Exploring sexual exploitation of children from a criminal events perspective.

Shelley. Young

University of Windsor

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd

Recommended Citation

This online database contains the full-text of PhD dissertations and Masters' theses of University of Windsor students from 1954 forward. These documents are made available for personal study and research purposes only, in accordance with the Canadian Copyright Act and the Creative Commons license—CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivative Works). Under this license, works must always be attributed to the copyright holder (original author), cannot be used for any commercial purposes, and may not be altered. Any other use would require the permission of the copyright holder. Students may inquire about withdrawing their dissertation and/or thesis from this database. For additional inquiries, please contact the repository administrator via email (scholarship@uwindsor.ca) or by telephone at 519-253-3000ext. 3208.
INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6” x 9” black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700  800/521-0600
NOTE TO USERS

The original document received by UMI contains pages with slanted print. Pages were microfilmed as received.

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI
Exploring Sexual Exploitation of Children from a Criminal Events Perspective

by

Shelley Young

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1997

© 1997 Shelley Young
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author’s permission.

L’auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L’auteur conserve la propriété du droit d’auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-30994-0
Abstract

The literature surrounding child sexual assault is expansive, but most of it focuses on either the victim, the offender or one specific type of assault (i.e. incest). Few studies examine the social context in which sexual exploitation develops. The purpose of this research was to fill this gap by examining what routine activities, aspects of lifestyle and presentations of self facilitate access to and the sexual exploitation of children. Criminal events theory guided the analysis of 49 child sexual assault case-files from the Victim-Witness Assistance Program in Windsor, Ontario.

While many of the results support the findings indicated in the literature on child sexual assault, this research has moved beyond previous work, in that it explores both the victim and the offender within the physical and social settings of sexual exploitation. Simply by engaging in everyday routines, children are at risk of exploitation by individuals who abuse their social roles and positions in order to gain access to children and coerce them into sexual activity. These individuals take advantage of children's naivety and natural curiosity as they groom them for more serious exploitations. The summary and discussion offer suggestions of how this knowledge can be used toward developing preventative strategies.
Acknowledgments

Several people have been instrumental to the completion of this project. I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to them.

First, and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Eleanor Maticka-Tyndale, my advisor, mentor, and friend. Thank you Eleanor for your support and guidance and for the many invaluable experiences you made available to me.

I would like to thank Dr. Stephen Baron for his advice and direction. Steve, your never-ending patience, persistence and encouragement at each stage of the thesis process was greatly appreciated.

I would also like to acknowledge the input and assistance from Prof. Bernie Kroeker. Thank you Bernie for your suggestions and excellent editing.

Further I would like to thank Sue McGilveray for her unwavering support, her freely given smiles and kind words. Thank you Sue for always taking the time to find answers to the myriad of questions I posed to you.

Finally, I would like to extend a special thank you to each member of the Windsor/Essex Sex Offender Task Force and to the devoted women of the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme. Without their commitment, cooperation and support this thesis would never have been possible.
This thesis grew out of the researcher's participation and involvement with the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme and the Windsor/Essex Sex Offender Prevention and Treatment Task Force.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**ABSTRACT**

iii

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

iv

**CHAPTER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>THE CRIMINAL EVENT PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presentation of Self</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stigma</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strategies of Access and Compliance</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offenders</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categorization by Age Preference</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categorization by Relationship to the Victim</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categorization by Personality</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victims</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sampling</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Data Collection and Analysis</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reliability and Validity</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Original Source Issues</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Analysis of Files for Research</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ethical Considerations</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>RESULTS</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Profile of the Sample</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intra-familial</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access to Children</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Timing and Location</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grooming Strategies</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normalization of Sexual Discourse and Contact</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explicit Sexual Desensitization</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implicit Sexual Desensitization</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaining Compliance or Cooperation</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Violent Tactics</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forceful Tactics</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Re-access Tactics and Maintaining a Collusion of Secrecy</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age Differences</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Violent to Violent- Is there a Progression?</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationship Differences</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Records dating back to biblical times indicate that children have been sexually exploited by adults throughout history. However, according to Rodgers and Kong (1996: 116), "it wasn't until the 1960's that sexual abuse of children became socially intolerable". Despite the lengthy existence of child sexual exploitation, there is still considerable speculation as to the frequency and nature of such events (Rush, 1980; Parcelled, 1984; Knudsen, 1991; DeKeseredy and Hinch, 1991; Li et al., 1993). Estimates are problematic because, as Parcelled (1984: 217) points out, the "phenomenon is so varied and protected by taboo that it has been virtually unmentionable until recent years", and even now mentioned only reluctantly. An enormous number of cases are ignored because of the interpersonal, social, and economic complications that arise when the problem is confronted directly (Parcelled, 1984; MacMillan et al., 1997).

Reluctance to acknowledge the existence of child sexual exploitation has contributed to the contradictions and confusion surrounding its understanding. Some areas of controversy include: 1) whether females and males are victimized in similar proportions and whether they are traumatized to the same extent by such victimization (Finkelhor, 1979; Rush, 1980; de Young, 1982; Finkelhor and
Williams, 1988; Knudsen, 1991); 2) whether perpetrators are neurotic, psychotic or normal (Groth, 1978; Rush, 1980); and 3) whether perpetrators actively seek out their victims or passively wait for opportunities to arise (Groth, 1978; Sgroi, 1981; Finkelhor and Williams, 1988).

These disputes persist, in part, because of the sparsity of comprehensive research. Most studies focus on a single aspect of child sexual exploitation (e.g. offender characteristics) or a specific type of offence (e.g. incest). The results of specific analyses have often been erroneously generalized to all or most cases of child sexual exploitation. While individual studies have provided invaluable information and insight into the phenomenon, the resulting inconsistencies have left parents, educators, assisting agencies and policy makers unclear about the causes and consequences of the sexual exploitation of children. There is also uncertainty as to what action might be taken to prevent or respond to child sexual exploitation. In the absence of clear and consistent information, myths and stereotypes regarding child sexual exploitation flourish. These are sustained by media portrayals of sensationalized cases. As a result, people are unable to recognize potential sources of danger that do not fit the stereotypes.
Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine one of the areas where information is lacking: how adults who sexually exploit children acquire access to their victims. More specifically, this study explores what routine activities and aspects of lifestyle provide adults who sexually exploit children with access to their victims and the self presentations which facilitate the sexual exploitation. Information about the modes and methods of access used by sexual exploiters was obtained from child sexual assault case-files in Windsor/Essex County. The case-files were used to explore the phenomenon of how adults gain access to their victims for the purpose of sexually exploiting them and to map a diversity of environmental and interpersonal factors and scenarios that contribute to that exploitation.

Criminal events theory was the integrated theoretical approach used to understand and explain the phenomenon. This perspective draws from opportunity-based models to explain how ordinary lifestyles and events may contribute to potential victimization. From this viewpoint, childhood can be seen as a lifestyle risk because of children's credulous or gullible disposition and dependency on adults (Rush, 1980; Mecher and Parker, 1983). Proponents of this perspective (Hindelang et al., 1978) claim that individuals are more at risk in places where they spend the majority of their time. Thus, young children, who spend a great deal of
time at home under the supervision of family members or friends, are more likely to be victimized at home by someone they know than away from home by strangers. This perspective also draws from Goffman's presentation of self to portray how actors define, interpret and create situations to successfully acquire a child victim (Goffman, 1959).
CHAPTER II

THE CRIMINAL EVENT PERSPECTIVE

Researchers have noted that most studies concerned with child sexual exploitation have been based on clinical samples of victims and offenders (Conte et al., 1984; Lang and Frenzel, 1988). According to Finkelhor (1984: 226) there are currently:

two virtually separate and unconnected bodies of [child sexual exploitation] theory: theories developed from work with offenders and theories developed from work with victims and their families. These two fields, [however], need to be reconciled...

As Finkelhor (1984) suggests, while a great deal of knowledge has been produced in each of these separate areas, even more understanding could be gained from an integrated or holistic approach. Conte et al. (1989) stress that research which examines the interactive dynamics between the offender and the victim would help with identifying and understanding which factors increase a child's risk of exploitation. Miethe and Meier (1994) agree, stating that since crimes such as child sexual exploitation do not occur in a social vacuum, it is essential that the social context of the crime be considered in order to understand it more fully. The social context includes "both the interpersonal and physical environment ... where criminal intentions ... are translated into action" (Miethe and Meier, 1994: 63). While this integrated approach is rare in studies of child
sexual exploitation, it has been applied to the analysis of crimes such as assault, robbery and adult sexual assault (Hindelang et al., 1978; Cohen and Felson, 1979; Birkbeck and LaFree, 1993; Sacco and Kennedy, 1994). A social context approach, such as the one taken by Sacco and Kennedy (1994) in their book *The Criminal Event*, examines the role of the victim and the physical setting in addition to more traditional approaches which consider the role of the offender.

Conceptualizing crime as a social event allows us to recognize that the occurrence of crime is "intricately linked to the routine activities in which both victims and offenders engage, and to the places in which these activities occur" (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994: 114). In other words, the number of precarious situations a person encounters is determined by the decisions made regarding how and where he or she spends time. This acknowledgment that victimization is affected by daily activities highlights the non-random occurrence of crime and emphasizes the variation in rates of personal victimization.

Lifestyle exposure and routine activities theories are two opportunity-based models which were developed to explain some of this variation in personal victimization. These approaches are based on the suppositions that the likelihood of victimization is attributed to lifestyle and that changes in activity patterns influence criminal vulnerability.
(Miethe and Meier, 1994). Lifestyle in this context refers to "routine daily activities" and the various role expectations and social constraints associated with these activities (Miethe and Meier, 1994: 32). Engaging in routine activities can expose children to a variety of vulnerable situations. For example, in a society where the norm is for both parents to be in the work force, many children routinely spend time in the care of someone other than a parent. This routine of day care can increase a child's vulnerability to sexual exploitation merely by increasing the number people who have intimate contact with, and control over, the child. Similarly, a weekly routine for some families may involve the father staying at home alone with his child while his wife attends a night class or recreational activity outside the home. For a father who wishes to, this weekly routine may provide ample opportunity to sexually exploit the child in the mother's absence.

Structural constraints impact on everyday life through the social roles, social impediments and decision making confronted in the leisure and vocational activities that make up an individual's lifestyle (Hindelang et al., 1978; Sacco and Kennedy, 1994). Thus, the structural constraints of a 3 year old, who has virtually no autonomy, are very different from those experienced by a 14 year old, who is in the process of acquiring independence. The 3 year old child's complete reliance on adults for care, supervision,
and protection, can place the child at the mercy of guardians who may attempt to abuse their position of trust or authority. On the other hand, 14 year olds are less dependent on adult guardianship, but may engage in certain behaviours or activities that place them at greater risk for sexual exploitation in their attempts to assert their independence.

Not only are these social constraints different for individuals at different ages but there is variation between gender, and across economic and educational levels, as well as across social situations. In other words the liberties and constraints experienced by an individual are to a great extent dependent on their social position. Therefore, it is essential that social factors be taken into account in order to fully appreciate the context of the sexually exploitative criminal event.

Lifestyle impacts on vulnerability in two ways; it specifies the potential victim's risk and it stipulates the potential offender's capacity to violate others. Therefore, it is important to look at the components of lifestyle for both the child and the adult. It is not enough to examine what factors increase a child's vulnerability, we also need to ask what factors influence a perpetrator's ability to successfully sexually exploit a child. The criminal events perspective recognizes that a crime requires more than an offender who is "ready and willing to engage in criminal
conduct" (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994: 91). In order for a crime to occur, a motivated offender must interact with a vulnerable target in a favourable environment where supervision or interference is minimal. The absence of any one of these elements, or an interaction unsuitable for a crime occurring, will prevent a criminal offence from being committed. It is important to recognize that it is the convergence of the offender's lifestyle with that of the victim's in a suitable social context which present an opportunity for sexual exploitation to occur (Hindelang et al., 1978; Cohen and Felson, 1979).

In order for a motivated offender and a vulnerable target to come together, there need to be parallel or complementary aspects in their lifestyles. This is not to suggest that the child and adult need to share roles, role expectations and social constraints, but rather that their roles, expectations and constraints are compatible in the sense that they come together in time and space in an environment that is conducive to child sexual exploitation. In other words, the child and adult may live in the same or neighbouring geographical areas or they may both engage in activities which cause them to come into contact with one another. For instance, they may belong to the same church or social group and their respective roles within the group may provide occasion for them to spend time together.

As previously stated, the converging of an offender
with a potential victim will not inevitably result in exploitation or victimization. The context in which the two actors meet has important implications regarding the nature of the interaction. In order for victimization to occur, the situation must be subjectively interpreted by the offender as being favourable to criminal conduct (Birkbeck and LaFree, 1993). The offender evaluates the risks and benefits involved in committing the transgression relative to their ability to manage the situation. Birkbeck and LaFree (1993: 122) refer to this ability to manage a situation as "situational skills" and acknowledge that situational skill levels differ from person to person and from situation to situation. Assessment of the situation does not necessarily imply planning or premeditation on the part of the offender since many offences occur simply because an opportunity has presented itself. Situational skills can be evaluated and re-evaluated moment by moment (Birkbeck and LaFree, 1993).

The criminal events perspective draws from Goffman's (1963) analyses of social interactions to fully illustrate how these constituent parts relate once the victim and offender come together. Goffman's (1963) term "situated transactions," meaning events in which all factors interact and influence the outcome, emphasizes "what goes on between [the individuals] rather than what anyone of them does" (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994: 105). The interaction is seen to be just as important as the participants or their behaviour.
Presentation of Self

Criminal events theory draws from Goffman's work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959). Goffman describes actions and interactions much like theatrical events with people as the "actors" in life's theatre. He elaborates how and why the interaction between actors influence the outcome and definition of a situation. Goffman (1959) recognized that both intentional verbal expressions and non-intentional signal cues contribute to an individual's ability to give a desired impression. By regulating both of these forms of communication an actor can influence how others define the situation and their role in it, thereby controlling how others respond to them and to the situation (Goffman, 1959). In other words, the individual expresses "himself in such a way as to give [other people] the kind of impression that will lead them to act voluntarily in accordance with his own plan" (Goffman, 1959:4). This implies that sometimes an individual will act in a calculating manner by expressing himself in a certain way to purposely evoke a desired response. Goffman (1959) points out that in some cases, however, individuals may not be consciously aware of their calculating behaviour. In the specific case of child sexual exploitation, it is easy for most of us to accept that a potential offender will act in a calculating manner to obtain the child's trust and cooperation. The skilled offender will consciously monitor his
expressions and signal cues to encourage the victim to voluntarily respond in a manner which fits his plans. Heeding Goffman's caution, however, we need to avoid the presumption that all adults who sexually exploit children are cognizant of their manipulating behaviour.

The initial actor - the exploiter in this case - is not the only one who has the ability to influence the situational definition. The child victim, albeit in a more passive fashion, also "project[s] a definition of the situation by virtue of their response to the individual and by virtue of any lines of action they initiate" (Goffman, 1959: 9). Depending on how the victim reacts, the original situational definition may be: 1) reinforced (child reacts as anticipated by the sexual exploiter), 2) altered (child's reaction is unanticipated, but still complies with the sexual exploiter's scheme) or 3) completely redefined (child reacts in a manner that is unfavourable for the sexual exploitation to continue). According to Goffman, then, the role the child plays is just as significant as the role played by the adult. This is not to say that the child is responsible, or blameworthy, but rather suggests that the child does have some affect on the situation. By cultivating this capacity to define and redefine the situation a child may be capable of minimizing or even evading sexual victimization. Prevention efforts such as "child proofing" and "target hardening" attempt to put this portion of the
theory into practice by preparing children for potentially threatening situations.

Appearance and manner are two components which function to convey an image or impression. Appearance includes symbols which signify the individual's social status, formal and informal social activities and the stage or phase of life an individual is currently occupying, referred to by Goffman (1959: 24) as "temporary ritual states". For the child, appearance can serve as an indicator of vulnerability or invulnerability to sexual exploitation. For the potential offender, appearance serves as a criterion for successfully accessing and engaging a child in sexual activity. Manner pertains to the role the individual expects to portray during the interaction and is revealed through the person's presentation style (Goffman, 1959). For example, an aggressive, bold or forward disposition may be indicative of the actor's expectations to dominate the interaction. By manipulating appearance and manner, individuals are able to control the impression they convey. Goffman (1961) refers to this type of conduct as "impression management".

**Stigma**

Goffman applies his analysis most specifically to stigmatized individuals. A stigma is defined by Goffman (1961: 3) as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting". A stigmatizing attribute can be a physical blemish, a character flaw, and in some instances nationality or
ancestry (Goffman, 1961). Impression management is instrumental for the stigmatized individual who hopes to avoid being discovered and discredited. When disreputable information (i.e. that which results in stigmatization) is not readily apparent, individuals may attempt to manipulate their appearance and manner in order to deliver desired impressions and prevent having the discrediting or stigmatizing characteristic discovered (Goffman, 1963). Goffman (1959) acknowledges that this form of deception is common. Performers typically conceal something from their audience "that is incompatible with the view... [they] hope [the audience] will obtain" (Goffman, 1958: 43). The individual will often go to great lengths to maintain the desired image because not only will strangers "be put off by his stigma" but his intimates will often shun him as well (Goffman, 1963: 53). Individuals who sexually exploit children fit well into Goffman's (1959: 75) description of people who are "forced to present themselves falsely in almost all situations, having to conceal their unconventional secrets" from public scrutiny.

Despite the need for stigmatized individuals (and to a lesser degree by everyone) to intentionally misrepresent themselves to avoid being discredited, the dominant norm for interaction is to assume that the image presented is true and accurate, i.e. to take people at face value (Goffman, 1959). This tendency to assume that things are as they seem,
places the actor in an advantageous position to mislead the audience and places the audience in a disadvantaged position, where they can be easily fooled (Goffman, 1959). Goffman (1963) points out that some stigmas are very easy to conceal because they have little impact on relationships with non-intimates. Indeed, it is relatively easy for an individual to fool even their intimates for long periods of time if the image that is presented is an accurate reflection of at least part of their character. Goffman (1959) refers to this lengthy deception as "managing a dual role or image". In the case of the adults who sexually exploit children, the behaviours that produce the stigmatized status are typically invisible to everyone but the victim and even then are only revealed during the sexual offence. If child sexual exploitation is considered from within this framework, it is easy to comprehend how a sexual exploiter is able to continue offending behaviours, undetected, for prolonged periods of time. The stigmatizing or discrediting characteristic is only visible to the victim and then only some of the time. Thus, managing a dual role is not a difficult task for the adult who sexually exploits children.

Maintaining a false image, however, is complicated when some people are aware of the stigma. It is rarely the case that everyone is totally unaware. Typically there are some who are in-the-know and some who remain ignorant. According
to Goffman (1959: 73), "nearly all matters which are very secret are still known to someone, and hence cast a shadow" which poses a constant threat of exposure to the individual. In the specific case of child sexual exploitation, the victim may be the only individual who is aware of the offender's stigmatizing behaviour and who constitutes a threat of exposing the sex offender's stigma. In order to reduce the risk of exposure, the sexual exploiter may present the sexual activity to the child as a secret between them, or tell the child that no one will believe them if they tell. They may also threaten that something bad will happen to the child, to members of the child's family, or to the sexual exploiter if the activity is discovered.

When an individual attempts to move between the group which is shielded from the truth, and the group which is knowledgeable, the individual is said to be leading a "simple double life" (Goffman, 1963). Goffman (1959) suggests that we are especially threatened by the type of individual who can maintain a very convincing and believable performance because we begin to doubt our own judgement of character. Adults who sexually exploit children are often successful at leading double lives for lengthy periods of time (de Young, 1982; Finkelhor, 1984; Mayer, 1985). When the sexual exploitation is finally revealed, individuals who know the exploiter are often so disturbed by the knowledge that they initially doubt the accusation. This sense of
disbelief may stem from the individual's reluctance to accept that they misjudged the individual so severely or that they failed to recognize any signs of exploitation.

Considering the risks of discovery, one might think that the individual would cease the stigmatized behaviour to minimize the potential of being found out. However, as Goffman (1959: 41) points out, "when this inappropriate conduct is itself satisfying in some way, [it is usually] indulged in secretly" despite the negative connotations and risk of being exposed. Goffman refers to this inappropriate indulgence as "secret consumption". An individual who sexually exploits children could be classified as a secret consumer since he or she continues to indulge in a forbidden activity for selfish satisfaction despite the risk of being discovered and stigmatized. Rather than discontinuing the behaviour (or when the stigma is obviously apparent and cannot be completely concealed) the individual may instead attempt to pass the stigma off as a desirable attribute (Goffman, 1963). Sexual exploiters may successfully do this by presenting their excessive fondness for children as a virtue rather than a "perversion". Adults may pass themselves off as the boy scout leaders, baby sitters, or big brothers or big sisters who simply adore children.

Through consideration of the full social context, criminal events theory has the potential to provide a more complete understanding of the nature of child sexual
exploitation than previous theoretical models. Consideration of the full social context includes examination of the activities and presentational images of both the child and adult contributing to sexual exploitation, the physical surroundings in which it occurred, and the interpersonal dynamics between the adult and the child throughout the situational transaction. By considering factors from both the offender's vantage and the victim's perspective, criminal events theory moves beyond traditional one-dimensional approaches, offering a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon of child sexual exploitation.
CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Strategies of Access and Compliance

Only a handful of studies were found which specifically examined the circumstances in which adults sexually exploited children (Marshall and Christie, 1981; Budin and Johnsson, 1988; Lang and Frenzel, 1988; Conte et al., 1989). In these studies, known child sexual offenders were the focus, in order to acquire information and understanding of the methods used to lure child victims. Lang and Frenzel (1988), in their study of 102 convicted child sexual offenders, found that common methods took the form of innocent or accidental touching and horseplay, or occurred under the guise of routine care giving. Many offenders attempted to catch the victim off guard while they were distracted or sleeping. Many also tried to keep the victim unaware that the behaviour was inappropriate, convincing the child that the sexual contact was just a game, part of normal adult-child affection or sex education (Lang and Frenzel, 1988).

These studies indicate that child victims frequently undergo a "grooming process" which gradually progresses from innocent affection to serious sexual violations (Lang and Frenzel, 1988). The adult who sexually exploits children often initiates the grooming process with subtle tactics,
such as offering to bathe a child or rub their back, which serve to legitimate physical contact. The offender will take full advantage of the child's naivety by making inappropriate sexual touching take on the appearance of innocent caressing. Some offenders use sexual talk and pornography to stimulate the child's natural curiosity and desensitize them sexually. Fondling gradually "shifts to oral-genital contact or mutual masturbation" and eventually escalates to "vaginal or anal penetration" (Lang and Frenzel, 1988: 305).

In addition, Budin and Johnson (1988: 80), who surveyed 72 incarcerated child sexual offenders, found that one quarter of their sample used "different types of threats ...to obtain the victim's co-operation and silence". Aggressive or fear invoking behaviour was used only as a last resort (Groth, 1978; Budin and Johnson, 1988; Lang and Frenzel, 1988). Lang and Frenzel (1988) suggest that the offender preferred not to injure a child they wanted to repeatedly exploit sexually. These conclusions support the general impression that child sexual exploitation, unlike other forms of child abuse, is usually not especially violent. Some authors, however, suggest that these assaults involve more aggression and violence than is readily apparent (Marshall and Christie, 1981; Lang and Frenzel, 1988). Closer inspection indicates that child sexual offenders frequently engage in various forms (or threats) of
force, violence and injury to fulfil their sexual cravings. Lang and Frenzel (1988: 313) found that nearly "two-thirds frightened the child in some way and almost one-third reverted to physical force" to dominate their victim. Christie and Marshall (1981), who reviewed 41 penitentiary files of incarcerated child sexual offenders, assert that physical violence is not only more common than we would believe but that it also appears to be frequently engaged in for its own sake rather than instrumentally to obtain sexual goals. They found that the amount and degree of force used in every case was in excess of what was required to obtain the child's co-operation. The evidence put forth by Christie and Marshall (1981) seems to suggest that some child sexual offenders engage in violence or threats of violence because that is their primary objective. Lang et al. (1988) compared 21 convicted incest offenders and 22 heterosexual paedophiles with 22 violent non-sexual offenders and 17 control individuals with respect to sexual attraction, sexual behaviours and propensity for violence. They found that some "perpetrators preferred to forcibly subdue the child, frighten him or her and inflict pain for its own sake" (Lang et al., 1988: 436). De Young (1982) identified some offenders who were only able to achieve sexual satisfaction after the victim was hurt or humiliated. This line of thinking parallels the literature on rape which indicates that many sexual assaults have little or nothing
to do with sexual gratification, but rather, are motivated by aggression and a desire to dominate the victim (Brownmiller, 1978; Scully and Marolla, 1985).

Researchers have also examined the situational factors of the assault. A useful focus in this type of analysis is the relationship or the dynamics between the offender and the victim. The literature suggests that different offences are committed in different situations and are to some extent determined by the type of relationship that preceded the offence (Rush, 1980; Sgroi, 1981; Finkelhor, 1984). For example, a repairman has little privacy, time or control over the situation in which he is temporarily in contact with a child with whom he has had little or no prior contact. Baby sitters, on the other hand, have more privacy, time and control over the situation, and they have had prior contact with the child making it possible for them to engage in a grooming process. The baby sitter relationship also provides frequent access to the victim and permits the sexual behaviour to become repetitive in nature.

**Offenders**

In addition to the handful of studies looking at child luring techniques, researchers have looked at sexual offenders themselves in an attempt to identify what motivates offenders, what can "cure" them, and how to discern them from the rest of the population. Because adults who sexually exploit children are not a homogenous group,
they are often classified into categories based on criteria such as age preference, relationship to victim, and personality.

**Categorization by Age Preference.**

Since many sexual exploiters seem to have a preference for victims in a certain age range they have been categorized based on the age of their victims. Although paedophilia was originally a psychiatric term referring to "the expressed desire for immature sexual gratification with a prepubertal child" (Gigeroff, 1968: 59), the present definitions and interpretations are diverse. As Okami and Goldberg (1992: 302) point out,

pedophile [sp] typically is used interchangeably in the ... literature with child molester, sex offender, perpetrator ..., rapist ... etc. [This broad and indiscriminate] application prevents the distinction between sexual behaviour and sexual preference or orientation to be made.

Groth (1978) resolves this issue by classifying paedophiles into 2 subgroups based on their preferences and behaviour patterns. "Fixated offenders" are individuals who have always been sexually attracted primarily or exclusively to children (Groth, 1978). "Regressed offenders" are individuals who usually prefer partners from their own age group but turn to children for sexual comfort in times of stress and conflict (Groth, 1978). Holmes (1991) makes a further distinction based on whether the child victims have reached puberty or not. Those who prefer prepubescent
children are classified as "paedophiles". Sex offenders who prefer children who have reached puberty are classified as "hebephiles".

**Categorization by Relationship to the Victim.**

A second categorization of adults who sexually exploit children is by relationship to the victim, separating incest offences from non-incestual offences. According to Arens (1986: 5), the standard reference to incest includes, "sexual intercourse between individuals related in certain prohibited degrees of kinship". This definition is often extended to include forbidding marriage between relatives demonstrating the original historical concern with consanguineous reproduction. The Canadian Criminal Code (Rodrigues, 1994) defines incest as sexual activity with another individual who is known to be a blood relative (i.e. parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, sibling or half sibling). Groth (1978: 17) extends the legal definition and suggests that offences involving a step-father or other parental figure are similar enough to the strict, biological definition of incest to be termed "functional parent incest". Although every possible combination of partners occurs, Linedecker (1981) points out that sibling and father-daughter incest are the most common forms.

Research has consistently demonstrated that in the majority of cases of sexual exploitation the adult is related to or acquainted with the victim in some way (Rush,
1980; Finkelhor, 1984; Parcelled, 1984; Lang and Frenzel, 1988; Holmes, 1991). This has led some researchers to make a distinction between intra-familial and extra-familial offences rather than the category of incest/non-incest. An Intra-familial offence refers not only to incest, as defined above, but includes distant blood relations and relatives through marriage (Sgroi, 1981; Finkelhor, 1984; Faller, 1987). The intra-familial/extra-familial distinction is preferred because it focuses attention on the violation of relationships which are based on dependence, trust, and access, rather than on the dangers of consanguineous reproduction. Intra-familial offenders are frequently separated from and compared to the extra-familial offenders in an attempt to identify patterns that distinguish them. Thus, for example extra-familial paedophiles are more likely to seek out acquaintances with children, soliciting them from places where youths gather, than intra-familial offenders who have children readily available (Lang and Frenzel, 1988; Budin and Johnson, 1989). Mayer (1985) also indicates that extra-familial offenders may pursue employment and leisure activities which put them in close contact with children. This strategy not only supplies the potential offender with a constant supply of potential victims, but also legitimizes the interaction with the children, thereby reducing suspicion. Recalling Goffman's
warning that not all offenders are cognizant of their manipulating behaviour, what remains unclear is whether the offender is consciously and actively seeking victims or merely taking advantage of (or is unable to resist) the availability of a child when opportunities present themselves.

Incestuous offenders, as a group, are assumed to be different from other types of offenders (e.g. the paedophile) (de Young, 1982; Finkelhor, 1984). A major premise of this assumption is that incest offenders only victimize their own children, while extra-familial offenders only molest unrelated children. However, Faller (1987) cites some evidence that challenges this division and concludes that many sexually exploitive adults do not fall neatly into only one category or the other because they have a history of victimizing their own, as well as other children. In fact, some research indicates that offenders change or replace victims, throughout their life span (Faller, 1987).

**Categorization by Personality.**

A final categorization of sex offenders is by personality type (Linedecker, 1981; Marshall and Christie, 1981; Mayer, 1985; Lang and Frenzel, 1988). Researchers claim that individuals with low impulse control, low frustration tolerance and low self-esteem are higher risks for paedophilic or incestuous behaviour (Groth, 1978; Linedecker, 1981; Mayer, 1985; Lang and Frenzel, 1988). The
majority of paedophiles are considered passive and solitary individuals who feel more at ease with children than adults or individuals in their own age group (Linedecker, 1981; Marshal and Christie, 1981; Mayer, 1985; Okami and Goldberg, 1992). For example, Lang et al. (1988: 436) found that child sexual offenders were less violent than individuals convicted of violent offences, but had "a greater propensity for violence than community controls." Lang et al. (1988: 436) explain that while child sexual offenders may use "threats and force [to] maintain authority over the child victim, ... in other interpersonal contexts, these same individuals may appear shy [and] unassertive". Some authors also suggest that adults who sexually exploit children hold more religious, conservative and restrictive values and morals (Keane, 1977; Linedecker, 1981; Lang and Frenzel, 1988; Holmes, 1991; Okami and Goldberg, 1992). While the relationship between moral values and child sexual exploitation is not clear, Keane (1977: 174) suggests that some adults who sexually exploit children may have

```
imbibed a great level of the (sometimes religiously inspired) fear of sexuality .... lead[ing] them to restrict their participation in normal, healthy forms of sexual expression with the result that they turn to obviously wrcng and juvenile forms.
```

Okami and Goldberg (1992) suggest, however, that these profiles must be viewed with caution since it may be that these "traits" are the result of, or are exacerbated by, the sexual exploitation.
Victims

Victims of child sexual exploitation have also been a common study subject. Many authors have examined the characteristics of child victims, as well as the extent and types of trauma suffered due to the violation (Finkelhor, 1984; Mayer, 1985; Knudsen, 1991). Children of divorce and "run aways" are considered to be at higher risk of sexual exploitation because their activities may be less well supervised and they may be more receptive to attention from adults outside their family (Finkelhor, 1984; Mayer, 1985; Holmes, 1991). The offenders studied by Budin and Johnson (1987: 79) offered support for this logic by admitting that they preferred "passive, quiet, troubled, lonely children from broken homes," whom they felt they could easily manipulate. Finkelhor (1984: 25) found that having a stepfather "more than doubled a girl's vulnerability" making it the number one risk factor in his analysis. A chronically absent or emotionally distant mother also increased a girl's risk, but a working mother had no impact on the child's vulnerability (Finkelhor, 1984).

Lang and Frenzel (1988) provide some insight into how these characteristics make a child more vulnerable. They suggest that emotional needs of children are the key. Thus, children whose emotional needs exceed their family's ability to provide for them, may welcome the attention and affection displayed by sexual exploiters because they make the child
feel "special, wanted and loved" (Lang and Frenzel, 1988: 312). And, in incest, the sexual exploitation may be the child's only confirmation of being loved by a parent who is unable to demonstrate caring and affection in a non-sexual manner (Lang and Frenzel, 1988). Mayer (1985: 35) suggests that children with learning disabilities fit this profile of a child who may be at higher risk for victimization as well, because they "tend to be rejected by their peers and seek out adult attention."

While sexual exploitation occurs at all ages, Holmes (1991: 32) observes that it "is more prevalent among older children, especially as they approach the early teen years". The type and extent of the exploitation also seems to be influenced by the victim's age.

The literature suggests that child sexual exploitation is a very complex phenomenon. While each of these studies have provided insight into some aspects of child sexual exploitation, none have brought all the pieces together in a holistic framework set within a comprehensive theoretical perspective. The goal of this project is to use a criminal events perspective to examine the aspects of children's lifestyles, the routine activities that accompany their lifestyle and how they interface with those of sexual exploiters. The approach implemented in this project goes beyond identifying characteristics and tendencies, attempting to explain what role these factors play in the
social context of the sexually exploitative event.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Since the purpose of this study was to examine how adults who sexually exploit children acquire access to their victims from a criminal events perspective, it was important to identify a diversity of factors, scenarios and techniques. Case-files from the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme in Windsor, Ontario provided the data used in this research. The case-files consist of reported allegations of child sexual assault which have been substantiated sufficiently that a criminal charge was laid and the accused was publicly arraigned. The case-files are primarily reports of the victim's account to the authorities, but may also include police reports from the investigation, court transcripts and pre-sentence reports, as such they primarily represent the victim's perspective.

Lofland (1971: 13) suggests that qualitative "social inquiry and social theory ... attempt to provide answers to the question; What are the characteristics of a social phenomenon," what forms does it take, and what variations does it display? This suggests that qualitative analysis is the appropriate methodology for the task of this research. One of the merits of qualitative research is that it allows the researcher to explore phenomena in depth and in their totality without segmenting specific pieces. Thus, a qualitative, exploratory project can help to bring all the
pieces together and view the topic as a whole.

The files used in this study included extensive and detailed information on many cases which had been gathered across several years. It was possible to reconstruct the pieces necessary for a complete description of the aspects necessary for a criminal events analysis. Research methodologists point out, however, that problems may arise from using pre-existing data which are not originally collected for the research objective. For example, the original definitions and measurement of the variables may not match that of the research, requiring steps be taken to minimize this incongruity (Neuman, 1991). In addition, official data such as this can serve only as a "proxy for a construct [which] is not entirely valid because many [cases and some information] are not reported" (Neuman, 1991: 282). For these reasons, previously collected data can be misleading if not evaluated carefully. Therefore, as recommended by Stewart and Kammins (1993), I will approach the analysis with a healthy scepticism looking for contradictions or corroboration to appraise my interpretation.

**Sampling**

The case-files for this study were selected using purposive sampling in order to produce maximum variation. Approximately 100 cases of child sexual assault are brought to the attention of the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme
in Windsor/Essex County each year. Sampling began with the most recently cleared files (i.e. no longer before the courts) and proceeded backwards through time until the diversity of cases was exhausted or the themes emerging in the data analysis were saturated. To meet the initial selection criteria a case had to involve a victim 14 years of age or younger and an accused who was at least 19 years of age. These age criteria coincide with the legal prohibitions of adult and child sexual activity in the Canadian Criminal Code (Rodrigues, 1994). From the initial selection, files that were heavily laden with detail were analyzed first. Files which contained insufficient details about the adult, the child and the situation were bypassed unless they provided some information that was different or unavailable in other case-files.

As the collection and analysis procedure evolved, additional selection criteria emerged. For example, as patterns developed, cases that provided details which filled apparent gaps were sought, in much the same way that one would search for missing puzzle pieces. As scenarios were completed, cases which identified new configurations were sought. In addition, information was searched for to reconcile contradictions and confirm impressions encountered in earlier files. In order to identify the diversity of techniques used by offenders, unusual or extraordinary cases were acknowledged and included in the analysis even though
they do not fit neatly into general themes or patterns.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously throughout this project. In order for themes or patterns to be identified, sections of case-files were retrieved, decontextualized, and recontextualized. The process of decontextualization involved the isolation of text segments in order to identify their underlying meaning. Segments sharing similar meanings or dealing with similar topics were then clustered together. These clusters were re-assembled or placed in a new context to provide a more comprehensive picture. This recontextualization was achieved through insight from the literature, theoretical perspectives and inferred connections in the data (Tesch, 1991). To prevent segments from being misinterpreted or inaccurately translated because they had been taken out of context during the process of decontextualization, the segments were extracted verbatim. Often interpretive comments were attached to further ensure that the meaning of the excerpt was not distorted. Extracts were also clearly labelled so that they could be traced back to the original file for subsequent clarification when needed.

Since the patterns were expected to develop as the study progressed, case-files were periodically reviewed to gather additional information or to revise initial interpretation. Spradley's (1979: 191) advice to "reread all
[files] to search for any domains you may have overlooked" was also followed. Some of the initial categories that were used to code the case-files included: the type of relationship between the victim and the offender; age of the victim, type of sexual activity, presence (or absence) and degree of force or coercion; and location of the offence(s). Collection and analysis of files continued until all patterns had been identified and variants were saturated.

Reliability and Validity

There were several problems that threatened to limit or jeopardize the reliability and validity of the findings of the study. The following paragraphs will address some of these potential difficulties for this study, as well as the strategies employed to minimize their effects.

Original Source Issues

Analysis of case-files collected by the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme in Windsor, Ontario was the research design of this project. One major disadvantage of analysis of case-files compiled for a purpose other than research is the double layer of reliability and validity that must be addressed: the first is in original data collection to create the case-files and the second is in analysis for research. For the first level, Babbie (1989) argues that acknowledging that reliability and validity problems may exist is the best strategy for minimizing their impact on the second level. Recognizing the potential impact of
previous reliability and validity problems, enables the researcher to take steps to diminish their influence. For example, in this study continuous attention was paid to contradictory information or areas where information was glossed over. Attempts were made to resolve such disparities by obtaining more details about the case from individuals in the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme who were familiar with the case. To minimize internal validity problems Neuman's (1991) recommendation of adopting the definitions used by the agency that collected the information on child sexual assault was followed. In addition, in many instances the individuals who collected the initial information were consulted to clarify meaning and reduce the threat of internal validity and reliability (Neuman, 1991).

**Analysis of Files for Research**

Content validity addresses how extensively a concept encompasses the full scope or range of possible meanings (Babbie, 1989). Since the goal of qualitative research is not necessarily to generalize findings in a quantitative sense, but rather to acquire a deeper understanding of a phenomenon, this is the key validity concern (Creswell, 1994). Purposive sampling provided a maximum diversity of cases in order to "yield the most comprehensive understanding of" the process of child sexual exploitation (Babbie, 1989: 269). Thus, purposive sampling, based on the details available in the files, maximized content validity.
In qualitative research the researcher is the "primary instrument for data collection and analysis" (Creswell, 1994: 145). Therefore, it was essential that any personal bias and expectations were exposed prior to commencing data collection and analysis. Neuman (1991) acknowledges that the researcher's concealed expectations and attitudes do in fact influence the outcome of a study. As a volunteer with the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme, I adopted the same demeanour as the individuals who compiled the files; that of a victim advocate. This project was developed in collaboration with the Windsor/Essex Sex Offender Prevention and Treatment Task Force. My membership on this Task Force also illustrates my pro-victim stance. This pro-victim perspective is present in the case-files used in this research and is consistent with my own stance. This should be taken into consideration in assessing the results of this research. Constant exposure to evidence of the victims' disadvantaged position has, in fact, made me more sensitive to their plight. While I acknowledge that my perspective is influenced by personal philosophy, I believe that this bias made me more attuned to subtle forms of risk to potential victims.

Despite attentiveness to my biases, some distortion in interpretation may still have occurred, therefore, a well-documented record of the data gathering and coding process was compiled. This organizational technique made it possible
to repeatedly return to files to check for information overlooked or not initially understood, and to insure consistency in interpretation and coding. In qualitative research where the coding process develops throughout the study, this ability to re-analyze the case-files is vitally important for insuring reliability and internal validity. Documentation of personal expectations, assumptions, decisions and procedures throughout the project also served to increase the possibility of replication (Creswell, 1994). As a further test of internal validity and reliability, informed professionals from the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme and the Windsor/Essex Sex Offender Prevention and Treatment Task Force verified that gaps or anomalies in the analysis were genuine and founded, i.e. they represented true gaps and anomalies of cases.

**Ethical Considerations**

The topic of this project is one that people view in an extremely emotional and sensitive fashion. Much of the information being gathered is private and personal. If specific details of the case-files become publicly identifiable, it may place some individuals in vulnerable or compromising positions. Therefore, it was essential that case-file information remained confidential. Several precautions were taken to protect the confidentiality of those individuals cited in the case-files. As a volunteer at the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme I was obliged to
swear an oath of confidentiality. The manner in which the information was handled was carefully supervised by Lynn Kainz, Co-ordinator of the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme, to ensure that confidentiality was guaranteed. The Windsor/Essex Sex Offender Prevention and Treatment Task Force was in full support of this research and contributed to gaining access to the files for this purpose (See Appendix A for Letter of Permission to Access Files). My thesis advisor is a member of this Task Force and my outside reader is a former member. Both are aware of the delicate nature of this information. Therefore, they were especially sensitive to any aspect of the research which could jeopardize the confidentiality of the participants. To protect the identity of the individuals in the case-files, no personal or identifying information was extracted from the files. Although highly unusual or unique cases were included in the sample, they were not presented in totality, only elements of these cases which fit with other scenarios were used in the final presentation. Data were presented as profiles, or aggregate scenarios to prevent the identification of any particular case or individual involved. Also, this project was reviewed by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee and was found to meet the guidelines for ethical research (See Appendix B for Ethics Committee Approval).
CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Profile of the Sample

A total of 132 sexual assault cases from the Victim-Witness Assistance Programme were reviewed. All cases had been closed in either 1995 or 1996 and, therefore, were no longer before the courts. Forty-six cases involving a child victim (14 years of age or under) and an adult accused (at least 19 years of age) were included in the analysis. In all of these cases the accused had been charged and publicly arraigned, but was not necessarily convicted. A guilty verdict was not required for inclusion in this analysis since the focus of the study was to examine a diversity of factors and scenarios that could potentially contribute to child sexual exploitation.

The majority of adults were males (N=51, 96%). One of the two female adults acted in partnership with a male exploiter. The adults ranged in age from 24 to 75 years (age information was not available for all adults). Eighty-six percent of the victims were female, 14% were male. The age of the victims ranged from $2^{1/2}$ to 14 years. In 26 cases information was provided regarding one victim and one adult. The 19 other files presented evidence of 16 adults who sexually exploited more than one child, and 4 files indicated that the victim had been exploited by more than
one adult. Twenty-six adults were related to their victim (i.e. parent, foster-parent, step-parent, grandparent, sibling, cousin, uncle), 26 were acquainted with their victim (e.g. neighbour, baby-sitter etc) and 1 adult was a complete stranger.

The results of the case-file analysis are presented separately for 25 intra-familial and 21 extra-familial offences. In addition, results are separated by the age of victims with comparisons drawn between the various age ranges. These divisions arise from the theoretical perspectives used in this project. The criminal events perspective leads one to first search for the structural constraints and opportunities that contribute to a child's potential vulnerability to sexual coercion, and an offender's capacity to violate a child. Related individuals share similar lifestyles relative to the child and experience similar structural constraints and opportunities. These shared elements, which may provide easier access to children, seem to suggest that intra-familial offences should be examined separately from extra-familial offences. In addition, since structural constraints and opportunities change as children age, (e.g. requirements for supervision, dependence on adults, independence from the family) it is also important to separately examine incidents of sexual exploitation involving victims of different ages.
The criminal events perspective also leads us to examine the roles an actor expects to play in potential criminal situations. Intra-familial offenders and extra-familial offenders are likely to play different roles, present different images to, and utilize different techniques with children, supporting the decision to discuss these two types of exploiters separately. Similarly, the images presented to, and utilized with, older children may be different than those presented to and used with younger children. The expectations and dynamics during interactions between adults and different aged children differ. These divisions were the starting point for analysis. Comparisons were also drawn between these categories to identify additional areas of similarity and difference.

Direct quotations extracted from the case-files have been inserted throughout the analysis for illustrative purposes. While quotations improve the quality of the presentation by illustrating the points being discussed, caution must be taken to prevent the victim's identity from being revealed. In order to protect the victim's identity, names of people and places occurring in the quotations were replaced with an underscore. Words or phrases enclosed in square brackets were added or altered to improve the readability of the quotation while maintaining the original essence of the excerpt.
Intra-familial

Due to the private and intimate nature of family relations, there is frequent unsupervised and close, physical contact between related adults and children. Parents, grandparents, and other relatives are expected to act in the capacity of care-giver, nurturer and educator. These roles all provide the opportunity and justification for adults to interact with children in a manner which would be considered improper if the familial tie did not exist. For example, if a child were to announce that a relative had touched or looked at their genitals, this could be interpreted as appropriate and fitting, due to the nature of some tasks involved in the care-giver role, e.g. the behaviour occurred as part of bathing or toilet training. This conduct would be deemed inappropriate, however, for anyone other than a care-giver. Clearly, the lifestyles and routine activities of children (this is especially true for younger children) and their relatives provide ample opportunity for contact that might otherwise be deemed sexual in nature. Sexual exploitation may occur and remain undetected because family dynamics create an environment which legitimizes many intimate contacts between adults and children.

Access to Children

Access to a child must be established in order for sexual contact to occur. Access was categorized into
situations illustrating when and where (timing and location) a potential offender had access to a child and situations illustrating how a potential offender had access.

**Timing and Location**

The most obvious mode of access is obtained when an adult is left alone in the house with a child. Children are left alone with relatives for a variety of reasons. In many cases children are repeatedly left in the care of particular relatives as part of their daily routine. The following synopses illustrate how common it was for some children whose cases appeared in the files to be left alone with relatives.

The uncle was residing with the two girls and their father, and acted as guardian while father was at work.

Somehow there were times I would be left alone with [him] because my Mother would innocently leave me there and would take my Grandmother wherever she had to go.

In both of these illustrations it was not necessary for the adult to construct or search out ways to be alone with the child victim. They merely needed to wait for opportunities in the course of their routine activities. Being alone with the child was part of the routine activities of the adult and the child.

Not all relatives are routinely left alone with a child. In order for an offence to occur it then becomes necessary to create opportunities to be alone with the
child. One method that was used was to isolate the child from others by taking them to another location. Hotels, campers and vehicles were locations cited in the case-files. In one case the sexual exploiter took his niece, together with her cousins, to an old abandoned barn. He then isolated her from her cousins in the hayloft using them as "lookouts" to maintain the isolation and prevent detection from others.

My first memory about being molested by my Uncle [him] was when I was 8 years old - I can remember [him] taking me up to the hay loft in the barn and telling my other cousins to stay down and yell if anyone came out of the house. [He] would get me up into the hay loft and coax me into performing oral sex on him.

In another case, a father sexually exploited his daughter while alone with her on a fishing trip.

[The victim] had accompanied [him] on a fishing trip.... [He] proceeded to masturbate in front of her. He instructed her to hold and feel his penis, which she did.

Taking the child to an isolated location not only provides unsupervised access to the child, it also increases the child's vulnerability to the adult's advances. Once removed from familiar surroundings the child is unable retreat to a safe place and escape the perpetrating adult. This total vulnerability is demonstrated in the next excerpt. Not only was the child unable to flee the immediate surroundings and her assailant, she was completely reliant on her exploiter to get her back to her home.

[The victim] went to ______ along with her grandfather. They stayed in a hotel for two nights. On the second night the accused came out
of the bathroom with no clothes on. He laid on [her] bed next to her and then pulled the covers back and got on top of her.

It is clear that being alone with a child, or taking a child to another location are acceptable activities for family members. However, they are also activities that provide opportunity to victimize. It is the routine nature of these activities that prevent suspicion, alarm or concern on the part of other family members, and often even on the part of the child.

Sometimes sexually exploitive adults do not have a convenient opportunity to be completely alone with the victim, nor are they able to take the child to a remote spot. An alternative is to capitalize on semi-private situations where others are in the vicinity but are not paying attention to the interaction between the child and the offender. Such situations may occur when others are in another room, are distracted by something else, or are asleep.

She added that their [foster father] had grabbed at her breast on several occasions in the pantry of the house while the rest of the family had their backs turned in the kitchen.

Usually, sexual exploitation occurs when the exploiter is alone with the victim, but as is evident from the above example and the one that follows, sexual exploitation can also occur when others were around or in close proximity. While we might expect that less serious exploitations would occur in these more exposed situations, surprisingly serious
violations such as digital penetration was also recorded in these files.

Everybody woke up during the high winds that nearly knocked the tent over, but after a while she and her sisters fell back asleep. The next thing she remembers is being woke up by the sensation of someone touching her. [She] felt her father lifting up her nightgown and then put his hand over her mouth. [He] moved the crotch of her panties to the side and then inserted his finger into her vagina. When she looked over [across the tent] at her mother, she saw that she was fast asleep.

The shared familial lifestyle and routine activities of adults and children bring potential offenders and victims together with relative ease. However, coming into contact with a child in the opportune place at the opportune time does not ensure that a potential offender will be able to carry out the sexual exploitation. The adult must also engage the child in sexual activity and justify or disguise this physical contact so that others are not suspicious. This is where the routine activities and presentation of self aspects within the criminal events framework interface.

How

Many adults use the guise of acceptable affection, attention, and child care, to legitimate their physical contact with the victim. Simply by virtue of being the child's parent or relative, potential offenders are assigned the role of caretaker or guardian. It is presumed that the adult will take on these duties and activities as part of their everyday routine. These roles are so inscribed in our culture that intra-familial perpetrators merely need to
present themselves in a caretaker role to disguise their interaction with the child and avoid suspicion.

Suspicion will not be drawn to the parent who enters a child's room to check on them during the night, or touches parts of the child's body that are off limits to others. The facade of child care thereby provides an ideal opportunity to access and violate the child. The following citations depict how two men used their roles as father and care-giver to sexually violate their own children.

My father would watch us take our shower together and then he would wash us. With me, he would take his hands and run them all over my body. When he would get to my private parts, my behind, sometimes he would put his finger up my bum.

... he'd say Daddy will take a bath with you because it's a lot quicker. I'd be in the tub with him, that's when he started touching me, then he'd grab my hand say touch daddy, and make it seem like it was funny and normal, that it was okay to do that.

This next example also involves the pretence of child care, but this time the facade is intended to deceive another adult rather than the victim.

Her stepfather asked [her] if her neck was sore, as it looked red. [He] told her to go in the bathroom and he would put cream on it. He locked both doors in the bathroom. He put cream on her back and rubbed it on her neck and shoulders. He moved around to her front, and rubbed her upper chest. He moved his hands down her breasts and rubbed them..... her mother began shaking the door handle off the bedroom. [He] jumped away, [she] put her top on and [he] left the room through the hallway.

In each of these cases the exploiter presented himself and his actions as legitimate forms of care taking both to the
child and to other adults. The above examples also illustrate how the routine activities of children and their relatives overlap. A parent's routine includes bathing children and checking on children while they sleep. The child's routine involves bathing and sleeping under the supervision of adults. Children often have no control or say over who these supervisory adults are. When a child is left in the care of a relative others are given the impression that ample guardianship is being exercised. When the pseudo-guardian is actually the threat or the danger, capable guardianship has been jeopardized.

In addition to the care-giver image, adults who sexually exploit children may also present a self image to children and to other adults of an affectionate and playful adult companion. In the following example the sexual exploiter legitimated his physical contact with the child through this play wrestling pretence.

[My foster father] would act like he was wrestling me and his hands would either move to my breasts or down to my thighs and ass. When [my foster mother] would see this she would say "no horseplay".

Other individuals used more deceptive approaches attempting to catch the child off guard, perhaps while they were distracted and unsuspecting, or while they slept.

The accused massaged [her] back and as a result [she] fell asleep on the couch. In the early morning ..... the [victim] was awaken as a result of heavy pressure on her back. She awakened to find her stepfather, the accused, on top of her, rocking in a back and forth motion.
In the next incident, the sexual exploiter capitalized on the victim's preoccupation with staying afloat in the pool:

...he was going to teach her how to swim. [He had] one arm under her chest and the other supporting her hips. All of a sudden she felt the crotch of her bathing suit being pushed aside and her father's finger going inside her vagina.

In each of these examples the perpetrator presented himself and his actions as falling within the range of acceptable and appropriate familial interaction, whether this be playful wrestling, a soothing back rub or teaching a child to swim. It was in these context that he was able to sexually exploit the child without arousing concern from others.

**Grooming strategies**

Although access is generally relatively easy for the familial offender, it is still necessary to gain compliance from the child for sexual contact to occur, and potentially be repeated. The methods used by adults who sexually exploit children typically blur the line between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. One such tactic is referred to as "grooming". Grooming tactics help to move the interaction between the adult and the child along a continuum from non-sexual to sexual contact. The process of grooming accomplishes three objectives: 1) it makes it difficult for the victim to recognize when sexual misconduct begins; 2) it assists in gaining co-operation and compliance from the child; and 3) it often prevents the child from disclosing
the sexual activity. These objectives coincide with the classification of grooming tactics into normalization of sexual discourse and contact; gaining compliance or cooperation; and maintaining the collusion of secrecy. These classifications can be further divided based on whether direct or indirect sexual acts were involved and whether force or coercion were used. Additional subcategories differentiate more specific types of strategies or tactics.

It must be noted that in this research classification of acts as grooming is based on the consequence of the act, not the motivation. In other words, regardless of the adult's motivation, these acts ultimately have the effect of desensitizing the child to sexual activity and gaining compliance. Since the exploiter's intentions are not usually revealed in the case-files, which are based primarily on the victim's report to the authorities, it is important not to impute motivation based on the data used in this analysis. The motivation of adults who sexually exploit children is beyond the scope of this research.

**Normalization of Sexual Discourse and Contact**

Sexual activity between an adult family member and a child is not a "normal" part of family activities. For the cases reviewed in this research, sexual discourse and contact became normalized or routine through the gradual shift or transfer from non-sexual routine activities to sexual activities, while at the same time making these
sexualized behaviours appear as though they were routine or ordinary. One victim recalled that the transition from non-sexual to sexual activity started when she was around 5 years old. She explained that his kisses advanced to "french necking" when she was 7 or 8 years old.

**Explicit Sexual Desensitization.** When sexually explicit tactics were used they were usually introduced gradually and presented as though they were inconsequential, accidental or trivial. Exposure to nudity, displays of pornographic materials, exposure to sex acts, comments about the body or graphic talk of sex and voyeurism are all examples of sexually explicit tactics which individual's used to desensitize children to sexual behaviour.

her Dad was watching a pornographic movie on the VCR. He had her sit with him and watch it

he showed her some books with pictures of various sex acts. [HE] explained to [her] that that was the way people show their "love" to one another.

By gradually increasing the child's exposure to sexual tactics and presenting these experiences as banal the exploiter is able to make the sexual behaviour appear as routine and ordinary. The presentation of self and repetitive exposure to sexualized activity turns them into routine activities, as activities that are part of the family's lifestyle.

**Implicit Sexual Desensitization.** Some individuals used more discrete or indirect tactics such as affectionate or
playful behaviour (hugs and horseplay), using a facade of child care or making the interaction seem like fun and games. This grooming strategy was illustrated in the scenario of the father who bathed with his daughter;

Then he'd put my hand on his "private part" and he kept saying that it was "Mr. Big" and mine was "Miss Little".

Sometimes sexual exploiters attempted to explain their inappropriate contact as occurring accidentally.

He is always walking by [her] in the house, grabbing her breasts, pretending it is an accident.

In these less explicit tactics the child is gradually introduced to more blatant sexual interaction. Accidental touching of the child may graduate to more obvious or intentional contacts with more overtly sexual contact.

Over a period of time, the sexualized behaviour may become "chorelike", as is illustrated in this quotation:

The sex acts demanded by [him] became so routine [I] knew how to satisfy him quickly in order to get away from him.

This passage suggests that this child engaged in the sexual behaviour with the same reluctance that children perform mandatory chores.

Gaining Compliance or Co-operation.

The familial offender may have ready access to the child through the overlap of routine activities, but that does not ensure that the child will comply with the adult's sexual advances. Sometimes a sexual exploiter needed to
pressure or coax the victim into sexual activity. While many of these tactics were coercive in nature, they varied in the degree of force or violence.

**Non-Violent Tactics.** Familial offenders are often in a position of power over the child, controlling goods and services children want or need. This position of authority is ideal for bribing the victim into compliance, as the next two excerpts clearly illustrate.

Before he would give me the money he would ask me for a kiss. I didn't want to but it was the only way to get some money. He would always try and stick his tongue in my mouth and succeeded.

He was tutoring me mathematics. He would say while he was tutoring me, "I'll help you if you help me". I knew that he wanted me to go into the bedroom with him. I told him I didn't want to but he always talked me into the bedroom.

When the compensation is offered prior to the sexual encounter, we tend to think of it as bribery. However, a similar tactic involves rewarding the child after cooperating with the adult's sexual requests with special attention or treatment. The next segment provides an example of rewarding as a grooming tactic. The father rewarded his daughter for doing as he told her in the bath, by letting her stay up past her bed time - a coveted privilege among children.

We'd get out of the tub. I'd get my pyjamas on and get ready to go to bed and then he'd say you can stay up later cause you're my little girl.
**Forceful Tactics.** Some individuals obtained compliance from children through the use of threats of violence or by creating an over riding atmosphere of potential violence, as well as through actual force and violence. In one case the perpetrator used a great deal of violence and force when the victim resisted his initial advances.

[She] stopped him and told him "no" in a loud voice. [He] then attempted to pull down the left side of [her] boxer shorts. [She] screamed "no, no" in a loud voice. [He] then slapped [her] across the face. [He] then got off the bed and was standing beside the bed wearing only blue underwear. [He] then pulled down his underwear and told [her] you're going to do what I say. [She] fled the bedroom to the kitchen where she was grabbed by the hair and dragged backwards forcefully by [him] towards the bathroom. [She] held on to a fixed object while [he] continuously tried to pull her backwards by the hair.

In another scenario, the threat of violence was sufficient to get the child to succumb.

[The victim] stated her father told her to suck on it and she did. [She] stated she told her dad she did not want to do it any more and he said to do it or she would get spanked.

**Re-access Tactics and Maintaining a Collusion of Secrecy**

There is always a risk that the sexual exploitation will be disclosed or discovered by others, both during and after the violation. Most sexual exploiters attempted to limit this risk by preventing the victim from revealing the sexual exploitation. One technique was to tell the child that the sexual activity between them was a secret and that they should not tell anyone. As illustrated here, this
technique could involve portraying the activity as normal (or routine) but potentially misunderstood by others.

He would also tell [her] not to tell anyone in regards to the massages [masturbation]; also tell her not to let any other relatives touch her private areas and if they did, that she should tell him about that. He also requested of her not to tell anyone of his actions or the massages because if she did, he stated that they would get the wrong idea and probably wouldn't understand what was occurring.

Sometimes the individual added a threat to the warning not to tell.

After ... [He'd say] I was his special little girl, and said don't forget not to tell mommy. He said "you don't tell mommy", otherwise I'd be a bad girl and he'd punish me.

He told me not to say anything to my mother as he would go to jail and when he got out he would kill me.

Other times the sexual exploiter relied on the child's own fears of how others would react to the disclosure and self blame or embarrassment to guarantee the secrecy of the sexual behaviour.

[He] told her that no one would believe her and that he would lie to get out of it.

I was frightened of him and he would tell me that if I told anyone, he would say it was my fault.

Early in the cycle of repeated exploitation, the child may not realize or may be confused about the sexual nature of the interaction. As the child becomes aware of the inappropriateness of the behaviour, the child may develop a sense of guilt about the earlier activities, and as a consequence be reluctant to disclose the abuse. This
explains why a child may continue to comply with subsequent requests for sexual interaction and maintain the secret.

Age Differences

The literature suggests that some adults who sexually exploit children prefer younger (pre-pubescent) children while others prefer older (pubescent) children. This leads one to wonder if the strategies and tactics are different for paedophiles and hebephiles. The routine activities/lifestyle exposure component of the criminal event suggests that the implications of differences in relative autonomy and structural constraints for children at different ages should be explored. It is expected that the opportunities for victimization and modes of access might vary for different ages of children. When the scenarios were compared across age categories, a variety of strategies appeared in each. However, there were distinct patterns and variations in modes of access depending on the victim's age.

Getting the victim alone in the house, in another room or in a hotel were common access strategies across all ages. In the preschool (under 5 years) category baby sitting was cited as a specific reason for being alone with the victim but not specifically cited in the other age categories. One way of making sense of this difference is that we may not always consider the supervision of a child over 5 to be babysitting- especially when it is a parent supervising the child. Older children may be insulted by the phrase "baby
sitting" and use other terminology to refer to a situation where they are temporarily left in the care of an adult relative. A second explanation may be that as children start school they are more likely to go to a friend's house or have friends stay over night while being "baby sat", thereby eliminating the opportunity for the potential offender to be alone with the child, unsupervised. In other words, the changing routine activities or lifestyle of children as they age may account for this apparent difference.

There was little age difference in the less common strategy of catching the victim off guard and waiting for others to be distracted or asleep. Taking the victim to an isolated location seemed to be more preferable for offenders who victimized children under 10 years of age. We might speculate that the reactions of these younger children to the sexual advances are less predictable and more seclusion is needed. Further, as children age they are less interested, or inclined, to go places with their parents or relatives. Many older children and adolescents prefer to associate with their peers rather than their relatives. This preference may make it more difficult for the perpetrator to convince the victim to go to an isolated place with him or her.

Surprisingly, the guise of appropriate affection or care giving was used more often with the older categories (older than 10 years). We might argue that these access
techniques are present with younger children but are not recognized as invasive or offensive until the child starts to develop breasts or becomes conscious and aware of their body and body image. For example, touching the chest of a two year old girl may not be interpreted as sexual or inappropriate, but touching the chest of a 13 year old girl is likely to be considered inappropriate. An older child is more likely to resist being touched by an adult unless the contact is justified with a legitimate reason such as child care, making the facade of care-giving imperative for the sexual contact to occur.

It is not surprising that a variety of strategies are used across all age groups in offences involving familial relations. Relatives have easy access to the private or intimate lives of children, whereas extra-familial adults do not. Familial offenders have access to children at all ages, and as a result may have to alter or modify their strategies as the children mature. Although there are some shifts and changes in the intimate lifestyles of children under the age of 14 (e.g. they gradually become more self sufficient with personal hygiene), these changes are not as dramatic as those that occur in the public or external sphere. In light of this we would expect that the access strategies for sexual exploiters outside of the family would differ more profoundly as the child ages and as their public life becomes more prominent.
Non-Violent to Violent - Is there a progression?

Some literature suggests that the seriousness of the
sex acts progress over time and become more violating (Lang
and Frenzel, 1988; Budin and Johnson, 1988). Where the data
allowed, profiles were developed to determine if this sample
data supported such a progression. In this research, some
offenders were gentle and coaxing while others were more
aggressive and authoritative. Some offenders seemed to shift
from a coaxing approach to a more aggressive approach as the
child aged or resisted, while others became more aggressive
as the offending behaviour became more violating. These
scenarios provide some indication that sexual exploitation
progresses from relatively minor violations to more serious
ones. It appears then, that in some cases, the offender had
to adjust the presentational image to maintain access and
control.

For most of the cases used in this study there was only
information about one victim per sexual exploiter (27 cases,
59%). In cases where there was information on more than one
victim it was possible to compare strategies across the
different episodes. The tactics seemed to be similar - as
were the relationships - between the sexual exploiter and
each victim. For example, the case-files included one man
who sexually exploited two granddaughters, another man who
exploited several foster daughters, an uncle who violated
several nieces, and three sisters who were victims of sexual
coercion at the hands of their father. In each case, the perpetrators used similar modes of access with each victim. Due to the nature of the relationship with the children, similar presentations of self and activities were effective in engaging the children in sexual behaviour. These sexual exploiters found a successful method and stuck with it.

In one file the victim indicated that she was sexually exploited by her father, her cousin and her uncle. All three men used a variety of tactics ranging from gentle coercion and bribery to force and intimidation. The different men each used a different approach or presented a different self image to the child. Perhaps this is why the victim was repeatedly vulnerable. Maybe she was not able to recognize the potential danger because it was presented in a different form each time.

**Relationship Differences**

A comparison of tactics by relationship between the child and the adult revealed very little distinction across categories. Uncles and grandparents presented both gentle and aggressive styles although the method or style of grooming did not seem to change very much. Father figures (i.e. natural fathers, foster fathers, step fathers, or a mother's long term live-in common-law partner) tended to begin with a gentle approach and gradually became more demanding and aggressive over time. In some cases the aggression seemed to escalate as the child grew older and
started to resist the advances. In response to the victim's resistance, the offender needed to present a more authoritarian and dominating image to maintain access and compliance. These findings support the previous suggestion that the severity of sexual exploitation may progress over time or as the nature of the contact changes.

This progressive use of force is illustrated in the case of the father who took baths with his daughter. Initially the father made the sexual contact seem like a game and sexual exploitation only occurred when the mother was at her night class. Soon the frequency and the severity of the exploitation increased. The victim indicated that "after 2 or 3 moths things were worse". Whenever her mother was away from the house (e.g. shopping) her father would sexually exploit her. The exploitation progressed from fondling to a variety of sex acts including digital penetration, forced masturbation and fellatio. Her father persisted in the sexual activity despite the victim's resistance and insistence that he was hurting her. The victim indicates that by the time she was 14 her father "was hitting [her] all the time, would yell at [her] and call [her] a tramp".

In other cases the aggression did not seem to stem from or be connected with any apparent cause. For example, one man, in addition to sexual exploitation, mentally and physically tormented his niece by convincing her he had
Satanic powers, threatening her family members, threatening her with a sword and burning her with cigarettes. Perhaps these cases of arbitrary violence provide some support for Marshall and Christie's (1981) claims that in many cases aggression is an end in itself rather than a means to an end. While the routine activities, lifestyle and presentation of self components of the theory are helpful in explaining how the victim and offender come together and how the interaction proceeds to violent victimization, they are not especially helpful in identifying motive or primary objective.

**Extra-familial**

The extra-familial offender is an adult who may or may not be known to, but is not related to the child. In this study, only one of the extra-familial incidents involved a complete stranger. The other 20 extra-familial cases involved individuals who were acquainted with the victim in some way. Extra-familial offenders have an extra layer of access to deal with, since they are not victimizing children who live with them nor who regularly, and intimately, interact with them. Since extra-familial offenders do not have a pre-existing familial relationship with their victims they need to establish some kind of association with unfamiliar children. Thus, access can be divided into primary and secondary layers.
Extra-familial sexual exploiters tend to establish primary access by developing a camaraderie or friendship with either the child's parents or the child. Some individuals gain access to children as a result of their occupation or community involvement, such as a teacher or sports coach. Once these primary access relationships of trust and confidence are established, they often lead to opportunities where the individual has unsupervised interaction with the victim, which create avenues for secondary access.

**Primary Access**

In cases where the victim was a younger child the individual was more likely to initially befriend the child's parents rather than the child directly. By developing relationships with adults who have children, the individual created legitimate opportunities to interact with the children. In many cases, the contact was temporary and short lived, as in the case where a father went for a short walk and asked his friend to stay and watch over his daughter and her friend who had already gone up to bed. In other cases, the access was of a more permanent nature.

My dad and mom separated ....and shortly thereafter [he, the accused] moved in with us. This individual not only established a friendship with the mother, but presented himself as someone who could be trusted around her children unsupervised.
When the child was old enough to form relationships with adults without parental involvement, the sexual exploiter befriended the child directly, attempting to gain access through the presentation of self as a friend. Adult-child relationships took many forms:

The accused had been a teacher of the complainant for grades 7 and 8. After graduating from the school where [the accused] taught they maintained a relationship. On the day in question [the victim] had agreed to participate in a photo session at the school.

[The victim] became friends with one of the [accused's] daughters,.... The accused would transport the victim on occasion to and from her residence. During the rides he would rub the inside of her legs and fondle her breasts.

In this last case, there was evidence of multiple victims. Each victim was a friend of the individual's daughter. It appears that this man relied on this "relationship" to acquire access to the children. In this case, however, there was no indication that he sexually exploited his own children.

**Failure to Establish Primary Access**

Attempts to establish primary access were not always successful. When the accused is unable to establish a relationship or interaction with any of the children or their parents, he is not able to progress to the secondary levels of access and successfully exploit any of the victims. This next excerpt is an example of an individual who failed to establish the primary mode of access.
[A]n old man ... driving a grey car stood outside his car [down the street from the school] and asked [me] and [my] sister if [we] wanted a ride. [One victim] said that the old man asked them three times. The kids yelled "no" and ran off.

**Secondary Access**

In these case-files, once the primary level of access had been established, the modes or strategies of secondary access and grooming were very similar to those found in the familial context.

**Timing and Location**

Being left alone in the house with the child was identified as an obvious mode of access for extra-familial exploiters, especially in the capacity of babysitting.

[The accused], a friend of the ___ family, had been residing at their residence ... until he could find his own residence. During this ... period while the times that Mrs. G. was at work and Mr. G. at school, [the accused] would act in the role of baby sitter for the 3 children.

her Mom would go to bingo and leave her and [her brother] with [the accused]. When [her brother] went to bed, [this man] would get all over her.

Similar to the familial sexual exploiters, extra-familial exploiters also took their victims to isolated spots.

We walked into the bushes and there was a ditch down there with no water in it. The bushes were over my head. Then [he] broke some branches and laid them on the ground and laid on top of them. Then he said "C'mon on down and lie down with me"

[The accused] was taking a trip with his wife and child to New Brunswick and he asked me to go along. My Mother thought it would be a good idea for me to go and I thought I would like to go thinking that everything would be fine because his wife would be there. ...We got to New Brunswick
and I remember thinking we would all be sleeping together in the same area, but he put a tent out in the middle of a field and it was just us two that slept out there.

Just as with the familial incidents, extra-familial sexual exploiters were not always able to be completely alone with their victim, and therefore sometimes violated the child in a partially secluded environment. One individual, a school teacher, violated a student in the classroom;

When [he] would show movies... the classroom would be dark and [he] would have her sit beside him at a table at the back of the room.

How

Extra-familial perpetrators cannot exploit the socially prescribed roles of parent, care-giver and nurturer to gain access to children. Thus, no examples that paralleled those of bathing and massaging found in the intra-familial cases were found in the case-files of extra-familial incidents. Instead, extra-familial exploiters need to develop presentations of self that enable their routine activities to coincide with and overlap with the child's or the parent's activities. One man developed an image of friend or companion with some neighbourhood children.

He used to let a bunch of us hang out in his basement and we used to play pool.

This "adult companion" role provided the individual with access to children in his own home. Another perpetrator offered to assist the gymnastics coach with practices. In this excerpt the tactic of violating a victim while they
were pre-occupied or distracted is illustrated. The perpetrator caught the girl off-guard because she was concentrating on a gymnastics move. She was unable to defend herself because any sudden reaction may have caused her to fall.

We were doing gymnastics that class.... I was practising on the rings and [he] was spotting. He was supposed to have his hands on your back and belly.... [He] reached over and fondled one of my breasts. [My] hands and feet were still in the rings.

The victim decided not to disclose the incident to anyone other than her classmates, because she recognized that the individual could easily argue that he had accidentally touched her breast or justify the physical touching as "spotting" her.

**Grooming Strategies**

Once access has been established the offender needs to engage the child in sexual activity. Grooming strategies are effective for gaining the child's co-operation, progressing from non-sexual contact to sexual behaviour and preventing disclosure or discovery. Grooming techniques are especially important for extra-familial sexual exploiters since they have less authority and control over children than intra-familial perpetrators. After undergoing the grooming process one victim explained that he "would do it because [he] was confused and trusted [the perpetrator]", illustrating how the grooming techniques disoriented him and increased his
vulnerability.

Normalization of Sexual Discourse and Contact

Extra-familial sexual exploiters used a variety of tactics in the process of grooming to desensitize the child to sexual activity. Some techniques were obviously sexual, while others were more latent.

Explicit Sexual Desensitization. As with intra-familial perpetrators, extra-familial perpetrators also regularly exposed their victims to nudity or other sexually explicit materials as part of their normalizing or desensitizing tactics. In the following excerpt exposure of genitalia was used.

[The victim] admitted that [he] was in fact, playing with his testicles and that she had seen [him] urinating in front of her on another occasion .... since summer vacation she had seen [his] penis on 3 different occasions.

Implicit Sexual Desensitization. Implicit sexual tactics were also used by the extra-familial perpetrators. In one case the individual gained physical contact with the child by using the guise of playing games with her. The first time;

she recalls being taken to the accused's apartment and playing a game of hide and seek. When she ran into the bedroom to hide, the accused came in and locked the door and then pushed her down on the bed. The accused then pulled down his pants...

On another occasion he asked her if she wanted "an aeroplane ride" and when he picked her up to give her the ride "he put
his finger in [her under]pants and tried to stick his finger up" her vagina.

**Gaining Compliance or Co-operation**

As in intra-familial offences, a variety of violent and non-violent tactics were used to ensure the child would cooperate with the sexual activity.

**Non-Violent Tactics.** Although extra-familial perpetrators have less authority and control over the child than a relative might, they still use many of the same tactics to encourage and entice a child to engage in sexual activity. In one case, a complete stranger, who had no authority over the children, was able to gain the cooperation of two young girls by offering them appealing bribes.

We used to go berry picking in the bush across the tracks. This man followed us ... he was being friendly and that and gave us candy and money and told us to just lay down, he was not going to hurt us and he just wanted to touch us .... [He] gave us money and told us to go home and be quiet because our mothers would never believe anything that we tell her.

In another scenario, the perpetrators rewarded the child for co-operating sexually by taking her to an amusement park where they "went on lots of rides and stuff".

**Forceful Tactics.** Some individuals used force to get the child to comply. When this victim resisted the man's advances and tried to leave;
... he pushed her down on the bed and then removed her clothes. She said he kept trying to do it, referring to stick [his penis] up her.

In the next illustration, the sexual exploiter used the threat of violence to persuade the child to comply with his demands.

he said to go into the bathroom and take my clothes off. I told him no and he said if you don't I will kill your sister and your mom.

In another scenario, although it is unclear if the individual had previously resorted to violence in order to force the victim to engage in sexual activity, it is clear that the victim believed the perpetrator would use force if he did not comply.

We were convinced that it was impossible to defy him, he was a golden glove boxer and wasn't afraid to resort to violence. He never hit me very much, but it only takes a couple of times to get the message.

**Re-access Tactics and Maintaining a Collusion of Secrecy**

In order to minimize the potential that the sexual exploitation will be disclosed or discovered, extra-familial sexual exploiters also employ a variety of re-access and collusive tactics. Extra-familial perpetrators attempted to ensure that victims would keep the sexual interaction a secret by telling them not tell anyone.

when we were going home [she] made me promise not to tell anybody and she kept giving me these stares.

Extra-familial sexual exploiters also relied on the child's natural fears and embarrassment to prevent them from
disclosing the sexual exploitation.

[When asked] why she didn't say something before, she told me she was embarrassed, she said that he told her not to tell or everyone would be mad.

**New Strategies**

While most of the strategies of access and grooming of extra-familial offences appear the same as those of intra-familial, a number of unique strategies emerged from the non-familial case-files. The strategy of accessing a child when alone in the house during baby sitting had an interesting twist for cases involving older children. When this strategy was noted in the familial analysis, it was the sexual exploiter who was acting in the capacity of the baby sitter. But in the extra-familial cases sometimes the exploiter was the baby sitter and sometimes the victim was baby sitting for the perpetrator's children. Older children (young teens) who were asked to baby sit for the perpetrator were sexually exploited after the couple returned from their evening out. In one instance, while the wife was in another room preparing for bed and checking on her children

[the perpetrator went] downstairs where she would be watching T.V. He would start kissing her and engaging in all the foreplay, stopping short of intercourse ... he was licking her vagina.

On another occasion the exploitation occurred while the exploiter drove the victim home.

[The victim] was asked to baby sit ... when [he] would drive her home he would hug her and kiss her on the cheek. After a while he started kissing her on the lips.
Although this version of the baby sitting scenario was not presented in the intra-familial cases, it is possible that this scenario may occur in intra-familial cases as well since adolescents are often asked to baby sit for their aunts and uncles.

Another unique strategy involved an individual who enticed youths into his home by creating a "constant party-like atmosphere" lacking the usual parental rules and restrictions.

In some of the extra-familial cases the individual presented the self-image of being sincerely concerned with the victim's physical development and presented the sexual exploitation as a way of stimulating or encouraging physical maturing.

[He said] he was worried she was "not developing as a woman should". Then he put both hands to her breast area. He reassured her he was just helping her develop. He then undid her pants and pulled them down and started fondling her vagina ... and did perform oral sex on her.

In another case the individual presented himself to the victim as an admirer and convinced the victim that the sexual activity was normal and expected in the context of a girlfriend-boyfriend relationship.

The victim felt that [the accused] was her boyfriend and that she had met the person while babysitting.

**Age Differences**

The extra-familial case-files overwhelmingly involved
older children. Of the 21 cases, all but 4 involved victims in the 10-14 age group. This is understandable because it is at this age that the child is becoming increasingly more involved in activities outside of the home. These children spend more time around adults with whom they are not related. They are given a greater degree of freedom, which means less guardianship. Unfortunately, since there are so few cases involving younger children, little can be concluded about differing strategies across different age groups for the extra-familial incidents.

**Offender Profiles**

In 7 of the extra-familial cases there was evidence of more than one victim, which provided the opportunity to explore the modus operandi of the perpetrator across victims. One individual had exploited several of the students at the school where he worked. He actively sought out or targeted victims through the daily journal he had them keep and hand in to him. He then established secondary access through the use of several techniques such as asking the victim to babysit at his home, keeping the student after school for help with extra activities;

She recalled staying after class to assist [the accused] to sort some music sheets. They were alone and she stated [he] closed the drapes and lifted her onto a desk.

or driving the victim home after a school sport;

He was driving some female students home from a basketball game. She was the last one to be
dropped off and he pulled up to the curb prior to reaching her house. He told her what a special person she was and then put his hand under her top and bra and fondled her breast .... one time her pants were off and he was fondling her vagina.

The same perpetrator often presented himself as being concerned for the victims' development. In this context he talked openly about their bodies and made it seem as if it was okay for him to touch them.

He wrote things like how pretty I was and I was developing breasts and asking how I felt about these changes.

Another individual established primary contact with his victims by befriending the victims' parents, who were usually single mothers.

Secondary access was gained, in one instance, because the individual moved in with a woman and her sons as a boarder. The accused shared a room with one victim.

I had a bunk bed above [him] and [my brother] was in another room. [He] would motion for me to come down to his bed ...

In a different instance, this same accused took the child victim on a trip. On another occasion he acted as temporary guardian while the child's mother was out of town.

My Mother became involved with a man and he took her on vacation to Holland. The whole time she was gone I stayed at [the accused's].

This individual also developed a relationship with the victim acting as a "big brother" figure.

[Me, my brother, and the accused] were in a room and [he] was teaching us how to masturbate.

Although this individual capitalized on a variety of
situations to victimize these boys, the common theme was that he presented himself as a guardian or temporary family member.

Differences Between the Intra-familial and Extra-familial Offences

In many ways the intra-familial and extra-familial sexual exploiters used similar tactics and strategies. There were, however, two noteworthy distinctions. First, compared to the intra-familial cases, less force or violence was reported in the extra-familial files. This could be a reflection of the limited control or authority the extra-familial exploiter has over the child compared to the familial perpetrator and to the acceptability or routinization of some degree of forceful control within a family in the guise of discipline.

For example, if an extra-familial perpetrator used excessive force the child might be more likely to disclose the abuse to a family member. Another explanation may be that marks left on the child as a result of force or violence may inadvertently permit the abuse to be discovered by the child's parent or care giver.

Some indirect support for the suggestion that children are more likely to disclose forceful assaults by non-family members comes from the literature and research on Father-daughter incest. This literature suggests that members of the family unit often work together to keep the incestual
abuse secret from outsiders. The family struggles to preserve the status of the family. Some authors (Barrett and McIntosh, 1982; Cheal, 1991) suggest that the family as a whole risks being shamed by the incest being revealed. Often the mother and the victim are partially blamed for the incest. Therefore the entire family strives to protect the secret and avoid being discredited/disgraced. This kind of collusion is absent in the extra-familial offences.

**Purposive Victim Selection**

Second, in at least two cases of extra-familial exploitation there is strong evidence to suggest that the individual purposefully targeted the victim. The case-files suggest that both the teacher and the individual who posed as a boyfriend targeted emotionally fragile girls.

> It is clear that [the accused] took advantage of the child's fragile state and youthfulness for his own sexual desires.

> [The newspaper reported he] used the daily journals [of his students] to target those with family or emotional problems. ...the class had to keep a daily journal. In it he had us write about our home life, problems or thoughts.

> It was less clear in the intra-familial cases whether individuals purposively selected certain victims. It appeared that individuals often victimized children who were convenient or readily available. Some discrimination, however, could have been used in choosing one child over another as a target. The nature of the data in the files for intra-familial cases prevented any firm conclusions to be
drawn regarding purposive versus convenient victim selection.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore how adults who sexually exploit children acquire access to their victims. Criminal events theory was used to examine how ordinary activities and lifestyle routines can be transformed into sexually exploitive situations and how the way a child or adult presents themself can facilitate sexual exploitation. By simply engaging in everyday routines children were exposed to perilous situations. Children regularly spend time alone with and under the supervision of adults who can potentially exploit the situation without rousing suspicion or concern. Individuals who were successful in sexually exploiting children presented themselves in ways that suggested that they were competent guardians or trustworthy community members. These pretences created the potential to come into contact with a suitable child victim in a situation where interference and possible detection were absent or minimized. Successful exploiters also developed and utilized effective stigma management techniques which prevented the deviant activity from being discovered by others after the fact and thwarted disclosure by the victim.

In all case-files that contained sufficient information to make a judgement, it was clear that a grooming process was used to initiate the physical contact and move it along the continuum from non-sexual to sexual activity. A variety
of implicit tactics such as accidental touch, horseplay and catching the child off-guard were used in addition to sexually explicit tactics such as talking about sex and exposing children to pornography. These techniques desensitized the child to sexual conduct making the inappropriate behaviours and gestures seem normal. The normalizing techniques also served to disguise the sexual interactions inhibiting the child's ability to recognize their inappropriateness. In addition to normalizing tactics, varying degrees of coercion, threats and force were also present. In some cases there appeared to be evidence of arbitrary violence or violence occurring for its own sake rather than for instrumental purposes.

While these conclusions coincide with many of those cited in the literature, there were also areas of apparent disagreement or contradiction. For example, the files in this sample indicate that the relationship and physical setting did not have much influence on the type or degree of violating behaviour. While one might expect that less invasive offences would occur when others are in the near vicinity, the case-files revealed that this is not always the case. Despite the lack of seclusion, serious transgressions such as digital penetration occurred in the presence of others. These bold offenders recognized that, despite the physical presence of others, capable guardianship was minimized because these individuals were
preoccupied or distracted with other activities. These 
offenders correctly assessed that their situational skills 
were sufficient to successfully carry out the victimization 
without being detected even in such risky situations. 

The analysis also suggested that the degree of 
seriousness or invasiveness of the behaviour had little to 
do with the relationship between the victim and the 
offender. A logical prediction would be that compared to an 
aquaintance, a family member, who has more control over and 
contact with a child, could engage in more serious sexual 
exploitation. However, with this sample that was not the 
case. A wide range of offences were noted in all 
relationship categories (with the exception of the 
unsuccessful stranger).

Some insight might be provided by looking at the 
quality or closeness of the various relationships. Levels of 
attachment and intimacy varied and fluctuated within the 
relationship categories (e.g. some uncles were closer to 
their nieces and nephews than others were, some family 
friends were affectionately called "uncle" while others were 
not). This might imply that those relatives who had weak 
intimate relationships were unable to advance to the more 
serious exploitations, while those who had a strong, close 
relationship were able to advance. 

This fluctuation in affection also suggests that 
perhaps the social attachment, rather than the legal
affinity, serves as a more accurate indicator of the relationship and explains the diversity of seriousness across and relationship categories. For example, many extra-familial offenders developed very intimate relationships with the victim and the victim's family, such as the boarder who also baby sat the children and was involved in family vacations. Successful extra-familial offenders adopted "family-like" social roles and responsibilities transforming them from the distant acquaintance to the intimate associate. This pseudo-intimacy or impersonation of family members made it possible for the extra-familial offenders to manipulate and coerce the child in a similar manner to the intra-familial offender, masking the differences found in other research.

Another issue worthy of further discussion is the notion of preferred and specific victim selection. Much research has been based on the division or categorization of sex offenders based on their victim preferences (Groth, 1978; Linedecker, 1981; Faller, 1987; Holmes, 1991; Gigeroff, 1992; Okami and Goldberg, 1992). From the files containing adults who victimized more than one child there is some evidence that some offenders do have a preferred victim-type. In one case, all known victims were adolescent boys. In another case the sexual exploiter chose only pre-adolescent girls from his classroom. However, there were also cases in which there was no evidence of a preferred
victim type. One man made sexual advances towards his 3 daughters, who ranged from pre-school to teenage. Another alleged offender victimized both his own children and the neighbour children, all of whom were of different ages. This suggests that perhaps we need to recognize that child sex offenders are a heterogeneous group with respect to victim preference; some offenders have a preferred victim typology and others do not.

The extra-familial analysis indicated that some offenders actively and purposely targeted or selected specific victims. The same could not be determined, however, from the intra-familial analysis. Since the case-files were primarily based on victims' accounts, it was not possible to determine if the offenders were actually consciously and actively pursuing victims, or if they were merely capitalizing on opportunities that presented themselves. While it is not possible to offer confident conclusions in this respect, here again it is clear that offenders are a diverse group who utilize a variety of strategies to obtain victims.

Groth's classification of regressed and fixated offenders was not fully examined because this sample provided only a few cases of offenders with histories of multiple victims. However, from the information on the offenders in this study, we see that many also had sexual and intimate relationships with adults. These individuals
could be considered to fit into Groth's category of "regressed offender" i.e. they were "normally" sexually healthy individuals who "regressed" to juvenile or immature and deviant sexual expression. Alternatively we might interpret the offenders' relationships with adult peers as a facade or smoke screen to help camouflage their sexual preference for children. In this case the individual would fit into Groth's "fixated offender" category.

In this research, individuals who fulfilled the social role and expectations of a father figure were the most frequent perpetrators. On the surface this seems to contradict the recently published findings of the Ontario Health Supplement (MacMillan et al., 1997) where the most frequent perpetrator was someone other than a parent or relative. The dissonant finding, however, may be explained by the use of different operationalizations of the terms "parent" or "relative". In the current project, social affiliations were seen as more relevant than biological or legal affiliations. Therefore males who had no biological or legal relationship with a child but acted as adult role models on a consistent basis or were involved in a long term relationship with the child's mother were not distinguished from biological or legal relatives in the final analysis. These "functional fathers" accounted for a large portion of the offenders. The Ontario Health Supplement provides no definition of who is included in the generic categories of
parent, relative and someone else. For example where do step-parents, foster-parents and common law partners of biological parents fit? Without a clear operationalization of the categories of parent or relative, the degree of discrepancy, or even whether there is a discrepancy between this study and the Ontario Health Supplement cannot be ascertained.

An alternative explanation for the discrepancy between this study and the Ontario Health Supplement could be due to the differences in data types and samples used. The present study was based on a non-random sample of case-files from reported incidents of child sexual assault. The Ontario Health Supplement was based on a random sample of Ontario households. The present research was also based on detailed case records, while the Ontario Health Supplement used survey techniques. Thus, the Ontario Health Supplement may be generalized to the population of Ontario. However, as discussed in the previous paragraph, clear operationalizations are needed before we know what is to be generalized.

**Legal and Policy Implications**

Criminal events theory clearly illustrates that child sexual exploitation is not an extraordinary event which occurs within an exceptional set of circumstances. Instead, child sexual exploitation is mundane, taking place amidst our everyday routines and activities, perpetrated by
individuals intimately involved in our children's lives. This routine, ordinary nature of child sexual exploitation has serious implications for individuals and agencies attempting to prevent and effectively respond to incidents of exploitation. The "typical" incident of sexual exploitation occurs in private, where a child is often the only potential witness. The exploitation often involves an abuse of trust or authority, spans a prolonged period of time and includes a process of grooming which makes it difficult for the child and others to recognize when acceptable intimacies have become sexually exploitive.

These characteristics make child sexual exploitation especially difficult for the criminal justice system to deal with (Rogers, 1992). The lack of witnesses for corroboration, and the court's tendency to view children as unreliable witnesses impede the court's ability to prosecute allegations of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, the progressive and repetitive nature of child sexual exploitation poses additional problems for a court system which is generally designed to deal with discrete and isolated crimes. For example, disclosure or discovery of the abuse is likely to occur in the later stages of the grooming process. Reluctance on the part of the child to implicate their exploiter, the perceived delay in reporting after the "first time", and the difficulty a child may have in separating events make it very difficult for the courts to
sort out the evidence and proceed with the trial.

In recognition of these difficulties, the Criminal Code and Canadian Evidence Act have undergone modifications in the past decade to improve the legal response to child sexual exploitation. The Supreme Court ruling in the case of Regina v Chase in 1987 began the process by differentiating child sexual assault from adult sexual assault and establishing a distinct legal definition for the latter, taking into account the unique characteristics of child sexual assault (Johnson, 1996). Later, in 1988, as a result of the Study on Sexual Offences Against Children (Hornick & Bolitho, 1992: XIV), Bill C-15 became law. Bill C-15 was intended to

provide better protection to, ... [and] improve the experience of child victims and witnesses, ... enhance successful prosecution of child sexual abuse cases, and bring sentencing in line with the severity of the offence (Hornick & Bolitho, 1992: XIV)

These objectives were to be accomplished by repealing, simplifying and creating new sections of the Criminal Code. More specifically, sexual interference, invitation to sexual touch and sexual exploitation were added to the list of offences against children. Legislation regarding procedure and evidence also underwent modification or were completely removed (Hornick & Bolitho, 1992).

When Bill C-15 came into effect the requirement for corroboration of evidence provided by a child witness was repealed. In addition, very young children were permitted to
provide unsworn evidence on the proviso they could
understand and distinguish between truth and fiction, and
promised to tell the truth. These modifications were
intended to improve the situation regarding child testimony
by making it possible for uncorroborated and unsworn
evidence to be admissible. Unfortunately, they have also had
a negative impact by escalating cynicism regarding the
credibility of child testimony (Rush, 1980; Gunn and Minch,
1988; Yuille, 1991). Permitting a child, who was previously
unable to testify under oath, to provide unsworn evidence
without corroboration was seen to increase the potential for
false allegations.

The characteristics of child sexual exploitation not
only create problems during the court process, they also
have a substantial impact on the likelihood of a conviction
and on the severity of the disposition handed down. In
addition to the lack of confidence placed in child
testimony, a scarcity of physical evidence and of witnesses
for corroboration thwart successful prosecutions. Without a
guilty plea on the part of the perpetrator, it is difficult
to obtain a conviction. Even when a guilty verdict is
returned, the sentences meted out are often perceived to be
too lenient. Although the maximum sentence for sexual
offences such as sexual interference and sexual assault
involving a weapon, threats or physical harm are 10 years
and 14 years respectively, few sentences are this severe

88
(Rodrigues, 1994). Sentence terms for sexual offences generally "range from several months to several years" (Barbaree and Marshall, 1990: 220).

Three characteristics of child sexual assault lead to lenient sentencing under the current system. First, sentencing guidelines instruct judges to reserve the maximum sentence for the most serious type of case, such as a case involving violence, while meting out lesser sentences for less serious cases (Sullivan, 1992). The argument behind this logic is that sentences should reflect the severity of the crime. Since most cases of child sexual exploitation do not involve obvious violence, the majority of offenders who sexually exploit children are sentenced with leniency. These sentences seem to ignore the coercive nature of these crimes, and fail to reflect the moral repugnance and public denunciation of crimes against children. The prominent message being sent out is that the sexual exploitation of children is not a serious crime, or at least not a crime that the justice system takes seriously.

Second, since child sexual exploitation often involves a grooming process and progresses over a prolonged period of time, a number of incidents often occur before the case comes before the courts. When the case comes to court, however, the sexual exploitations are viewed by the court as one crime instead of a series of crimes. Thus, the convicted offender is not sentenced individually for each sexual
violation, but is given one sentence for the collectivity of incidents. Perhaps sentences would more adequately reflect the nature of the crime if offenders were given consecutive sentences for each individual act.

Finally, crimes involving relatives or acquaintances are often sentenced less severely than those involving strangers (Gunn and Minch, 1988). Since the sexual exploitation of children usually involves people who are familiar with each other, these cases again are seen to deserve more lenient sentences. This belief that crimes committed by familiares are less serious than those committed by strangers, however, needs to be readdressed because it obscures our ability to recognize and address the violating and insulting nature of crimes committed by familiares (Gunn and Minch, 1988). In addition to sexually victimizing the child, the offender has taken advantage of their position of authority and abused the child's trust. The impact of familial violations "are potentially more traumatic" due to the "violation of the child's trust and security" (Fattah, 1991). In this light, the familiar offender does not deserve special treatment, but rather it can be argued that the familiar offender deserves a harsher sentence.

The current standards for determining sentence severity need to be revised in consideration of the nature of child sexual exploitation and the implication of sentencing. On the one hand, Taylor (cited in Badgley and King, 1990: 38)
argues that, "If the courts are too lenient, offenders are not deterred and citizens may resort to private vengeance". On the other hand, if sentences are too harsh, individuals may be reluctant to report allegations or to testify. Beyond individual and community responses associated with sentencing are the implications for treatment of sex offenders. Barbaree and Marshall (1991: 247) point out that currently, most treatment programs are institutionally based (hospitals or prisons). This means that ... [if] a man wants access to [a] program, he must ... be admitted to the institution in question first, then be admitted to treatment. Similarly, when the man leaves the institution, he leaves the treatment program.

There are very few community based programs, and usually they are not connected or affiliated with the institutionalized programs, thus making access to treatment extremely difficult for the non-incarcerated offender (Barbaree and Marshall, 1990). Furthermore, since many sex offenders deny their deviant behaviour up to and sometimes even after conviction, they are unlikely to seek treatment voluntarily. Therefore, the court process may fulfil a critical function by providing vital access to treatment programs. Court directive can also ensure that the offender completes the treatment regime, instead of discontinuing, as voluntary clients might do. Barbaree and Marshall (1991: 223) agree, indicating that the drop out rates for voluntary programs is around one third, where as "judicial or administrative pressure to enter and remain in treatment"
profoundly reduce the drop out rate.

**Limitations**

There are 4 limitations to this study. The case-files used in this research are primarily victim reports, and therefore do not provide an objective perspective of the sexually exploitative interaction. The data, however, were taken as valid since the police and court representatives determined the allegations were substantial enough to arraign the accused. Concern may also be raised with respect to the reliability or validity of the information in files, particularly dealing with cases where there was a prolonged delay between the incident and the opening of a case-file. It is possible that some individuals forget, mis-remember, under-estimated or over-estimate some aspects, or re-interpreted the events in the context of their present situation. Although there were some gaps in the accounts of cases with a delay in reporting, the details appeared consistent throughout each file and were similar to the accounts in cases where there was no delay in reporting. Therefore, since there were no glaring differences or distinctions we can be relatively assured the details regarding routine activities, lifestyle and presentational images are reasonably valid.

The third limitation is in the representativeness of the selected cases. The primary selection criterion was to sample the thick, detailed files first. There is some
potential that this procedure may have biased the data. For instance, it is possible that the thickest files consist of more serious cases, or prolonged cases of exploitation, or involve more than one victim or more than one offender. These situations could lead to a more complicated and detailed investigation, and a thicker, more detailed file. Sampling thick files, however, was only a starting point, a second criterion for selection was to obtain a variety of cases and maximize diversity in the data with respect to the nature of the offence, relationship, and scenarios in which they occurred. Thus, any initial bias due to sampling thick files was minimized by the purposive sampling for diversity.

This is not to suggest that some types of cases are not over-represented or under-represented. Many authors have indicated that an inherent problem with using criminal justice documents is that certain people (i.e individuals from the upper-class) or types of incidents are less likely to come to the attention of the criminal justice authorities. This is a result of biases in detecting, reporting, recording accuracy and charging on the part of the police (Fattah, 1991; Sacco and Kennedy, 1994). It is important to recognize that the conclusions of this research are based on data from cases which get reported, are found to be substantiated and brought before the court. The nature of the cases that are not reported or do not result in criminal charges may differ from these findings.
Finally, this analysis uses case-files of reported incidents of child sexual assaults from one region in Ontario. The case-files were selected in order to maximize the diversity of sexually exploitive events. The richness of the data contained in the detailed files provides the necessary information for descriptive profiles to be developed. This methodology, however, does not permit generalization of the prevalence of child sexual exploitation, or of the types of adult-child interactions and contacts leading to or involved in exploitation to the entire population.

Significance of the Study

Parents, educators and other care-givers are often unable to recognize the potential risks and dangers regarding child sexual exploitation without clear and accurate knowledge about the various ways in which children's daily routines may make them vulnerable and the techniques employed by adults who sexually exploit children. This research attempts to present information about the nature of child sexual exploitation in an orderly and comprehensive format. This more holistic form will be useful in broadening care-givers' and the community's understanding and make them more attuned to potential dangers, thereby enabling them to potentially prevent and assist future victims more effectively.
Although a bleak sense of hopelessness may be inspired by acknowledging that the dangers of sexual exploitation are "up close and personal", effective prevention strategies can not be developed unless the true nature of sexual exploitation is accepted. Direction and guidance for prevention strategies are derived from examining the dynamics and nature of child sexual exploitation. For example, by recognizing that child sexual exploitation occurs within everyday activities, parents or guardians can focus their energy on observing their child's routine interactions with a healthy scepticism. Parents and care-givers can use the knowledge that adults who sexually exploit children often misrepresent themselves, to encourage their children not to take people at face value. Since sexual exploitation develops over a prolonged period of time and often progresses from relatively minor violations to more serious ones, opportunities for detection and disclosure exist in the early stages of the victimization. Parents, teachers and care-givers can monitor the child's behaviour over time looking for signs or symptoms that indicate they are undergoing grooming.

**Future Research**

While this research provided a great deal of information about the dynamics of sexually exploitative situations, there are areas that require further inquiry. One such area pertains to offender motivation. A critical
examination of offender motivation was beyond the scope of this project because the data used in this study were primarily based on victim accounts. This is an area worthy of future research initiatives, as understanding offender motivation could have a profound impact on prevention of sexual exploitation and treatment of offenders. However, criminal events theory would not be useful here since it assumes all offenders are motivated.

The scope of this thesis was limited to adult (at least 19 years of age) offenders. It would be beneficial for future studies to include adolescent offenders, and compare offenders of various ages. Criminal events theory suggests that offenders of different ages would experience different lifestyles, social roles and social constraints. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how these differences might influence or impact on opportunities to sexually exploit children.

Although this chapter briefly addressed some of the social and legal implications of this research, a more extensive and critical evaluation of the current social and legal attitudes and response is necessary. Research which critiques the social and legal systems in light of the ordinary and familiar nature of child sexual exploitation, and offers suggestions for change and improvement would be of profound significance and importance.

In addition, this and most research depends on reported
incidents of child sexual assault, whereas surveys, such as the Ontario Health Supplement, combs the entire population for incidents of sexual exploitation. In the future, researchers should look at ways in which the strengths of these two strategies could be melded together.
REFERENCES

Arens, W

Babbie, Earl

Badgley, Christopher and Kathleen King

Barrett, Michele and Mary McIntosh

Birkbeck, Christopher and Gary LaFree

Brownmiller, Susan

Budin, Lee Eric and Charles Felzen Johnson
1988 "Sex Abuse Prevention Programs: Offenders' Attitudes about their efficacy" Child Abuse and Neglect 13:77-87.

Cheal, David
1991 Family and the State of Theory Toronto: University of Toronto.

Cohen, L. E. and M. Felson

Conte, Jon R., Steven Wolf and Tim Smith
Creswell, John W. 1994  

DeKeseredy, Walter S. and Ronald Hinch 1991  

de Young, Mary 1982  

Faller, Kathleen Coulborn 1987  
"Women Who Sexually Abuse Children"  

Fattah, Ezzat A. 1991  
*Understanding Criminal Victimization: An Introduction to Theoretical Victimology*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada

Finkelhor, David 1979  

Finkelhor, David 1984  

Finkelhor, David and Linda Meyer Williams (with Nanci Burns) 1988  

Gigeroff, Alex K. 1968  

Goffman, Erving 1959  
*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Toronto: Doubleday.
Goffman, Erving

Groth, Nicholas A.

Gunn, Rita and Candice Minch

Hindelang, Michael J., Michael R. Gottfredson and James Garofalo

Holmes, Ronald M.

Hornick, Joseph Phillip and Floyd Bilitho

Johnson, Holly

Keane, Phillip S.

Knudsen, Dean D.
Lang, Rueben A., Edward L. Black, Roy R. Frenzel and Kenneth L. Checkley

Lang, Reuben A. and Roy R. Frenzel

Li, C. K., D.J. West and T.P. Woodhouse

Linedecker, Clifford L.

Loftland, John


Marshall, W. L. and M. M. Christie

Mayer, Adele

Mecher, Isabel Gomes and Constance Parker
1983 Child Sexual Abuse: Intervention and Prevention A project of the Sexual Assault Crisis Centre of Essex County, Ontario. Windsor: Canada Community Development Project.
Miethe, Terrance D., and Robert F. Meier

Neuman, Lawrence W.

Okami, Paul and Amy Goldberg
1992 "Personal Correlates of Pedophilia: Are They Reliable Indicators?" *Journal of Sex Research* v29 (3): 297-328

Parcelled, Kate

Rodgers, Karen and Rebecca Kong

Rogers, Rix G.

Rodrigues, Gary P. (ed)

Rush, Florence

Sacco, Vincent F. and Leslie W. Kennedy
Scully, Diana and Joseph Marolla
1985  "Riding the Bull at Gilley's: Convicted Rapists
      Describe the Rewards of Rape" in Pauline Bart and
      Eileen Ceil Moran (eds) Violence Against Women:
      The Bloody Footprints. Newbury Park: Sage
      Publications

Selkin, James
1991  The Child Sexual Abuse Case in the Court Room.
      Denver: James Selkin

Sgroi, Suzanne M.
      Toronto: Lexington Books.

Spradley, James P
1979  The Ethnographic Interview. Toronto: Holt,
      Rinehart and Winston.

Stewart, David W. and Michael A. Kammins
1993  Secondary Research: Information Sources and

Sullivan, Terrence
1992  Sexual Abuse and the Rights of Children: Reforming
      Canadian Law. Toronto: University of Toronto
      Press.

Tesch, K.
1991  Qualitative Research: Analysis Types and Software

Yuille, John C.
1991  "Training Programs and Procedures for Interviewing
      and Assessing Sexually Abused Children" in
      Christopher R. Badgley and Ray J. Thomlison (eds)
      Child Sexual Abuse: Critical Perspectives on
      Prevention, Intervention and Treatment. Toronto:
      Wall and Emerson.
APPENDIX A: Additional Information on Sample Profile

Table 1  Profile of Victims and Offenders in 46 Cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VICTIMS</th>
<th></th>
<th>OFFENDERS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td>5 (12%)</td>
<td>4 (17%)</td>
<td>9 (14%)</td>
<td>33 (94%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td>38 (88%)</td>
<td>19 (83%)</td>
<td>57 (86%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE RANGE</td>
<td>2.5 - 14</td>
<td>7 - 14</td>
<td>24 - 75</td>
<td>28 - 65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Age information was not available for all offenders

Table 2  Victim/Offender Ratios in 46 Cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 VICTIM</th>
<th>MORE THAN 1 VICTIM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 OFFENDER</td>
<td>26 (57%)</td>
<td>16 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORE THAN 1 OFFENDER</td>
<td>4 (9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Some cases indicated that there were other victims but insufficient information was available for them to be counted in the sample.
Table 3  
**Victim/Offender Ratios for Intra-familial Cases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intra-familial</th>
<th>25 cases (cell %)</th>
<th>1 Victim</th>
<th>More than 1 Victim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Offender</td>
<td>15 (60%)</td>
<td>9 (36%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 1 Offender</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4  
**Victim/Offender Ratios for Extra-familial Cases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extra-familial</th>
<th>21 cases (cell %)</th>
<th>1 Victim</th>
<th>More than 1 Victim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Offender</td>
<td>11 (53%)</td>
<td>7 (33%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 1 Offender</td>
<td>3 (14%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA AUCTORIS

NAMES: Shelley Young

PLACE OF BIRTH: Kingston, Ontario

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1968

EDUCATION:

Grades IX -XII
Napanee & District Secondary School
Napanee, Ontario
1983 - 1986

Grade XIII
Sydenham High School
Sydenham, Ontario
1986

Honours Criminology, Bachelor of Arts
University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario
1993 - 1995

108