In some studies of child molesters it has been noted that many of them had been molested sexually as children. Frisbie (1969) in a study of sex offenders in California found that 24% of her sample said that during their childhood they had sexual encounters with adults. A further look at this data indicated, however, that most of the offenders who were molested as children were males. This 24% found by Frisbie, is similar to the 28% found by Finelhor(1984) in his retrospective study of college students. This suggests that a large majority of the offenders who were molested as children do not become molesters in later life. Studies in other areas also indicate that many individuals who were sexually molested as children, never become child molesters. It is to be expected that among any group of child molesters, there will be a percentage who were molested as children. Frequently these are men who might be classified as preference molesters or fixated molesters.

In general as the literature indicates the knowledge relating to child molestation and to those who indulge in this is limited and contradictory. All articles end with the statement that more research is needed. Because of the limitations of the knowledge about these offenders, recommendations for treatment must be made with caution. The literature with respect to treatment does not present an optimistic picture. According to Crawford (1981) "Repetitive offenders against children have a poor prognosis and only castration, the most drastic of

treatments, appears to have demonstrated any degree of success with considerable numbers and long term follow-up" (p.210). Crawford goes on to say that new treatment programs for offenders are being established, particularly in the area of behavioral modification and that while these programs need more evaluation, they offer promise.

Kelly (1982) reviewed 32 studies which attempted to apply behavioral principles to the treatment of child molesters. Many reported success, but only 4 were controlled group studies. Many of the studies were aimed at reorienting the child molesters to individuals other than children. Kelly indicated that most of the studies had weaknesses, but stated "While we cannot know conclusively if total reorientation has occurred, we cannot conclude that we have not succeeded simply because of the weaknesses of our evaluations" (p.406).

Finkelhor (1984) believes that one of the reasons there has been little progress in the area of treatment for offenders, is that while programs for treatment of victims have proliferated, there have been fewer advances in work with offenders. He, however, indicates that the common forms of psychotherapy and family therapy usually have not been successful, and recommends that more attention be paid to therapies with a behavioral orientation and possibly anti-androgen drug therapies.

RESULTS

Type of Child Molestation and the Victims

One of the difficulties in categorizing the group of 40 men in this study who were convicted of child molestation is that they form a very heterogeneous sample. In this they conform to what has been found in other studies. The range in age was from 15 to 74 years with a mean age of 36.2 years. In terms of racial composition, 85% were white and the remainder black. There were 3 Hispanics in the group. In addition to being heterogeneous in terms of age, child molesters in general vary with respect to the age and sex of the children with whom they become involved. In our own study all but five of the children involved were girls. The figures below indicate the relationship of the men to the victims and the age of the victims. Those percentages that are starred (*) each include one boy victim.

	Pedophiles children under 12	Hebephiles 12-16 years	Total
fathers	12.5%	2.5%	15.0%
grandfathers	7.5%		7.5%
other relatives	7.5% *	2.5%	10.0%
friends, neighbors	27.0% *	20.0% *	47.0%
strangers	13.0% *	7.5% *	20.5%

As may be seen from the above, the great majority of the offenders, 79.5% were either relatives or friends or neighbors of the victims. This is in accord with data from others studies and supports Mohr's (1981) conclusion that the prepondernace of child molesters "are neighbors, family friends and family members themselves" (p.44). The children who were strangers to the offenders had been met at the beach or in parks. Because the victims in most of the cases were young children (mean age 10.5 years) it was difficult to determine the extent of the victimization, particularly since in 33% of the cases the molesters were parents or relatives. There were at least five cases of rape and in these as well as with five other cases of molestation, the situations had continued from one to eight years. One little girl of seven finally told her mother about what her grandfather had been doing after seeing a television program indicating that such behavior was wrong and should be reported.

Reasons Given for the Offense

When asked about their offenses 24 of the men agreed the charges were true but 16 denied that they were guilty as charged. The figures below show the reasons given to explain their behavior.

Reasons	Admitters N-24	Deniers N-16
nothing happened, not really sexual	2	5
influence of drugs, alcohol	4	5
don't recall, don't know, other	2	4
framed		2
wife not meeting needs	3	
lonely	3	
stress, financial problems	3	
I was stupid, crazy	3	
victim to blame, she approached me	2	
opportunity was there, could get away with it	2	

As may be seen, although 24 did admit they were guilty the reasons they gave for their behavior suggest that they did not actually take responsibility for their offenses. When pressed further regarding what might have motivated them to indulge in such behavior the following reasons were given.

Further reasons	Admitters	Deniers
impulse, just happened	8	6
denies anything happened	2	5
had been molested himself	3	1
don't know	2	2
planned, but could give no reason why	2	1
books, saw it on TV	3	
drinking, doing drugs	2	1
imitated friends	2	
curiosity	1	

When asked whether indulging in the behavior seemed like a thrill, ten said yes and admitted that they were the type who looked for thrills. These ten ranged in age from 17 through 64 years of age. Only six said they were not sorry and these were the men who either denied the behavior completely or said they were drunk at the time.

On the whole, most of the men did not seem to have a convincing rationale for their behavior. Although 24 admitted the charges were true, actually most did not take responsibility for their behavior. This was exemplified by one who said it would not have been a crime and would have been legal if the boy was one year older. Another claimed a religious book, that showed him how a priest could have influence on children, caused him to do it. A third said he did not have much power over his wife and he needed to have power over someone.

In reply to another question 83% of the total group said they felt guilty about the behavior, but it is possible they felt more sorrow and remorse for themselves than for the victims. In all, the impression obtained through the interviews was that a small group of the men felt guilty and remorseful, but these were not in the majority.

Previous Offenses

As may be seen from the figures below, 17 had previous convictions. Of this number 8 were of a sexual nature. Of the offenses of a non-sexual nature, 4 had been for driving while intoxicated and the others involved burglary, drug possession and possession of stolen property.

Offense	Admitters	Deniers
non sexual	5	4
sexual	3	3
both sexual and non sexual	1	1
rearrested since study began	1	1

Since the time that the survey was begun four months ago, two of the group have been rearrested, one for the possession of cocaine and the other for driving while intoxicated. Both of these were among those who had previous convictions for petit larcency.

Educational Background

Educationally there were three college graduates and seven men who had some college. Twelve were high school graduates, 14 were high school dropouts and four had only an elementary school education. Eleven reported their grades in school were good, 14 reported their grades were good in elementary school but dropped in high school, ten reported their grades were only fair, two reported poor

grades and five reported their grades fluctuated from fair to poor. Only one individual was ungraded and he was unable to read. In terms of school behavior, 13 indicated they were considered behavior problems, nine indicated they had short attention spans and five indicated they were hyperactive, four of these considered they were behavior problems. All but two believed their teachers liked them. There were four who claimed they were not well liked by other children. Only one of these said he was a behavior problem. In later life, five of the child molesters had serious mental problems, and four of these five were the four who said they were not liked by other children when they were in school. One tried to commit suicide following his arrest when his wife took his children away, a second was hospitalized when he was 20 years old with a schizo-affective disorder, a third had to seek help for post-traumatic stress syndrome associated with the Vietnam war and a fourth was severely depressed because of rejection by his mother who had placed him for adoption.

Of those who said they were behavior problems in school only five reported receiving any referral to the school psychologist or guidance counselor. In later life four of those who said they were behavior problems in school sought professional help, one for manic depressive psychosis, two for alcoholism and one for marriage counseling. In general 23 men reported no unusual problems in school and 26 reported no additional problems in life except the offenses with which they were charged.

Family Background

In terms of family background, 63% came from intact families; 13% had a parent die during childhood, usually the father; 11% were children of a single parent, the mother. The others had homes broken by divorce or separation. When asked about their childhood 78% said they were loved and 78% felt close to their mothers, whom they characterized as warm and supportive. Only 43% felt close to their fathers, and the same percentage felt their fathers were warm and supportive. Fifteen percent felt ignored or rejected by the parents and only 30% felt they had a strong family with close family ties. Three men had fathers who were alcoholics and in two additional cases, both parents had been alcoholics. In two of these cases the men themselves also became alcoholics. In all, 12 of the 40 child molesters had histories of alcoholism, serious drug abuse or both. When asked about childhood punishment, 58% said they had been hit, 38% said they had been spanked, 15% said they had been hit with a belt

and 13% felt they had been seriously abused. The same number indicated they had been abused sexually. This small percentage suggests that a history of sexual abuse in childhood does not necessarily predict child molestation in adulthood, despite earlier beliefs to the contrary. As more data is beginning to accumulate, this notion is being given less credence than previously. In general the offenders seemed to believe the parents were justified in hitting them, even with a belt, but the few who had been abused felt depressed and unhappy about this aspect of their life.

With respect to family members who might have been involved with the law, 9 had parents or close relatives who had been charged with driving while intoxicated, one had a brother on probation for child molestation, another had a brother in jail on a drug and burglary charge and another had a father, now deceased, who had been a minor professional criminal. Six reported that their parents had other family problems related to law infringement, but did not specify what type.

At the time of the offense 50% of the group were married and 47% were living with their wives. Another 40% were living with their parents and the remainder were living alone or with friends. Those who were living with their parents were younger, in general, than the group as a whole. Their mean age was 25.8 years. Of this number, three had been married previously. These men were older, ranging in age from 32 - 38 years. Of the five who had molested boys, three came from this group, and two had never been married.

Religious Background

The majority of the group, 65% had been brought up as Catholics, 23% had been brought up as Protestants, 8% were Jewish, and one was a Moslem. Only 55% considered themselves to be religious at the time of the interview. None of them mentioned religious scruples with regard to their behavior and it appeared that just as the majority had disassociated themselves from feelings of guilt and responsibility regarding their offenses, so they disassociated their religious beliefs from their behavior.

Occupational Background

The occupations of all the child molesters, with the exception of the three who were going to school were

employed in predominantly blue collar occupations, with 60% working as maintenance men, machine operators, factory workers, postmen or security guards. Among the white collar workers two owned their own businesses and seven were clerks or in sales. Only two held relatively high level postions, one was a senior draftsman and the other was a postal supervisor. When these figures are compared with the data from the 1980 census, it becomes apparent that more of the men in our sample had blue collar jobs, than the 47% that is reported as a national norm. There were clearly fewer high level white collar workers in our sample, only 5% compared to the national average of 27%. If comparisons were to be made with Naasu County figures, where white collar employment is even higher than the national average, the group would present an even more dismal picture occupationally.

A higher percentage of the fathers of the offenders held white collar positions, 19% compared to the 5% of their sons, but in general the majority of the fathers, 81%, were in blue collar occupation, and about half of them had worked in construction or other manual labor jobs. Among the 19% whose fathers held white collar positions, one was a banker, one an engineer and one a printer. It is difficult to categorize the one father who was a bookmaker and a 'rum runner'.

Long Island was the original birthplace of 25 of them, and the boroughs of New York City of an additional 7. Two others were from out of New York State, two were from Italy, two were from El Salvador, one was from Mexico and one from Lebanon. All but nine had been on Long Island most of their lives.

Mental Health Problems

As mentioned earlier, with the exception of the nine men who sought help for serious mental problems, most of the group of child molesters said they had not seen any mental health professional for any type of treatment until they were charged with the present offense. This was surprising in view of the fact that 17 of the offenders had previous convictions, 8 of which were for sexual offenses. Following this the 40 did seek help. It is probable that most did so because it was made a condition of their probation and/or the lawyer in the case suggested it would be wise to do so. In any event the men saw the following professionals, and all but 10 entered treatment.

psychologists	8
psychiatrists	6
social worker	1
psychologist & psychiatrist	6
psychologist & social worker	5
all three	1
other	3

According to those 30 who did enter treatment, 12 reported they had been going for help for an average of 1 to 2 years, 10 claimed 2 or more years and 8 said less than a year. At the time of the interview 23 were still attending sessions. According to their self-reports, 75% felt the therapy was successful, 8% said it had mixed results and only 5% said it was not helpful.

Personality Characteristics

The scores of the offenders on the Spielberger State and Trait Anxiety Scales were more extreme than any of the other groups and ranged from a low of 21 to a high of 60 with a mean of 35.6 on trait anxiety, and a range of from 20 to 59 with a mean of 34.1 on the state anxiety. These scores are considerably lower than the norms for prison inmates, psychiatric hospital patients and undergraduate male college students. This same trend was shown on the anger scale, with a wide range of scores from high to low and a lower overall mean scores than any of the other groups in terms of trait anger. State anger tended to be the same as the other groups of offenders. Either the child molesters vary greatly in both anger and anxiety and in general display a lesser degree of these emotions than other groups, or they were being defensive and responded as they believed it would be desirable. The wide range of scores suggests that they tended to respond to the questions in an individual manner.

On the modified version of the Child Abuse Potential Scale the child molesters expressed more unhappiness and depression than the other groups of offenders, but their attitudes toward children were no more rigid than those of the others. This latter is of note because Milner (1980) who devised the scale as a measure of the potential for child abuse, found it to be useful in identifying individuals who were child abusers, though not necessarily sexual abusers. Although some research has attempted to link physical child abuse and sexual child abuse, it is possible that the characteristics of those who are inclined to physically abuse or neglect children are not necessarily the same as those who sexually abuse children. Finkelhor (1984) makes a strong

point of this, for in his studies he found that girls who reported sexual abuse did not report any higher levels of violence in their families, either directed against themselves or between their parents than did non victims of sexual abuse.

Progress in Treatment

Although permission was obtained from the offenders to permit the therapists they were seeing to respond to our inquiries (see form in appendix B) only 11 out of the 30 responded. Of those who did, 6 reported the offenders kept regular appointments, and the remainder were irregular. The length of time in treatment is shown below:

4 weeks	-1
6 months	-4
1 year	-2
18 months	-3
2 years	-1

In terms of progress made great improvement was reported for four offenders, slight improvement for another four, no improvement for one offender. One therapist said "don't know", with regard to two of the offenders. By and large the older men were the ones who seemed to show the most improvement. Langevin (1983) suggests that a reduction in sexual misconduct may occur as a function of age and that this should be considered when evaluating the effectiveness of therapy with sex offenders. Additional help in the form of group therapy was recommended for two of the offenders and vocational training for two of the others. On the whole a more definitive picture might have been obtained had more of the therapists been willing to respond. From the replies of those who did, it would appear that the therapists, for the most part, had more reservations about the outcome of the therapy than did the offenders. In such a situation, where the offenders are still on probation, it is possible that they have a vested interest in reporting progress, since most of them are aware that this places them in a favorable light.

Quality of Life at the Time of the Offense

In order to obtain some understanding of the circumstances that might have influenced the behavior of the offenders they were asked whether they had problems that were bothering them at the time of the offense. All

but ten replied in the affirmative and the types of problems are shown below. Since some of the men had multiple problems the total is more than 30.

Type of Problem	Number Experiencing it
money difficulties	14
difficulty with wife or girl friend	9
medical	8
job	5
drug and/or alcohol	5
other family discord	2

Drug and Alcohol Use

According to replies to questions about the use of drugs and alcohol, 24 said they never used drugs or alcohol and 29 claimed they are not using either at the present time. Seven admitted to being fairly heavy alcohol users and of these 7, 4 had been charged with driving while intoxicated. Two admitted to using marijuana and 6 said they used a combination of marijuana and alcohol. Seven admitted to drinking alcohol or using marijuana at the time of the incident for which they were arrested. In view of the fact that drug use and possession is illegal, it is not surprising that the offenders denied using hard drugs. If the use of hard drugs were alluded to at all, it was usually in the remote past.

Emotional State at Time of Offense

In order to assess the emotional state of the offenders at the time of the offense, they were asked to describe their feelings. The feeling states and the percentages of the offenders who said they remembered such feelings are shown below:

Emotional state	Yes	No	Don't remember
nervous	45%	50%	5%
guilty	40%	60%	5%
angry	35%	65%	3%
depressed	43%	57%	3%
insecure	50%	40%	10%
in love	21%	79%	5%
happy	40%	55%	5%
friendly	69%	31%	3%
sad	32%	64%	4%
inferior	30%	63%	7%
difficulty sleeping	28%	62%	10%
difficulty eating	18%	68%	4%

A perusal of the above figures suggest nothing unusual except perhaps that a large percentage, 69%, characterized themselves as friendly, yet 50% felt insecure and 79% indicated they were not in love at the time at the time of the offense. Despite this, when they were questioned at the time of the interview 48% said they were in love. This might suggest that the events following the arrest had proven salutory for a number of the offenders.

When asked about whether they had recurring thoughts of an obsessional nature, only 9 replied in the positive, and only 3 of this number seem to give evidence of true obsessional thinking. Four of the others thought repeatedly about the crime and 2 had thoughts about suicide. One of these was the one who had attempted suicide after being arrested when his wife took the children and left the home.

When asked about the most frightening or unusual thoughts they ever had they gave the following:

jail	36%
dying	12%
bodily harm	12%
mother and/or father killed	9%
others hurt, dying, killed	6%
being alone	3%
the incident	3%
other	18%

Sexuality

In view of the sexual nature of the offenses, many questions were asked with respect to this area. When asked when they first became aware of sexual feelings, the answers ranged from 5 years to 18 years, with a mean age of 12.9 years. When asked how they had learned about sex, the following answers were given:

no one taught me	16
school	7
friends	7
family	3
streets	4
books	1
don't know	2

When they were asked about their sex life in general 46% indicated they had no problems, but the other 54% said they frequently felt inadequate. Their inadequacies seemed to stem in general from being unable to perform as well as they desired and several alluded to being unable to satisfy their wives. Two talked about overaggressive women, and another complained that his wife felt he was oversexed, but "oversexed to her meant twice a year." Approximately 20% indicated that their drinking and drug taking interfered with their ability to perform sexually.

When asked how many experiences with women they had, the replies ranged widely as shown below:

Number	Age of offenders in years		
	below 30	30-40	above 40
a lot			2
100-300	2		1
30-50	1	2	1
20-29		2	3
10-19	2	2	2
5-9	2	2	
2-4	3	4	2
none	2		
only wife	1	2	
no idea	1		1
total	14	14	12

In response to questions about wearing women's clothing, only 10% said they had indulged in that, 33% indicated they got a thrill from various forms of voyeurism and 23% indicated they went in for 'kinky' activities, but they did not indicate what they meant by this. On the whole there was no particular pattern of sexual behavior that characterized this group of child molesters except the fact that they were charged with the same offense. It is obvious, however, from the breakdown of the types of offenses that fell within this general category that the behavior involved was varied with respect to age, sex and type of molestation, which ranged from rape, and incest to mere exposure.

Probation Officers Views

When the probation officers were interviewed and asked about the offenders, it was noted that their knowledge of the offenders often was limited because of the size of the case loads they were carrying. With 80 to 100 cases, the probation officers had limited time to discuss sexual problems with the offenders in great depth. The 77 offenders had 27 different probation officers and these probation officers had at least 75 to 80 other types of offenders to supervise. It could not be expected, therefore that the officers would have extensive knowledge of sexual offenders. Actually the knowledge they had regarding the offenders was impressive. In answer to questions about the child molesters, their replies were categorized as shown below:

Percentage of offenders considered to be:

loners	67%
shy	61%
aggressive	8%
likely to repeat offense	45%
persistent offenders	55%

Child Molesters Charged With Rape and Incest

Because the group of 40 child molesters was charged with such a variety of offenses, it was decided to look at two subgroups among them, to determine if these two subgroups showed any different patterns from the total group. These subgroups included the 5 men whose offenses involved rape and the six men whose offenses involved incest. The table below shows some of the relevant variables for each group and the total group.

	Rape	Incest	Total
	(n=5)	(n=6)	(n=40)
age range of offenders	17-64	29-50	15-74
age range of victims	6-14	6-15	2-16
related to victim	80%	100%	33%
blue collar occupation	100%	100%	81%
alcholic parents	40%	17%	40%
offender alcohol drug problem	40%	17%	40%
family memberin trouble	20%	0%	23%
previous offense	60%	33%	43%
intact adequate home	40%	86%	63%
sexually abused as child	20%	17%	13%
is a loner	60%	83%	67%
is shy	60%	67%	61%
likeable	60%	33	53%
Anxiety trait	39.8	37.6	35.6
Anxiety state	36.4	36.0	34.1
Anger trait	19.0	18.5	19.0
Anger state	11.0	10.6	10.9
Depression:CAP scale	5.3	6.5	4.8
Unhappy	1.8	1.7	1.6
Rigid	5.2	3.8	4.5

The figures suggest that child molesters who rape are more likely to be blue collar workers who are related to the victims than offenders from the total group. They are more likely to have come from broken or disturbed homes and to have been convicted of a previous offense, to have been sexually abused as children and to have higher levels of anxiety, depression and rigidity than the total group. They were considered more likeable by the probation officers than the incest offenders or the offenders in the total group and less likely to be loners than those involved in incest.

A large percentage of those convicted of incest come from intact, adequate homes, and fewer of them had family members who were alcoholic. None had family members who were in trouble with the law. They were less likely to have been convicted of previous offenses than the rapists or the group as a whole. A higher percentage of them were considered loners and very few were considered likeable by the probation officers. They had higher degrees of anxiety than the total group and said they were more depressed than the total.

In general the comparisons among these two groups and the total group suggest that there may be patterns

that differentiate one type of child molester from another. All such conclusions must be made with caution, however, because of the small number involved in each group.

CONCLUSIONS

1. As has been found in other studies, the large majority of child molesters in this study (80%) were either relatives, friends or neighbors of the victims. In addition the victims in 88% of the cases were girls.

2. Although 60% admitted the offense for which they were charged, 40% denied they were involved, and the great majority of those who did admit they were involved tended to blame others, the victim or to in some way try to avoid responsibility for the offense.

3. Very few seemed to be able to give a good reason for their behavior and few showed genuine remorse, which suggests many do not wish to change.

4. In terms of previous offenses, only 20% had offenses of a sexual nature and none had been rearrested on a charge of a sexual nature. This percentage of previous arrests and rearrests is low in comparison with results of other studies. This may be a true picture, or it is possible that the men had a vested interest in pretending the offense was a single, first time occurrence. It is possible also, that they had been apprehended previously but that the sexual offense did not appear in their records as related to the final charges.

5. Despite some studies which purported to show that a large percentage of child molesters had been molested themselves as children, this was not true of our sample. Only 13% reported any form of child molestation.

6. Of the group, only 47% were married and living with their wives, while 40% were living with their parents. This seems to be a larger number than one would find in the population at large of men of this age.

7. In terms of education, 55% had a high school education or better, but 60% held rather low level blue collar jobs, and another 18% held low level clerical or sales positions.

8. The child molesters were quite varied in terms of personalilty characteristics. Although on the average

they did not differ from the other offenders, this group contained the highest and lowest scores both with respect to anger and anxiety. On the Child Abuse Potential Scale, which has been found useful in indicating the possibility of child physical abuse, the child molesters did not show the expected pattern. This suggests, as have the results of other studies, that those who indulge in child physical abuse and do not show similar personality patterns on this scale, as those who become involved in child sexual abuse.

9. The results suggest that although drug and alcohol abuse was claimed to be a precipitating event in several of the child molestations, in most of the cases it was not.

10. The sexual histories of the child molesters showed no patterns that might be considered significantly deviant from the patterns shown by the average male. They varied in terms of the women they had known from zero to over 100, and in terms of age at which they became sexually aware from early childhood to age 25, and in attitudes toward masturbation from regular involvement to total disapproval. Only 18% had learned about sex through school. An additional 8% had learned about it through their families. The remainder picked up the knowledge on their own from "the street", friends and books.

11. In view of the personality and age and background differences of the men who were in this group of child molesters, it seems important to have some schema that would permit those who work with them to evaluate what type of help would be best for them in terms of preventing future offenses. A useful way of looking at the offenders may be to apply Finkelhor's Four Criteria for Child Molesters which are: (1) motivation to sexually abuse, (2) overcoming internal inhibitions, (3) overcoming external inhibitions, and (4) overcoming the resistance of the child.

If we consider the first criteria, namely <u>motivation to sexually abuse</u>, we find that among the 24 men who admitted they had committed the offense, 38% stated they were lonely, their wives were not meeting their needs, or they were under stress. Most of the others were not able to give substantial reasons for their behavior. Clearly anyone working with such offenders needs to clarify motivation.

Finkelhor's second criteria is <u>overcoming internal inhibitions</u>. This too is an area that needs exploration

with these offenders. Statements such as "I wanted power" and "I learned about it from a religious book" are all rationales given for overcoming internal inhibitions.

In terms of the third criteria, overcoming external inhibitors, this is an area in which much can be done. Our results as well as the results of others suggest that the majority of child molesters are those who have the opportunity to overcome external inhibitors, such as the vigilance of the parents and schools, because the offenders are related to the victims or close friends or neighbors of the victims. It is to this area that publicity has and should continue to be directed.

The same amount of education and publicity needs to be directed to the last criteria, overcoming the resistance of the child. Not only do children need to be warned but parents need to be informed as to how best to fortify their children against such molestation.

Exhibitionists

DEFINITION

The terms exhibitionism and public lewdness will be used synonymously for the purpose of this report. The exhibitionistic act involves a male displaying his naked genitals to a female in a more or less public place. This behavior is seldom engaged in by females and when females do expose themselves, it is usually asssociated with mental retardation or emotional disturbance (Hollender, Brown, and Roback, 1977). Obscene phone calls, to be discussed later, are defined as those in which a male makes repeated, harassing phone calls to a female and during these phone calls, sexually explicit material or acts are suggested and discussed.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Exhibitionism is among the most frequently reported sexual offenses and makes up one third of sexual offenses appearing in the courts (Rooth, 1972). The recidivism rate reported in various studies is 13 to 17% and therefore most offenders are showing up in court for the first time (Mohr, Turner, and Jerry, 1964). Despite this, many exhibitionists will report exposing themselves more than once per week for extended periods and some have been engaging in this behavior for decades prior to being apprehended. Three fourths of exhibitionists are under the age of 30 and only about 5% are over 40. Some authors claim that these offenders "burn out" or stop exposing themselves spontaneously. This is an important fact to consider when one is evaluating the effectiveness of treatment with older offenders. These individuals may be reducing or halting their exhibitionistic behavior due to the "burn out" phenomenon and not because the treatment was particularly helpful (Langevin, 1983).

Gigeroff, Mohr, and Turner (1968) have suggested that cases of exhibitionism be managed by trained probation officers rather than having the offender sent for therapy. This is particularly true for the first time offender who typically shows no evident psychopathology other than the anxiety and anger over having been apprehended. Group therapy is the most frequently used form of treatment, is the most economical approach, and although further research is needed to evaluate its effectiveness, positive outcomes have been reported (Langevin, 1983).

It is unclear to researchers why group therapy has shown some degree of effectiveness with exhibitionists. Some writers such as Hackett (1971) have identified anger as one of the elements involved in exhibitionistic acts and have recommended the discharge of anger as part of treatment employed in the group. Given that this category of offenders is not considered to be emotionally disturbed in a clinical sense, it is difficult to determine whether the anger is a consequence of having been apprehended for a seemingly "non-criminal" act, or is an underlying problem that is independent of incarceration.

A major distinguishing characteristic of those who expose themselves in public and are thereby convicted on charges of public lewdness and of those who make obscene phone calls, is that there is a lack of physical contact with the victim. It is for this reason that those who display these forms of sexual offense are probably less likely to be jailed and are less likely to be perceived as having engaged in a serious sexual misbehavior by the public. It is also highly probable that these offenses are less frequently reported to the authorities and that when they are reported, it is difficult to prove the charges.

Given that public lewdness and obscene phone calls are viewed as less serious offenses than are, for example, rape and child molestation, there is proportionately less research emphasis on the identification of their characteristics and perhaps even less effort invested in their treatment.

One such study which was recently conducted examined 84 men who were arrested for genital exposure (Forgac, Cassel, and Michaels, 1984). The age range of these offenders was from 18 to 62, with a mean age of 27. Approximately half were married and 54 of the group of 84 had been involved in other criminal activity. One of the significant findings of this investigation was that those offenders who had no previous arrest record displayed a personality profile within the normal range of the MMPI and CAP scales. Those who had one arrest for genital exposure and a record of criminal activity fell within the deviant and psychopathic range. Interestingly, an increase in exhibitionistic chronicity was not associated with an increase in measured psychopathology for those men who were not involved in other criminal activity. The somewhat surprising conclusion of this study is that repetitive acts of genital exposure are not tied to marked levels of emotional disturbance.

The possibility that exhibitionistic behavior and criminal behavior may be linked, was investigated in a study by Berah, Myers and Monash (1983). In this study, the police records of 151 13-69 year old males who had been convicted of indecent exposure were examined for concurrent reports of other non-sexual criminal activity. The data revealed that for the majority, the average number of convictions for offenses other than public lewdness was 9. There was, in fact, a correlation found between the frequency of conviction for indecent exposure and an increased likelihood of conviction for various other offenses. These results suggest that although public lewdness may not be viewed with the degree of seriousness as some other sexual offenses, it is nevertheless associated with various other criminal activities and that this in itself becomes a problem for law enforcement officials. It might be hypothesized from the above study that whatever thrill seeking or disinhibitory factors are involved with general criminal activity might also account for at least some of the behavior seen in those who expose themselves in public.

One common assumption among those who study exhibitionistic behavior is that this behavior represents some form of an inability to inhibit one's impulses. Such a position was investigated in a study by Myers and Berah (1983) in which a comparison was made between 65 pedophiles and 45 exhibitionists. In general, when comparing these two groups, the data suggested that the exhibitionists were younger than the pedophiles, tended to come from more harmonious families and had comparatively better school and work records. The position that there is a disinhibition problem among the exhibitionists was not supported in that none of the exhibitionists had reported that they were drinking at the time of their offense. One might suspect that drinking and intoxication would lead to a lowering of self-constraints and that this might precipitate exhibitionism but the data did not support this position.

RESULTS

The material to be presented below is a summary of data obtained from interviewing 19 sex offenders who were on probation with the Nassau County Department of Probation at the time of their interview. Of these 19, 16 had been charged with public lewdness and 3 with obscene phone calls. In addition to the interviews, the offenders also filled out various scales of anger, anxiety, and general attitude. Probation officers were also interviewed and where possible, contact was made

with the families of the offenders and with the therapists of those offenders who had sought treatment. Data were also obtained from Probation Department case records and a review was conducted at the completion of the study to determine if any of the offenders had been rearrested.

Description of the Offenders

As has been previously indicated, there were 16 individuals who were on probation on charges of public lewdness at the time of this investigation. These men ranged in age from 20 to 46 and had a mean age of 29. This mean age is only slightly older than that reported by Forgac et al. (1983) and therefore data obtained from the present sample can be considered reasonably comparable to that obtained in the studies cited above.

Type of Offense and Victims

Below is a categorization of present and prior offenses committed by the present sample of 16 exhibitionists.

Number of Offenders	Description of Current Offense
7	Exposed self to adolescent female
4	Exposed self to adult female
2	Exposed self to female child
2	Exposed self to female of unspecified age
1	Exposed self to adolescent male

Number of Offenders	Description of Prior Offense
6	Public lewdness only
5	Non-sexual offenses only
4	Public lewdness plus non-sexual offenses
1	Sexual assault plus non-sexual offenses

An examination of the above table reveals a number of trends. One of the consistent trends is that in all but one case the offender had exposed himself to females. In the one case where the victim was a male, the offender reports that he thought that he was exposing himself to a female because of the length of the victim's hair. Case records reveal that this offender displayed schizoid or schizophrenic tendencies, experienced sexual confusion

and had been arrested on five previous occasions for public lewdness. At the time of his arrest he was dressed as a female.

Another striking trend in the table is that in virtually all cases there were prior arrests for a variety of offenses and that the majority of the offenders had been previously arrested for public lewdness. The prior arrest records and the arrests for public lewdness appear to mimic the characteristics of the sample obtained in the previously mentioned study by Berah et al. (1983). It had been suggested in the Berah et al. study that there might be a commonality of factors which tend to underly the combination of public lewdness and other criminal behaviors.

Some of the findings of the present investigation might help to expalin what this commonality of factors may be. The fact that the majority of offenders had previous offenses involving public lewdness and that this is likely to be a conservative representation of their actual tendency to repeat the behavior, suggests a compulsive quality to their acts. In support of this, it was found that when offenders were asked whether they ever had thoughts that kept coming into their heads, they responded affirmatively to a greater degree than any other group of offenders within this study.

In addition to the hypothesized tendency to display a high degree of obsessive characteristics, those offenders who have been arrested on charges of public lewdness also showed a greater tendency toward thrill seeking behaviors than the other groups of sex offenders in this study. Thus, when asked the question "Do you generally look for thrills", more than half of the public lewdness offenders responded in the affirmative. More than half also responded positively to the question: "People sometimes have thoughts that keep coming into their heads although they want them to stop. Has this happened to you?"

The combination of obsessive thoughts and a desire to seek thrills seem to distinguish the public lewdness offender from other offenders. These characteristics might also help to explain why they are repetitive in their acts and why, in most cases, there is an associated criminal history which is of a non-sexual nature. There are certainly unique characteristics within the present sample in that they are known to the law enforcement agencies and are on probation as opposed to being in jail. Further research is clearly warranted in order to

determine whether present findings can be generalized to other samples of public lewdness offenders.

In most instances the conviction charge for these offenders was that the individual had commited a misdemeanor. This supports the previous contention that the lack of physical contact with the victim results in these behaviors as being seen as less problematic than some other sexual offenses.

Reasons Given for the Offense

The reasons given by the offenders for engaging in the exhibitionistic behavior are varied and show no particular patterns. Some of the reasons which were offered at the time of the interview were sexual gratification, alcohol, frustration, having been molested as a child, anger, feeling depressed, urinating, observed while masturbating and others. The most common response was simply that the offender did not know why he engaged in the exhibitionistic act. This finding is in agreement with previously cited literature (Langevin, 1983) in which public lewdness offenders are seen as people who derive sexual gratification from having others observe their genitals and who hope that their victims "get a kick" out of observing the offender. Langevin notes that in most of the cases, the offender is as mystified by the compelling nature of his behavior as are those who attempt to treat him.

Offenders were asked to report how they felt after they had engaged in the exhibitionistic act. Of those who responded, the following feelings were reported:

Response	Number Reporting this Response
Indifferent	6
Scared	3
Not good	2
Blames Victim	1
Amnesia	1
Refused to answer	1

The majority were not particularly troubled by their actions although three did report apprehension over the possibility of consequences for their behavior. When asked specifically if, in retrospect, they felt sorry for their behavior, 10 responded in the affirmative.

Drug Usage

There was only one instance in which a public lewdness offender reported using alcohol at the time of his offense. This finding is in basic agreement with the study by Myers and Berah (1983) where alcohol usage at the time of the offense was not found. It may be that the concept that exhibitionism, as a problem of an inability to inhibit one's impulses, is not valid in that one would expect this disinhibition to occur most often when alcohol is being used. It must be admitted that the data here may be questionable as there is a normal tendency to distort during the interview process. For example, when asked if you ever drive when you have had too much to drink, only two of the offenders said yes. Shortly after this question, four offenders said they had been arrested for driving while drunk.

Despite having denied the use of alcohol at the time of the offense in all but one case, a later question asked the following: "What were you using at the time of the offense?" This question elicited the data below.

Drug Usage at Time of Offense

Drug Type	# of Offenders Responding Positively
No drugs	4
Marijuana	3
Alcohol	3
Alcohol and Marijuana	1
Some Drug Combination	4
No response	1

After being apprehended, 8 of the offenders responded that they no longer used drugs of any kind. The remainder of the drug categories were about equally weighted in terms of the number of offenders using that particular drug after being arrested.

General Background

What has been presented above are some of the findings that appear to distinguish this group of offenders from other groups within this overall study. This material has been presented first because it ties in fairly closely with prior research and because it suggests some interesting avenues for further research. The material in this section describes other general

areas of functioning which may not have been addressed in prior research studies.

The first two questions of the interview with the public lewdness offenders attempt to determine whether the offender will admit to his offense. It is of interest that 13 of the 16 readily admitted what they had done. One stated that he was inadvertently observed while masturbating in a university library, another reported that a similar "mishap" occured while he was in his car, and a third reported that he was simply urinating and that the charges against him were therefore inaccurate.

This overall willingness to admit their offense suggests that exhibitionists are, for the most part, aware of their behavior and have not distorted what they have done. The awareness of their responsibility for their offense when combined with the obsessive nature of their thinking, would suggest that these offenders know that what they are doing is not right but are unable to stop doing it. Their possible obsessiveness and need to seek thrills may, for most of them be too much to overcome.

Family Background

There appears to be little that is remarkable with regard to the public lewdness offenders' remembrances of their families. The pattern of the number of offenders being brought up with both parents present in the home or being brought up in separated or divorced situations does not appear unusual. Fourteen out of 16 report having felt loved as a child and the same number having felt close to their mothers. Eight of the 16 reported feeling close to their fathers.

Questions during the interview designed to assess the possibility of child physical or sexual abuse revealed that eight of the 16 report intermittent spankings. One of the offenders reports having been sexually abused by his father. No striking pattern emerged here.

Educational Background

Educationally there was one college graduate and 13 out of the sixteen were reported to have completed high school. Six reported that they had displayed behavior problems in both elementary and high school although the

clear majority reported that they felt liked by the other children and by the teachers. About half of the group reported that their grades were fair in both elementary and high school. An examination of their actual performance on the Wide Range Achievement Test which was administered at the time of their interview shows that their ability to read ranged from the third to beyond the twelfth grade level. Their overall average reading level was at the eighth grade which is similar to that which would be obtained nationally. These results appear to be much like those of Myers and Berah (1983) who found patterns of schooling and early family life that were at least adequate.

Occupational Background

Occupationally the sample of public lewdness offenders were primarily blue collar. There was one engineer who had a B.A. degree in engineering. The remainder of the sample was represented in some of the following occupation categories: kitchen manager, radio and T.V. repair, mill wright, hospital worker, cab driver, salesman, tree mechanic, etc. Their high level of employment is also in accord with the previously mentioned study.

Religious Background

In terms of religious background, the majority of the interviewees were Catholic with eight representing this group. There were 3 who listed their background as Jewish and the remainder was spread out over Lutheran and Baptist groups, with one reporting that he was both Catholic and Protestant. Six of the respondents reported that they are presently religious and the remaining ten were not. The over-representation of Catholics within this group probably reflects the proportional equivalent in the general population of the area from which the sample was drawn.

Sexual Background

Interviewees were asked the age at which they first became aware of their sexual feelings. The mean age here was reported to be 12.5. The average number of females with whom they had had sex was 15 with a range of 0 to 100. Fourteen of the sixteen reported no male sexual contacts. Approximately half of the sample of public lewdness offenders saw themselves as over-sexed although

it is difficult to evaluate this finding as far as a comparison with the general population may be concerned.

Of those responding, 80% viewed their sexual relationships as satisfactory but 9 of the 16 indicated that at times they feel sexually inadequate. It is of interest that this latter finding was similar in proportion to that reported by the group of child molesters and was the second highest percentage of sexual inadequacy between the groups.

It is of interest to examine the mastabatory practices of these offenders at the time of the offense and to determine if there has been any change since their arrest and subsequent probation. Prior to arrest the mean number of times that the offenders masturbated per month was 25 and the range was from 0 to 45. After arrest, this had dropped to a mean of 8 times per month. Given that in most instances there was a short span of time between the offense and the arrest one might hypothesize that the association between sexual acting out and arrest created a sensitization and subsequent reduction in the tendency to masturbate.

Approximately one half of these offenders reported getting a thrill out of watching others engaged in sexual acts but this was at about the same proportion of affirmative responses as the rapists, sexual assaulters, obscene phone callers, and child molesters. Again, about half of the public lewdness offenders indicated that they sometimes engage in sexual practices that could be considered "kinky".

Eleven of the sixteen reported that they were having sexual relations at the time of the offense and as has been previously indicated these relations were, for the most part, perceived as being satisfying. Eight of the offenders were married and living together and an additional offender was living with his girl friend.

Psycho-social Background

When asked to rate the overall quality of their life at the time of their offense, the public lewdness offenders responded in the following manner.

Quality of Life	#	Types of Problems	#
Very Satisfactory	3	Job	7
Satisfactory	7	Money	7
Unsatisfactory	5	Gambling	2
Very Unsatisfactory	1	Medical	4

Despite the fact that there were seven reports of job and money problems, more than half of these offenders reported their overall quality of life to be at least satisfactory. Therefore, although it is possible that life adjustment difficulties may be a contributor to sexually acting out behavior of the type currently being examined, it is doubtful that these factors are major contributors.

During the process of the interview, offenders were provided with a number of descriptions of mood states and asked whether they were feeling that way during the time that they were engaging in their offense. Six of the sixteen reported feeling nervous, and equal number reported that they felt guilty, seven reported feeling depressed, seven felt sad, seven reported, interestingly, that they were feeling friendly, but the most frequently occuring reported mood state was anger, with nine reporting that they felt this way at the time of the offense. It is difficult to draw a specific conclusion about these responses given some of the inherent difficulties involving distortion during the interview process. However, when rapists were asked to report their feelings of anger at the time of their offense, only one reported feelings of anger with 7 indicating that they were not angry at the time. One might intuitively expect that the exhibitionist would feel less anger than the rapist, but the reverse was the case.

Further support for the above finding occurred when public lewdness offenders were given objective psychological tests to complete. Two of these psychological measures assessed the state and trait of anger. The trait of anger is considered to be more pervasive and enduring and perhaps part of the "character" of the person, while the state of anger is specific to the particular situation. On both the state and trait measures of anger, the exhibitionists scored higher than the child molesters, obscene phone callers, rapists, and sexual assaulters. It is important to view this outcome with some caution owing to the fact that in many instances the differences between the groups was quite small. Nevertheless, the consistency of the findings in the area of anger suggest the need for further research.

The exhibitionists scored higher than the other groups in this study in the area of trait anxiety and second only to sexual assaulters on the state anxiety measure. The anxiety measures, unlike the anger measures mentioned above, were obtained from formal psychological

instruments and were, in most instances, filled out independently by the offenders.

Regarding the area of contact with mental health professionals, all but one of the exhibitionists reported that they have had or presently are in therapy. The mean age of first contact with a therapist is 20. The mental health workers were primarily psychologists and psychiatrists. Sexual and school problems were the most frequently reported difficulty areas which were worked on in therapy. The mean number of years in therapy was reported to be 2.2 and only four of the group reported the belief that the therapy was clearly unsuccessful.

As a final note on psycho-social history, it must be remarked that when one engages in the process of interviewing in order to obtain information, what is being obtained is the interviewee's memory of events and these memories may or may not be an accurate assessment of what has taken place. An example of what appears to be an inconsistency in the reports of the exhibitionists occurred when they were asked to assess their early family life. Most rated their overall family life as unremarkable and in many instances as being positive. However, when asked if any members of their families had been in any type of trouble, five remarked that there was a family arrest for driving while intoxicated. If the family member's drinking had become problematic enough to result in an arrest, one might logically assume that this same drinking problem was also a source of problems within the family. Nevertheless, the offenders on the whole report positive memories of their relationships within the family.

Approximately four months after the initial interviews, two of the exhibitionists had been rearrested. One for probation violation and the other for obstruction and resisting arrest. Considering an N of 16, the rearrest of two is considered to be high.

Home Contact

There were eleven homes that were contacted in order to obtain the perspective of what had taken place from someone who lives with the offender. Six of the respondents were wives, four were mothers and one was a woman with whom the offender was living. When asked how the offender was now getting along, wives were a bit more positive than were the mothers. Wives responded with "excellent", "very well", or "O.K." Mothers were more tentative and even negative when asked how the offender

was now doing in that they made comments like: "alright", "better" and "not well". Two wives resisted answering the question and one family member hung up the phone in anger.

Almost all of the respondents stated that they believed that the offender would not get in trouble again. Of those responding, only two believed that the sentence received was not fair. When asked if there was anything else that would be more helpful to the offender, most reported that therapy or increased therapy contacts would help. One mother reported that job training was what was called for.

In addition to the above, one of the victims was contacted. She minimized the impact of the offense, stating that she had forgotten about it the next day, that the experience was not traumatic and that there was no long-lasting negative impact upon her.

Summary and Recommendations

Any conclusions based upon a study of this kind are necessarily tentative given the limited size and the sample. Also, it must be remembered that these offenders represent those who have been placed on probation and may or may not be similar to those who have not come into contact with the courts. Given these cautions, the following characteristics were displayed in the present sample:

1. They outscored all other groups on levels of experienced anger.
2. They score relatively high in anxiety.
3. They were rated as comparatively high in the area of obsessional thinking. Perhaps this accounts for the repetitiveness of their acts.
4. They tended to be more thrill seeking than the other groups. This might explain the multiple arrests for various charges.
5. They score high in the area of sexual inadequacy.

A final conclusion which should be considered is that this sample, and those reported in the literature review, did not present themselves as emotionally disturbed to the point where they would be seen as requiring intensive, individual psychotherapy.

Treatment recommendations for this group of exhibitionists would follow along the lines of those presented by Gigeroff et al. (1968) and Langevin (1983).

Specifically, group therapy would be helpful in assisting these individuals to more effectively deal with their anger and the anxiety engendered by their maladaptive, exhibitionistic behaviors. The group therapy format is also reported to be useful in allowing the offenders to more fully appreciate the problematic nature of their behavior and the social consequences of their acts. For first time offenders, it is possible to use trained probation officers to conduct these groups. The possibility that the repeat offender who has also been arrested on repeated occasions for other non-sexual offenses, may have more complex emotional difficulties, would necessitate even further training of probation officers or the use of mental health professionals.

Obscene Phone Callers

DEFINITION

The term obscene phone call is typically understood to be one in which a male caller makes frequent and repeated telephone calls to a female during which sexually explicit issues are suggested. Langevin (1983) indicates that although these calls can be satisfying outlets in themselves, it is not uncommon for the caller to masturbate while talking about sex and to also use vulgar language during the communication. Unlike the other sexual offenses covered in the present study, there is virtually no research literature dealing exclusively with obscene phone callers. The lack of literature may be due to the fact that this category of offense is not seen as being as serious a threat to society as some of the others and also because of the difficulty in identifying and apprehending the offender.

There were only three individuals within this study who had been arrested and charged with making obscene phone calls. These three were subsequently placed on probation and went through the same process of interview, testing and records perusal as the other groups within this study. Given the small number of offenders in this category there will be no attempt made to draw general conclusions which might be applicable to others who engage in this form of behavior. Rather what will be attempted here is to present similarities and differences between the three cases and where helpful, to make comparisons with the other groups within the larger study.

CASE 1

This case is of an 18 year old male who had been charged with making repeated calls of a sexually graphic nature to a female of the same age. The records indicate no previous criminal history. The calls were made to a former friend and classmate and were reportedly in the area of "hundreds of telephone calls" over a one year period.

The early history reveals that there was a warm and supportive relationship with his parents and that his father died when the offender was 14. He has a tested IQ of 111, identifies himself as slightly learning disabled

and has plans to attend a community college. He rates his grades in high school as very poor owing to the LD problem and he attained a grade level above 12 on the Wide Range Achievement Test Reading section. His religious background is Jewish and he reports that he is very religious right now.

When asked why he engaged in his offense, he indicated that he felt that the girl had ignored him and this was his way of getting even. He indicates that at the time of the offense his overall quality of life was satisfactory, that he was working as a messenger and that he had not engaged in any drug taking behavior. He reports that he felt guilty about the calls and "I didn't even know why I did it".

Regarding his sexual background, he remembers first becoming aware of his sexual feelings at 12 years of age. When asked to describe his first sexual experience, he indicated that he kissed a girl when he was 13. Records do not indicate that he has had intercourse. There is no indication of homosexuality and he reports masturbating once per week. He does not feel that he is over-sexed but that he does watch "porn movies".

He was first engaged in psychotherapy after his father died and when, at that time, he developed a school phobia. He is presently in therapy, ostensibly because of his current arrest. He reports no problems that family members may have had as far as drunk driving, drug abuse or sexual charges are concerned.

His probation officer describes him as nervous and insecure but "nice and polite". This officer believes that the offender may get in trouble again unless therapy is continued. The offender's mother is reported to be supportive of him. His sister does not know of this young man's offenses.

Of the obscene phone callers, this young man scored the highest on the state measure of anxiety and also displayed the highest score among the obscene phone callers on the trait measure of anxiety. These findings suggest a good deal of unease in both his present situation and as a more enduring characteristic. His anger trait score was also fairly high in comparison to others in the larger sex offender study.

CASE 2

The second case of obscene phone calling is that of a 30 year old male who was charged with aggravated harassment with obscene content. The offender admits to making harassing calls but denies the obscene content. It appears that the calls were to a former girl friend and to her roommate. The calls began when the offender saw his former girl friend with another man. When the girl friend was contacted as part of this study, she did not feel that the offender should have been arrested and that the whole matter was a "boyfriend - girlfriend thing".

On interview, the offender reported that he remembered the event clearly and that he felt sorry and guilty over what he had done. At the time of the offense he was employed as a chauffeur. He described the overall quality of his life as satisfactory. He admits to drinking at the time of the offense and that although he had used marijuana, none was being used at the time. He states that at the time of the offense he was feeling nervous, angry, depressed, but that he was in love.

When asked about his early history this offender reports that he was close to his mother and father and that he felt that he had a warm and supportive relationship with them. He indicates that he was neither physically nor sexually abused as a child.

Regarding school experiences, this offender claims that he has had some college background, and that he felt liked by the other children at school and also by the teachers. Records indicated that he repeated 12th grade and that he had about 1/2 of the year at a community college. His WRAT Reading score is at the latter 10th grade level.

When describing his sexual experiences he reports that he became aware of sexual feelings at about 12, had intercourse at 13 and that he has had no homosexual experiences. This offender indicates that he does not have feelings of sexual inadequacy and that he never masturbates.

Like Case 1, this offender's father died when the offender was 14. His mother then remarried. At the time of his offense he was living alone in an apartment. He has a brother and sister. His religious background is Jewish but he indicates that he is not now religious.

In terms of therapy experiences, he admits to being tested prior to sentencing but that he has had no formal therapy contacts other than this. In his case folder there is an indication from a social worker than he has sociopathic qualities. In a similar way, his present probation officer saw the offender as "not a nice young man" and used terms like "sociopath" and "emotionally disturbed" when describing this offender.

Unlike the previous case, this offender scores fairly low on state and trait anxiety and state and trait anger. These characteristics would be expected of one who was actually diagnosed as sociopathic but there would certainly be more testing and observation necessary to confirm such a diagnosis. Another possibility is that he was distorting the truth and simply stating that he was untroubled in order to avoid revealing himself.

CASE 3

The third obscene phone caller case is that of a 22 year old who admitted the charges which were brought against him. He is charged with aggravated harassment and he indicates that prior to being arrested he would call a particular woman and masturbate while on the phone with her. These calls would go on from early afternoon to early the next morning. The complainant had her phone wired and the offender was thereby caught.

When asked what would make a person engage in such behaviors, the offender indicated that he was angry and "too good natured". He admitted that he was drinking while making the calls and that he was a person who generally sought thrills. He rated his life as very unsatisfactory at the time of the offense in that he had money problems, his father had recently experienced a heart attack, and that he had been rejected from an architectural school. At the time of the offense he was not married and was living with his parents.

When asked to describe his feelings at the time of the offense, he stated that he was feeling insecure, angry, depressed, yet, oddly enough, he was also feeling friendly. He indicated that he believed that he would like more respect and money and for these reasons needed to prove himself to people at times.

He indicated that he did not feel that he had a warm and supportive relationship with either his mother or his father. He stated that he was hit as a child with a belt and that his mother would slap his face. This offender

stated that although he is Jewish, that he is not now religious nor was he at the time of the offense

In terms of educational background, this offender stated that he is a college graduate who obtained good grades in both elementary and high school. He indicated that he felt liked by the teachers and by the other children.

He stated that he first became aware of sexual feelings at about 13, had intercourse at 17, and that he has also had homosexual experiences. This latter occurred with two boys of 14 and involved mutual masturbation and oral genital contact. He reported some sexual inadequacies, and in particular reported believing that he had a small penis and also reported erectile and ejaculatory difficulties when drinking. He reported that he masturbates between two and four times per week and that his only "kinky" activity is the phone calls.

He had been in therapy for a period of 8 months but there is some question as to whether he is currently being treated. He reports that the therapy has been very helpful for him. His current probation officer perceived this offender as being shy with women but that he is generally likeable. This probation officer also indicated that he believed that the offender was now dating and that this was a positive sign. Responses on psychometric inventories indicated that this offender scored mid-way between the first two obscene phone callers on state and trait anxiety, was above the overall mean on trait anger as tabulated for this study and was relatively low and not different from the other callers on state anxiety.

CONCLUSION

Short of being of similar religious backgrounds and scoring somewhat similarly on certain scales of the state-trait inventories, there are few commonalities which can be observed in this small sample. It is possible that with a larger sample certain generalities might be made and this is a worthwhile avenue for future research. Although of different ages and different family backgrounds, these three offenders all appeared to have difficulty relating to women. The fact that one of the probation officers believed that it was a positive sign that dating behavior was taking place suggests that research might be directred toward examining the relationship between appropriate dating behavior and the frequency of obscene phone calls.

In addition to the above conclusion, the offenders themselves may have provided the answer to the question of what makes them do this. Their responses were "I was ignored and I felt like getting even", another responded with the word "anger", and the third stated that his 6 year relationship with the complainant had ended. All of these obscene phone callers appeared to want to even the score in some way and expressed their anger through harassing phone calls which also expressed their sexual deprivation. Therapy with this group might be oriented toward learning socially appropriate and assertive ways to express anger and also toward the development of socially appropriate dating behavior. Needless to say, such conclusions are tentative given the size of the present sample.

Rapists and Sexual Assaulters

DEFINITION

Sexual assault is defined as any act of force, against a person's will, which leads to sexual intercourse or other sexual behavior (Ageton, 1985). As a term, it covers a very broad range of "forced" sexual behavior. As an act, it may or may not involve aggression, anger and violence. The prevalent belief (Davis and Brody, 1979) it that it is both a sex crime and an act of violence. The assault is usually, but not always, made on the female and is carried out by the male.

It is important to recognize that there is no single type of sexual assault. It may range from a violent attack by a stranger to pressure from a boyfriend on a date to "do more" sexually than the girl "wants" to do. The typical definition of sexual assault begins with the mildest of acts whereby a friend or acquaintance verbally pressures the victim to engage in behavior she is not interested in, to a forceful and violent rape by a stranger.

Rape is at the extreme end of the sexual assault continuum and Davis and Brody (1979) have noted that it "... is a crime which arises from hate, hostility and violence...." Rape is differentiated from assault by the criterion of whether or not there was forceful and unwanted penetration by the male organ. Complete penetration and seminal emission are not required to classify the act as a rape.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

According to U.S. Department of Justice crime reports for the years 1971-75 there has been a marked increase in the rate of reported rapes. A 41% increase was reported during the early to mid 1970's as compared with a 26% increase for murder, a 30% increase for robbery and an 8% increase for motor vehicle theft. Although other crimes were similar in their rate of increase (e.g. burglary-41%) it is clear that sexual assault and rape are major problems to be dealt with in the American society. Greenblatt (in Rada, 1978) has commented that, "Rape is the fastest growing crime of violence in the modern scene..." and Able (1981) has found that when rapists finally come to the attention of treatment agencies they have raped an average of nine woman.

It is hard if not impossible to establish "true" statistics for the crimes of sexual assault and rape, and thus it is very hard to do reliable research. Even after men are convicted as rapists many still deny that they committed the act. Scully and Marolla (1984), for example, interviewed 144 incarcerated rapists. Of those only 47 admitted they had committed a rape (the "admitters"). An additional 32 admitted the act, but denied it was a rape (the "deniers"). A final 35 refused to even acknowledge the act. At the other end of the continum are the many, many sexual assaults and rapes which are never reported.

Fear and embarassment play a role in the under reporting of sexual crimes. Some persons, expecially the elderly or the physically handicapped, question whether their reports will be believed by the authorities. Other factors which are thought to play a role in reporting rates include whether it was an interracial rape, age differences between the offender and the victim, anticipated reactions of family members, expectations that the offender would not be punished even if it were reported, and not knowing where to call, who to report it to or how to get help. Harvey (1985) has noted that rape counseling centers only came into existence in 1972. Prior to that time there was no specialized place to go for sensitive help.

Rape is considered to be a young man's crime. Davis and Brody (1979) note that 61% of the offenders are under the age of 25. In comparison, that figure is 31% for aggravated assault and 45% for homicide. Those crimes tend to be carried out by older persons. Rape, as a young man's crime fits with robbery (77%), burglary (84%) and larceny (66%). In Washington state 10% of youth who are committed to correctional institutions are sent there because of sexual offenses and 33% of young male offenders have a history of sex offenses. In the year 1977 (Longo, 1982) 77,424 Washington males were arrested for sexual offenses.

The victims are also young. The Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics (1976) indicates that the largest percentage of victims reporting rape or attemped rape are in the 20 to 24 year age range (639 per 100,000). By age 35 and above there were only 75 to 100 reports per 100,00 population. The rate, however, is also high for younger woman and girls. In the 12 to 15 year range there were 364 per 100,000 and in the 16 to 19 year range there were 422 per 100,000. Davis and Brody (1979) also report that rapists are both violent and aggressive. He is likely to "...dominate, degrade, and

humiliate the object of his aggression and thereby express his hostile impulses." They note that the rapist is not known to be of a specific personality "type" and thus the rapist is liable to be impossible to recognize in advance. Rapes may be violent and lead to murder. Those would also be lost to statistical analysis as they would be categorized as homicides.

Ageton (1985) has reported on the results of a very large longitudinal study of actual and attempted sexual assaults by and against teenagers. Seventeen hundred youths, nationwide, were interviewed once per year for a five year period as part of a larger study on delinquency. The results are important both because of the very large scope of the study and since both victim and offenders were interviewed. This allowed for an assessment of the rate and impact of the assaults. It is important to note, however, that this was a study of naturally occuring sexual assault, defined liberally as "all forced sexual behavior involving contact with sexual parts of the body." It would be expected, and this held to be true, that many events (95%) were never reported to parents or to the police. Thus, the events involve interpretations by the investigators of behaviors reported by the respondants.

The results indicated that the typical (over 80%) teenage sexual assault is committed by a boyfriend or an acquaintance of the victim, and is most likely to occur on a date (i.e. "the Date Rape"). The assaults were most likely be committed at the victim's home, the offender's home or in a car. Most events reported (85%) did not involve either physical violence or the use of a weapon. Less than 15% involved a beating. Of course, this picture may change as the years pass and society offers greater freedom and mobility to its youth.

The most common "force" used was verbal pressure. Most of the victims used some form of physical and/or verbal resistence and were successful in preventing the assault from being completed. It seems clear that the actions and gestures of the victim may lead her date to believe she is wanting of a sexual experience. While teenage boys have to learn to read the "cues" that their dates send out, teenage girls have to learn to be clear in the messages they send, before their dates are lead to the wrong conclusion.

Even in this age range, alcohol or drug ingestion was often a part of the picture in acting as a causative agent for the assault. A large percentage of females indicated their assaulters were drunk or high on drugs

during the assault. This corresponds to other studies (Rowe, 1919; Rada, 1978) which have reported that between 33 and 50% of sex offenders were drinking at the time of the commission of the offense.

Finally, it was discovered that most teenage victims do not have prolonged emotional reactions to the assault. Seventy five percent did not tell their parents. However, two thirds told a friend and 95% of these received supportive responses. These supportive friendships may account for the fact that very few sought profesional help. Some, however, did show fear, anger and depression years later. When the assault is carried out by a stranger or a family member it is often more distressing and it is these cases which may require professional assistance.

It is interesting to note that in this age group there were no differences in the proportions of assaults reported by black vs. white teens, nor across age or social class. However, the proportion of urban females who reported assaults was twice that of rural females. The urban female, thus, is at greater risk.

Rada (1978) has commented on the relative lack of empirical data on rapists and other sexual offenders. He noted that sexual psychopathology has traditionally dealt with perversions in the broad sense, and most attention had been given to homosexuality, fetishism, transvestism, and pedophilia. Only recently have studies focused on sexual assaults and almost none have dealt with sex offenders on probation. Rather, the subjects have either been those who have not been in contact with the legal system, as reported in the study of teenagers above, or incarcerated hard core criminals. Almost nothing is known about the in between group, probationers, used in the present study.

In general, rape is a crime involving both sex and aggression. As Rada notes, if aggression were the sole motive a beating might suffice and if sex were the sole motive there would be no need for aggression as long as the offender had adequate social skills to meet women. However, this would seem to not be the case. As recently reported by Overholster and Beck (1986), a multimethod assessment indicated that inmate rapists and child molesters both showed heterosexual skill deficits and physiological indices of anxiety in role playing scenes requiring assertive responses. In contrast to other reports, these authors found no differences between rapists, child molesters and three control groups on measures of hostility and impulsiveness.

Rada (1978) also reports that approximately 35% of rapists are married at the time of the commission of their offense, which indicates the probability of a more acceptable sexual outlet. In addition, since most are young (average age of 24) and 50 to 60 percent have been married at some point in their life it is suggested that they did have the social skills necessary to establish a voluntary and socially acceptable partnership. Indeed, the act of intercourse itself does not seem to be the prime motivating factor.

In an early study Hartogs (1951) reported that 92% of sex offenders had been frequently beaten by one or both of their parents. In Rada's studies (1978) he found that 20 to 25 percent were so beaten. He concluded that cruelty, along with associated alcohol ingestion, plays a major part in the development of rape behavior. This large discrepancy between 92% and 20-25% suggests the difficulty in obtaining accurate information. More than a third of the rapists he studied reported a history of parental alcoholism. Perhaps surprisingly, and in spite of their background, many rapists look back fondly on their childhood and describe their mothers in very positive terms.

Family experiences no doubt play an important role in the development of the rapist. However, there does not seem to be a consistent pattern of deprivation, cruelty or seductiveness during the formative years. Even early school behavior has not been found to predict later assaultive behavior. As with other crimes, sexual assault and rape involve both motive (personality dispositions as fostered by development and constitution) and opportunity to become manifest.

In the present study, sexual assaulters and rapists were separated from the other sex offender groups (i.e. child molesters, obscene phone callers, and those arrested for public lewdness) because of the potential for a forceful personal intrusion into the life of another person and because the object of the sexual drive and crime was an adult as opposed to a child.
Categorization of the behavior as a crime may be clear from a legal standpoint; however, in reality it is difficult since it is quite hard to clearly define "pressure" and to understand the true motivation of the female. This makes scholarly categorization of the acts more difficult.

For the purposes of this study there were 18 available probationers who fell into this category of offense. Because rape is at the extreme end of these

kinds of cases, those cases where the initial charge was that of rape (or where this was the initial problem in the judgement of the interview team) were separated from those where the initial charge involved "sexual pressure" (i.e. sexual assault) but not rape.

RESULTS

As with sex offenders in the other categories of this study, the data on the sexual assaulters and the rapists comes from the 1) formal interviews with the offenders, 2) from standardized psychometric data, and 3) from interviews with probation officers and family members. This material was analyzed both by means of discussion among members of the research team and through formal analysis in the Hofstra University Computing Center.

DESCRIPTION OF THE OFFENDERS

Assaulters. There were a total of ten sexual assaulters on probation at the time of the study. Their mean age was 25.1, years with the youngest being 16 and the oldest being 35 at the time of the interviews. The chart below shows their criminal records.

S#	CHARGE	CONVICTION	PRIOR HISTORY
1	Sex Abuse	Sex Abuse	None
2	Sex Abuse	Sex Abuse	None
3	Attempted Rape	Sex Abuse	Attempted Sodomy
4	Poss. Of Weapon, Resisting Arrest	Poss. of Weapon, Resisting Arrest	Sex Abuse, Assault, Public Intox, Trespassing
5	Sex Abuse		None
6	Sex Abuse	Sex Abuse	None
7	Sodomy	Sexual Misconduct	None
8	Unlawful Imprism		None
9	Sex Abuse		Unlawful Imprisonment & Reckless Endangerment
10	Sex Abuse		None

Of the ten, 60% are "deniers" in that they were unwilling to admit that the charges against them were accurate. These deniers reported the act occured accidentally ("I tried to break up a fight between a guy and a girl and accidentally held her buttocks") or, more commonly, they reported the females changed their minds

after "coming on" to them. However, they (according to the woman) didn't perceive or respond to the cues to stop and kept moving foward sexually. The women then reported them as being sexually abusive. Even the "admitters" were quick to note that their act was "impulsive" or that it was the first time they ever got involved with such a situation.

Rapists. There were a total of eight rapists on probation at the time of the study. Their mean age was 25.4, years with the youngest being 17 and the oldest being 41 at the time of the interviews.

S#	CHARGE	CONVICTION	PRIOR HISTORY
1	Rape	Sexual Misconduct	None
2	Rape	Sexual Misconduct	None
3	Rape	Sexual Misconduct	None
4	Sodomy	Sexual Abuse	Disorderly Conduct, Criminal Posession of Weapons
5	Rape	Sexual Misconduct	None
6	Rape	Sexual Misconduct	None
7	Rape	Sexual Abuse	Burglary, Petit Larceny, Criminal Trespassing
8	Rape	Cocaine Possession	Rape, Cocaine, Auto Theft

Of the eight, 50% are "deniers" in that they were unwilling to admit that the charges against them were accurate. In these cases, they reported the victims "teased" and lured them into the act, thus denying their active role in the crime. One of the men admitted to possession of cocaine but denied allegations of sexual misconduct. This suggests that there is a strong bias against admitting to sexual misconduct.

In sum, this is a relatively young group of 18 men, with a mean age of 25 and a range of 16 to 41 years. More than half denied that the charges were true. Clearly, there are many in this group who are either not aware of nor willing to accept responsibility for their acts. There were no important difference between the rapists and sexual assaulters on these variables.

Family Background

Nine of the ten sexual assaulters and all of the rapists were brought up in the New York/Long Island area

and lived with family members during their developmental years. One assaulter lived in Europe with his grandparents during his formative years. Thus, these are local men and there was no difference between the groups.

All of the ten sexual assaulters and seven of the eight rapists reported feeling loved as a child. Uniformly, they reported they were given attention, affection and material posessions. Their families were characterized as "tight and close knit" and they thought their parents were "always there" for them.

Nine of ten assaulters and seven of the eight rapists felt close to their mothers and saw her as "warm and supportive" as opposed to "cold and distant." The one rapist who did not feel close to his mother indicated dissatisfaction because she was working outside of the home. The assaulter was the one foreigner who was brought up in a different culture.

Seven of ten sexual assaulters and six of the eight rapists felt close to their fathers and saw him as warm and supportive. One of the fathers was reported to be an alcoholic and this was the reason given for seeing him as distant. Not surprisingly, this rapist is also a "confessed alcoholic" who attends AA meetings.

Eleven men (six assaulters and five rapists) reported being hit as a child, but these were typically considered to be normal "spankings." One man referred to it as "discipline, not punishment," and another said, "I was spanked but not beaten." The alcoholic parent of one of the rapists may have been abusive, but this was not clear from the data. While these men were certainly the subject of some physical "punishment" during their formative years, it was clear that they did not perceive themselves to have been abused children. This is especially noteworthy since currently there are daily reminders of abuse on TV and radio, and it is thus more likely that the offenders would characterize their upbringing as abusive if it were true.

In addition, none of the ten sexual assaulters and only one of the eight rapists reported being sexually abused as a child. This was a man who had sexual activity with his brother. He later became a homosexual and is reportedly fond of wearing women's clothing. Thus, 17 of the 18 (94%) did not report sexual abuse in their childhood. In addition, only one of the 18 answered yes to the question, "Were you often left alone as a child." Upon further questioning that man said, "They'd be home by dinner."

In effect, there was no indication, in terms of self report, that this group of sex offenders was either sexually or physically abused in childhood. The self report data is partially congruent with that supplied by the Probation Officers. Unfortunately, because of their very heavy case load, many of the probation officers were not familiar with the family backgrounds of these men. In those cases where they were, they often but not exclusively reported believing the families were supportive and close knit.

Overall, with such a high percentage reporting positive feelings and rememberances about their parents and their early family life, it does not seem that interpersonal experiences and/or feelings about parents or other family members was a major contributor to the development of later sexually assaultive behavior in these men. While there are some limitations in the data collected, it seems likely that the men who later were to be convicted of sexual assaults and rape do not differ from normals in the kinds of family interactions and experiences during their formative years. Thus, these data are not supportive of the well known and believed hypothesis that adult sexual offenders were likely themselves to have been physically or sexually abused by cold and distant parents.

In terms of other family members who might have been involved with the law, all 18 of these offenders denied that any family member had gotten into previous trouble leading to a sex charge. Thus, there was no evidence that sexually aggressive and abusive behavior was learned through modeling or vicarious learning from a family member. It is possible that such modeling occured; however, no evidence for this was found in the informal conversations held with the probationers.

There were, however, indications of other antisocial behaviors and habit disturbances in the families. One assaulter reported that his father was a drug addict (which led to his parents' divorce) and another reported drunk driving charges for his brother. A third man indicated he had an uncle who was arrested for robbery, a cousin for drug use and a grandfather for drunk driving. One of the rapists had a brother who was arrested for going AWOL from the army and another had a father who was on probation for resisting arrest. Thus, in at least five of the families there were incidences of prior interactions with the legal system. However, these were not usually aggressive crimes against another person. There was not a significant difference between the

percentage of other antisocial behaviors in the families of sexual assaulters (30%) and the rapists (25%).

Educational Background

Educationally, the sex assaulters reported a mean of 12 years of formal schooling. There was one college graduate; three of the men reported they did not finish high school. The findings were similar for the rapists where there was one college graduate, six high school graduates and a current high school senior. As a group these 18 men were relatively well educated.

All 18 reported fair to very good grades in elementary school and 16 reported they were not a behavior problem at the elementary level. High school grades were still reported to be generally fair or better. Three of the men reported behavior problems such as "cutting up" in class. This self report data is somewhat more favorable than the school records which indicate a decrement in grades during the high school years. Only 13 of 17 (one is still in high school) actually completed high school.

A more objective assessment of their educational level seemed appropriate to understand something about their capacity to understand the world around them. Therefore, to assess his reading level (word recognition) each man was tested on the Wide Range Achievement Test. The results indicated a mean reading level of 8.5 with a range from the third grade level to that of college students. Only three men were reading below the sixth grade level. This suggests the group had adequate reading skills and corresponds to their reports of fair or better achievement. There was no difference between the groups.

All of the assaulters and rapists reported feeling liked by their teachers and by the other children. There were almost no reports of clinical hyperactivity in either group during the school years. However, a rather sharp difference between the groups appeared when they were asked about childhood problems with concentration and attention. Fifty percent (5) of the assaulters on probation reported such attentional difficulties. This was reported to be true both currently and during the school years. One man said, "I feel like I have a problem with attention and concentration. I get frustrated and distracted easily." This is an interesting finding since attentional difficulties are often noticed by parents and teachers of school age

children and it is well accepted that such difficulties are associated with other learning problems. In contrast, only one of the eight rapists reported such problems. Athough the number of cases is small and we are limited to self report data it may be that there are etiological differences in sexually assaultive behavior and rape and/or that attentional and concentration difficulties may actually prevent some acts from coming to fruition.

Religious Background

A difference was also found with regard to the religious distribution of the two groups. The table below shows the religious affiliations in which the 18 men said they were brought up.

	Sex Assaulters	Rapists
Jewish	1	1
Protestant	2	5
Catholic	6	2
Other	1	-

The assaulters were more likely to have been brought up as Catholics while the rapists were more likely to have been Protestant. In addition, 70% of the assaulters and 50% of the rapists claimed they were currently "religious" persons. Most gave similar reponses when asked if they were religious at the time of the offense.

In sum, the 18 represent a group of men who remember being brought up in a religious persuasion and who see themselves as having been at least somewhat religious during their adult lives. It can only be assumed that their religious beliefs were not strong enough to suppress their sexually aggressive impulsive behavior or to provide alternate outlets when the opportunity for their impulsive acts occurred. Of course, it may well be that their religious beliefs actually served to prevent other more frequent or intense antisocial acts. These hypotheses could not be tested in this study. It would seem important, however, to further investigate the role that religion plays in the life of sexual assaulters and rapists, as well as sexual offenders in general.

Mental Health Problems

Of the total of 18 men, only five (28%) reported having received some form of psychological intervention

prior to the time of the arrest. In the case of the sexual assaulters, only three reported having received psychological therapy. In one case this was to help him cope with problems surrounding his mother's death and in a second it was related to his parent's divorce. The third case was for alcohol abuse and may not have involved broad spectrum, formal psychotherapy per se. In the case of the rapists, only two reported having received some form of psychological intervention prior to the time of their arrest. In one case this was to remediate his childhood enuresis and academic problems and the second was a two-session interview for depression.

There were no cases of probationers who reported they were aware of impulse problems related to sexuality and who sought and received psychological therapy prior to their arrest. This suggests that persons in this group were either 1) not insightful enough to seek help for their self perceived problems, 2) did not perceive that problems existed, 3) were recommended for help but refused to go, or 4) are basically normal people who engaged in an impulsive act because of a disinhibition of their behavioral control systems.

Not suprisingly, four of the men entered into therapy after the incident at the suggestion of their lawyers who no doubt thought it would lead to a lighter sentence.

Only one of the eight rapists and one of the sexual assaulters reported that he was currently in therapy to help him with problems. Thus, 88% of these men never received psychological therapy to attempt to help them with problems related to their sexually maladaptive behavior. In addition, interviews with family members indicated that there was very little pressure to encourage the men to enter therapy. Family members seemed to naively believe that the offender learned his lesson by being caught and thus did not need help, or thought the whole thing was "a mistake." In one case the mother announced she was "praying" for her son everyday.

It was the impression of the interview team that family members were not aware of the depth of the psychopathology which would lead to the sexually assaultive behavior. In two of the rape cases the Probation Officer thought that therapy would be important but reported the probationer was resistent.

Motivation for the Crime

A number of the items in the interview centered on the probationer's understanding of himself and his possible motives for engaging in sexual abuse. For example, when asked what would make them get involved in their misconduct they reported "curiosity... impulsiveness...teasing... drugs and alcohol" were likely to be motivating factors. These will be explored more fully below.

The hypothesis that overt modeling or exposure through personal discussion (i.e. symbolic modeling) would be an influencing factor did not hold to be true for the sexual assaulters or for the rapists. When asked if they knew of anyone else who had committed an act like theirs, 14 (78%), replied in the negative. Three sexual assaulters and one rapist replied in the affirmative. In these cases there was a distant relative or some acquaintences who were known to have engaged in sexual assaults. While the sample is small, it does not seem that modeling by family or friends is a prime cause of the behavior in this sample.

It has also been hypothesized that certain people are "thrill seekers" and that this might account for their antisocial behaviors. In the case of this variable there was a notable difference between the groups. None of the ten sexual assaulters characterized their act as a "thrill" and only two reported that they generally look for thrills. Many of the men reported they did not plan their act, seeing it as spontaneous and claiming it was not in their minds for more than a split second. This suggests that sexually assaultive behavior is an act of impulse with little cognitive forethought. On the other hand four of the eight rape probationers characterized their acts as a thrill and three reported that they generally look for thrills. As with the assaulters six of the eight reported they did not plan their act, seeing it as "spontaneous" and "impromtu." Rapists, thus, are more likely to engage in impusive thill seeking acts while assaulters are less likely to be thrill seekers and simply engage in spontaneous actions.

Life Stressors

The next series of questions in the interview attempted to examine the offender's perception of their lives and stressors which were present at the time of the acts. With regard to the overall quality of their lives13 (72%) indicated it was either "satisfactory" or

"very satisfactory." However, one man who said it was "very satisfactory" indicated that this was perceived to be true because he was "living very fast" and "doing coke." Since he also saw himself as a thrill seeking type it is unlikely that his life would have objectively been given the high rating that he gave it himself. Of the men who reported seeing their life as "satisfactory" or "very satisfactory" they reported this to be so because they had jobs, cars, homes, girlfriends and/or were going to school. Their sexual acts, therefore, were isolated from their otherwise high level of self contentment.

There was three reports of an "unsatisfactory" life and two men reported a "very unsatifactory" life. In these case they attributed the low level of satisfaction to "drinking and hanging out..girlfriend problems...divorce...and feeling unsure about where I was going in life." It is interesting that the two of the extreme reports indicate involvement with drugs or alcohol. There were five reports of problems with women and one medical problem (epilepsy) reported as a stressor at the time of the act.

Interestingly, there were few reports of occupational, gambling, or other financial problems. Only four of the 18 (22%) complained of serious personal problems at the time of the offense. Fourteen (78%) were

Habit Disturbances- Alcohol and Drugs

Alcohol plays a clear part in the behavior of the rapists, but less so in that of the sexual assaulters. Four (50%) rapists and four assaulters (40%) reported drinking at the time of the offense. Three of the 18 (17%) admit to driving at times when they themselves perceive they have had too much to drink. Given that many persons tend to minimize their drinking it may be that these figures are underestimates of what actually occurred.

In contrast, there were fewer reports of drug usage. One rapist was a cocaine user and three sexual assaulters reportedly used cocaine, PCP, or marijuana within 24 hours of the offense. Thus, there was some form of drug involvement in 22% of the cases.

It is well known that alcohol and other drugs serve as a disinhibitor of antisocial behavior, allowing otherwise controlled men to manifest aggression and other negative behaviors. For those persons who rape while under the influence of a drug or alcohol it seems critical to address this problematic behavior, as well as the other personality factors which lead to the act.

Emotionality

A series of assessments were performed to assess the role of feelings and emotional states and traits as possible etiological agents in the maladaptive behaviors of the sexual assaulters and the rapists. First, they were asked to attempt to recall various feeling states they might have been experiencing at the time of the offense. These results are shown in the chart below.

Recall of	Sex Assaulters			Rapists			Total		
Feeling State	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?
Nervous	5	5		2	5	1	7	10	1
Guilty	2	8		2	6		4	14	
Angry		10		1	7		1	17	
Depressed	2	8		1	6	1	3	14	1
Insecure	2	8		1	6	1	3	14	1
In Love	1	9		1	6	1	2	15	1
Happy	2	8		3	4	1	5	12	1
Friendly	7	3		5	2	1	12	5	1
Sad	1	9		1	6	1	2	15	1
Inferior	2	8			8		2	16	

As can be seen most seemed willing to identify what they recalled their feeling state to be at the time of

the sexual assault/rape. They did not report overpowering feelings of anger or depression as would be expected from a hypothesis regarding hatred of woman. They did not see themselves as inadequate or insecure. Instead, what emerges is a picture of a friendly, secure man who is not in love and who lacks happiness. There were a moderate number of reports of anxiety ("nervousness") and somewhat more indications of guilt. In these cases, however, it may well be that the guilt and the anxiety emerged after the event.

Because the reliability and validity of self reports, especially memories, may be questioned the probationers were also given formal assessments of anxiety and anger levels. On a measure of Trait Anxiety (i.e. a pervasive and cross situational tendency to experience anxiety) the sexual assaulters achieved a mean score of 35.7 (SD=8.2) and the rapists attained a mean score of 33.2 (SD= 6.6). These scores are much lower than those achieved by subjects in standardization samples. In the original Spielberger (1970) paper psychiatric patients achieved a mean score of 46.6 (SD= 12.4), prison inmates had a mean of 44.6 (SD= 10.5) and college undergraduates had a mean of 37.7 (SD= 9.7). In addition, the public lewdness group in the current study achieved a mean score of 37.9. This is evidence to support the hypothesis that persons in this study who sexually assaulted are not very prone to experience anxiety in situations which are normally perceived to be highly threatening.

This result was paralleled on the measure of State Anxiety (i.e. situational anxiety at the time of the interview). Because the research team was not known to the probationers and since, in most cases, the interviewers were introduced to the probationers only when they arrived, it was expected that there would be a very high level of state anxiety (i.e. anxiety at the time of the test was being given). However, their mean scores were again lower than that of prisoners (M=46.0; SD= 11.1) and patients (M=47.7; SD=13.2), and very similar to that of undergraduates (M=36.4; SD=9.7). The sexual assaulters had a mean of 38.4 (SD= 8.1) and the rapists had a mean of 33.9 (SD= 8.3).

Clearly, this group of sexual assaulters/rapists experiences a very low anxiety level on both the formal tests and on their self report. This is a very significant finding since anxiety inhibits behavior, including antisocial and maladaptive behaviors and this inhibitory mechanism in not present in this group.

On the Trait Anger Inventory (i.e. the tendency to experience anger across situations) the sexual assaulters achieved a mean score of 18.6 (SD= 4.8) and the rapists achieved a mean score of 17.6 (SD=4.8). This was not significantly different from that achieved by men in the child molestation, obscene phone call and sexual assault categories. The assaulter/rapists mean, however, was somewhat lower than that of male military recruits (M= 20.0; SD=5.5) and undergraduates (M= 19.2; SD= 5.0) in standardization samples (Spielberger, 1983).

On State Anger (at the time of the interview) the mean scores of 10.2 (SD= .8) for the sexual assaulters and 11.4 (SD= 3.9) for the rapists were similar to that of the other groups, although the mean of the men arrested for public lewdness was slightly higher. Both military recruits (M= 14.1; SD= 5.9) and college undergraduates (M= 13.1; SD= 4.8) scored higher than did the assaulters/rapists.

In sum, as assessed by the formal psychological tests, this group of 18 men do not seem to be particularly angry nor anxious. Thus, there is no support for the hypothesis that these aggressive crimes are committed out of rage or anger vented at woman. Rather, when relatively low levels of anxiety (an inhibitor of antisocial behavior) are combined with the probability of the involvement of alcohol (as a disinhibitor of antisocial acts) and there is denial that the act is a crime, the stage is set for the sexual assault and/or rape.

Other Psychological/Psychiatric Disorders

One of the key questions to be answered is whether assaulters and rapists have unique problems or whether their profile fits that of other psychiatric or psychological disturbances. A series of questions were designed to assess this issue.

Twenty four percent of the men reported sleep disturbances at the time of the act and 12% reported current sleep problems. There was no difference between the groups. Interestingly, one of the men who did not report a sleep problem indicated he "usually drank a quart of beer and went to sleep." Without the beer he might have also reported a problem.

There were no reports of current eating disturbances; however, four of the assaulters (40%) reported eating problems at the time of the offense. In

two of these cases the men reported being depressed at that time and noted they don't eat when depressed. Since fatigue from lack of sleep can effect judgement, and eating deficiencies can effect social interactions, the reason for these problems needs to be further investigated.

Proof of a "conquest" has been hypothesized to be a possible cause of a rapists antisocial acts. To assess this possiblity the men were asked if they ever felt they had to "prove themselves" to anyone. Fifty three percent indicated that indeed they had felt this way. This was generally related to proving their worth to family members. One man said he came from a family of "high achievers" and he saw this as the root of his "need to prove his worth." Again, there was no difference between the assaulters and rapists.

A number of questions assessed the possibility that the rapists would be diagnosed as persons with obsessive or compulsive personality disorders. Five of the offenders reported unwanted, repetitive and intrusive thoughts but none reported they were present at the time of the offense. In addition, only one fit the classical description of an obsession (i.e. thinks of hitting his father) while the others ("moving down south" -"when I drink" - "whether this kind of thing will happen again") are not true obsessions. There were no reports of true clinical compulsions (although, one man did believe he checked his alarm clock too frequently) and it is thus concluded that the rapists are not obsessive or compulsive personality types.

Memory

Eighty one percent of the men reported remembering the act clearly after it was over and only three of the men reported having any kind of general memory problem. This suggests the assaulters do not repress, or even suppress the act from their conscious experience. This is a positive sign for any intervention program since it suggests the antisocial behaviors are available for inspection by the therapist and the client. In addition, (81%) reported feeling "sorry" and "regretful" when thinking about what they had done and all report experiencing feelings of guilt when they do what they define as "wrong." Initially this would be taken as a positive sign. However, given the many meetings they have had with lawyers and other members of the judicial system where the expression of guilt/regret is seen as

the "appropriate" behavior to show, the validity of this finding is questioned.

Sexuality

A number of the interview items specifically assessed the sexual backgrounds of the offenders. Most of the men reportedly became aware of their sexual feelings and had their first experience at nine to 16 years of age. These were often "heavy petting" experiences and seem typical of American youth. In one of these cases the first sex experience (intercourse) was the one which led to the arrest.

When asked how many females they had had sex with the results were quite surprising. One man claimed he had never had sex with a woman. At the other extreme, one man claimed to have had sexual experience with 3000 woman. Even though he was the oldest of the rapists (C.A. 41) and was living a rather "fast" drug related lifestyle, this self report still seems rather inflated. Other men reported 5 to 30 female sexual partners. Approximately 50% of the offenders reported sexual contact with more than 10 females. This suggests that they are an "active" group and are well experienced in this realm of life.

Only three of rapists and four of the assaulters reported that masturbation alone was their first sexual experience. Seventy percent overall reported that sex with a female was their first experience and this was typically with a "girlfriend" (in one case it was with a babysitter).

One rapist reported his first experience was with his brother and this man reported he has had 50 sexual experiences with men and none with a woman. Two additional rapists and two assaulters reported sexual experiences with men.

When asked "Did anyone ever teach you about sex?" two thirds of the group indicated "No." Four reported they had had sex education courses in school. This ranged from a class in 7th grade to one in 12th. While there may be some misjudgement here, it seems important to provide sex education at a time when it would be useful to children. It seems likely that the assaulters/rapists were active prior to any education they may have received. Finally, while one man reported discussions with his mother most of the offenders indicated that they

"learned in the streets." There was no difference between the groups.

Interestingly, only four of the 18 (22%) think of themselves as "highly sexed" and only four reported that a girlfriend told him he "wanted it alot." Again, there was no difference between the groups. It does not seem that these men are especially oversexed individuals seeking constant gratification.

Sexual inadequacy is often thought to be the reason that sexual offenses occur. To assess this possibility the rapists were asked if they experienced concerns about certain sexual difficulties. Eighty percent indicated they did not experience such feelings or thoughts. In order to pursue this possibility further a series of specific possible concerns were discussed. The results are presented below.

PROBLEMS OR CONCERNS ABOUT-

	Assaulters		Rapists		TOTAL		
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Comment
Quick Ejaculation	7	3	8	-	15	3	
Poor Performance in bed	8	2	7	1	15	3	Occasional worries
Losing Erections	9	1	6	2	15	3	Drugs/ alcohol
Small Penis	10	-	8	-	18	-	
Achieve Erections	9	1	6	2	15	3	Drugs/ alcohol
Ejaculation problems	9	1	6	2	15	3	Drugs/ alcohol/ w male
Penis shape/color/veins	10	-	8	-	18	-	

As can be seen, there do not seem to be any special or unusual problems with sexual inadequacy among the rapists. The only reported problems relate to difficulties associated with excessive alcohol or drug ingestion. Otherwise there were no significant reports of sexual dysfunction or other sex problems.

Thirteen (72%) were having sexual relations at the time of the offense and they were generally reported to be quite satisfying.

Only five percent of the men reported masturbating as a sexual outlet (2-3 times/week) while 33% (six) indicated they never masturbate. This is an important finding and suggests that masturbation is not a

frequently used sexual outlet for this group of men. An additional question indicated the men believed that their rates of masturbation were no different at the time of the offense. Almost two thirds of the offenders reported that masturbation was not a good way for them to release sexual tension. Certainly, it would seem very important to further examine the attitudes of these men towards this kind of outlet. Unless there are strong medical or religious reasons to curb this behavior the belief of scientists is that masturbation serves as a natural "release," and increases in masturbatory releases might lead to a decreased frequency of impulsive sexual assaults.

The one overtly homosexual man reported frequently wearing women's clothing and engaging in acts considered to be "kinky." The other men did not report any other unusual sexual behaviors.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Sexual assault and rape involve acts of forced sexual behavior. These terms cover a broad range of behaviors ranging from mild pressure for sexual activity to violent sexual attacks. A sexual assault is defined as a rape when there is any degree of penile penetration, regardless of whether emission occurs.

While the offender and the victims may be of any age, sexual assault is typically a young person's crime. Davis and Brody (1979) noted that 61% of offenders are under the age of 25. Similarly, the largest percentage of victims are in the 20 to 24 year age range. Rape and sexual assault are crimes on the increase. However, it is very hard to obtain accurate statistics on their true frequencies. Fear, embarassment and other factors lead to far fewer reports than actually occur.

It is also hard to operationally define a sexual assault. In our society men have often and traditionally been the initiators of sexual activity; yet, there have been no guidelines as to how much "pressure" is reasonable and acceptable. In some studies (e.g. Ageton, 1985) all force, including simple "verbal pressure" which is followed by the female having sex is defined as sexual assault if the female later complains. In the Ageton report it was found that the typical (over 80%) teenage sexual assault occurs on a date, with a boyfriend. Eighty five percent of the assaults in that study did not involve physical violence or a weapon. However, drug and alcohol ingestion often played a key role. While this

has implications for treatment, it makes the identification of motivation unclear, since the participant's mental processes may have been clouded.

An objective standard of "pressure" will have to be developed if study in this area is to move forward in a scholarly manner. While all would agree that physical force would qualify as pressure, we must define the kind, frequency and nature of verbal stimulation (or pressure) we would accept to qualify the act as an assault. Do we accept the often heard proverb that, "Sticks and stones can break our bones, but names (verbal pressure) can never harm us." How do we distinguish a strong from illegal verbal pressure, and how do we teach these differences to members of our society?

Many adolescent males ask repeatedly and even beg for sexual pleasures from females, with no threat made if the female doesn't comply. Yet, if she interprets his strongly asserted desires as a threat and gives in, this may be defined as a sexual assault if she later says she "didn't want to." Unless our definitions are clarified we may find that a very large percentage of adolescents in America are involved in this crime, and it will remain impossible to collect adequate statistics.

Studies of adult incarcerated sexual assaulters (e.g. Overholster & Beck, 1986) have indicated heterosexual skill deficits and anxieties, but shown no indications of hostility or impulsiveness. Contrariwise, Rada (1978) reported that 35% of rapists are married at the time of the commission of their crime, suggesting that they do have the necessary social skills to obtain a partner. In addition, parental alcoholism and parental cruelty have been found to be prevalent in this group.

Almost all prior studies have been done with prisoners. These men are likely to be either recidivists or men whose crimes involved a great deal of physical force. There have been no studies which have focused on probationers and have studied their unique characteristics.

In the present study, there were 18 men who were considered as sexual assaulters or rapists. The assaulters were more likely to be Catholic and the rapists were more likely to have been Protestant. Very few other differences were found between the groups, and therefore they were considered as one group.

Their mean age was 25, with a range of 16 to 41 years. They were generally local men, having been

brought up and educated in the New York-Long Island area. Their school behavior was generally fair and their education was relatively successful. Seventy-seven percent were high school graduates and their mean reading level, assessed objectively in this study, was 8.5. Only three men were reading below the third grade level. While remedial reading is needed for poor readers to improve their job opportunities, this is not a major problem in this group.

Their family and interpersonal backgrounds were generally unremarkable. They very typically reported being brought up in close, tight-knit, and supportive families. They felt loved as children, and indicated that both their mothers and (less so) their fathers were more "warm and supportive" as opposed to "cold and distant." While they do remember being spanked as children, none felt abused and only one man reported childhood sexual activity with an adult (his brother). Thus, 94% gave no indication of sexual abuse.

These men also reported feeling liked by both teachers and peers during their school years. In effect, and in contrast to the commonly held opinion, there were few indications of a consistent pattern of abuse or of a lack of normal family and interpersonal patterns. This would indicate that unresolved resentments towards family members or the past do not seem to be important etiologic agents in causing sexual assaults in these men. This was supported by the relatively low level of anger shown on the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory. Thus, psychological and especially psychoanalytic interventions aimed at these past issues would not seem appropriate.

When asked about motivational elements for their acts the probationers suggested curiosity, impulsiveness, and teasing as prime factors. They saw their acts as spontaneous, impulsive actions engaged in with little if any forethought. In-depth interviewing supported this position and also suggested that some may have been out to prove their "worth." Suprisingly, most of the men indicated their life was quite satisfactory at the time of the crime. They reported this to be so because they had cars, jobs, homes, girlfriends, etc. There were few reports of occupational, gambling, medical or financial problems.

The acts were carried out by impulsive, thrill seeking men (especially the rapists) who had opportunity and who often had reduced behavioral control systems because of the involvement of alcohol or drugs. Emotionally, the men were not particularly anxious which

in this case is a bad sign. Anxiety is often an inhibitor of behavior and their low anxiety level contributed to less behavioral control. There were no signs of obsessive or compulsive personality disorders or of memory defects.

Analysis of their sexual histories was also relatively unremarkable. These are generally active men who have had sexual experiences with numerous partners. Only one was married and none was living with a girlfriend. This suggests their sexual patterns did not involve serious "attachments" and may indicate poor interpersonal skills or fear of permanent relationships.

There were no signs of sexual inadequacy, nor of sexual dysfunction (except those related to inabilty to perform because of alcohol or drug usage). Seventy two percent were having satisfying sexual relations at the time of the offense. Thus, their sexual assaults were not occuring because of the unavailabilty of other partners. The men did note a low level of masturbation. This suggests that this natural outlet for sexual energies may not be used as a release.

Only five of the 18 had been in psychotherapy prior to their arrest and, very surprisingly, only one was currently in therapy. Family members did not seem aware of the need for continuing treatment for these men. Instead, they saw their sons as "good boys" who made a mistake. The probation officers seem aware of the need for psychological intervention, but were overwhelmed by the very high number of cases they are responsible for and could not make in depth follow-ups on their recommendations for help.

In sum, the sexual assaulters and rapists on probation seem to be indistinguishable from normals on a number of variables studied. They seem to carry out their antisocial acts as a function of opportunity combined with lowered behavioral controls, due to a low level of anxiety and drug or alcohol involvement. While all need some form of psychological help, very few are receiving it. Their family members seem unaware of the depth of their problems and their probation officers are not able to serve them in a comprehensive psychotheraputic way.

Intervention is important because of the liklihood of recidivism. At follow-up one of the rapists had been arrested for unauthorized use of a motor vehicle and two of the sexual assaulters were rearrested. In one case this was for assault (third degree) and in a second there

were two arrests, one for criminal possession of marijuiana and a second for driving while intoxicated. Since rearrests may or may not be for sexual crimes intervention programs will have to be broad spectrum in orientation and should address the development of improved coping skills to deal with the frustrations that are likely to occur in the lives of these men. Modules of Anger Management Training, Social Skill Enhancement, Anxiety Awareness Groups, Values Clarification, and Cognitive Restructuring would all be helpful.

It is our impression that psychotherapy may be suggested or even mandated at the time of sentencing. However, few men actually receive the kind of structured behavioral interventions needed to help them develop better behavioral control. While each man is different it is also true that many would profit from attending a program of formal structured, modulized interventions held at the Department of Probation. This would work best since the probationers are already used to reporting to that facility and reports from the probation officers indicate they do show up with high frequency. In order to ensure confidentiality the actual therapeutic programs would best be delivered by trained, professional psychologists or social workers who could maintain confidentiality and trust.

Inteviews with probation officers indicated that they believed there was a good chance many of these men would be in trouble again one day. Some of the probation officers indicated their frustration in obtaining compliance with recommendations for therapy. If resistance to Probation Officer suggestions is a theme, it would suggest the need to train PO's in psychological techniques of social influence and compliance to increase acceptance of their recommendations. Based on the data from this study it seems unlikely that society can expect much help from family members of the offender. Clearly, the criminal justice system must mandate psychological therapy to give society its chance at providing remedial action for sex offenders.

General Conclusions

Although the offenders studied were quite a diverse group, there are some general conclusions that can be drawn from the results. They are as follows:

1. The percentage of offenders molested as children was no greater than those in the general population. This is in conformity with the results of some more recent studies that have challenged earlier conclusions which were drawn from studies on samples that were limited in scope.

2. The offenders were employed in somewhat lower occupational status positions than might have been expected from their educational backgrounds and the occupational status of their parents. The majority of them were working in predominantly low level blue collar jobs.

3. The offenders in general had lower trait and state anxiety scores than did patients in VA hospitals, inmates in jails and even undergraduate students. These low scores suggest that when taking these tests the offenders might have been consciously trying to appear less anxious than they really were.

4. The offenders in general had lower trait and state anger scores than undergraduate students and military recruits. Again as with the anxiety scores, it is possible that they were trying to appear less angry than they really were. Only those in the public lewdness group were similar to the college students and military recruits.

5. In general a large percentage seemed to lack social skills and these results are similar to results found in other studies. In addition a large number of them seemed to be loners.

6. The probation officers seemed to have limited in depth clinical knowledge of the sexual offenders. This was not surprising in view of the large caseloads carried by the officers and the fact that their orientation to the offenders is of necessity focussed on the probation requirements regarding day to day, law-abiding adjustment in accordance with the conditions of probation.

7. Although a large percentage of the offenders were in therapy or had been in therapy, the therapists involved, who did respond, did not seem to know a great deal about them and did not display much optimism regarding a favorable prognosis for the majority of the offenders. The failure of a large number of therapists to respond was disappointing.

8. Most family members who were reached, were cooperative and most believed the offenders were attempting to make an adjustment. Mothers and fathers seemed to hold a somewhat dimmer view than did wives. Some families showed significant signs of stress related to the offenders' behavior and it was clear they could have used some help in this area.

Recommendations

The monitoring and treatment of sex offenders requires highly specialized skills and knowledge. Most probation officers and therapists, including many who work successfully with other types of offenders are not clinically skilled enough to work with sex offenders in a counseling framework. Also many probation officers and clinicians do not care to work with this type of offender.

On the basis of the results of the present study and the results of other research, it is recommended that:

1. A special unit within the probation department be developed composed of officers who are willing to learn the special clinical skills necessary to work with this kind of offender.

2. Educational programs be developed for the special unit of probation officers to focus on etiology, incidence, and significant indicators of possible recidivism among the various classes of sexual offenders. Provide educational programs of a similar nature for other probation officers.

3. Consideration be given to lower case loads for members of the special unit so they may spend more time with the sex offenders. It is important for the probation officers to communicate with other professionals working to rehabilitate the offenders.

4. Special behavior modification programs should be developed for the offenders as part of the overall probation supervision/reporting process. These programs should include modules aimed at the development of appropriate social skills and assertiveness training.

5. A list of therapists who are willing to become specialized in the treatment of sex offenders should be developed. Those on the list would agree to attend special meetings and seminars to discuss the most effective methods known for working with these offenders and be willing to cooperate in supplying information regarding the progress of the offender in a manner that would add to our knowledge of treatment. Development of such a list would require the education and cooperation of the judiciary and lawyers, for under the present system, offenders are routinely recommended to therapists with only limited experience in treating this kind of offender.

6. Another study of sex offenders on probation, similar to the present one should be initiated. This study would build on the knowledge gained from the present study and would include in its components arrangements to have the offender seen as soon as he was placed on probation and that the victim be interviewed at that time. By the time several months have passed after sentencing, the victims rarely wish to be further involved because they often find reliving the event traumatic. In addition, family members should be interviewed at that time and then six months to one year later to permit a reliable assessment to be made.

7. Some plans should be made to give help to the families of the sex offenders. Many of these families gave evidence of as much distress as some of the victims.

8. Systematic evaluation of any of the above recommendations that are instituted to determine their effectiveness.

9. Ultimately educational programs should be developed, based on the results of the above recommendations, that will be helpful in aiding the public in terms of prevention of sexual offenses.

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A STUDY OF SEX OFFENDERS ON PROBATION

Appendix A

Confidentiality Agreement

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

The Nassau County Probation Department, being desirous of conducting a Needs Assessment study within the Department's caseloads to examine and analyze perpetrators of sexual abuse and their families in order to identify relationships between types of sexual abuse and past and present behaviors, so as to develop appropriate treatment and prevention programs, has entered into contract with the Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect. The Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect, after disseminating Requests For Proposals (RFP) and intensive screening, has contracted with Hofstra University to carry out the research desired by the Nassau County Probation Department.

The importance of understanding the sex offender and developing treatment and prevention programs is an appropriate concern of the Nassau County Probation Department, which has research interests that are concerned with all aspects of Department programs and issues related to prevention and control of crime and delinquency.

In formulating plans for this sexual offender study, the Probation Department has invited the Research team selected by the Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect, namely Hofstra University's clinical research team, to work closely with the Probation Department, in carrying out the above study. As such, all rights and responsibilities regarding the carrying out of this research effort and the rules of confidentiality related to same are applicable to Hofstra University's research team, which in fact is acting as an agent of the Nassau County Probation Department.

All appropriate criminal justice/human services standards will be applied as related to confidentiality and the protection of the information utilized in this study.

All parties to the sex offender study are aware of the importance of confidentiality as it relates to the proper conduct of this study, and they are aware of the fact that the Hofstra University research team is indeed functioning in this research effort as an agent of the Nassau County Probation Department. Consequently, all of the parties involved in this endeavor, namely the Nassau County Probation Department, the Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect and Hofstra University, indicate their awareness of and compliance with this confidentiality agreement contained herein by signing below.

March 21, 1986

Robert J. Bennett, Director
Nassau County Probation Department

March 21, 1986

Jean Forman, Director
Nassau Coalition on Child Abuse and Neglect

Dr. James Shuart, President
Hofstra University

SEX OFFENDER STUDY

APPENDIX B MATERIALS USED IN STUDY

B-1	Case history form
B-2	Sex offender questionnaire
B-3	Probation officer interview form
B-4	Review of material from offender and probation officer
B-5	Victim interview form
B-6	Family member interview form
B-7	Sample letter sent to therapists
B-8	Therapist response form
B-9	Final follow-up form

Because of copyright laws it is not possible to reproduce the testing materials used, which were:

1. The Wide Range Achievement Test, Revised Level 2, Reading
2. The Spielberger State-Trait Anxiety Inventory
3. The Spielberger State-Trait Anger Scale
4. The Child Abuse Potential Scale

SEX OFFENDER STUDY - CASE HISTORY MATERIAL

NAME _____ CASE # _____ F C RECORDER _____ DATE

ADDRESS _____

DOB _____ AGE ____ RACE ____ RELIGION ____ MARITAL STATUS _____

YEARS OF EDUCATION ____ LAST SCHOOL _____ ADJUSTMENT IN SCHOOL _____

ACHIEVEMENT: GOOD-FAIR-POOR IQ _____ COMMENTS _____

PARENTS: DOB: MOTHER _____ FATHER _____ EDUCATION: MOTHER _____ FATHER _____

OCC: MOTHER _____ FATHER _____

MARRIAGE: Intact ___ Sep ___ Div ___ Wid ___ Other _____

OFFENDER LIVING WITH _____

EMPLOYMENT (occ & place) _____

_____

PRESENT OFFENSE: DATE _____ Describe _____

_____ Conviction charge ____ Disposition _____

VICTIM: NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE _____ RELATED TO OFFENDER? _____ SEX ____ AGE ____

Comments re incident _____

_____

PREVIOUS SEXUAL OFFENSES: DATE _____ Describe _____

_____ Disposition _____

DATE _____ Describe _____

_____ Disposition _____

OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES: DATE _____ Describe _____

_____ Disposition _____

DATE _____ Describer _____

_____ _____ Disposition _____

History of sexual deviancy in family? _____ _____

_____

History of alcohol or substance abuse _____

_____

_____

HISTORY OF COUNSELING etc. _____

_____

_____

_____

Any Psychological Test data? _____

_____

_____

Any Psychiatric evaluation? _____

_____

_____

Medical Problems? _____

_____

_____

EMPLOYMT HISTORY _____

_____

_____

Other comments: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY / DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
SEX OFFENDER STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Offender _____ Age _____

Interviewer _____ Date _____

-Introduce self and establish rapport-

"We appreciate your coming in today. As you know, we are interviewing persons who have records involving a sexual offense. We are trying to learn about what goes on inside of people at the time they commit a sexual offense. First of all, we would like for you to fill out some questionnaires."

- Administer initial questionnaires -

1. The records of the Probation Department indicate that you were charged with _____.

a. Are these charges accurate? Yes ___ No ___ Would you explain?

_____

_____

_____

_____

b. What would make a person like you become involved in such a thing?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

c. Before you did this, did you know of anyone else who had done something like this? Yes __ No __

Who? _____

Did it seem like a thrill? Yes __ No __

Do you generally look for thrills? Yes __ No __

How long was this in your mind? _____

d. How did you feel right after this happened? _____

_____

_____

Could you remember it clearly? Yes __ No __

Have you ever been told that you had a problem with your memory?
Yes __ No __

e. Did you feel sorry about what you did, after thinking about it?
Yes __ No __

Are you the type of guy who usually feels guilty after doing the wrong thing? Yes __ No __

Comments _____

2. At the time of the offense, how would you rate the OVERALL QUALITY of your life? Choose one term:

Very Satisfactory ____ Unsatisfactory ____
Satisfactory ____ Very Unsatisfactory ___

How so? _____

a. Name any SERIOUS PERSONAL PROBLEMS you remember that you were aving at the time of the offense. _____

Did you have -money problems Y N -gambling debts Y N
-medical problems Y N -job problems Y N

Comments _____

b. Were you married? Y N Were you living with someone? Y N
Male? __ Female? ___ How was that relationship going? _____

Were there any children around? Y N How many? ____ Ages _____

Were they trouble for you? Y N Why? _____

c. Were you working? Y N Was your partner working? Y N
Occupation _____ Occupation _____

d. Were you drinking at the time of the offense? Y N What? _____

Do you ever drive when you feel you have had too much to drink? Y N

If you are drinking in a bar and drink too much, hopw do you get home? _____

Have you ever been convicted for drunk driving? Y N

e. Tell me about your drug use. _____

What were you using at the time of the offense _____

f. Tell me, at the exact time of the offense, would you say you were feeling

nervous __	guilty __	angry __	depressed __
insecure __	in love __	happy __	friendly __
sad __	inferior __	inferior __	

g. At that time, were you having difficulty sleeping? Y N

Describe _____

Do you have difficulty with sleep now? Y N

Describe _____

h. At that time, were you having any difficulties eating? Y N

Describe _____

Do you have eating difficulties now? Y N

Describe _____

i. Have you felt that you have to prove yourself to your family or to your friends? To prove that you are good, worthwhile, and equal to others? Y N How come? _____

3. a. People sometimes have thoughts that keep coming into their heads although they want them to stop. Has this happened to you? Y N (If so, explore content) _____

Were these thoughts in your head at the time of the offense? Y N

b. Do you sometimes do things over and over again, and feel nervous if you are not allowed to do it? Y N (Explore behavior and times of occurence, especially at the time of the offense). _____

_____

_____

What is the most frightening or unusual thought you ever had?

_____

_____

_____

4. Now I'd like to learn a little about your background.

a. Where were you brought up? _____
Who lived at home with you? _____

_____

b. Do you feel like you were loved as a child? Y N Why? _____

_____

_____

c. Did you feel close to your mother? Y N
Was she more 1.) warm and supportive ___
2.) cold and distant ___

d. Did you feel close to your father? Y N
Was he more 1.) warm and supportive ___
2.) cold and distant ___

e. Were you hit as a child? Y N Explain _____

_____

f. Were you sexually abused as a child? Y N Explain _____

_____

_____

g. Were you often left alone as a child? Y N Explain _____

_____

h. How far did you go in school? Highest grade completed _____

Please circle: HSG / Some college / College graduate

How were your grades in elementary school?

Very Good Good Fair Poor Very Poor

Were you a behavior problem in elementary school? Y N

How were your grades in high school?

Very Good Good Fair Poor Very Poor

Were you a behavior problem in high school? Y N

Did you feel liked by the teachers? Y N Comment _____

_____

Did you feel liked by the other kids? Y N Comment _____

_____

_____

Did anyone complain that you were overly active in school - like hyperactive? Y N Comment _____

_____

_____

Did they say you had difficulties with attention and concentration? Y N Comment _____

_____

5. I'd also like to learn a little about your sexual background.

a. At what age do you first remember becoming aware of your sexual feelings? _____

b. Tell me about your first sexual experience with a female. _____

_____

_____

With about how many females would you say you have had sex? _____

c. Tell me about your first sexual experience. (e.g., masturbation w. other kids, mastubation alone, sex w. a child, sex w. adults) _____

_____

_____

d. Tell me about your first sexual experience with a male. _____

_____

_____

With about how many males would you say you have had sex? _____

e. Did anyone ever teach you about sex? Y N Who? _____
When? _____ Where? _____

f. Would you say that you are a highly sexed person? Y N Why? ___

_____

Has anyone ever told you that you were oversexed? Y N
Who? _____ Why? _____

g. Many of us feel sexually inadequate at one time or another. Have you ever felt that way? Y N About what? _____

Query feelings about:
Quick ejaculation _____

Poor performance in bed _____

Losing erections _____

Small penis _____

Inability to have an erection _____

Inability to ejaculate _____

Shape/color veins in penis _____

h. At the time of the offense were you having sexual relations with one or more partners? Y N How many of them were female? ___ How many of them were male? ____

Were they satisfying? Y N _____

i. At the time of the offense were you masturbating more than usual? ___ less than usual? ____

How often did you masturbate at that time? _____ And now? _____

Has masturbation been a good way for you to release tension? Y N

Most men fantasize during masturbation. Tell me about some of the kinds of fantasies that you usually have when you masturbate. (Look for aggressive or S & M fantasies. Examine content. Does he fantasize about people he knows, movie stars, etc.) _____

j. Have you ever

Worn women's clothing? Y N _____

Got a thrill from just watching others persorm sexual acts? Y N

Engaged in activities that others would consider "kinky"? Y N ___

6. I'd like to know something about your religious background.

a. In what religion were you brought up? _____

b. Are you a religious person right now? Y N Which? _____

c. Were you religious at the time of the offense? Y N Which? _____

7. I'd like to know about your experience with mental health workers.

When was your first experience seeing a psychologist/psychiatrist/ or social worker? _____

For each time (including the first) assess

Year	Practitioner	Problems worked on	Length of Treatment	Successful?
				Y N
				Y N
				Y N

8. Have any other members of your family (parents, siblings, aunts uncles, etc.) been in trouble because of:

Drunk driving _____ Who? _____

Drug use _____ Who? _____

Sexual charges _____ Who? _____

Other problems (crimes) _____ Who? _____

TO THE INTERVIEWER - Based on the interview, rate the probationer on:

I. Signs of a psychotic process

Poor dress/hygiene _____
Unusual facial expression _____
Incoherent/illogical stress of speech _____
Thought disorder _____
Hallucinations _____
Delusions _____
Ideas of reference _____
Other _____

_____

II. Signs of a neurotic disorder

Anxiety _____
Specific fears _____
Obsessions _____
Compulsions _____
Reactive depression _____
Other _____

_____

III. Signs of psychopathy

Very low affect _____
Lack of a well formed conscience _____
Other _____

_____

IV. Estimate of intelligence (level of vaocular y used, knowledge of current events, overall fund of knowledge, abstract reasoning)

Above average __ Average __ Below average __ Retarded __

Comments _____

_____

_____

_____

HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
SEX OFFENDER STUDY INTERVIEW FORM FOR PROBATION OFFICERS

Name of Officer _____ Name of Offender _____

Interviewer _____ Date _____

As you know I interviewed _____ and would like to discuss him with you and get your impressions about him and the situation for which he is on probation.

How long have you been seeing him? _____

Does he come in regularly? Yes No _____

Does he keep appointments on time? Yes No _____

What kind of a family does he come from? _____

_____

How close is he to his family? _____

How do you think his family views his behavior _____

Are they sympathetic toward him? _____

Do you think he had a difficult home life as a child? _____

Do you think he was sexually abused as a child? _____

How much do you think he drinks every day? _____

Is he involved in drugs? _____

Do you consider him impulsive? _____

Does he appear to be shy?_____

Does he appear aggressive?_____

Does he appear domineering?_____

Do you find him likeable ?_____

Is he seeing a psychologist___ psychiatrist___ social worker____?

Do you know who?_____

Do you know whether he keeps his appointments regularly_____

What reasons does he give you for committing the offense?_____

Do you think the offence was a single incident as the result of the situation he was in, or do you think it is part of a persistent pattern of behavior?

Do you think he will get in trouble again? yes No

Why do you think as you do about him getting in trouble again?_____

Anything other particularly related to this offender_____

SEX OFFENDER STUDY - REVIEW OF MATERIAL FROM OFFENDER AND PROBATION OFFICER

Your name _____ Offender's name _____ date _____

Does the material you learned from the interview with the offender agree with the material you obtained from the probation officer?

Yes No

If no, explain how it differed _____

_____

Does the material you learned from the interview with the offender agree with the material you obtained from the case history?

Yes No

If no, explain how it differed _____

_____

Previous sexual experiences reported _____ convicted of _____ (give number)

Previous criminal acts reported _____ convicted of _____

Family: Home intact until offender reached age of ? _____

Was he sexually abused as a child? Give details _____

_____

_____

Sexual offenses by members of family? Who & what kinds? _____

_____

Criminality in family? Who & what kind? _____

_____

Alcoholism in family? Who _____

Drug addiction in family? Who? _____

Does he have many friends or would you consider him a loner? (circle)

Do you think he will repeat his offense? Yes No

Do you think he will get into other trouble? Yes No

Do you think he would benefit from more help than he is receiving? Yes No

If so, what kind? _____

Name, address & telephone number of Victim? _____

_____

Name, address & telephon number of psychiatrist, psychologist or social worker he is seeing or has seen since the offense. Indicate dates of treatment.

_____

SEXUAL OFFENDER PROJECT VICTIM INTERVIEW FORM

Name of offender_____Interviewer_____

Victim_____ date_____

Telephone and speak to parent or guardian if the victim is a child. If you get a family member who is willing to discuss it, speak to them. If the adult was a victim, ask for her.

Introduce yours as Mr._____, a psychologist who is work ing with the Probation Department and say you are interested in finding out how (victim's name) is getting along. Ask about recovery, feelings etc. or whatever information that you can elicit that will come naturally and that will not upset the individual with whom you are talking.

SEX OFFENDER STUDY FAMILY MEMBER INTERVIEW FORM

Name of family member_____ Interviewer_____

Name of Probationer_____

1. How do you think _____ is getting along now?

2. Do you think he may get in trouble again?

3. Do you think the sentence he received was fair?

4. What do you think would have been fair?

5. What do you think would have been helpful?

6. Are there any signs he still has problems in this area?

7. Do you think he should get more help than he is getting?

FRANCIS T. PURCELL
COUNTY EXECUTIVE

ROBERT J. BENNETT
DIRECTOR OF PROBATION

PROBATION DEPARTMENT
SOCIAL SERVICES BUILDING
COUNTY SEAT DRIVE & ELEVENTH STREET
P.O. BOX 189
MINEOLA, NEW YORK 11501

August 5, 1986

SAMPLE LETTER

Dr. John Doe
1 Elm Street
Anywhere, USA

RE: John Q. Dillinger

Dear Dr. Doe:

The Nassau County Probation Department is conducting a study regarding various offenders who are currently on court-ordered probation. The above-named probationer who is in treatment with you has been interviewed as part of this study.

We would appreciate your providing us with a brief response to the questions that appear on the attached Therapist Response Form. These offenders have given the Probation Department permission to obtain information regarding their treatment in medical and psychotherapeutic programs.

Your response, as well as the identities of the individual offenders who are participating in the research, will be kept confidential.

Thank you in advance very much for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

_____
John Smith
Probation Officer

WB:enh
Encl.

THERAPIST RESPONSE FORM

1. How long has John Q. Dillinger been in treatment with you?

_____

2. Does he maintain regular appointments? Yes _____ No _____

3. Has he shown any improvement as a result of having been in therapy? In what way? _____

_____

_____

4. Do you think he will repeat his offense? Why? _____

_____

_____

5. What other kind of help, if any, would you recommend for him?

_____

_____

_____

6. Is there anything else you would like to add that you feel would be helpful in our attempts to develop a profile for this type of person?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____ Date

_____ Dr. John Doe

SEX OFFENDER PROJECT FINAL FOLLOW-UP FORM 10/86

Present status Of _____ Probation Officer _____

Interviewer _____

Is he still on probation? Yes____ No____

If not, when did he terminate probation? _____

If he is still on probation or if he has terminated probation

Did he keep his appointments regularly

all the time ____

some of the time ____

rarely ____

Has he been rearrested? Yes____ No____

If yes, on what charge _____

_____

If he has not been rearrested

Do you think being on probation helped him? _____

_____

Do you believe he will stay out of trouble in future? _____

_____

Comments by interviewer on Probation Officer's attitude toward offender _____

_____

_____

_____

SEX OFFENDER STUDY

APPENDIX C SELECTED CASE HISTORIES

CM	Child Molesters
P	Exhibitionists
R	Rapists
S	Sexual Assaulters

CM1

CM1 is a 15 year old white male who was charged with two counts of rape and two counts of sodomy (allegedly had sexual intercourse with two seven year old girls). CM1 was very cooperative, open, and serious throughout the interview. He claimed to be a virgin and said that he masturbated about once a month. The "stories" told by the girls, he said, were "all made up". He said that he had neither raped nor sodomized the girls but had only rubbed his flaccid penis against their naked buttocks which, though "stupid", was far from the charges leveled against him. He said that he had yielded to a spontaneous impulse and that he felt "mad" at himself and ashamed afterwards. He also indicated that the incident had been on his mind constantly since it had happened, requiring eighteen months of psychotherapy.

CM1's father died before he was born and his mother works as a clerk in the library. He said that he has often imagined what it would be like to have a father, although his older brothers have in many ways served as father surrogates. According to probation reports, his family believes CM1's claim of innocence as they and the family of the girls "never got along".

According to probation departments records, CM1's alleged misconduct spans a period of three years and there are allegations that he has abused at least two other children. Psychological data available on CM1 is somewhat conflicted, one report claiming "no indications of thought disorder, but projective results not commensurate with high IQ. Puberty impulses may be problematic for him". Another report claimed that there was "no indication that he could be sexually stimulated so that he could be assaultive or forceful in sexual behavior".

Medical evaluation of one of the girls allegedly abused by CM1 found evidence of vaginal trauma but no breaking of the hymen. The case remains in many respects quite cloudy.

CM8

CM8 is a 22 year old single white male who was 20 years old when he was charged with the offense of having intercourse with a fourteen year old girl. He categorically denied this charge, stating that "nothing happened". CM8 believed that the girl knew he had money, and tried to blackmail him. The girl wanted money from him to drop the charges. CM8 believed that he was "a fool", and got "set up". CM8 has one sister, and grew up in an intact family. He reported feeling loved as a child because he could talk to his family. He felt close to his mother, but not his father. An interview with his mother indicated a great deal of support for MC8. She believed that he fell into the wrong crowd, and was not treated fairly by the legal system. She felt that many of his problems stem from a head injury he suffered in 1981. CM8's mother believed the court should have been more sympathetic because of this accident. CM8 reported fair grades in school, and felt well liked by teachers and peers. Records show poor adjustment and achievement in schoolo, resulting in his dropping out after the 10th grade. Shortly after, CM8 joined the Marines, where he went AWOL. Following his brain contusion in 1981, he has spent the last five years recovering. He is now working as a gardener. His mother called this recovery "a miracle". CM8 presented himself as very sexually experienced, beginning at age 15 with his girlfriend.

CM8 reported that he has seen too many mental health workers to list. He was first treated by a psychiatrist when he was 14. Since his accident he has been treated by many more. He considers all of these treatments unsuccessful. CM8 is currently seeing a psychologist. This psychologist reports "very slight" improvement in CM8. He refers to CM8 as a "brain disordered individual". In an interview, CM8's probation officer indicated that he was manipulative and impulsive. A psychiatric evaluation referred to CM8 as having a "lack of moral and social ethics" and "sociopathic traits". He denied any use of alcohol, and admitted to experimental use of drugs. During the interview, CM8 was cooperative, but anxious, frequently laughing nervously.

His previous record includes the dismissal of an assault and petty larceny charge in 1985, and a charge of aggravated harrassment in 1984. It was also learned that since the interview CM8 had again been charged with assault.

In general, CM8 is a young man with a history of aggressive, anti-social acts. His lack of insight into his own behavior is complicated by his mother's denial that CM8 is to blame. It is likely that CM8 will get into trouble again.

CM11

CM11 is a 27 year old single white male who was 26 years old when he was charged with the offense of sexual abuse. The charge stated the CM11 inserted his fingers into the vagina and anus of a 2 year old girl, the daughter of a friend. The record stated that he admitted to the offense, and similar offenses with the victim on two previous occasions. He stated that it was an "uncontrollable urge". During the interview, however, CM11 denied everything. He stated that he was confused and "railroaded by the cops". CM11 stated that he lived with his parents and was employed as a heavy construction worker. He has one brother and one sister. CM11 reported that he felt loved as a child, and was close to both parents. He said that he was a fair student and was liked by teachers and some peers. Other peers did not like him because he was "a nerdy type kid". Records show that he was not a good student, and needed therapy for acting out behavior. CM11's first sexual experience was at age 17 with his girlfriend. He has remained sexually active. Records indicated that he was a bisexual, but CM11 stated that he had never had sex with a male. He also reported that he likes "a little bondage", and is at times insecure about his ability to perform sexually.

CM11 was diagnosed as having a Mixed Personality Disorder, with "a noted lack of regret, anxiety, or trepidation". His psychiatric evaluation suggested "intensive psychotherapy". CM11's first experience with a mental health worker was in 7th grade. He was required to see the school sychologist because he started a fire in the school bathroom. Currently, he is seeing a therapist because it was mandated by the court. CM11 admitted to drinking beer and using marijuana. Records indicated that he is a heavy user of marijuana. He was cooperative during the interview.

CM11's record of previous offenses indicates that he was charged with petty larceny in 1976. In an interview, his probation officer felt that CM11 had emotional problems, and had been "sort of thrown out" by his family.

In general, CM11 is a young man with a history of emotional and psychiatric problems. Because of this history, his drug use, and his denial of any prblem, it is likely that he may again get into trouble.

CM16

CM16 is a 31 year old single Hispanic male who was 30 years old when he was charged with the offense of rape, third degree. He became sexually involved with his 14 year old niece, and maintained this relationship for a year. His record indicates that the niece told her father that she had been raped. CM16 admitted to the offense, but stated that he confessed to the family, out of guilt, that he was involved with the niece. She then accused him of rape in order to make herself look innocent. CM16 believed that this niece seduced him into the relationship. He said that his niece had done this type of thing before, and he was vulnerable because his marriage was breaking up. CM16 felt lonely, and he returned to his niece for comfort. Since conviction, CM16 and his wife were divorced, and she took their two children to the West Coast to live. He expressed sorrow over the loss of his children, saying that he lived for Saturdays when he could call and talk with them. CM16 is currently involved with another women whom he described as loving and supportive. He has been sexually active since he was 13 years old.

CM16 grew up with three brothers and one sister. He reported rarely seeing his father. His mother was head of the household, and still appears to have much influence on him. She worked at nights, leaving the children alone until morning. CM16 stated that he sometimes felt loved by his mother, but did not feel close to her. An interview with CM16's mother indicated some support for him. She believed that he was doing well now, but admitted that they rarely talk. She said "he seems more calm". CM16 reported that he did poorly in school, and did not feel liked by teachers or peers. He was small and got beat up a lot. Often, he would try to act tough, and end up in trouble. CM16 admitted to heavy use of drugs as an adolescent, but denies any use now. He was pleasant, cooperative and likeable during the interview. He has been seeing a psychiatrist since attempting suicide, shortly after his wife took his children away. He is actively involved in the treatment, which revolves around the offense and adjustment to a new life.

CM16's record of previous offenses shows a dismissal of a sodomy charge in 1985, and a conviction for selling a controlled substance in 1975. There is also some history of sexual deviancy in the family. This revolves mainly around previous instances of CM16's niece being sexually involved with adult male family members.

In general, CM16 is a likeable young man who exercised poor judgement in becoming involved with his niece. He seems to have learned his lesson, losing his wife and children as a result. An interview with his probation officer indicates that the offense was the result of the situation, not part of a persistent pattern of behavior. For these reasons, and his involvement in therapy, it seems unlikely that CM16 will get into sexual trouble again.

CM18

CM18 is a 32 year old single white male who was 30 years old when he was charged with the offense of sexual abuse. The charge states that he molested a 6 year old boy in the public shower at a beach. CM18 admitted to the charge, saying that he was high on marijuana at the time. He reported that the offense was unplanned, it just happened. CM18 felt that because he was high, his judgement was impaired. He expressed regret that the incident had taken place.

CM18 lives with both parents who are semi-retired. He is currently employed as a lab technician. An only child, CM18 felt that he was loved as a child. He felt close to both parents. An interview with CM18's probation officer indicated that he and his parents are very enmeshed. The parents put a lot of energy into maintaining appearance, and view his behavior with "disdain and revulsion". The probation officer considered CM18's parents "controlled and controlling". A college graduate, CM18 reported very good grades in school. He reported that teachers liked him, but his peers did not because he talked to himself a lot. He called himself an underachiever. CM18 has a varied sexual history. He reported masturbating at 10, at 14 masturbating with a male friend, and having intercourse with a girl at age 17. He expressed the desire to have sex a lot. CM18 also reported that he enjoyed cross-dressing, and was sexually attracted to women's feet. At the time of the present offense, he was sexually involved with a bisexual woman, and did not find it satisfying.

CM18 is a diagnosed schizophrenic with a long history of psychiatric hospitalizations. He is currently seeing a therapist and is also taking psychotropic medication. He denied drinking much, but admitted to heavy drug use. Currently he reported confining his use to marijuana, but has in the past used mescaline, LSD, etc. He felt that he was never an addict. CM18 reported that he is involved with Maha Kari religion. This religion is similar to Buddhism, and views schizophrenia in a positive light. He was pleasant, cooperative, and likeable during the interview.

In general, CM18 is a young man with recurrent psychiatric and drug problems. He is also intelligent and insightful, feeling the recent offense was due to latent homosexual desires, his psychiatric diagnosis, and his drug use. He has no record of previous offenses, but remains a risk to again get into trouble.

CM21

CM21 is a 34 year old married white male who was charged with the offense of sexual abuse. The charge stated that he molested his 9 year old daughter, fondling her vaginal and anal areas. This daughter reported repeated abuse, including vaginal insertion of fingers. CM21 neither admitted nor denied the charges. He stated that he had a breakdown and cannot remember the incident(s). Because he trusts his daughter, he feels it must be true. CM21 explained that he was under great stress during that time, and he cracked. He was completing his college degree, and his wife had recently left him for another man. Thus, he was responsible for working, going to school, and taking care of his four children. CM21 is now remarried, and his children are living with his ex-wife. An interview with his new wife indicated support for CM21, and a desire to forget about the incident.

CM21 reported that he had had an unhappy childhood. His parents had a poor marriage, and his father was rarely at home. He felt unloved because with one disabled brother and five sisters, he was often forgotten about. He felt close to neither his mother nor his father. A college graduate, CM21 reported that he received good grades, and was well liked by his teachers and peers. His first sexual experience was at age 17 with a prostitute. Since then he has remained sexually active, but reported feelings of sexual insecurity after his wife left. He denied ever masturbating.

After his wife left, CM21 began seeing a therapist. Following the present offense, he had a breakdown and was psychiatrically hospitalized. He was diagnosed as Hysterical Personality with Dissociative Disorder. Another evaluation diagnosed him as Adjustment Disorder with Depressed Mood. He received psychotropic medication and has been involved with outpatient treatment to the time of the interview. He considered his treatment a success. CM21 exhibited nervousness during the interview, stuttering and shaking slightly. He was pleasant, cooperative and likeable throughout.

In general, CM21 is a family man who cracked under stress, and sexually abused his daughter. Because of the support of his new wife, his successful therapy, his lack of previous offenses, and the severe costs of the present offense, it is unlikely that CM21 will get in trouble sexually again.

CM33

CM33 is a 43 year old married, white male who was charged and convicted of fondling and orally sodomizing a 12 year old female while visiting friends. CM33 completely denied all charges and claims that he was framed. He stated that the local authorities had set him up for this conviction because he was involved in some undercover law enforcement for another agency. He received a 6 year jail sentence of which 2 years was served in another state and subsequently was given probation. CM33 had no prior history of arrest. He was born and raised out of state and lived with his parents as well as an older sister. He described his mother as warm and supportive but his father as non-affectionate, however supportive. He dropped out of high school after sophomore year and later completed a G.E.D. He since has completed an Associate Degree. CM33 served in Vietnam and was treated for Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome after discharge in 1968 through 1969 as an outpatient. He also had received treatment for depression in 1980 around the time of the child molestation charge. He has worked as a security guard as well as construction. Presently, he owns his own business. During this interview he was superficially pleasant and very cooperative. His dress was meticulous and his speech carefully measured. In response to questions on sexual orientation and practice, CM33 presented appropriate responses which he was careful to qualify so that he would not be seen as deviant. He was rather grandiose and somewhat narcissistic regarding his sexual activities with women. He took pride in presenting himself as "a man's man" and very carefully went about constructing this image.

In an interview with his wife, she felt everything was going well and supported CM33's contention of innocence. She did not see indications of a problem and did not feel he was in need of therapy. However, an interview with his probation officer indicated that CM33 could very well be guilty of this offense. He is cooperative but manipulative and evasive to the point of providing excuses for not following through on a therapy referral which the P.O. feels to be important in CM33's program of probation. He described CM33 as somewhat sociopathic and glib and thus has difficulty trusting him.

In general, CM33 is a self-centered, narcissistic personality type who sees himself as having to control situations which is what he attempted during the interview. He has developed a manipulative set of social skills which facilitate his control of people and situations. He would make a difficult candidate for therapy since he seems to lack motivation and insight. He has a history of depression and stress but engaged in sporadic treatment in the past and is more invested in seeing himself as not requiring therapy at this time. Presently, he is satisfying the conditions of probation. He could well have committed the offense in question but seems unlikely to repeat such behavior given his present experience, unless of course, he sees the opportunity to get away with it.

P1

P1 is a 46 year old married white male who was charged with public lewdness (pulling his car over to a curb and exposing himself to a 17 year old girl). Employed as a hotel worker, P1 was cooperative and open throughout the interview. He said that his first sexual experience occurred at the age of 17 with his girl friend at the time. He said that he was quite confused about the incident himself, that it happened "at the spur of the moment". According to probation department records, he was diagnosed at one point as "mixed personality", but very little psychiatric information is documented.

In an interview, P1's probation officer indicated that he felt that P1's family ws very supportive of him and that his wife was very concerned about his "condition". He said that it was his understanding that P1 ws presently being seen in therapy by a social worker although he and P1 never talk about psychological counseling. It was his feeling that P1's misconduct was an isolated incident, not a part of a persistent pattern of behavior and that he would probably not get into trouble again because he had "too much to lose".

P1's wife, in an interview, indicated her belief that P1's "problem" had "cleared up" and that she anticipated no further difficulties. The incident, she said, is rarely discussed between herself and her husband. She felt that the "scare" of arrest was "exactly what he needed to straighten out". She indicated that P1 had seen a therapist for one session but was not seeing anyone at the time of the interview. She does, however, feel that therapy on a regular basis would be a "good idea". Concurring with P1's probation officer, she felt that the incident was a "mistake" that probably would not be repeated.

P2

P2 is a 32 year old single white male who was 31 years old when he was charged with the offense of public lewdness, wherein he allegedly exposed himself to a 12 year old female while he was sitting in a car. P2 admits he did so, but claims not to know why. He does not know what would make a person do such a thing and states that the act was more or less spontaneous and was not long in his mind prior to acting. His feelings right after his action are "cloudy" but he claims that his life in general, and every significant aspect of his life at that time, was unsatisfactory.

P2 admits to ten prior, similar acts, but only six have resulted in arrest. Other past offenses include six speeding violations, operating a vehicle without a licence, and repeated alcohol offenses.

P2 is presently married to a woman with whom he became involved after the offense. P2 has an inconsistant work record and was employed only "sporadically" as a T.V. and electric range repairman. He reports that he is the product of an intact marriage and reports very poor academic and social adjustment in school. He attended one year of college.

P2 is presently involved in counseling for alcoholism and reorts that he has been totally drug-free for over one year. It is not possible to determine the reaction of P2's family to the charge, as he repeatedly chose to leave the family out of it. There has been no report of sexual offenses committed by other members of the family and no report of P2's own sexual abuse as a child. His wife and probation officer see the course of his offense as alcohol related. It is the judgement of his probation officer that if P2 drinks again, he will again become involved with the law, but at this time P2's commitment to sobriety and adopting more appropriately to problems seems genuine. His wife feels that counseling treatments have helped. P2 indicated remorse and depressive features associated with his present offense and is continuing in therapy with a stated goal of keeping out of trouble.

P8

P8 is a 21 year old white male who was recently charged with indecent exposure when he exposed himself to two girls at a local bowling alley. P8 admits he did so, but claims that the girls involved were leading him on and teasing him. He claims that he does not know why he did it, but that he did not think he would get into trouble. He reports that he was the only one who told the truth to the police and that he got in trouble because of it. P8's life in general at the time of the incident was unsatisfactory, with no job, no girl friend, and continued attendence at a day program for psychiatrically impaired individuals at a local hospital. P8 reports himsellf to be not one who is mentally ill, only one who does "stupid things". He does admit to having an unspecified learning disability. P8 admits that "talking duty" has gotten him into trouble before at the place where he was employed, but never before into trouble with the law.

P8 is presently living with his parents and was doing so at the time of the offense. He denies any problems with his parents. P8 has an inconsistent work history and has been unable to hold such jobs as cart boy for a local supermarket. He claims to have completed the first year of college and states his grades and behavior in high school were poor due to an inability to remain in his seat and to concentrate on what was being said.

P8's family reportedly covers up a great many issues and makes excuses for their son's behaviors. They are sympathetic to him, but further reports suggest that they are not dealing with P8's "real problems". While his parents feel that P8 has learned from his recent difficulties and will remain out of trouble, a staff psychiatrist from P8's day treatment program suggests that P8 shows little remorse and lacks insight and judgement. Thus, it is unclear whether P8 will repeat his offense in the future.

R3

R3 is an 18 year old single male who was 16 years old when he was charged with the offense of raping a 16 year old female. This is R3's first offense, and he reported that he was dating the victim for approximately two years on a "steady" basis. She became pregnant, and her father, a minister, pressed charges.

R3 lives with his mother. His parents are separated. He did not do well academically, but reportedly had received his high school diploma. R3 is presently working as a maintenance man, but was not employed at this position at the time of the offense. R3 reported that he was raised with his grandmother and older sister. He reported feeling close to both his parents and described them as warm and supportive. He claimed that he was well cared for as a child and was never abused nor neglected. He felt that he was well liked by teachers and popular with other children in school. R3 reported no complaints or behavior that would suggest hyperactivity nor difficulties with attention and concentration.

R3 claimed that awareness of his first sexual feelings and his first sexual experience with a female occurred when he was 13 years old. He reported no homosexual activity. He was cooperative and pleasant during the interview but did not agree with the charges. He claimed that the primary problem was that they got caught. R3 further reported that his girl friend and he continue to secretly see each other. He reported that he does not drink and denied any drug history. R3 claimed that he was brought up as a Christian and considered himself to be religious.

The only experience R3 had with the mental health system was reported to be eleven years ago with a psychologist for a car accident in which he was reported to have been in a coma. The length of the coma was not reported.

In general, R3 presented himself as an amiable young man who was of the belief that no offense was committed, and if not for his girl friend's father being a minister, her pregnancy would not be an issue.

R5

R5 is a 30 year old black male, married who was 22 at the time of the offense. He was charged with rape and did not feel this was accurate. The girl in question was 16 years old at the time, and according to R5, she made herself available to him. He was drinking and did not think twice about having intercourse with her; however, since she was a minor he was guilty of statutory rape. He is presently on probation for drunk driving. R5 is happily married and employed in a job he very much enjoys. He was born in Brooklyn and lived with his mother, a step-father, two older brothers, two older sisters and one younger brother and sister. His first 7 years were spent with an aunt in the South which he described as the best period of his youth. His mother lived in NY with the rest of the family at that time. When R5 eventually came to live with his mother, she had remarried, and the step-father was alcoholic. He physically and verbally abused R5. R5 never knew his biological father. He described himself as the "black sheep" of the family.

His previous record includes the rape conviction which he would like to forget. He was cooperative and friendly during the interview but evasive and guarded on issues regarding sexual practice and background. R5 completed the 11th grade and then took a G.E.D. after some years away from school, so he has a diploma. He is working in a management trainee position presently. He worked in a diner at the time of his rape offense. He was 9 years old at the time of his first sexual experience; however, he described becoming aware of his sexual feelings at about 13 years old. His first experience was with a 14 year old girl.

R5 has had an alcohol abuse problem dating back to the early 1970's. He has been hospitalized for detoxification as well as suicidal ideations. In 1976 R5 spent two weeks in psychiatric care for feelings of depression and suicidal ideation. He presently is a member of Alcoholics Anonymous and attends meetings regularly. He stated that he never liked to do drugs of any kind but found alcohol to be his drug of choice. He has not had a drink in 1 1/2 years.

R5 did not consent to having his wife participate in an interview. He was defensive and guarded and felt his wife should not have to be subjected to this study. He also did not want her to know what had happened back in 1978. However, in an interview with his probation officer, R5 was described as cooperative and motivated to make a good life for himself and his wife. The probation officer felt the offense could very well have occurred just as R5 described it since the girl in question had a reputation for being sexually promiscuous even though she was a 16 year old. He, the probation officer, felt R5 was trying to do the right

S2

S2 is a 35 year old white male who was charged with sexual abuse of a 17 year old female. S2 denies abuse, but claims to have attempted to put his arm around the woman's shoulders and wound up touching her buttocks by accident. S2 claims that he was only looking for a shoulder to cry on and was "comatose" for "a week prior and months after" the incident due to the break-up of his marriage. No previous sexual offenses are noted or are repoted in the family history. Previous criminal offenses are limited to two speeding tickets. S2 is presently living alone and reports being "happy" in his employment as a salesman. Little information is available on S2's family background due to his intense desire to not involve them in his problem. S2 completed four years of college and reports his high school grades and behavior as being good. S2 denies counseling at any time except for a marriage encounter, a brief conference with a psychiatrist friend, and court referred counseling. Alcohol and drug use are denied and the consulting psychiatrist's report noted that since S2 has denied guilt "effective treatment for the offense of sexual abuse is not possible for all practical purposes". It is unclear, given S2's extreme embarrassment and secretiveness, whether the recent offense will again be committed.

S6

S6 is a 21 year old white male who was convicted of sexual abuse wherein he grabbed two women, kissed their necks and fondled their breats. He returned later to the scene to apologize to them and they copied his license plate and referred it to the police. S6 denies improper conduct and claims that the women were teasing him and leading him on. He plead guilty only because he had no money for a defense. S6 is extremely angry over the matter and repeatedly explained how he has never had any trouble "getting girls" and therefore would not have done such a thing as he was charged. There is no history of other sexual offenses in his life, but moving violation complaints are noted on his record. S6 presently lives alone and works as a gas station attendant and a night club bouncer. His record indicates a history of short term employment.

S6 consistently understated his relationship with his parents. He is an adopted child who appears alienated from both mother and father. Father reports that S6 has told him almost nothing of the offense or it's aftermath. Father's report suggests that S6 pretty much goes his own way and will not take any advice.

S6 completed 12 years of education, most recently at a military academy. Records indicated S6 was discharged (promoted) early from his school due to aggressive threats made with increasing frequency toward members of the faculty. His achievement is reported as fair, his adjustment reported as difficult. S6 has a history of having avoided all appointments with his primary therapist at school and has been diagnosed as anti-social personality disorder with a reported lack of control over rage impulses. S6 denies alcohol and drug use but records suggest occasional alcohol abuse and some resultant disruption of functioning. Marijuana and cocaine use was also reported. S6 was using alcohol at the time of the incident. Given his history, S6 will probably become involved with the legal system at some point in the future.

S10

S10 is a 24 year old single, white male who was charged and convicted of the sexual abuse of a 20 year old female. He was accused of fondling her breasts and vagina while sitting in the back seat of his car. He denied forcing himself on the girl and claimed that she was a willing participant. He felt that he had been framed by the girl and a friend of hers who was also in the car at the time of the incident. S10 was working as a probationary City hospital administrator at the time and did not have any apparent stress in his life. He rated the quality of his life as very satisfactory. He described his behavior on the night in question as spontaneous. S10 was rather guarded and careful during the interview and stated he planned to appeal the ruling of his case. He was raised in Nassau County and lives with his parents and younger siblings. He viewed both mother and father as warm and supportive. He completed high school and has 2 years of college. From his perspective, he was a good student and very popular with peers. He described his family as a close, typically tight-knit family concerned about each other's well being. After the conviction, S10 lost his City position; however, he is working for a Nassau County hospital presently. Subsequent to this arrest he was in trouble for beating a present girl friend during a disagreement.

S10 was accused of using P.C.P. and drinking at the time of the incident but he denies the drug use and claimed only to have had a few beers. He has used marijuana in the past, mostly during high school and college years. He had no prior history of arrests. When discussing his sexual orientation and practices, he portrayed himself as rather traditional. He was 10 when he discovered sexual feelings and 16 years old when he had his first experience with a girl friend of the same age.

In an interview with his father, the indication was that S10 is seen as innocent by his family who very much support him in this appeal. However, his father thought S10 to be impulsive and in poor control of his temper at times. Therefore, he did feel that therapy might be beneficial to his son in these areas. S10 had an appointment to see a psychiatrist for evaluation at the time of this interview. His probation officer believes S10 is manipulative and immature in addition to the impulsive, explosive qualities described by his father. However, she was not sure about his guilt in this case but did feel he used poor judgement throughout the course of the evening in question and thus could very well have done this act. S10 was intent in showing me he was a "nice guy" and presented this persona during our meeting.