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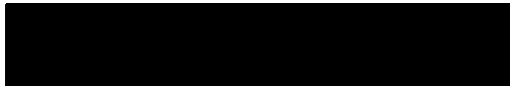
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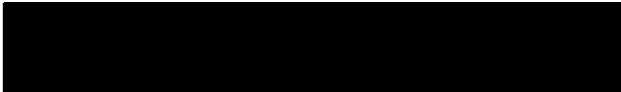
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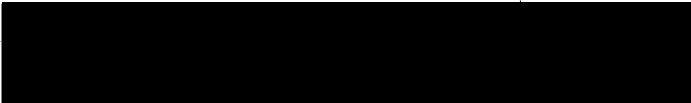
AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Eugene Fletcher Booth for the
Master of Social Work presented May 15, 1970.

Title: A Study of Eighty-one Sexual Offenders at Oregon State
Hospital.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:


Guido Pinamonti, Chairman


Martha Ozawa


Jack Finley

This project was conceived at the Psychiatric Security Unit of
Oregon State Hospital in 1968-69.

The purpose of the study was to develop a fund of knowledge
concerning the Oregon "sexually dangerous," and to emphasize those
elements of the subject which require more sophisticated research.
It was undertaken with the hope that the information provided would
prove of value to the professional and layman in their understanding
of sexual offenses against children.

The study plan, designed around an investigation of sexual offender characteristics, was submitted to the administrator of Oregon State Hospital, and permission was granted to examine clinical histories of the 81 sexual offenders who had been committed under Oregon Sexual Psychopath Statutes from September 1963 to May 1969.

The study design was exploratory and descriptive. Exploratory elements were reflected in the effort to increase the student's familiarity with the subject of child molestation. Description was directed toward a presentation of data in succinct form which would be suitable to later refinement.

A schedule of items was developed which included three main areas of inquiry: characteristics of (1) the offender, (2) the victim, (3) the offense. Appropriate sub-items rounded out the instrument. No explicit hypotheses were posed; however, two underlying guiding hypotheses were implicit: (1) Oregon offenders would be similar to other sexual offenders; (2) the traditional view of sexual offenders is unsupported by scientific investigation. Data was compiled over a three-month period and statistics were recorded in tabular form. A breakdown of offender types was employed for clarity.

Findings related to the offender indicated a bi-model distribution of age with the greatest number in the 20-29 age class interval and a rather high percentage over 50. All were white males and as many were married as were single. Their educational level was

slightly lower than the general population and most did manual work. Social and employment adjustment was manifestly poor. Their psychiatric condition at the time of the current commitment included disorders of the personality for the most part. Many of the offenders had been discharged at the time of the study; however, there were a substantial number of long-term cases continuing.

Victims were predominantly in the 8-11 age class interval which is comparable with similar studies. The Oregon group involved a higher number of multiple victims than is usually found. However, offender-victim relationship was comparable to most offender samples. The concept that a stranger plays a minor role in sexual offenses was not clearly supported by the study.

Offenders were not particularly recidivistic prior to the current offense, and none have repeated following discharge. Contrary to the notion of violent threatening behavior on the part of the offender, findings indicated a very low frequency with most acts consisting of immature sexual gratification.

Victim behavior was not often resistive, mostly consensual, and occasionally inviting. Offenses occurred most frequently in a residence. Duration of the offense was more often single occurrence except in the incest group. Intoxication was present in a minority of offenses, but played a major role in certain types of offense.

Implications for further research suggest the need for

additional empirical studies which will explore the interrelated factors among characteristic items, and experimental studies designed to assess the effectiveness of treatment methods.

A STUDY OF EIGHTY-ONE SEXUAL OFFENDERS
AT OREGON STATE HOSPITAL

by
EUGENE FLETCHER BOOTH

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

Portland State University
1970

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES:

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of
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May 18, 1970

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Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Storch with whom the record study was completed, and Mrs. Barbara Glenn, for her invaluable help on the manuscript.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most perplexing acts which occurs in this society is that of sexual molestation of a child by an adult. It is emotion producing and the general public reaction to the offense is disgust, anger and a strong tendency to retaliate punitively. According to Edward Sutherland, "the ordinary citizen is able to understand fornication and even forcible rape of a women, but cannot understand a sexual attack upon a small child" (1, pp. 147-148). This is a study of such offenses in Oregon and of offenders who have committed them.

As a prerequisite to the understanding of sexual offenses against children, one must define the context in which such behavior occurs and what the prevailing norms allow. This study is confined to a discussion of behavior which is restricted to the United States, and less specifically to Western Europe. The literature on sexuality in Western culture invariably points to the dilemma of defining normal sexual behavior. What is described is the cultural configuration within which sexual expression is condoned; and in order to understand what is considered abnormal, a point of departure must be established. This definition by Gagnon is our starting point:

The proscribed form of sexual behavior in American society is that of heterosexual coition in private surroundings between parties in monogamous marriage (2, p. 48).

The cultural configuration and its legal institutionalization defines all sexual behavior other than adult heterosexual coitus in marriage variously as offensive, perverse, deviant and so forth. What has been described is a standard proscribed by an ideological norm. Until recently relatively little was known of the sexual behavior of the American society. Research has revealed that a considerable deviation from the ideological norm exists. As a consequence, in certain jurisdictions we would see, as Kinsey pointed out, that a large percentage of the population would face criminal charges for sexual misconduct (3, p. 224).

Sexual offense legislation varies throughout the United States and an offense which is merely a misdemeanor in some states will draw a stiff fine and incarceration in another (4, p. 10). It is evident that legal sanctions based on ideological norms are unrealistic. Presupposing a national uniformity in sexual legislation Kinsey and his associates maintain that nine out of ten Americans are technically sex criminals (4, p. 8). In some states all sexual behavior including fornication or solitary masturbation by an adult and any act other than face-to-face intercourse with one's own spouse is illegal (5, p. 149).

Numerous attempts at defining the sexual offender have been

made in the literature, and many are listed in Karpman's^x volume (6, pp. 4-8). None are wholly satisfactory. Offense depends on the circumstances of location, individuals, and the prevailing social mores. What is highly offensive in one segment of the society may be merely an amusing incident in another. Gebhard^x refers to this difficulty in formulating a definition of the sex offender and offense. He indicates that a definition based solely upon either legal, or cultural, or psychiatric terms leaves many variables unexplained. His definition of the sex offense and offender is this:

A sexual offense is an overt act committed by a person for his own immediate gratification which (1) is contrary to the prevailing sexual mores of the society in which he lives, and/or is legally punishable, and (2) results in his being legally convicted.

A sexual offender is a person who has been legally convicted as the result of an overt act, committed by him for his own immediate sexual gratification which is contrary to the prevailing sexual mores of the society in which he lives and/or is legally punishable (7, pp. 8-9).

This definition is satisfactory for studying the problem of sex offenders and sex offenses generally, but it will require further defining as we consider the situation of the "sexually dangerous" in Oregon.

The term "sexually dangerous" in Oregon legally refers to a condition in an individual which, when brought to the attention of the authorities, would place him under the terms of the Oregon Sexual Psychopath Statutes. This Oregon legislation was first passed in

1955, and was revised in 1963 to allow for civil commitment to a state institution for sexual misconduct.¹

At present thirty states and the District of Columbia have special laws of this kind (8, p. 300). The first was passed in Illinois in 1937. Minnesota's 1939 law was the first to stand and became the model for states to follow (4, p. 758). The sexual psychopath is usually defined as a person unable to control his sexual impulses or having propensities to commit sex crimes, frequently against children. Oregon Revised Statute 426:510 reads thus:

(1) "Sexually dangerous person" means one, not insane, who by a course of repeated misconduct in sexual matters has evidenced such lack of power to control his sexual impulses as to be dangerous to other persons of the age of 12 or under because he is likely to attack or otherwise inflict injury or pain on the objects of his desire (9, p. 9).

It is to this individual and his characteristics that the present study is directed.

The frequency of sexual offenses against children in this society is difficult to determine because many cases are unreported.

The prevalence of unreported crime is at best speculative but the

¹ Oregon law, similar to Iowa's, provides that an individual may be brought before the court upon a written complaint, setting forth facts tending to show that the accused is a sexually dangerous person or a person who has voluntarily filed an application for commitment as a sexually dangerous person. The legal procedures are reported to afford full protection to the person accused, leaving disposition of the case to the court, with due regard to the examining psychiatrist's reports.

most conservative estimates place the figure high. Extensive study in England has led researchers to remark:

It is impossible from the published criminal statistics to produce even a reasonably accurate estimate of the number of sexual offenses actually committed in England and Wales in any given period. As Professor Thorsten Sellen has emphasized, "The recorded criminality is only a sample of the total figure, the later being an unknown quantity. . . . The so-called dark figure, i. e., crime committed but never brought to light, depends upon a multitude of circumstances. In sexual transgressions it must be enormous. . . . It may be doubted whether the amount of illegal sexual misconduct which is revealed can ever represent more than 5 per cent" (10, p. 497)

Slovenko estimates that in the United States not more than 20 per cent of such offenses as rape and child molestation are reported to police (4, p. 9). Study groups in New York and Michigan place the figure at about 10 per cent (4, p. 120). Dr. Karl M. Bowman, of the Langley Porter Clinic in San Francisco, reporting on the California Sexual Deviation Research Project indicates the proportion at about one-fifth (11, p. 1).

Although "hard data" is difficult to obtain, evidence allows the inference that sexual offenses against children occur often, with roughly half of all the sex crimes falling in this category (6, p. 29). The frequency of this type of offense is impossible to determine from governmental data. Crime in the United States as measured by the Federal Bureau of Investigation rose 19 per cent during the first nine months of 1969. The large core cities, 250,000 and above in population, had crime increases averaging 8 per cent. Forcible

rape led by an increase of 17 per cent. No categorization of sexual offense beyond forcible rape is recorded (12, Sept. 1969).

The situation in Oregon is equally obscure. Information compiled by the Oregon Crime Report Statistics Department of the State Police for 1967² includes sexual offenses, "other than forcible rape," and categorizes them in this way:

These include all offenses against chastity, common decency, morals, and the like, except those offenses listed under forcible rape. Also includes sex offenses of a commercial nature, and attempts (13, pp. 44-45).

The report lists arrests and dispositions by county, indicating a 1967 total of 127 forcible rapes, and 519 other sexual offenses.

It is clear that these data are of little value in a study of child molestation, and it was just this situation which led to Oregon House Joint Resolution No. 17 adopted by the 48th Legislative Assembly (1955), which provided for the establishment of a Special Interim Committee to Study Sex Crime Prevention. The activities of this committee led to changes in existing laws and enactment of new legislation aimed at the sexually dangerous. One of the reports of the committee reflects clearly the difficulty of determining trends in sexual offense:

The committee has been handicapped in its efforts to determine the frequency and the severity of sex offenses by the lack

²The latest report in published form.

of any mandatory or uniform system of crime reporting in Oregon (14, p. 16).

A spokesman for The Children's Protective Association of Oregon³ made the flat assertion to the Committee that "there are no statistics on sex crimes in Oregon. " An official of the Oregon State Police told the Committee, "We cannot in Oregon give you from the state bureau any crime trend because we do not have a central reporting place" (14, p. 16).

There has been some improvement of the crime reporting situation since 1963 when the last important sex offense legislation was passed. The establishment of a Central Reporting Agency has improved data compilation; however, Oregon stands behind her sister state, California, in this regard. Research in crime determination and sexual offense in Oregon is sparse, restricted to The Interim Committee Studies and a few unpublished papers. No major research project has been undertaken.

The literature related to the sex offender is extensive as will be seen in Chapter II. Research material is not as voluminous, but some excellent studies have been completed in this area. Few are concerned specifically with child molestation.

Sexual deviation and sexual offense have been studied from a

³ Several such private organizations appeared before the Committee.

variety of viewpoints using a number of different methods and theoretical structures (15, p. 3). Many diversities and contradictions were unavoidable for the pioneers in the study of sexual behavior such as Krafft-Ebing, Hirshfield, Ellis and others who had to work under the greatest difficulties with whatever material they could get (15, p. 4). Up to the late 1920's a large funded research project was virtually impossible because of the sex taboo (16, Introduction). Much of the early research material is contradictory, unsubstantiated, and misleading (5, p. 155).

Important studies have been completed in various states since 1925, notably New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin and California. Major cities like New York, Detroit, San Diego and San Francisco have also carried out extensive research into the problem within their localities. The 1950 Cambridge Study (England and Wales) as well as some of the Canadian studies have presented important data. The major difficulty encountered is in finding prior studies which specify types of offenders. Most deal with sex offenders generally; categories overlap with a consequent loss in statistical value. One must refer to the psychiatric literature to find the necessary differentiation of offender types.

Research at the Forensic Clinic of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital, and that of the Institute of Sex Research at Indiana

University represent the latest works bearing upon the focus of this study. The former was carried out over a three-year period (1956-59). The study group was made up of a total of 132 cases consisting of 55 pedophiles,⁴ 54 exhibitionists, and 23 homosexuals. All were referred by courts or related legal agencies, and were seen on an out-patient basis. They were compared with a control group of 115 incarcerated sex offenders. The study had three aspects:

(a) a documentary follow-up which was mainly concerned with the criminal records before and after referral to the Clinic; (b) an analysis of case records in which all the material accumulated on these cases was analyzed; and (c) a personal follow-up which included those patients who were treated at the Clinic and had finished their treatment at least one year prior to the follow-up (15, p. 6).

This work is particularly important in that offenders are differentiated as to type and then treated statistically. It is this approach which is employed in the present study.

The Institute of Sex Research which is the Indiana University group formed by the late Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey has produced perhaps the most comprehensive study to date. It is the opinion of the student that, in objective quality, depth and diversity there is no comparable work.

The research is based chiefly upon the sexual case histories obtained by interviewing 1,356 white males who had been convicted

⁴Pedophilia is defined by Mohr as "the expressed desire for immature sexual gratification with a prepubertal child" (15, p. 20).

for one or more sex offenses (sex offender group); 888 white males who had never been convicted for a sex offense, but who had been convicted for some other misdemeanor or felony (the prison group); and 477 white males who had never been convicted for anything beyond traffic violations (control group) (7, p. 27).

The data in these studies related to heterosexual, homosexual, exhibitionist and incest offenders against children is very important to the present research.

Studies of the type indicated above have been directed to the purpose of determining how persons who have been imprisoned for various sexual offenses differ from those who have not, and how they differ from one another. Further, they weight the accuracy of popularly conceived notions of sexual offenders.

Such notions, in popular publications, have pictured offenders as older, single men who entice young children into secluded areas where they often harm them severely. They are mostly unknown to the victim and often use an automobile in the commission of their offense. The mental condition of such individuals is often described as psychotic, neurotic or retarded; in all cases, "sick." The child is considered an unwilling victim who often resists and suffers in an attempt to escape. Children are not seen as cooperative participants in this type of offense and would not instigate such an act. Threats and intimidation are common. Victims suffer mentally as well as

physically. The offender is viewed as a hypersexual individual who turns to children out of a perverse, distorted sexual impulse. He is to be found in dark secluded places, in parks, in theaters, or around public playgrounds. Sexual intercourse or homosexual acts are his aim. Relatives do not indulge in this hideous behavior.

It is believed that a substantial number of people hold some or all of the above statements to be true. Legislators, Tappen asserts, have acted upon such notions. He reports that the traditional opinion is based upon the fear that there exist sufficient numbers of sexually dangerous as to represent a real threat to the security of the society. The substantive beliefs that have influenced the traditionalists to support and enact sexual psychopath legislation rests on the assumption that sex offenders are violent and homicidal by nature, habitually repeat their offenses, and progress from minor to more serious forms of sex crime. The public conception is that the offender is an over-sexed clinical entity who is identifiable from non-sexual offenders who may be effectively cured in existing treatment facilities in penal institutions, and that the statutes passed by the states are incarcerating the brutal and vicious sex criminal (17, pp. 7-12).

These assumptions combined with an infamous sex crime in the community increase public pressure on state legislators to enact statutes protecting individuals from the sex offender (1, p. 142). Because child molestation is so incomprehensible to the individual,

fear becomes acute. With an increase in fear, there is an increase in publicity regarding sex crimes by the news media. Sensational crimes are publicized in the press, and this publicity reinforces the public insecurity and their fear of the sex offender (1, pp. 143-145).

Sutherland's research suggests that an atmosphere of fear, tension, and anxiety has been found in all the states prior to the enactment of their sexual psychopath laws (1, pp. 143-145). For example, Michigan's Sexual Psychopath Law, the Goodrich Act, was named after an infamous sex criminal whose crime instigated interest in the passage of such an act. The Indiana Criminal Sexual Psychopath Statute was a direct result, almost a mass hysteria following a series of murders which occurred in 1947 (18, p. 10). The Lehmann^X case in Oregon received much notoriety just prior to passage of the Oregon Sexually Dangerous statutes.

It is hoped that the material presented in Chapter III of this study will be useful to Oregon legislators. An important consideration also is the availability of empirical data to the professional person. Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey was one of the first researchers to discuss the differences of sexual morality across social levels in the society. This is of particular importance to judges, attorneys, police officers, physicians, teachers, social workers and administrators of institutions whose practice brings them in contact with people of differing backgrounds. Kinsey explains:

Most of the tragedies that develop out of sexual activities are products of this conflict between the attitudes of different social levels. Sexual activities in themselves rarely do physical damage, but disagreements over the significance of sexual behavior may result in personality conflicts, a loss of social standing, imprisonment, disgrace, and the loss of life itself.

Social workers are involved with sexual problems even more often than physicians. There are cases of premarital pregnancies, of rape, of divorce resulting from sexual conflicts between the parents of children in whom the social worker is interested. There may be coitus, and sometimes incestuous relations, between children and adults in the community. These last are things that may offend the community as well as the social worker. But everywhere the social worker runs into a record of sexual contacts among children, premarital intercourse, and extramarital intercourse; and although the community accepts these things as inevitable, the social worker sees the behavior in terms of her own mores, and may be outraged and vindictive in her reactions. She may refuse welfare allowances to a family in which there is such "delinquency." In many cases it is the welfare worker who brings the case of sexual activity to the attention of the court (3, pp. 385-388).

In summary, the primary focus of this study is on the individual who is considered a sexual menace to children age 12 and under and who has been charged with a sexual offense in the state of Oregon. Specifically, consideration will be given to three areas of interest: (1) characteristics of the offender, (2) the victim, and (3) the offense.

Research is directed toward illuminating the similarities and differences of Oregon offenders with those in other studies. Their representativeness as to type is investigated and discussed.

The study is undertaken with an objective curiosity. No

explicit hypothesis is posed; however, implicit hypotheses are held. These are (1) traditional views are unsupported by scientific investigation, and (2) the characteristics of Oregon offenders will be found similar to those of offenders in contemporary differentiated studies.

The objective of this study is knowledge--knowledge gained and made available to others who are concerned about this social problem. When the disparity between belief and empirical data is known, the direction of re-education can be determined. Guttmacher and Weinhofen have asserted that ". . . there is doubtless no subject upon which we can gain more definite opinion, and less definite knowledge" (19, p. 110). The writer concurs with this statement and will attempt to foster a better understanding of the characteristics of the Oregon "sexually dangerous." It is hoped that the study will help professional people in their efforts to assist individuals--offender, victim, or parent--to face a painful problem. Finally it is hoped that findings will stimulate further research and will encourage the interest of those who may contribute the resources necessary for a long term sophisticated inquiry into this difficult subject.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

I. ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

This study is an outgrowth of interest developed by the student while on field assignment to the Psychiatric Security Unit of Oregon State Hospital in 1968-69. The project plan, designed around a study of sexual offender characteristics, was submitted to the Administrator of the hospital, and permission was extended to examine clinical histories.

On this basis of organization the various aspects of the study were outlined. Decisions were made as to the major areas of investigation, priorities, formulation of the schedule, a plan of literature study, and method of data collection. Two fellow students assisted with collection of hospital data; the data analysis, and the balance of the study, were undertaken by the student individually.

II. BACKGROUND LITERATURE

Published material on sexual deviation and sexual offense is extensive. Literature dating back to 1912 was reviewed, and almost 400 books, articles and study reports from the psychological,

psychiatric and sociological literature were recorded. With a specific focus on child molestation, it was found that an inverse ratio exists between the importance of the deviation and the amount of the literature available. As Mohr found, ". . . although the general public concern seems to center around pedophilia, the least amount of material is available on this deviation" (15, p. 7). Psychiatric literature related to the more bizarre and rare forms of deviation is abundant while no single volume on the subject of pedophilia exists.

Priority material consisted of sex offender group studies and literature related to pedophilia, homosexuality, exhibitionism, incest, studies related to victims of sex offense and any material concerned with the sex offender in Oregon.

One of the first studies of child molestation was carried out by H. M. Stationary Office in London in 1925 (20). An article on pedophilia by Hadley (21) appeared the next year. This was followed by a silent period. In 1937 Bender (22) published a report on studies of child sex offense victims. From 1937 to 1941 the volume of published articles increased with important works by Wortis, 1939 (23); Henninger, 1939 (24); and Karpman, 1941 (25). Statistical studies began to appear also: Frosch and Bromberg, 1939 (26); and Moran, 1941 (27). Much of the literature related to the psychogenic origin of sexual deviation began appearing in the late 1930's.

The Kinsey Report in 1948 was a major contribution to the

study of sexology, focusing on the nature of normal sexual behavior in the society. The need for control groups in studies of deviant sexual behavior then became apparent. State legislatures appropriated research monies, and many state studies appeared: New Hampshire, 1949 (28); New Jersey, 1950 (29); New York, 1950 (30); and Michigan, 1951 (31). During the same period evaluation of sexual psychopath laws was extensive: Tappan, 1949 (32); Sutherland, 1950 (1); Plascowe, 1947 (33); and Guttmacher, 1951 (34). Major independent studies were those of Apfelberg and his associates, 1944 (35); Mulcock, 1954 (36); Frisbie, 1959 (37); Mohr, 1964 (15); and Gebhard, 1965 (7). Important contributions to the study of incest are found in the works of Wortis, 1939 (23); Werner, 1962 (38); Cavallin, 1966 (39); and Yorukogla, 1966 (40). Research centering on the victim is represented by the later work of Bender in 1952 (41) and those of Landis, 1956 (42) and Chaneles, 1967 (43). Literature related to the Oregon sex offender consists of legislative committee reports and unpublished papers.

Although a concentrated effort was made to uncover published studies of public attitude or opinion surveys related to sexual offense, none were found. A public attitude study toward offenders in general is recorded by Thomas E. Dow (44), and Julian C. Davis (45) made a study in 1962 of various forms of advice given parents and

children in comic books, pamphlets and films across the country.¹

In summary, the literature is immense with many diversities of definition and classification. Data when available is less diverse than some of the generalizations drawn from it. The student has attempted insofar as possible to avoid opinions which are not supported by data.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is descriptive and exploratory. It is descriptive of certain characteristics of 81 individuals who have been committed to Oregon State Hospital as sexually dangerous persons. Introduction of a control variable was beyond the resource of the student; moreover, research of the experimental design would have been premature in this situation.

The exploratory elements are reflected in an attempt to increase the investigator's familiarity with the phenomenon of child molestation in Oregon. Its main objective is the acquisition of knowledge for the purpose of laying a base for more precise future research. This is also an attempt to explore misleading conceptions regarding this type of offense and an underlying intent to clarify and modify such concepts.

¹In general this public information pictures a stranger who attacks children in lonely places.

A relatively systematic procedure for obtaining and analyzing the data has been employed. Both qualitative and quantitative material is presented in a descriptive manner. Neither probability sampling nor statistics beyond the descriptive type have been employed.

The primary concern has been one of arriving at overall frequencies and incidence described in percentages, and identification of central tendencies. Statistics designed to assess the value of interrelationships are not employed as the data is, at this point, unsuited to elaborate statistical treatment. Crudity has been avoided as far as limited resources would allow.²

Formulation of the Schedule

The schedule of questions developed for the offender study consisted of 3 main items and 25 sub-items. These were determined following a preliminary study of hospital clinical histories. Sub-items were included which would illuminate factors related to the main item. For example, under the Offense, sub-items related to location, duration, circumstances of the act and other information were listed. Some items were altered or eliminated in the course of the offender study. These will be discussed in Chapter III. Main

²Criteria for this design are defined in Fellin, Tripodi, and Meyer (46, pp. 255-257).

and sub-items are listed below:

The Offender

- Age
- Sex and Race
- Religion
- Intelligence and Education
- Marital Status and Children
- Military Service
- Occupational Class
- Early Life
- Sexual Adjustment
- Social and Employment Adjustment
- Previous Psychiatric Hospitalization
- Psychiatric Diagnosis
- Commitment and Disposition

The Victim

- Age Factors
- Multiple and Single Victims
- Victim and Offender Relationship

The Offense

- Previous Non-Sexual Offense
- Previous Sexual Offense
- Nature of the Current Offense
- Violence
- Threat
- Victim Behavior
- Location
- Duration
- Intoxication

The schedule was designed to facilitate presentation of distribution and percentages in tabular form.

The Population

The offender group selected consists of those individuals evaluated and treated at Oregon State Hospital as sexually dangerous persons. The period studied is from September 1963 to May 1969.

In 1963 the legislature of the state of Oregon provided in Oregon Revised Statute 426.670:

The Board of Control is hereby directed and authorized to establish and operate a segregated treatment facility within an existing state institution to receive, treat, study and retain in custody as required such sexually dangerous persons as are committed under ORS 426, 510 to 426.670 (9, p. 13).

The facility indicated is the Psychiatric Security Unit of Oregon State Hospital established as an independent facility in 1966. Other than patients committed in the early period of the treatment program, most of the individuals in the study population have been housed on this unit. It is designed for the security of patients who require psychiatric treatment or who because of the nature of the legal charges standing against them must be housed in a situation from which they cannot easily leave. Many of the patients are court committed for short evaluative periods after which they will return to the counties for criminal proceedings. Some are admitted voluntarily, and others are civilly committed.

The unit consists of three security wards for men--maximum, medium and minimum--and one ward for women. With a few exceptions, sex offenders are housed on the medium and minimum

security units. These wards operate on a milieu psychotherapy basis and patients progress in a three-step fashion: (1) no privileges off ward to (2) supervised privileges off ward to (3) limited privileges off ward. These stages are determined by patient and staff considerations.

The atmosphere encouraged on the security unit is one of openness. Confidence of the patients in staff is essential. Personal interviews and research activity were not felt to be conducive to the therapeutic community; therefore, record study was considered the more feasible approach.

With the assistance of the clerical staff, unit admission records were examined to determine the size of the sex offender population. These records indicated that 81 individuals had been evaluated under the Sexually Dangerous Persons Statutes since the inception of the program. It was decided that probability sampling was unnecessary, and the 81 patients were included in total as the study population.

Data Collection and Tabulation

Clinical histories of the offender group were studied over a three-month period. The histories were drawn by the Medical Records Librarian and made available to the students as requested. The operations sheet designed with the schedule of questions was filled

in by hand as each record was examined. This work was carried out by three students. Two would scan records for data as the third, doing the recording, would call for material under the various headings. In those instances where inferential decision would be required on qualitative material, group consensus would prevail. For example, if data was insufficient to substantiate an item like "consent" or "threat," all three students would share in the decision recorded. If evidence was insufficient to support admission of an item, the "no data" symbol would be entered.

When the data collection was complete, tabulation was carried out by two students separately. Tabulations were made by hand and on electronic equipment. Data or punch card methods were not employed. Results were compared; and where diversities had appeared, they were traced and corrected. Finally when both compilations matched, all data was retabulated for reliability.

A reliability check of the data collection method was accomplished in this way. Nine clinical histories were drawn employing random selection. These were re-examined using the original method of data collection. In 225 items, 9 errors of judgment were found.

Substantial effort was extended in the attempt to utilize methods which would produce reliable data. This effort should be reflected as the material lends itself to analysis in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

I. INTRODUCTION

Preliminary examination and definition of offender categories are necessary requisites to the understanding of the Oregon offender group. Primarily the offender study was concerned with the sexual deviation, pedophilia, which has been defined previously as "the expressed desire for immature sexual gratification with a prepubertal child" (15, p. 116). Not all of the Oregon offenders met this qualification clearly. There are those whose "expressed desire" was sexual gratification with a mature adult, but for a complex of factors a child was substituted, occasionally a relative. Homosexual offenders in the group indicated a rather strong pedophilia orientation with two offenders in three expressing an exclusive prepubertal male preference. Others experienced adult sexual relationships both heterosexual and homosexual. There were exhibitionists in the group who exposed to young children and were committed for that reason; yet they indicated that they had also exposed to adults. As one viewed the Oregon group it became evident that variables were operating which produced obscurity.

In reviewing comparative research the same distorting factor was noted and has been identified as lack of differentiation of offender categories. A wide variety of definitions and classifications exists and this diversity poses problems when attempting to analyze comparative data. Because of this, different results may stem from differences in samples. In some instances, the direction of error can easily be identified; in others, it cannot (15, p. 7). This has led to misplaced effort and biased findings.

Considering that lack of differentiation would result in distortion of findings, the total Oregon group was divided into four categories of offense: (1) heterosexual, (2) homosexual, (3) incest and (4) exhibitionism. They number 36 in the first category, 18 in the second, 20 in the third, and 7 in the fourth.¹ The author found no research study, other than Gebhard, which excluded the incest offenders from the heterosexual offenders as a whole; however, there is sufficient justification for an exclusion. From the point of view of society as well as sociology, psychology, psychiatry, anthropology and still other scientific disciplines, incest--that is, sexual activity between close relatives--is set apart from other forms of sexual activity (7, p. 12). Data from the present study concerning

¹ Five offenses involved both male and female victims. Rather than include a small number of undifferentiated offenders, they were placed in that category which most typically suited their behavior.

the incest offender indicates clearly that he does differ in certain respects from the heterosexual pedophile offender.

The secondary purpose in breakdown was to determine how the Oregon offenders differ and how they are similar. Concise definition of offender categories was considered of first importance. For the purpose of data analysis, the following definitions were established.²

1. Heterosexual sex offenders are those who have been committed because of sexual contact with members of the opposite sex under the age of 12 who were not relatives.
2. Homosexual sex offenders are those who have been committed because of sexual contact with members of the same sex under the age of 12 who were not relatives.
3. Incest sex offenders are those who have been committed because of sexual contact with relatives³ of either sex who are under the age of 12.
4. Exhibitionist sexual offenders are those who have been committed because of the deliberate exposure of the genitalia to children under the age of 12.

With the offender categories defined the reader is now directed to

²In all cases, the offender-victim age differential is at least seven years.

³This definition includes surrogate parents, and all relatives within the degree of consanguinity within which marriages are forbidden by law.

study findings which are presented in three sub-sections: (1) offender, (2) victim, and (3) offense. The material is presented with a brief preliminary review of the relationship of each characteristic to other research and literature and then as it applies to the Oregon offender group.

II. THE OFFENDER

Age

Writers on the subject of sexual offenders have ranged widely in their opinions regarding age and type of offense. Discrepancy in findings is related to whether the focus is on a general group of offenders or on specific offender categories. Several writers, considering offenders in general, find that the age is relatively high, 30 and over (47, p. 33). A mean age of 33 years was indicated by Guttacher (6, p. 35).

The specific crimes of rape, exhibitionism and homosexuality were found to be typical of younger offenders (48, p. 46). The molester of children, including incest, is seen typically as a man over 40 (49, pp. 105-114). In the Forensic Clinic Study, Mohr indicates a tri-model distribution of pedophile age-offense relationship which occurs in adolescence, mid-to-late thirties, and mid-to-late fifties. Median age for heterosexual offenders in his study was 35; homosexuals, 29; and exhibitionists, 25. Gebhard reported homosexuals,

30.6, and exhibitionists, "nearly 30."

The age of the total Oregon group (Table I) ranges from 15 to 76 years; median age is 33. Offenders 19 years or under accounted for 8 per cent of the population; those 60 and older for 16 per cent.

TABLE I
AGE OF THE OFFENDER

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
-19	6	(8)	2	(10)	1	(14)	3	(8)	0	(0)
20-29	27	(35)	2	(10)	3	(44)	10	(28)	12	(66)
30-39	16	(20)	6	(30)	0	(0)	8	(22)	2	(11)
40-49	10	(12)	6	(30)	1	(14)	1	(3)	2	(11)
50-59	9	(11)	2	(10)	1	(14)	5	(14)	1	(6)
60 plus	13	(16)	2	(10)	1	(14)	9	(25)	1	(6)
Mean	36.2		39.5		35.0		42.0		28.5	
Median	33.1		39.5		28.0		38.0		27.0	
Range 15-76										

The incest offenders and the heterosexual offenders were older than those in current studies; homosexual offenders, younger; and exhibitionists, approximately average.

Median age for the heterosexual category of offender in the Oregon group was 38, just under that of the incest offenders. Of heterosexual offenses, exactly one-half were perpetrated by

individuals ranging in age from 20 to 39 (Table I). There was a sharp drop in frequency of this type of offense through the next ten years of life, followed by a steady increase from age 49 into the seventies. Individuals over the age of 60 committed 25 per cent of the heterosexual offenses.

The homosexual offenders were particularly active in the age range from 20 to 29. Offenders in this age class interval were responsible for 66 per cent of the homosexual offenses. They were sparsely represented in the grouping from 30 to 50, and only one homosexual offender was over 60 (Table I). Median age was 27 years.

A median age of 39.5 years made incest offenders the oldest individuals in the group. Incest activity tended to be more pronounced (60 per cent) from 30 to 50, but there were substantial occurrences from late adolescence into the sixties.

Exhibitionists in the Oregon group revealed a higher rate of activity in the 20 to 29 age interval with 44 per cent of the offenses occurring at that time. Median age was 28, just over that of the homosexual group. Here, as with the heterosexual offenders, activity receded and then increased in frequency in the later years. There were no exhibitionists in the group between the ages of 30 and 39 (Table I). Only three offenders in this category were over 40; the oldest was a 60-year-old alcoholic.

Sex and Race

Studies of sex offenders in the United States and Canada are concerned almost exclusively with the male offender. Women do commit sexual offenses but much less frequently than men do. Studies of the American Humane Association (50, p. 66) indicate that women, prostitutes excluded, account for approximately 3 per cent of all sexual offenses recorded annually. A survey of the women convicted in Oregon from July 1, 1958 to September, 1967, shows only one conviction for sodomy and three convictions for contributing to the delinquency of a minor (18, p. 77). No females have been committed to the treatment facility for sexual offense. All offenders studied were males.

Studies of pedophilia have consistently indicated that when compared to their total number in the general population, Negroes do not commit sexual offenses against children as frequently as whites do. Prison samples which include disproportionately high numbers of Negroes indicate low rates of pedophilia. Frosch and Bromberg (26) reported 80 per cent white, 20 per cent black. Glueck (51) found 77 per cent white, and 24 per cent black. Both reported low rates of Negro homosexual pedophilia. Frisbie, at Atascadero State Hospital stated "there were fewer non-white pedophiles than would be expected" (52, p. 52). Some authorities have suggested that either Negroes do not commit sex crimes as frequently as white do; or due

to the Negroes' sexual mores, fewer complaints are filed against them by Negroes than would be the case with whites. In Negro sexual offenses, the victim is most frequently another Negro (53, pp. 51-58).

All of the offenders in the present study are white; no Negro has been committed to the state hospital in Oregon for child molestation.

Religion

Religion is significant in studies of sexual offenders only in that the varying proportions of Protestants and Catholics merely reflect the distribution in the area where the study is being conducted. However, in the case of Jews, it is obvious that there are elements in that culture which militate against crime (7, pp. 41-42). There are simply too few Jews in any sex offender population to be explained in any other way.

Most of the offenders in the present study came from Protestant families; however, the item of religion was dropped when it was determined that information regarding the offender's current religious orientation was seldom recorded in the history unless it was unusual. Seven of the histories did indicate a preoccupation with

religious matters.⁴ Of the seven, three clustered in the Incest category. Although the number is small, it is interesting to note that incest offenders are mentioned as the "most religious" in current literature (7, p. 269).

Intelligence and Education

In earlier studies the pedophile was often considered mentally defective. This view has been discounted with the widespread use of intelligence-testing methods. Abrahamsen (30, pp. 26-30) reported that the intelligence of offenders was equal, for the most part, to that of the average population. The California Study (54) found that the intellectual ability did not differ significantly from that expected in the normal population. Similar findings are recorded by Ellis and Brancale (55) and Mohr (15). Gebhard (7, p. 660) found heterosexual offenders slightly below average intellectually and the homosexual group slightly above average.

Educational achievement levels of pedophiles compare closely with their measured intellectual capacity. Here again, offenders are near, but somewhat lower than, the general population. Educational levels have been more frequently reported for undifferentiated groups of sexual offenders than for specific deviations. When

⁴An illustration of unusual religious attitude is seen in the case of a 66-year-old farmer who molested a young girl and felt that he was under the influence of "demonic pressure from the devil."

categories are studied independently, a clearer pattern emerges.

Frisbie (52, p. 54) found the median grade level of child molesters to be 10.3 or 1.5 years less than the adult male population. In Glueck's study, 42 per cent of both heterosexual and homosexual offenders had completed seven to nine grades. The Cambridge Report (56, p. 115) indicated that homosexual offenders in England recorded higher grade levels than other types. This characteristic is also seen in the United States.

Very little can be said of the intellectual capacity of the Oregon offender group. IQ ratings were recorded in only 12 of the 81 histories. Ten of these indicated mental retardation, and two showed superior intellectual capacity.⁵

Educational achievement level of the Oregon group is similar to that found in the populations of other sexual offender studies. The total group achieved a mean level of 10 grades (Table II). The Incest, Heterosexual, and Exhibitionist groups ranged from 9.3 to 10.2 grades achieved. Homosexual offenders, following the general pattern, are highest in educational achievement with a mean grade level of 11 years. A high percentage of the total group completed grade school but 13 heterosexual offenders did not go beyond.

⁵One incest offender was found to be retarded but no IQ rating was recorded in the history. His mother and five siblings were also mentally retarded.

TABLE II
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Grade School</u>										
Entered	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Failed to Complete	9	(11)	4	(20)	0	(0)	3	(8)	2	(12)
Completed	72	(89)	16	(80)	7	(100)	33	(92)	16	(88)
<u>High School</u>										
Entered	54	(100)	13	(100)	6	(100)	20	(100)	15	(100)
Failed to Complete	27	(50)	8	(62)	4	(67)	10	(50)	5	(33)
Completed	27	(50)	5	(38)	2	(33)	10	(50)	10	(67)
<u>College</u>										
Entered	6	(100)	0	(0)	0	(0)	3	(100)	3	(100)
Failed to Complete	5	(83)	0	(0)	0	(0)	2	(67)	3	(100)
Completed	1	(17)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(33)	0	(0)
Number and per cent completed grade school but not beyond										
	18	(22)	3	(15)	1	(14)	13	(36)	1	(6)
Number and per cent completed high school but not beyond										
	21	(26)	5	(25)	2	(28)	7	(19)	7	(39)
Grade range 3-17										
Mean Grade										
Achieved	10.0		9.3		10.2		9.7		11.0	

Only one-third of the homosexual group dropped out of high school as opposed to 67 per cent of the exhibitionists, one-half of the heterosexual offenders and 62 per cent of the incest offenders. College entrance percentage in the homosexual group was twice that of the heterosexual offenders;⁶ there were no college entrances in the other categories. The Oregon group totally is below the educational achievement level of the general population.⁷

Marital Status and Children

Generally the American and English literature indicates that sexual offenders (with the exception of incest) are single at the time of the offense. Radzinowicz, in discussing the situation in Britain, said: "The proportion of married persons among sexual offenders, whose marital condition was known, was less than half of the corresponding proportion in the general population of England and Wales" (56, p. 115). One study of exhibitionists in England revealed a small majority of married men (58, pp. 631-638). Other American studies which are statistical in nature indicate that respective numbers

⁶ The only individual in the study to complete college was a 34-year-old school teacher. He suffered a disassociative reaction resulting from job and marital stress just prior to a heterosexual offense.

⁷ The general white population achieved 12.1 grades in 1967 (57, p. 518).

of married and single offenders are not clearly disproportionate.⁸

When those "ever married," are added to the married group, they often exceed the number of single offenders (35, p. 762). The Michigan Report, interestingly, indicates that ". . . sex offenders tend in disproportionate numbers to be without marital sexual outlets, but so do non-sex criminals" (6, p. 34). Gebhard found that two-thirds of heterosexual offenders were married at the time of the offense.

The writer suggests that the high positioning of single individuals in some study rankings is the result of one distorting factor--the customary inclusion of large numbers of young, single, homosexual offenders in study samples. It has not been clearly established that single men are predisposed to sexual offense.

An interesting statistic is revealed in the marital status of the total Oregon group (Table III). At the time of the offense, 33 individuals were married, and 33 were single. The married and single offenders represent 41 per cent of the population each, and the remaining 18 per cent of the group were divorced (10), separated (4), or widowed (1).

Three of the seven exhibitionists were married, and in all

⁸Of 44 pedophiles in the Forensic Clinic Study only 12 were single which indicates disproportion in the opposite direction (15, p. 67).

TABLE III
MARITAL STATUS

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Single	33	(41)	4	(20)	4	(57)	12	(33)	13	(72)
Married	33	(41)	13	(65)	3	(43)	15	(42)	2	(11)
Separated	4	(5)	0	(0)	0	(0)	2	(5)	2	(11)
Divorced	10	(12)	3	(15)	0	(0)	6	(17)	1	(6)
Widowed	1	(1)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(3)	0	(0)

incest situations which involve a father-daughter or stepfather-daughter situation (60 per cent), the marriage was intact. Forty per cent of the incest offenses involved other relationships. In these cases the offender was a single grandfather, uncle or brother. As expected, the homosexual group had the fewest married men; 72 per cent of its population was single, and 17 per cent, separated or divorced. Although 42 per cent of the heterosexual offenders were married, they showed the highest frequency of marital instability with over half of the members of the group separated from the original spouse. Offenders in this category accounted for 60 per cent of the multiple marriages in the total offender group. Conversely, the relative marital durability of the incest category is reflected in a

much lower frequency (15 per cent) of divorce.⁹ There were no divorces in the small number of exhibitionists included in the study population.

Recent studies reveal that the sexual offender is often a prolific father, especially in the case of the incest offender (7, p. 217). Half of Mohr's exhibitionist group had children and two-thirds of the pedophiles were fathers (15, pp. 72, 151). Glueck reported 88 per cent with children (51, p. 257).

More than 80 per cent of the married Oregon heterosexual offenders had children and four were raising step-children as well. Of the two married homosexuals, only one had a child. Two of the seven exhibitionists were fathers; and all married and divorced incest offenders, with one exception, had children.

Military Service

Literature related to sexual offenses in the armed services is concerned mainly with homosexuality. Many homosexuals enter military services, a large number of whom go unrecognized, and some serve with distinction (59, p. 7). An examination of statistical

⁹The divorce rate of incest offenders is skewed upward by the inclusion of the most divorced man in the total offender population--six marriages, five divorces. It should also be noted that marital durability in the incest category in no way indicates marital stability. The highest frequency of family stress at the time of the offense was found among families where incest occurred.

data gathered from armed services and civilian agencies of the government indicates that " . . . from January 1, 1947 to October 31, 1954, 4,954 cases involving a charge of homosexuality or other types of sex perversion have been handled in these agencies" (59, p. 9).

Of the 81 men in the Oregon offender group, 31 served in the armed forces. Over one-half (55 per cent) of the homosexual offenders and five of the seven exhibitionists experienced military service. The older heterosexual and incest groups were less well represented with 31 per cent and 25 per cent serving respectively.

Of the 31 who served, 27 men obtained honorable discharges, and 4 received discharges "other than honorable." Two of the homosexual offenders were discharged for this type of sexual activity in the service. One incest offender had enlisted "fraudulently," and one exhibitionist offender was discharged dishonorably for reasons not recorded in his clinical history.

Occupational Class

Sexual offenses are perpetrated by individuals in all vocations; however, certain occupational groups are conspicuous in non-offending. The Cambridge Report indicated that professional people constituted 2 per cent of the total offender population (56, pp. 124-125). The Frankel Report (6, p. 33) grouped professionals, owners,

business men, and students into a single category which represented 13.4 per cent of the offenders. Conversely, offense rates are high among day labor, semi-skilled and skilled occupations. These account for approximately one-half of the offenses according to current studies. Differentially, the homosexual offender has a higher representation in the lower white collar occupational class and unusually high in jobs which involve personal service. It has also been noted, interestingly, that when related to their total number, the incest group alone has been found to hold a higher proportion of skilled occupational positions.

Oregon offenders are mostly men who do general manual work. Each category of offender in the study was most highly represented in the day labor class¹⁰ (43 per cent) (Table IV). The homosexual group was the highest with half of its members in this class. Findings related to the prominence of homosexuals in the lower white collar classification are not borne out by this study. Only one individual was so classified. Heterosexual offenders stand the highest in the lower white collar class (17 per cent). It is clearly illustrated in Table IV that offenders are conspicuously absent in the

¹⁰ An eight-way breakdown is utilized based upon classes developed originally by Chapin (60, p. 16).

TABLE IV
OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Class	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Never employed	5	(6)	1	(5)	1	(14)	3	(8)	0	(0)
Student	5	(8)	1	(5)	1	(14)	2	(5)	2	(11)
Day labor	35	(43)	8	(40)	3	(43)	15	(42)	9	(50)
Semi-skilled	14	(17)	6	(30)	0	(0)	4	(11)	4	(22)
Skilled	14	(17)	4	(20)	2	(29)	6	(17)	2	(11)
Lower white collar	7	(9)	0	(0)	0	(0)	6	(17)	1	(6)
Upper white collar	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Professional	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)

higher occupational classifications.¹¹

Incest offenders hold a higher representation in the semi-skilled and skilled classifications proportionate to their total number (50 per cent). However, in the small number of exhibitionists, two were skilled (an electrician and a printer).

There were six individuals in the total group who were classified as students because none had long-term work experience. Five offenders had never been employed; three of these were in the heterosexual category. Job descriptions stated most frequently were

¹¹ According to Chapin (60), the two school teachers in the study group do not meet the qualifications of professionals.

those involving the handling of wood products (logger, millworker, laborer).¹²

Interest is now directed to the more variable factors relative to the offender's adaptation to his environment.

Early Life

Characteristics related to the offender's early life were studied with the consideration that the nature and quality of this period contributed to later social development.

The majority of the offenders in the study group were raised in the state of Oregon. Their rural-urban distribution corresponds closely to that found in the general Oregon population in 1960 (65 per cent urban, 35 per cent rural) (57, p. 286). Over one-half of the offenders were raised in an urban setting, and the early years of only 31 per cent of the group could be described as exclusively rural. Less than one-fifth of the total number of families changed residence often.

Rural-urban distribution in the Oregon group corresponds to the findings of other research studies. Sexual offenders tend toward a more urban background. While cities do not have a monopoly on sexual offenses, there are obvious selective factors which make

¹²This is not unusual considering the prominence of the industry in the state of Oregon.

certain offenses more suitable to densely populated areas (7, pp. 39-40). Exhibitionists and homosexuals favor the city; incest offenders tend to be more rural.

In the Oregon study the incest category not only had a higher frequency of rural residents, but a higher percentage of these rural families moved often.¹³ This characteristic is not seen among other offenders. Both homosexual and exhibitionist categories are 72 per cent urban. The heterosexual group indicated a more even distribution (Table V).

TABLE V
URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Distribution	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Urban	43	(53)	8	(40)	5	(72)	17	(47)	13	(72)
Rural	25	(31)	9	(45)	1	(14)	13	(36)	2	(11)
Unknown	13	(16)	3	(15)	1	(14)	6	(17)	3	(17)

¹³ Four of the nine incest offenders who had a rural background follow a pattern observed by Gebhard: "The overall impression is of a group of impoverished, uneducated farmers or ranchers of less than average intelligence . . . such an offender was a member of the Tobacco Road type milieu wherein incest was regarded as unfortunate but not unexpected" (7, p. 268).

There is considerable evidence that sexual deviation may be the result of emotional deprivation in the formative years. Some writers have mentioned neglect in the home, broken homes, and parental harshness as contributing factors (30, 54). Gebhard has indicated that about half of all sex offenders came from broken homes whereas this characteristic is seen in 30 per cent of the general population (7, p. 56). Mohr reported that this higher percentage is also observed in other types of psychological disturbance (15, p. 63).

It would appear that the frequency of broken homes is not of great significance in the case of the Oregon offenders (Table VI).

TABLE VI
BROKEN HOMES

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Raised by	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Own parents	59	(73)	16	(80)	5	(72)	26	(72)	12	(66)
Mother-stepfather	11	(14)	2	(10)	1	(14)	6	(17)	2	(12)
Mother, single	4	(5)	1	(5)	0	(0)	2	(5)	1	(5)
Father, single	1	(1)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(3)	0	(0)
Other relatives	1	(1)	0	(0)	1	(14)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Foster parents	1	(1)	1	(5)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Institution	4	(5)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(3)	3	(17)

Fifty-nine were raised by their own parents. The incest group had the lowest percentage of broken homes (20 per cent); the homosexual

group, the highest (34 per cent). Significantly, all groups stand near the national average. The mean age of the offender at the time the break-up occurred is low in all categories (five years). The majority of the offenders who experienced a broken home were raised by their mother and a step-father. Three of the five offenders who were institutionalized following the home break-up became homosexual offenders.

Another consideration is the nature of family relationships. Psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers and society in general hold the strong opinion that it is highly desirable for a child to be reared in a family in which both parents are present and in which there is affection and harmony.

The studies of Mohr, Gebhard, and Glueck all considered the quality of intrafamily relationships. Mohr indicated that data based on offender statements alone was not sufficiently systematized to present a consistent picture (15, p. 63). With the exception of Gebhard's work, studies have been concerned with parent-offender "distance" and have ignored what appears more significant, i. e., parental preference. His research revealed a pattern which he implies would be found in the general population:

In answer to our question whether the interviewee got along better with his father or mother, some named one parent, but many replied that they got along equally well with both. Having the largest percentage impartial and the smallest percentage preferring the father seems to constitute a "normal" ratio . . . (7, p. 429).

In Gebhard's study, poor adjustment with both parents is closely correlated with homosexuality, force, and sexual offenses against pre-pubertal children. In addition, his findings reveal no category in which the offender preferred his father. He stated: ". . . a relatively high percentage of father preference seems a bad omen" (7, p. 431). He points out that such people frequently commit subsequent offenses involving violence. People who expressed high mother preference commit offenses that society looks upon as very reprehensible, i. e., homosexuality, exhibitionism, and incest (7, p. 429).

Determination of offender adjustment to parents in the Oregon group is subjective at best. Clinical histories included statements about parents from the offender's point of view, but such statements were not considered objective unless corroborated by an independent source. Validation was based upon the appearance in the record of statements from interested relatives. Only direct statements which indicated closeness to both parents, or preference for one parent were considered. This procedure resulted in a substantial number of "unknowns," especially in the case of heterosexual offenders (Table VII).

Only one-third of the offenders were close to their fathers while 54.3 per cent characterized the maternal relationship as close.

Father preference is almost non-existent in known cases in the study population (Table VII). Two incest offenders favored their

TABLE VII
PARENTAL PREFERENCE

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Preference	80	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	17*	(100)
Mother	13	(16)	5	(25)	1	(14)	3	(8)	4	(24)
Father	4	(5)	2	(10)	1	(14)	1	(3)	0	(0)
Both	22	(28)	5	(25)	2	(29)	10	(28)	5	(29)
Neither	15	(19)	3	(15)	1	(14)	8	(22)	3	(18)
Unknown	26	(32)	5	(25)	2	(29)	14	(39)	5	(29)

*1 n/a (a homosexual offender, raised in an institution)

fathers and expressed an active dislike for their mothers. Not one homosexual offender preferred his father. Categories followed generally the pattern observed by Gebhard with incest offenders expressing highest mother preference. The small number of "knowns" in the population precludes generalization but it is interesting to note the number who cared for neither parent in relation to those who cared for both. This percentage was highest in the heterosexual category.¹⁴ Sibling relationships are not considered in this study as they do not indicate any significant trend on the overt level.

¹⁴ Highest also in violence (see page 71).

Sexual Adjustment

The item, sexual adjustment, was included in the study to determine how the Oregon offender and his non-offending counterpart in the general population differed with respect to non-criminal sexual activity. The design included the following sub-items: (1) incidence of formal sexual instruction by parents; (2) incidence and age at first heterosexual contact; (3) incidence and age at first homosexual contact; and (4) incidence of husband-wife sexual satisfaction in the marriage. Unfortunately, paucity of data in the histories precludes any but the crudest determinations.

Many authors cite inadequate sex education as one of the causes of sexual offenses (61, p. 291; 62, p. 168). Glueck found that only 10 per cent of the sex offenders and 14 per cent of the control group had received such instruction (51, p. 205). Gebhard reports that instruction was received by less than one-fifth of the offenders and by only 21 per cent of the control group (7, pp. 270-271).

Only nine of the Oregon offenders are known to have received parental instruction in sexual matters.¹⁵ Another nine indicated that they received no instruction, and the balance of the cases are

¹⁵Of the nine receiving instruction, three were taught that sex was dirty, evil, and to be avoided.

unknown.¹⁶

The Kinsey study was the first to describe differences in sexual activity across social levels in the general United States population. Two of the criteria used by Kinsey were educational level and occupational class. These are known in the Oregon group and are similarly employed in the current study.

Kinsey's data indicated that 48 per cent of those males who would complete grade school and 43 per cent who would complete high school would experience heterosexual intercourse between adolescence and 15 years of age. Of those who would ultimately go to college, 10 per cent would have such an experience in this age interval. In the later teens¹⁷ the percentage of such experience in the college-bound group increases, but it is still comparatively low (grade school, 85 per cent; high school, 75 per cent; college, 42 per cent) (3, p. 347).

Further, Kinsey notes that among single males, homosexual relations were found to occur between adolescence and 15 years of age most often in the group that goes into high school but not beyond and least often in the group that goes to college (3, p. 357).

¹⁶ A later polling of 18 offenders in a group therapy session provided these figures: two men had received sex education from parents and another three, in the public schools.

¹⁷ 16-20 years.

When viewed in terms of occupational class, premarital heterosexual contacts were found most frequently among future semi-skilled workers (3, p. 349). Homosexual contacts were substantially more frequent among those who would occupy the day labor class (3, p. 361).

A rather general determination of first heterosexual and homosexual contacts of the Oregon group was achieved. Category breakdown of offenders was not employed because of insufficient data. Over one-half (53 per cent) of the total offender group experienced premarital heterosexual contact. Those reporting no contact included 22 per cent of the population, and 25 per cent were unknown. Median age at first contact for the "knowns" was a late 18 years. Their achieved educational level was 11 grades, and 65 per cent were day laborers.¹⁸

Over 30 per cent of the "knowns" in the Oregon group had homosexual contacts which occurred at a median age of 13 years. As with the heterosexual contacts, about 25 per cent of the records provided no data. Median age was somewhat lower than that found by Gebhard, but it was close enough to warrant comparison. "In all homosexual groups, the median individual participated in his

¹⁸ Considering the high number of unknowns, it is hypothesized that mean age of the first heterosexual contact may be lower. The data would indicate that these men do not differ significantly in this respect from the general male population.

first post-pubertal homosexual activity at fourteen or fifteen" (7, p. 628). His study individuals tended not to go beyond high school, and two-thirds were in the day labor or semi-skilled occupational classes.

Marital sexual adjustment among the group could not be determined easily because one-third of the histories contributed no data. Dissatisfaction was expressed by both partners in one-half of the known cases. Interestingly, in all marriages where the husband was an incest offender, sexual relations prior to the offense were described as poor.

Social and Employment Adjustment

The concern of this part of the study was the quality of interpersonal relationships outside of the family. How did the offender relate to school peers, neighbors, social acquaintances or job associates? Data sources were limited, and the student was required to make a determination from recorded statements by the offender and clinical diagnostic statements about the offender.¹⁹

Review of offender studies gave general statements but

¹⁹ A typical example would be this excerpt from the clinical history of a 17-year-old offender charged with child molestation: "The patient is completely overwhelmed and afraid of the sex drive. He is very immature, never dated, has no close friends, and feels alienated from the society." The boy characterized himself as a "lone wolf." Interestingly, psychological evaluation indicated superior intelligence.

revealed little specific information on social adjustment. General statements often described offenders as isolated, withdrawn and inadequate. Dr. Guilio di Furia, director of the Fort Steilacoom, Washington, treatment facility reports:

. . . they all have several problems in interpersonal relationship.

Generally speaking, they have never been close to another person in a healthy give and take relationship. They harbor feelings of having been deprived of love in infancy, and they have marked dependency needs which they are unable to communicate correctly. Whether their intelligence is superior, average or low, they always seem rigid in their ways of adjusting to environment. . . . The individual learns solitary and socially aberrant sexual behavior and fails to learn normal social skills, attitudes and heterosexual function (63, p. 631).

Oregon offenders indicate similar characteristics.

The study population categories were rated as "good" or "poor" in social and employment adjustment by the predominance of positive or negative statements taken from the history. The dichotomy, while admittedly crude, did indicate a rather consistent pattern of maladjustment.

No homosexual or exhibitionist offender in the group had a good social adjustment (Table VIII). The highest percentage recorded was among the heterosexual offenders, 25 per cent of whom enjoyed good social interactions.²⁰ The incest offenders, following the general

²⁰When an offender's social adjustment was characterized as good, the judgment was usually corroborated by an independent source.

TABLE VIII
SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adjustment	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Good	12	(15)	3	(15)	0	(0)	9	(25)	0	(0)
Poor	56	(69)	14	(70)	7	(100)	20	(56)	15	(83)
Unknown	13	(16)	3	(15)	0	(0)	7	(19)	3	(17)

pattern, recorded 69 per cent as poor in this characteristic.

Employment stability reflects the same picture of "bottom rung" status with 61 per cent of the total group only irregularly employed (Table IX). The homosexual and heterosexual offenders rated

TABLE IX
EMPLOYMENT ADJUSTMENT

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adjustment	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Good	22	(27)	8	(40)	2	(29)	9	(25)	3	(17)
Poor	49	(61)	10	(50)	3	(42)	23	(64)	13	(72)
Never employed	10	(12)	2	(10)	2	(29)	4	(11)	2	(11)

the lowest in satisfactory employment (17 and 25 per cent respectively), and the older incest group rated the highest (40 per cent).²¹

Two of the seven exhibitionists had a stable employment experience (see page 53). Not unexpectedly, it is noted that of the offenders in the population who experienced "good" social adjustment, 75 per cent also enjoyed their employment.

Factors related to the more clinical aspects of the offender's situation are considered in the following section.

Previous Psychiatric Hospitalization

Several sexual offender studies have considered the incidence of prior mental illness. High rates were found by Ellis and Barncale (55, p. 768). Low incidence is reported by Glueck and others. The range of difference appears to be a result of the criteria used to determine mental illness. The evidence suggests, however, that when such problems are found, they more frequently antedate the offenses that are usually considered most deviant, i. e., offenses against male or female children under 12 years of age (51, p. 126).

Data presented here are related specifically to the incidence of previous commitment to a mental institution. The majority of individuals in the Oregon group had not received such treatment (Table

²¹The age factor may represent a bias in the employment pattern since the younger men had had less time to establish themselves in a stable job situation.

X). Of the 26 who did, 57 per cent were committed for overt sexual deviation. Two were diagnosed as psychotic.

TABLE X
PREVIOUS PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALIZATION

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hospitalization	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
No	53	(65)	15	(75)	3	(43)	24	(67)	11	(61)
Yes	26	(32)	4	(20)	3	(43)	12	(33)	7	(39)
Unknown	2	(3)	1	(5)	1	(14)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Diagnosis	26	(100)	4	(100)	3	(100)	12	(100)	7	(100)
Sexual deviation	15	(57)	1	(25)	2	(67)	7	(58)	5	(71)
Psychotic	2	(8)	0	(0)	1	(33)	1	(8)	0	(0)
Non-psychotic	7	(27)	3	(75)	0	(0)	2	(17)	2	(29)
Unknown	2	(8)	0	(0)	0	(0)	2	(17)	0	(0)

Incest offenders were committed least often. The highest rate was found among the seven exhibitionists, four of whom had been committed previously. One-third of the heterosexual offenders and almost 40 per cent of the homosexual group had records of prior psychiatric hospitalization. Over 50 per cent of the heterosexual and 71 per cent of the homosexual commitments involved sexual problems.

Psychiatric Diagnosis

Older clinical studies usually associated sexual offenders with severe mental disorders and mental retardation. In these studies, the classification systems of the different investigators varied and frequently resulted in biased samples. The data of later studies indicate that overt psychosis among sexual offenders is rare (7, p. 758).

The Oregon offenders were grouped into six classifications of psychiatric diagnosis: (1) organic brain syndrome, (2) psychosis, (3) neurosis, (4) personality disorder, (5) sociopath, and (6) none. Where alcoholism was present, it was also included in the diagnosis and is presented in Table XI.

TABLE XI
CURRENT PSYCHIATRIC DIAGNOSIS

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Diagnosis	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Organic brain syn.	15	(18)	3	(15)	1	(14)	11	(30)	0	(0)
Psychosis	5	(6)	3	(15)	0	(0)	1	(3)	1	(6)
Neurosis	5	(6)	1	(5)	0	(0)	2	(6)	2	(11)
Personality dis.	28	(35)	8	(40)	3	(43)	12	(33)	5	(28)
Sociopath	21	(26)	3	(15)	3	(43)	8	(22)	7	(39)
No mental dis.	7	(9)	2	(10)	0	(0)	2	(6)	3	(16)
	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Alcoholism present	18	(22)	6	(30)	5	(71)	6	(17)	1	(5)

The number of individuals with no recorded mental disorder (seven) exceeds the number who were diagnosed as psychotic (five). Like other sexual offender populations, the frequency of those psychiatric symptoms associated with personality deficiencies is high in all offender categories.

Organic brain syndrome affected more individuals in the heterosexual category (30 per cent) than in any other category. One-third in this category had personality disorders, and 22 per cent were diagnosed as sociopathic. Personality disorder was pronounced among the seven exhibitionists. Three of the five psychotics in the total group were incest offenders. The homosexual group had the highest percentage of those with "no mental disorder found."

Over one-fifth of the offenders were reported to be excessive drinkers or addicted to alcohol. Other studies have emphasized the role of alcohol among exhibitionists (64, p. 526). The present group is no exception; five of the seven exhibitionists used alcohol excessively. Drinking to excess was mentioned in the histories of 30 per cent of the incest offenders, 17 per cent of the heterosexual offenders, and 5 per cent of the homosexual offenders.

Commitment and Disposition

A sexual offender may be committed to Oregon State Hospital on either a criminal or civil complaint. In addition, voluntary

commitment is allowed pursuant to ORS 426.650. The initial objective of the commitment is the determination of the existence of a "sexually dangerous" condition. The secondary objective is disposition. Underlying the whole process is psychotherapeutic treatment.

Since September 1963, 81 individuals have been committed to the State Hospital under the purview of Oregon's Sexually Dangerous Persons legislation. In May 1969, 57 had been discharged and 23 remained as continuing patients (Table XII).

TABLE XII
DISPOSITIONAL STATUS OF OFFENDERS
MAY 1969

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Discharged	58	(72)	18	(90)	6	(86)	24	(67)	10	(56)
Continuing	23	(28)	2	(10)	1	(14)	12	(33)	8	(44)
Mean Treatment Period in Months										
Discharged			6.6		4.6		3.5		15.2	
Continuing			18.0		4.0		28.7		24.3	

Of the seven exhibitionist offenders in the group six had been discharged, and the seventh was housed on an open ward. Two-thirds of the heterosexual category had been discharged following the

lowest average treatment time for the total offender group. The one-third which is continuing, however, has the longest average hospitalization period of any category. Eighteen of the 20 incest offenders were discharged with an average treatment period of 6.6 months.

Homosexual offenders were unique in this characteristic. They had the lowest percentage of discharge (56 per cent) and required a substantially longer period of treatment before discharge. The treatment period for those continuing was over two years.

Since the enactment of the 1963 legislation, not one sexual offender discharged from Oregon State Hospital has been charged with a subsequent sexual offense.

This concludes the findings related to the offender. Attention is now directed to characteristics of the child victim.

III. THE VICTIM

The exact number of victims in the Oregon study was unknown. Only those children whose exact age and sex were determined have been included. Of the 74 offenders in the incest, heterosexual, and homosexual categories, 123 victims--89 female, 34 male--were known.²²

²²Children who observed exhibitionists are not included as victims in this study.

Data presented in this part of the study is concerned with characteristics of age, multiple and single victim situations, and relationship of the offender to the child.

Age Factors

There are few studies concerned with victims of sexual offense. Notable exceptions are those of the American Humane Association (50), California Sexual Deviation Research (11), and Bender (22, 41). All studies observed that the majority of child victims are from 6 to 11. Offensive activity of heterosexual pedophiles declines beyond this age range which allows the observer to discriminate between pedophilic behavior and post-pubertal adult sexual relations.

Mohr indicates a difference in the trend of activity among homosexual offenders and cites a peak of victim age in the 12 to 15 range. He indicates, "One would imagine that the increase goes on but that the activity is then no longer seen as pedophilic" (15, p. 23).

The mean age of victims in the Oregon group was comparative with that found in other studies (Table XIII). The highest incidence of offense in all categories occurred in the 8 to 11 age grouping.

Because of the nature of Oregon commitment, the study population does not clearly reveal the trends which are mentioned above; however, as with Mohr's sample, victims of the Oregon homosexual

TABLE XIII
AGE OF THE VICTIM

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age	123	(100)	37	(100)	0	(n/a)	56	(100)	30	(100)
0-3	3	(3)	1	(3)			2	(4)	0	(0)
4-7	26	(21)	6	(16)			17	(30)	3	(10)
8-11	45	(37)	14	(37)			17	(30)	14	(46)
12 plus	23	(18)	8	(22)			7	(13)	8	(27)
Unknown	26	(21)	8	(22)			13	(23)	5	(17)
Mean	9.5		9.7				8.2		10.8	
Median	8.8		8.5				8.0		10.0	

offender rank the highest in mean age.²³

The study group presented a clear picture of pedophilia when offender-victim age differential was examined. This difference ranged from 7 to 67 years. The trend toward decrease in age of the victim with increase in the age of the offender has also been cited in the literature. Mean age of "known" study victims of Oregon offenders over 50 was found to be 7.2 years, which is below the average age of the total victim group.

²³ The reader is again reminded that Mohr's sample is outpatient and not institutional.

Multiple and Single Victims

Both the Cambridge Study in England (56) and the American Humane Association Study (50) in the United States found that sexual offenses more often involve only one victim and one offender. The percentage in the English study was 74 per cent. The American research found that 78 per cent of the sample cases involved single victims.

Study of this characteristic revealed a curious statistic in the Oregon group. In 74 cases, almost one-half involved multiple victims (Table XIV). The heterosexual category included the greatest

TABLE XIV
SINGLE AND MULTIPLE VICTIM SITUATIONS

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Situations	74	(100)	20	(100)	0	(n/a)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Single	36	(49)	8	(40)			22	(61)	6	(33)
Multiple	35	(47)	12	(60)			13	(36)	10	(56)
Unknown	3	(4)	0	(0)			1	(3)	2	(11)

number of single victims; and, unexpectedly, homosexual offenders, the fewest. In the 20 incest offenses, 60 per cent involved more than one child in the family.²⁴

Victim and Offender Relationship

Many studies have examined extensively the item of relationship. There is general agreement that the majority of sexual offense victims are related to or acquainted with the offender. Davis (45) reports that two out of three victims knew the offender prior to the offense. Revitch and Weiss (65) stated that involvement of friends, neighbors, and relatives was "frequent." The California Study (11, p. 57) observed the following ratio: acquaintance, 51 per cent; related, 30 per cent; and strangers, 19 per cent.

The Oregon group presents a similar picture with some qualifications. The total group dichotomy was as follows: acquaintance, 35 per cent; related, 27 per cent; strangers, 26 percent, and 12 per cent of the population relationships were unknown (Table XV).

In the situations involving relatives, fathers outnumbered step-fathers two to one; these two groups together accounted for 60 per cent of the related offenders. The remaining 40 per cent included

²⁴The high percentage is not unusual. The family incest situation is commonly long-term, and not only involves several siblings during the period of activity, but has also included older children who have left the home. (See the American Humane Association Study [50]).

TABLE XV
OFFENDER-VICTIM RELATIONSHIP

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Relationship	74	(100)	20	(100)	0	(n/a)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Father	8	(11)	8	(40)			0	(n/a)	0	(n/a)
Stepfather	4	(5)	4	(20)			0	(n/a)	0	(n/a)
Other relative	8	(11)	8	(40)			0	(n/a)	0	(n/a)
Acquaintance	26	(35)	0	(n/a)			17	(47)	9	(50)
Stranger	19	(26)	0	(n/a)			14	(39)	5	(28)
Unknown	9	(12)	0	(n/a)			5	(14)	4	(22)

uncles, grandfathers, a brother, and others.

Acquaintances were classified as non-related individuals who knew, and were known by, the victim. They were neighbors, family friends, store keepers, and others.

The percentage of strangers was high in the heterosexual category. This higher percentage was also observed by Gebhard who reported that two-fifths of the heterosexual offenses against children were committed by persons previously unknown to the victim.²⁵

Many studies, especially those originating in large metropolitan areas, have shown that casual relationships play a proportionately

²⁵ The writer submits that the inclusion of the incest offenders in an undifferentiated study population or sample skews in the favor of offender-victim familiarity.

greater role in homosexual offenses. This is not observed in the Oregon group where half were acquainted with the victim prior to the offense.

This completes the presentation of findings related to the characteristics of the victim. Focus is now directed to the consideration of factors related to the offense.

IV. THE OFFENSE

This section of the study concerns findings related to the characteristics of the current offense, and previous criminal behavior, both sexual and non-sexual.

Nearly 60 per cent of the Oregon offenders were arrested for criminal offenses prior to their commitment at Oregon State Hospital. Neither the number of previous offenses nor the length of incarceration was recorded in these findings because of the lack of consistent data. Age at first arrest for sexual and non-sexual offenses was known in nearly all cases and was recorded. Non-sexual offenses are presented as they apply against person, property, or public order. Since there were no sexual crimes against property, e. g., stealing related to fetishism, only previous sexual offenses against person or public order are presented.

Previous Non-sexual Offense

Previous non-sexual criminality has been an item of investigation in several studies. These have produced important data by using prison control groups for comparative purposes. Generally, such comparisons reveal that sexual offender groups have fewer members with juvenile records and that those offenses committed as juveniles are less serious. They tend to become involved with the law later than non-sex offending groups do; and when they do, their crimes are more frequently against public order and less frequently against person.

Half of the homosexual and incest offenders in the Oregon group had no recorded arrests for any crime prior to the current offense (Table XVI). Almost 15 per cent of the total group had been

TABLE XVI
OFFENDERS WITH PREVIOUS OFFENSE

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Offense	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
None	33	(41)	10	(50)	0	(0)	14	(39)	9	(50)
Non-sexual	12	(15)	4	(20)	2	(28)	4	(11)	2	(11)
Sexual	24	(29)	4	(20)	3	(44)	12	(33)	5	(28)
Both	12	(15)	2	(10)	2	(28)	6	(17)	2	(11)

arrested for non-sexual offense; categorically, the exhibitionists recorded the highest percentage. They were also the youngest at first arrest when compared to the other categories whose members were all over 20 (Table XVII). These findings correspond closely with ages recorded by Gebhard.

TABLE XVII
TYPES OF PREVIOUS OFFENSE

	Total	Incest	Exhib.	Heter.	Homo.
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Non-sexual	81(100)	20(100)	7(100)	36(100)	18(100)
None	56 (69)	14 (70)	3 (44)	26 (72)	13 (72)
Person	3 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3)	2 (11)
Property	12 (15)	1 (5)	2 (28)	7 (19)	2 (11)
Public order	10 (12)	5 (25)	2 (28)	2 (6)	1 (6)
Sexual	81(100)	20(100)	7(100)	36(100)	18(100)
None	45 (56)	14 (70)	2 (28)	18 (50)	11 (61)
Person	24 (30)	4 (20)	0 (0)	13 (36)	7 (39)
Public order	10 (12)	2 (10)	5 (72)	3 (8)	0 (0)
Unknown	2 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (6)	0 (0)
Mean age at first conviction					
Non-sexual	23.1	30.2	17.5	23.5	21.5
Sexual	28.9	29.1	29.4	29.1	28.3

Only three offenders in the study had offended non-sexually against a person. The majority of the non-sexual offenses were of a property or a public order nature (Table XVII).

Previous Sexual Offense

Investigation of the rate of previous conviction for sexual offense allows the researcher the opportunity to observe data related to the controversial subject of recidivism.

The rate of previous sexual offense among unselected groups of offenders has been found to be similar. In the United States, Canada and England, a low rate of recidivism is generally recognized (19). When groups are chosen more selectively, the rates vary and may exceed 50 per cent in prison samples (51, 52).

In differentiated studies the homosexual and exhibitionist categories show the highest rate of recidivism--generally about twice as high as heterosexual offenders.²⁶ All recent studies find the incest offenders to be the least recidivistic (66, p. 21).

Thirty-six offenders in the total Oregon group had at least one previous sexual offense (Table XVII). Of those offenses against person 70 per cent involved child victims. None of the individual offender categories, except the exhibitionists, were particularly high

²⁶ Frisbie (52) reported a 7 per cent rate of recidivism among heterosexual offenders.

in previous sexual offenses against public order. There were occasional incidents of peeping and exhibitionism among incest and heterosexual offenders, but previous offenses were largely of the type for which the person was eventually committed. Among those individuals who offended previously, 16 per cent proceeded from less serious to more serious sexual offenses. Half of such progressions occurred in the incest category.

The Nature of the Current Offense

In most instances of child molestation the nature of the offense can only be inferred from the wording of the legal charge. It was necessary to extend the study focus beyond the charge to determine the offender's behavior. In all but one clinical history the circumstances of the offense were clearly described.

In observing offender behavior, studies abroad and in the United States report that the majority of sexual offenses against children consist of minor acts. In over half of all study samples, fondling is the predominant act in which pre-pubertal female victims are involved. When samples include post-pubertal victims the rate of vaginal intercourse rises. Even though the Cambridge Study included adult victims, fondling was listed as the most common heterosexual offense.

Homosexual acts tend to be more orgasmic in nature. Mohr

found that orgasm was sought by only 6 per cent of his heterosexual sample, but by 60 per cent of the homosexual group (15, p. 32).

Fondling is less frequent and masturbation is more frequent in the homosexual category.

Only offenses which involved physical contact with the victim were considered in the Oregon group. Fondling represented the major sexual activity in the heterosexual category (Table XVIII).

TABLE XVIII
NATURE OF THE ACT

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Acts	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Exposure	7	(9)	0	(0)	7	(100)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Fondling	32	(40)	5	(25)	(n/a)		23	(64)	4	(22)
Masturbation	7	(9)	1	(5)	(n/a)		3	(8)	3	(17)
Mouth-genital	6	(7)	1	(5)	(n/a)		0	(0)	5	(28)
Simulated										
intercourse	5	(6)	1	(5)	(n/a)		2	(6)	2	(11)
Attempted										
intercourse	7	(9)	2	(10)	(n/a)		5	(14)	0	(0)
Vaginal										
intercourse	10	(12)	8	(40)	(n/a)		2	(6)	0	(0)
Anal intercourse	6	(7)	2	(10)	(n/a)		0	(0)	4	(22)
Unspecified	1	(1)	0	(0)	(n/a)		1	(2)	0	(0)

One-quarter of the incest group and 22 per cent of the homosexual group offended in this manner. Full vaginal intercourse was

effected in 40 per cent of the incest situations, and attempts were made in another 10 per cent. Among heterosexual offenses, vaginal intercourse occurred in two situations and was attempted in five. Mouth-genital contact was most frequent in the homosexual group, occurring only once in another category. Masturbation was also frequent among homosexual offenders. There were two instances of anal intercourse in the incest category and four such instances in the homosexual group.

Violence

Although homicide in combination with sexual assault does occur, it is extremely rare; and sexual offenders cannot be considered more homicidal than others of the general population. Force is attendant in some sexual offenses but is generally related more to adult victims. The Cambridge Study noted that 4 per cent of offenses against females involved force. Darwin, in a survey of 74 child victims, was unable to find one case of violence (67, pp. 53-64). A New Jersey study of 836 offenses against children reported violence or force "infrequent" (65, pp. 73-78).

Violence in the Oregon study was defined as force exerted by the offender in such a way as to cause physical harm to the victim. Such activity was noted in 8.6 per cent of the offenses, and the majority of these were found in the heterosexual category. There was

one occurrence among incest offenders and none in the homosexual group. Mutilation of the victim was found in one heterosexual case.

Threat

The extent of threat in sexual offenses has been examined in several studies. An accurate assessment of its frequency is difficult. Gebhard indicates that the mere fact that the victim is a child and the offender is an adult implies threat.

In any relationship between a child and an adult there is always in the background an element of duress; the inevitable disparity in strength and social status is an omnipresent factor. A man, even though a stranger, is in an authoritarian position (7, p. 54).

Glueck found the incidence of both threat and force low among homosexual offenders and high in his incest group. This data corresponds to that found by others.

The majority of the Oregon offenders did not make overt threats. When the activity was present, it was verbal, by physical gesture, or with an object. Threats were made for two purposes: (1) to coerce the victim into the act, and (2) to prevent the victim from reporting the act. This last tendency was seen among the incest group who displayed the highest total percentage of threatening behavior (Table XIX). Threats in the homosexual and heterosexual categories were of the more coercive type.

TABLE XIX
FREQUENCY OF THREATENING BEHAVIOR

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Threat	74	(100)	20	(100)	7	(n/a)	36	(100)	18	(100)
None	49	(66)	13	(65)			22	(61)	13	(72)
Occurred	10	(13)	4	(20)			3	(8)	3	(17)
Unknown	16	(21)	3	(15)			11	(31)	2	(11)

Victim Behavior

The findings of researchers who have investigated victim participation do not agree, but many refer to the willingness of some children to engage in sexual activity with adults (68, p. 22). The Mayor's Committee reported, "In most cases, the fact that a particular girl is the victim is no accident" (69, p. 67). In the California study, victims were divided into two classifications: (1) accidental (one incident, reported immediately), and (2) participating (continuing contacts, usually involving remuneration, not reported immediately). Psychological factors were identified among the participating victims which may have predisposed their response. The Cambridge Report cited the difficulty of determining participation because of the child's fear of parental retribution. Their findings indicated that 40 per cent of the victims did not object to the offense

(56, p. 103). A determination of direct or indirect "contribution" to the offense was made in one-third of the American Humane Association sample. The authors defined victim contribution as "placing himself in a position which provides the offender the time and the opportunity" (50, p. 58).

The Oregon group was studied with the objective of determining three classifications of victim response: (1) initiation, (2) consent, and (3) resistance. Unfortunately, data was unavailable in 20 cases, but the balance presented an interesting picture. Corroborative evidence was sought from several sources in the history.

Initiation was recorded where the victim by word or gesture invited the offender's advances.²⁷ Seven histories, among the 54 known cases, indicated this manner of victim activity. Its highest frequency was seen in the heterosexual category (Table XX). There were at least two instances in the total group where a financial transaction was proposed by the victim.

Consent was the most difficult classification to establish. Activity here ranged from innocent acceptance of the act to active participation with full knowledge of the nature of the act. All behavior that was not initiative or resistive was recorded as de facto consent. The majority of the victims of the Oregon offenders fell within this

²⁷ The study reference is to overt approaches--by touch, or the offer of participation for remuneration.

TABLE XX
VICTIM BEHAVIOR

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Behavior	74	(100)	20	(100)	7	(n/a)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Initiation	7	(9)	2	(10)			4	(11)	1	(5)
Consent	31	(42)	9	(45)			11	(31)	11	(61)
Resistance	16	(22)	4	(20)			9	(25)	3	(17)
Unknown	20	(27)	5	(25)			12	(33)	3	(17)

classification. The highest percentage of consent occurred among the male victims of homosexual offenders, and the lowest occurred in the heterosexual category (Table XX).

Resistance to the offender was noted when there was evidence that the victim either attempted to separate physically from the offender or made a substantial verbal protest. Such expressions were made by 22 per cent of the total group. The heterosexual offender's victims resisted most often. Lowest frequency was found among the victims of homosexual offenders (Table XX).

Location of the Offense

The places where sexual offenses occur differ widely. Residences, however, have been found to be prime locations for sexual offense when offender-victim relationship or acquaintance exists.

This has been clearly substantiated by many recent studies.²⁸

Gebhard found that aside from residences the greatest number of offenses occur outdoors. This location looms largest in the offenses of peeping and exhibitionism. Heterosexual and homosexual offenders favored this location in about one-fourth of the cases he studied.

Contrary to public opinion, movie theaters, school grounds, and automobiles do not rank high as places where sexual offenses occur. The automobile is used frequently by some offenders (e. g., exhibitionists), but no study has found it used extensively.

The study group was found to follow the general pattern cited above. Over 45 per cent of the offenses in the total group occurred in a residence (Table XXI). This characteristic was seen in 85 per cent of the incest situations, and in four of the seven exhibition offenses. The majority of both heterosexual and homosexual offenses occurred outside. An automobile was used in 9 per cent of the offenses committed by the total Oregon group.

Duration

The frequency of repeated offenses against the same victim over an extended period has received scant attention in the literature.

²⁸See Davis (45), Mohr (15), Gebhard (7), American Humane (50).

TABLE XXI
LOCATION OF THE OFFENSE

	Total	Incest	Exhib.	Heter.	Homo.
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Location	81(100)	20(100)	7(100)	36(100)	18(100)
Residence	37 (45)	17 (85)	3 (43)	11 (30)	6 (33)
Outside	25 (31)	0 (0)	4 (57)	15 (42)	6 (33)
Automobile	7 (9)	1 (5)	0 (0)	4 (11)	2 (11)
Unknown	12 (15)	2 (10)	0 (0)	6 (17)	4 (23)

It is clear that the presenting offense is not always an isolated occurrence; this is especially true in the incest situation.

Writers like Mulcock and Gebhard have indicated that the period of duration in both heterosexual and homosexual offenses is strongly affected by the degree of familiarity. Duration is also emphasized as a factor in the reporting of the activity (36).

The American Humane Association study found that 59 per cent of the offenses studied were first occurrences, but 30 per cent ranged from one month to over three years.²⁹

Duration of the offense was recorded in the history of 41 Oregon offenders. Of these the heterosexual category ranked the lowest with 50 per cent single occurrence (Table XXII). Four homosexual

²⁹ This was an undifferentiated sample of 250 offenders.

TABLE XXII
DURATION OF OFFENSIVE BEHAVIOR

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Duration	74	(100)	20	(100)	0	(n/a)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Single occurrence	26	(35)	3	(15)			18	(50)	5	(28)
1 month or less	2	(3)	1	(5)			1	(3)	0	(0)
1 year or less	8	(11)	3	(15)			1	(3)	4	(22)
Over 1 year	5	(7)	5	(25)			0	(0)	0	(0)
Unknown	33	(44)	8	(40)			16	(44)	9	(50)

offenders maintained activity with a victim (or group of victims) for a period of one month to one year. The incest pattern corresponded to that described above with 45 per cent offending over a period of one month to more than one year. The duration mean for 25 per cent of the incest group was 5.6 years.

Intoxication

The offender's mental condition was considered previously in this chapter. This part of the study is concerned with factors which may have temporarily inhibited the offender's capacity to restrain himself. Specific concern was directed to intoxication from alcohol or drugs.

The literature is conflictual in explaining the importance of alcohol in precipitating sexual offenses. Some psychiatric material

credits alcohol as a "release" device for pre-existing neurotic compulsions like homosexuality. Survey studies present varying findings on prevalence of intoxication. Abrahamson cited its presence in one-half of the Sing Sing sample while Frosch and Bromberg term high rates "exaggerated." Later studies identify alcohol as a major factor in exhibition, incest and force situations while relegating drugs to a minor role in the commission of sexual offenses.

Degree of intoxication is difficult to determine "after the fact" in any type of offense so the item was approached cautiously in the Oregon study. Corroborative evidence for intoxication was sought in all cases, and this may have resulted in biasing the findings downward.

The majority of Oregon offenders were found to be sober at the time of the offense, and no known offense was committed under the influence of drugs. The lowest incidence of intoxication was found in the homosexual category while incest and exhibitionist offenders, in the majority, were intoxicated at the time of the offense (Table XXIII).

TABLE XXIII
INTOXICATION

	Total		Incest		Exhib.		Heter.		Homo.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alcohol	81	(100)	20	(100)	7	(100)	36	(100)	18	(100)
Yes	22	(27)	7	(35)	4	(57)	9	(25)	2	(11)
No	49	(61)	6	(30)	3	(43)	26	(72)	14	(78)
Unknown	10	(12)	7	(35)	0	(0)	1	(3)	2	(11)

V. IMPLICATIONS

In this study the student has been unable to treat, even superficially, the many variables that exist in the Oregon offender population, nor was this his intention. Rather, the aim has been to examine and to report. Data presented descriptively has value in modification of popularly conceived notions. Value of the exploratory element exists because of the possible hypotheses which can be posed for experimental study.

Prior to discussion of implications, the reader is directed again to Chapter I and the description of the traditional concept of the sexual offender. It is reiterated that an underlying intent of this study has been the modification and clarification of such notions.

Comparison with other research and literature indicates that the Oregon group, despite small numbers, is similar to other study

groups in most characteristics. Of necessity, comparisons were made, with the exception of Mohr's out-patient study, with institutionalized groups.

A very revealing characteristic studied was offender age. Mohr's tri-model distribution, previously mentioned in Chapter III was noted similarly in the Oregon group with the exception of the high frequency of adolescent offenses. The Oregon offenders indicate a more bi-model distribution in age. However, what is singular is the upswing of pedophilic activity among the older heterosexual offenders. In 39 per cent of the cases where unrelated female victims were approached, the offender was over 50 years of age. The frequency of such offenses may be much higher than prison samples have indicated. The symptomatology of offenders at various age intervals reveals implications for treatment. Offenders in the 20-29 and 30-39 intervals showed job dissatisfaction, poor social adjustment, and marital discord. Among older offenders, isolation and loneliness were common.

Most of the offenders were low achievers in school, even when those with congenital defects were discounted. The "grade-achieved" mean is low in all categories of offense when compared to the "grade-achieved" level in the general population. It should be reported, however, that the homosexual category, which is lowest in age, achieved on a par with the general Oregon population (11.2 grades

in 1967).

The concept of a sexual offender who is not only older, but is more often single, was not supported in the Oregon study; there were as many married offenders as single offenders. Further, the unrelated female victim was more often approached by a man who was (or had been) married.

Offenders are often described as mentally ill. If psychosis is implied here, the statement is inaccurate. Few offenders in this, or in other studies, are diagnosed as such. What is outstandingly prevalent is the incidence of characterological and personality disorders and the attendant social maladjustment. Many of the Oregon offenders also suffered from congenital and physical defects. Alcoholism was prevalent, but was not a direct factor in the majority of offenses. Its incidence in certain categories was relatively high.

Recidivism in the Oregon group was comparable to other offender populations before treatment. The implication that treated offenders do not repeat with the same frequency as do untreated offenders must be clarified by experimental study, but results of treatment at Oregon State Hospital have proven successful for the majority of the offenders. It must be remembered, however, that the long term institutionalized patient may experience greater difficulty in community adjustment. That the sexual offender "habitually" repeats an offense is not substantiated in this or other comparative studies.

Progression from minor sexual offenses like peeping to more serious offenses like rape is a widely held misconception according to Tappan (17, p. 9). Findings in the Oregon group reveal a low rate of such progression, and compare with other groups studied. The literature indicates that sexual offenders persist in the type of behavior in which they have discovered satisfaction.

The Oregon study did not indicate overt violence or threatening behavior, although there was physical harm involved in a small number of cases. The implication is slanted strongly in the direction of no physical harm in sexual offenses with children. The majority of the Oregon cases involve immature sexual gratification. The frequency of psychological harm to the victim is unknown in the Oregon study. One might hypothesize that it may be a factor in the long duration incest situations.

Popular, but unscientific, literature has often placed the location of the offense in a "secluded area" away from the victim's residence. The offender is often identified as a stranger. Statistical findings indicate that this is less often the case. The majority of offenses against children occur either in the residence of the offender or of the victim and are committed by an individual who is known to the victim. Findings in this study are similar, but with some exceptions. If the victim was an unrelated female, the majority of offenses occurred outside of a residence, and this was the location in

all cases where the offender was a stranger. The concept that older strangers approach children outside of their homes is not as clearly dispelled by this study as it is by some others, and it is again suggested that related and unrelated must be separated in study samples to avoid distortion of findings. A stranger committed the offense about one in four times in the Oregon group, a greater frequency than is generally found. In cases where violent behavior was present ($N = 7$), the offender was more often a stranger.

Implications related to the study of victims indicate that they are not generally pre-schoolers, but in the majority fall into the 8-11 age class interval. In the Oregon study almost as many offenses included multiple victims as single. The child's (or children's) behavior was not always as popularly conceived. It was most often consensual, less often resistive, and occasionally inviting. There were instances in the study group where an elderly, senile man, or a retarded individual was intimidated by the victim (or victims) in such a way that a sexual offense resulted.

The significant implication drawn from the total study is this: There is no common denominator distinguishing all sex offenders, or even those who commit offenses against children. As Gebhard explained, "One cannot speak of 'the sex offender' and in only well defined circumstances can one speak of 'most sex offenders'" (7, p. 873).

VI. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The 81 offenders observed in this study are a finite population in that they represent all of the offenders committed to a specific place during a specific time interval. The essential purpose of the statistical method is to describe and to draw inferences about the numerical properties of such populations. One of the objectives of the study has been comparison of differences and similarities among the Oregon group and the sexual offenders studied by other researchers. This is difficult because of the variability of models employed. The study speaks for the Oregon offender only, and even findings regarding this population are approached cautiously because of the limitations within the methodology.

The study has been of value in providing insight into the characteristics of sexual offenders, but it became quite clear that even with the small number, a variety of types and subtypes existed and refinement would be necessary. Categorization beyond that established may have yielded more pertinent information.

Representativeness of the Oregon group is not proven; it is inferred. One might argue that the representativeness of no sexual offender population or sample can be known because of the unknown character of the unreported sexual offender. For the purposes of this study only an individual who became "visible" to the legal

authorities was considered a sexual offender. It is admitted, then, that the study population is biased; and it is further submitted that the study populations with which it is compared are likewise biased when the universe of sexual offenders is considered. When comparing "visible" sexual offenders, the study population appears representative, lacking tests of significance.

The number of offenders in the Oregon study was small especially in the case of exhibitionists. Surprisingly, this small number yielded findings which placed them in a favorable comparative position with other similar studies. It cannot be argued at this time that such findings are more than chance.

An important limitation encountered in the study was lack of information in the clinical history, but this criticism must immediately be tempered. Medical records are not specifically designed for research. They contain information pertinent to the patient's situation, information which will aid the psychiatrist or physician in determining treatment and disposition. As an example, the psychiatrist may be only incidentally concerned with an offender's occupational class, while the researcher whose aim is frequency determination, will not find the record a faultless operational tool. Several items originally designed into the schedule were subsequently dropped because of this lack of information.

Another limitation which was never wholly overcome was

reliance on value judgment. Quantitative items such as age, education, and marital status presented no problem. Qualitative items such as social adjustment, intoxication, or threat necessitated value judgment, not only on the part of the investigator but on the part of others previously involved in the process of evaluation. Professional judgments are expert, but they differ. The records spanning a six-year period contained the judgments of several different professional people, and clinical opinions varied. In addition, the student's evaluation of the meaning of narrative statements was variable. In instances where material was too obscure it was reported on the side of conservatism, or entered as "no data."

Corroboration for qualitative material was always sought but was often limited. Too often this quest placed the student in the position of depending upon the family questionnaire. This consisted of a series of open-ended questions which was ordinarily submitted to the nearest relative. Some questionnaires provided appropriate corroborative material; others did not. The factor of emotional bias was always a concern.

An alternate method of data gathering may have included personal interviewing of offenders. This could have been undertaken instead of, or in conjunction with, record study. Cross-comparisons may have proven valuable. Reasons for rejecting personal interviews were discussed in Chapter II; moreover, only 23 offenders

remained in the institution during the study period, and the balance were scattered throughout the state. Such interviewing was beyond the resources of the student.

The student's principal objective was to present data which would be suited to further refinement. The absence of significance testing must be considered a major limitation.

VII. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Survey studies of sexual offenders have in recent years categorized populations by types of offense. Large and small samples have consistently revealed similar findings regarding many items. The student doubts the value of continued studies of this type. The expanding of samples is no guarantee of more significant findings. Two types of research are suggested: (1) exploratory studies designed to investigate relationships between sets of variables; namely, factor analysis; (2) experimental studies which investigate treatment processes. This latter approach is beyond the capacity of the student to discuss, but it would appear that samples drawn from Oregon State Prison and Oregon State Hospital offer possibilities for experimental research. Follow-up of offenders would provide valuable information.

A factor analysis of the present study population would be valuable in refining data and discarding that which is insignificant for

further study. Such analysis could be effectively extended to become a permanent part of offender evaluation. Data processing has minimized the operational procedure. Quantitative items are easily compiled, and qualitative items can be numerically scaled. A redesign of the family questionnaire which would replace the open-ended question with a scaled multiple choice type question might be helpful. At time intervals, population profile recordings might be found valuable for treatment, legislative, and educational purposes. In addition to such operations at the state level, refinement of the Uniform Crime Report method to include such information would be more appropriate in determining frequency and type of sexual offense. The present method at both the state and national levels is of doubtful value in making empirical determinations.

When possible, the present study has attempted to compare the particular offender characteristic under investigation with that of the general population. Unfortunately, such comparison was not often possible. Recent studies have employed these comparisons more frequently (7, 15). Rather consistently the data has indicated that the sexual offender, in many characteristics, differs only slightly or not at all from other individuals in the general population. A study design with this as the primary objective would prove useful in refining the problem.

An extensive study of incest should prove of special interest to

professional people who serve families. From a sociological and psychological standpoint these cases require a special understanding. Objectivity is often clouded by emotional feelings in such matters and the professional person is not exempt. The literature provided substantial evidence that the public is uninformed regarding the prevalence of such behavior in the society.

Education of the lay person, children and the professional individual is essential. It will not end the problem but will help provide rationality. Major studies in California and New Jersey concluded that the prevention of sexual assaults on children, by any known criteria, is impossible. It does not appear that there are any effective preventive measures. Sexual offenses will probably continue to occur with an unknown frequency, but research and education can serve "after the fact" problem areas. Two such areas are (1) treatment of victims and (2) treatment of offenders.

Tangible results have been revealed by research which is focused upon treatment. Methods are known and are employed which have benefited pedophile offenders. There are those, however, who are untreatable and who will require custodial detention of indeterminate duration.

Lastly, the quality of attention legislative bodies employ in preparing sexual offender statutes demands reappraisal in the light

of empirical studies. As Adolph Meyer explained years ago, "the therapeutic agent cannot be punitive" (70, p. 127).

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