Child Molesters Who Abduct:
Summary of the Case in Point Series
Acknowledgments

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The research summarized in this publication was funded by an Interagency Agreement (#88-JN-R-009) between the U.S. Department of Justice’s Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and Federal Bureau of Investigation. It was conducted in cooperation with the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children and through an FBI subcontract with the University of Pennsylvania, School of Nursing. Its intended purpose was to examine and study the case histories of serial child molesters and abductors and disseminate the results to criminal justice professionals.

Supervisory Special Agent Kenneth V. Lanning, Behavioral Science Unit, FBI Academy, was the Primary Project Manager for this research and responsible generally for its overall supervision and specifically for its investigative application and teaching points.

The focus of the research was on serial child molesters with many victims, but especially on sexually motivated child abductors. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the child abductors whose identities are most likely to be unknown at the time of the offense.

For purposes of this research a child was defined as anyone not yet 18 years of age at the time of the molestation or abduction. Although the sexually motivated abduction of one such child qualified an offender for this study, the focus was on offenders who demonstrated a pattern of preferring child victims and not selecting them as vulnerable substitutes for adult victims. This was not intended to be a study of child killers and, therefore, the majority of offenders interviewed and studied were those who abducted their child victims but did not kill them.

The goal of this Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program was to gain insights into the backgrounds, behavior, and techniques of such offenders in order to either prevent their crimes or identify and stop them more quickly.
Introduction

In 1984 the U.S. Congress passed the Juvenile Justice, Runaway Youth, and Missing Children’s Act Amendments. The Missing Children’s Act, Section 403 of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, defines a missing child as any individual younger than 18 years of age whose whereabouts are unknown to his or her legal custodian. The circumstances surrounding the child’s disappearance must indicate that the child may possibly have been removed by another from the control of his or her legal custodian without the custodian’s consent, or the circumstances of the case must strongly indicate that the child is likely to have been abused or sexually exploited.

In response to the mandate of the 1984 Missing Children Act, the National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children (NISMA) was instituted in 1987. The objective of that study was to estimate the incidence of five categories of missing children—those who were abducted by family members, those who were abducted by nonfamily members, runaways, thrownaways, and those who were otherwise missing (e.g., injured or lost) (Finkelhor, Hotaling, and Sedlack, 1990). The NISMA project estimated that 3,200 to 4,600 nonfamily abductions occur annually. Of these an estimated 200 to 300 are “stereotypical” kidnappings (Finkelhor, et al., 1990) in which the child was gone overnight, killed, transported a distance of 50 miles or more, ransomed or perpetrator evidenced an intent to keep the child permanently. NCMEC, also mandated by the 1984 Missing Children’s Act, processed 1,648 nonfamily-abduction cases between April 1984 and December 1994.

Although there is little scientific information about abductors, specific characteristics of the child-molester subtypes that have been identified provide a basis for some speculations. For instance it is reasonable to infer that most molesters who have abducted their victims are unlikely to have established long-term relationships with these children. Indeed, in instances of abduction, it is probable that the offense constitutes the only encounter of the molester with the victim and that the nature of the offense is primarily predatory. The abducting offender is less likely to view the child as an interpersonal, “love” object and his interaction with the child is likely to be superficial, minimally empathetic, and more prone to injurious behavior. Consequently, in terms of the Crime Classification Variables that we have described in previous Case in Points, we would predict that the abductors would be lower in their amount of (nonoffense-related) contact with children and higher in the amount of injury that they inflicted.
Method

The comparisons noted below are based on two different samples of offenders: 157 offenders who were committed to the Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) and 13 offenders from the FBI Academy files. Included in our comparisons are the five Crime Classification Variables of Social Competence, Sexual Preoccupation with Children, Amount of Contact with Children, Injury to Victims, and Sadism.

For purposes of these comparisons, a child molester was defined as someone whose sexual offenses were against victims younger than 16 years of age (as contrasted to 18 years of age generally used in this research). A sexual offense was defined as any sexually motivated assault involving physical contact with the child victim. In addition to the age criterion, two other factors were considered to determine whether a subject should be included. If the subject’s offenses involved only noncontact sexual behavior (i.e., voyeurism, fetishism, exhibitionism) or only intrafamilial sexual behavior, the case was excluded from the study. It should be noted that one feature of the definition of abduction used in the Missing Children’s Act—removed without the consent of the legal guardian—was not strictly incorporated in the present definition. It was not possible to do so because in some cases it was not clear that the victim was taken from the legal guardian without consent. In some instances the child may have accompanied the offender with the knowledge of the guardian under the pretense that they were engaging in innocuous activity (e.g., going to the zoo). We would estimate, however, that in approximately three-quarters of the cases, the parent or legal guardian was unaware of the child’s location.

Crime Classification Variables

The criteria used for classifying an offender according to the five Crime Classification Variables are presented in detail in the reprints of the Case in Point Series found in the Appendix. A condensed overview of these variables is noted below.

Degree of Preoccupation with Children
Degree of Preoccupation with Children assesses the strength of an offender’s pedophilic interest, that is, the extent to which children were a major focus of thoughts and fantasies as well as the duration of his offense-related contact with children. The primary criterion was direct evidence of thoughts or fantasies involving children that lasted six months or longer. The offender was also coded as “high” in Preoccupation with Children if he had multiple sexual encounters with children for a period of more than six months. In addition the offender was coded as “high” in Preoccupation if he had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact).

Level of Social Competence
Social Competence assessed the offender’s level of achievement in five areas including employment, adult relationships, and social responsibilities. The
offender was rated as “low” when only one (or none) of the five criteria were present.

**Amount of Contact with Children**
Amount of Contact with Children was coded as “low” when there was clear evidence that the offender spent little or no time with children outside of offense-related contexts.

**Degree of Physical Injury to Victim**
High injury was rated when there was physical violence (e.g., hitting, punching, choking) causing moderate to severe physical injury to the victim (e.g., cuts, bruises, contusions).

**Sadism**
Sadism was rated when there was evidence that the offender was sexually aroused or otherwise derived pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. Evidence of sadistic fantasies as well as behavioral acts such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized practices (e.g., insertion of foreign objects and bondage) were used to rate Sadism.

A further distinction is made between “Muted Sadism” and “Overt Sadism,” depending on the amount of violence in the offense and extent of injury to the victim. Muted Sadism was rated when there was minimal or no physical injury to the victim. Overt Sadism was rated when the victim sustained moderate or severe physical injury or was killed.
Results

Comparison of Abductors and Nonabductors in the MTC Sample

The Massachusetts Treatment Center was established in 1959, under Chapter 123A of the Massachusetts General Laws, for the evaluation and treatment of Sexually Dangerous Persons. This law provided that a person found guilty of a sexual offense could, if he were judged to be sexually dangerous, be committed to MTC for one day to life under a civil commitment. The present study was based on 157 offenders incarcerated at MTC: 97 abductors and 60 nonabductors.

Two variables were used to select those who were classified as abductors: the initial encounter place with the victim and location where the assault took place. If 50 percent or more of all known offenses were different in terms of encounter place and assault location, the offender was classified as an abductor. For this study the definition of abduction was not necessarily in accord with statutes nor stereotypes of “stranger danger.” When the encounter place was always the same, the offender was classified as a nonabductor.

Amount of Contact with Children

Table 1 presents the comparison between abductor status and Amount of Contact with Children. Although offenders classified as high in Amount of Contact with Children were equally divided into abductors and nonabductors, offenders classified as low in Amount of Contact were more likely to have been abductors.

Physical Injury and Sadism

The analysis of Degree of Physical Injury compared those who inflicted a high degree of injury on their victims with those who inflicted relatively minor physical injury on their victims. This analysis revealed no significant differences between abductors and nonabductors with respect to victim injury. Essentially the low and high victim-injury offenders comprised the same proportion of abductors and nonabductors.

Differences did emerge, however, in the presence and use of a weapon during the sexual assault. The abductors were much more likely to bring a weapon to their offenses and use a weapon during their offenses. In addition the abductors were about seven times more likely to use restraints.

The analysis of Sadism compared Muted Sadistic and Overt Sadistic offenders with those who evidenced no sadism. This analysis suggested a higher prevalence of sadism among abductors. The absence of any difference between abductors and nonabductors in the amount of physical injury inflicted and the fact that in this analysis low (“muted”) and high injury (“overt”) sadists were combined, suggests that the higher proportion of sadists among the abductors was a function of greater underlying sadistic fantasies rather than greater manifest aggression.
Impulsive and Antisocial Behavior
Based on analyses reported in the original abduction study (Prentky, Knight, Burgess, Ressler, Campbell, and Lanning, 1991), there was a tendency for the abductors to evidence more school-behavior problems and delinquent, antisocial behavior than the nonabductors. Consistent with this, abductors tended to have a record of committing more juvenile and adult sexual offenses than nonabductors. Although the severity of manifest aggression in nonsexual behavior did not differ between the two groups, there was a tendency for alcohol-related offenses to be more common among the abductors than the nonabductors.

Social Competence and Degree of Preoccupation with Children
We also compared abductors and nonabductors on Social Competence and Preoccupation with Children. More than three-quarters of the abductors were rated as low in Social Competence and high in Preoccupation with Children. In contrast two-thirds of those classified as high in Social Competence and low in Preoccupation with Children were nonabductors. When these two classification variables were examined separately, it was clear that Social Competence, and not Preoccupation with Children, was responsible for the difference between the two groups. Although the groups did not differ in their level of Preoccupation with Children, they differed markedly with respect to Social Competence. More than twice as many abductors were classified as low in Social Competence as nonabductors. Also, consistent with this finding, the abductors were less likely to have been married.

Related Life History and Sexual Assault Variables
It is noteworthy that a very large proportion of both abductor and nonabductor samples reported a history of sexual victimization. In addition more than half of both samples reported one or more paraphilias (deviant sexual behaviors that are typically victimless such as voyeurism, fetishism, or exhibitionism).

Conclusions
This study examined the differences between 97 abducting and 60 nonabducting child molesters on selected Crime Classification Variables. Support was found for the hypothesis that child molesters who abducted their victims were more likely to be classified as low in the amount of contact that they had with children outside of their offenses. Also consistent with this finding, more abductors than nonabductors molested strangers, and fewer molested relatives. Not surprisingly, abductors were also found to be lower in social competence and less frequently married than nonabductors. Sadism, but not physical injury, was tentatively related to abduction. In addition abductors more frequently had and/or used weapons than nonabductors.

Although these results were not entirely consistent with our expectations, they nonetheless yielded a reasonably clear picture of the abducting child molesters who abduct.
molester in the present sample. Evidence of juvenile acting out, low social competence, low nonoffense contact with children, some evidence of sadism, and possession of a weapon—characterized the abductors in the MTC sample. Based on the findings reported in an earlier abduction study (Prentky, Knight, Burgess, Ressler, Campbell, and Lanning, 1991) we speculated that those developmental factors more likely to distinguish abductors from nonabductors involve behaviors related to the mastery of social and interpersonal skills and behavior management problems associated with juvenile acting out.

This pattern of findings, that abduction was significantly associated with low social competence, low amount of contact, and weapon carrying and use, suggests an interpretation of abduction as a victim-control strategy. That is, if abductors have poorer social skills than nonabductors, they are more likely to use abduction as a means of entrapping or controlling the child than interpersonal ploys or verbal persuasion. The abductor’s low contact with children might further lessen his ability to seduce children and increase his reliance on more forceful methods. The abductors were three times more likely to bring a weapon to the offense and/or use a weapon in the offense. Because the victims of the abductors were only slightly more likely to have been injured and the abductors were not rated as more aggressive, a way to understand the greater prominence of weapons in the abductors’ offenses is in terms of control (i.e., the weapons were used to threaten the child as a means of assuring compliance).

Because abduction was found to be tentatively associated with the presence of sadism, we did some additional exploratory analyses to examine the complex interrelation among the components of social competence, weapons, and sadism. The relation between abduction and weapon variables was the same for both high and low social competence offenders (i.e., abductors were more likely than nonabductors to have and use a weapon for both low and high social competence groups). In contrast the relation between abduction and weapon variables varied as a function of the presence or absence of sadism. Abductors were more likely to have and use a weapon when sadism was absent, but once sadism was present, the carrying and use of a weapon was more likely for both abducting and nonabducting offenders. Thus we could infer two reasons for the possession and use of a weapon. Among the nonsadistic abductors the greater probability of a weapon being present and used in the assault suggests that these offenders, possibly because of their deficits in social and interpersonal skills, may have felt the need to resort to weapons to control and intimidate the child. Among sadists, whether abductors or nonabductors, the weapon may have been more intricately involved in the offender’s sadistic fantasies or used to induce fear, and not simply used as a device to gain the child’s compliance. Thus the motivation for carrying a weapon among abducting nonsadists may be a compensation for their inability to control the child’s behavior through more subtle verbal enticement, trickery, or coercion. The abducting sadist’s motivation for carrying and using a weapon may include elements of sadistic and offense-related fantasy.
## Table 1
Comparison of Abductors with Nonabductors in the MTC Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Abductors</th>
<th>Nonabductors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 97</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong> Sexual Preoccupation with Children</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong> Sexual Preoccupation with Children</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong> Social Competence</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong> Social Competence</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong> Amount of Contact with Children</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong> Amount of Contact with Children</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong> Injury to Victim</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong> Injury to Victim</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Sadism</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Present/Used</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Restraints in Offense</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Used Prior to or During Offense</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender Victim of Sexual Assault</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence of Paraphilic Behaviors in Offenders</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender Has Been Married</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 18 child molesters who comprise the FBI sample came from nine different state penitentiaries. They represent a diverse sample of men who were identified either because they were serial offenders or because they were abductors. The primary selection criterion, however, concerned abduction (i.e., the FBI agents were most interested in identifying offenders who abducted their victims). The agents conducted the interviews of these 18 men between March 1985 and November 1989. The results reported here are based on 13 offenders. One case had to be excluded because there was inadequate information for making reliable judgments on the Crime Classification Variables, and four cases were excluded because these offenders apparently did not abduct their victims. It was not possible to compare the abductors with these nonabductors, as we did in the MTC sample, because there were only four nonabductors.

The abductors in the FBI sample were characterized (uniformly) by high Preoccupation with Children. More than two-thirds of the sample were low in Social Competence and low in Amount of Contact with Children. The abductors in this sample were likely to have inflicted injury on their victims. More than half of the abductors were classified as high in physical injury. Moreover, a large percentage of these offenders were classified as sadistic (either Muted or Overt). More than two-thirds of these abductors possessed and/or used a weapon at the offense. An interesting and noteworthy feature of this sample was the incidence of paraphilias. Almost three-quarters of the sample evidenced one or more deviant sexual behaviors in addition to child molestation (e.g., exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism). Finally, almost two-thirds of the sample were victims of sexual assault during childhood or adolescence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Abductors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong> Sexual Preoccupation with Children</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong> Social Competence</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong> Amount of Contact with Children</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong> Injury to Victim</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Sadism</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Present/Used</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Restraints in Offense</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Used Prior to or During Offense</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender Victim of Sexual Assault</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence of Paraphilic Behaviors in Offender</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Characteristics of Abductors in the FBI Sample
Comparison of Abductors in the FBI Sample with Abductors in the MTC Sample

Comparisons of the FBI abductor sample with the MTC abductor sample are provided in Table 3. Any comments about comparisons between these two samples must be prefaced with a note of caution. The FBI sample is not only very small—only 13 subjects, but is a highly select sample (i.e., the subjects were selected for their repetitiveness and/or proclivity to abduct their victims). Where there are differences between the two samples, such as with victim injury and incidence of sadism, we can do little more than speculate about the reasons for the differences.

Amount of Contact with Children
Both samples were nearly identical with respect to Amount of Contact with Children.

Physical Injury and Sadism
More abductors from the FBI sample inflicted moderate to severe injury on their victims than the abductors from the MTC sample. Moreover more than twice as many offenders in the FBI sample were classified as sadistic. Despite the disproportionate number of sadists in the FBI sample, the relative proportion of “muted” versus “overt” sadists was similar in both samples.

Sexual Preoccupation with Children and Social Competence
For both samples the abductors could be characterized, according to Crime Classification Variables, as high in Sexual Preoccupation with Children and low in Social Competence.

Criminal and Life History Variables
The presence and/or use of a weapon by abductors in both samples was nearly identical. The use of restraints by abductors was virtually the same for both samples. The incidence of paraphilias (e.g., exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism) was almost the same for both samples. Lastly the self-reported incidence of sexual victimization of the offender was virtually the same for both samples.

Overall the abductors in the two samples were remarkably similar differing only in the incidence of high victim injury and sadism, both of which were more common in the FBI sample.
Table 3
Comparison of Abductors from FBI and MTC Samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>FBI Abductors</th>
<th>MTC Abductors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Sexual Preoccupation with Children</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Social Competence</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Amount of Contact with Children</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Injury to Victim</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Sadism</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overt</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Present/Used</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Restraints in Offense</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Used Prior to or During Offense</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender Victim of Sexual Assault</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence of Paraphilic Behaviors in Offender</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

These results suggest that further examination of abduction and specification of its patterns may have the potential for facilitating criminal investigations. Globally defined, abductors were characteristically low in social competence, less likely to be married, likely not to have had a relationship with the child whom they abducted, and not likely to have had frequent contact with children. Hypothetically, because of their lower social skills and lack of familiarity with children, they more frequently carried and used weapons in their offenses than nonabducting offenders, possibly to intimidate their victims and control their behavior, but not to injure them. Although there was a tendency for them to have had trouble in school, their adult impulsive and aggressive behavior did not distinguish them from nonabductors.

An apparent difference between the two samples was sexual offense history. Whereas the offenders in the FBI sample were highly repetitive or serial, with an average of about 20 known victims, the MTC offenders averaged about three known victims. This difference, however, may be somewhat deceiving. The victim count for the FBI sample represents the total number of charged and uncharged reported sexual offenses, whereas the victim count for the MTC sample represents only officially charged offenses. It certainly is reasonable to conclude, as Abel and his colleagues (Abel and Rouleau, 1990; Abel, Becker, Mittelman, Cunningham-Rathner, Rouleau and Murphy, 1987) have amply demonstrated, that the number of official charges markedly underestimates the actual number of offenses committed.

We would speculate that highly repetitive offenders, compared to less repetitive offenders, are more likely to have strong sexual needs and be preoccupied with sexual and offense-related fantasies. If highly repetitive offenders, as a group, are indeed characterized by the presence of intrusive, preoccupying sexual fantasies, then it stands to reason that a greater proportion of repetitive offenders than nonrepetitive offenders will have sadistic fantasies. That is, since sadistic behavior is typically associated with sadistic fantasies, the highly repetitive offenders are likely to have a greater proportion of sadists, simply because more repetitive offenders have dominant fantasy lives.

Importantly, the presence of sadistic fantasies does not necessarily imply that the crimes will be injurious to the victims. As noted, half of the FBI sample sadists and 40 percent of the MTC sample sadists were classified as “muted” (i.e., low victim injury).

In the strict sense, abduction involves taking a child, either by force or pretense, for some specific purpose (e.g., sexual abuse, ransom). As such abduction is simply part of the offender’s Modus Operandi. In reality, however, abduction spans a wide range of behaviors. We may consider, for instance, the amount of force used to abduct the child, ranging from subtle enticement to forceful kidnap. It would seem reasonable to suppose that different types of child molesters will abduct their victims in different ways (e.g., with varied amounts of force). It may be most helpful to think of abduction as a victim procurement and control strategy that is found in varying forms and with varying prevalence among many different types of abducting child molesters. One such model for classifying these...
offenders can be found in the *Crime Classification Manual* (Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, and Ressler, 1992).

Abduction is a frightening crime for both the victims and parents alike. The panic and helplessness that come with the knowledge that your child is missing is overwhelming. Educating parents and children is the best preventative measure against abduction and sexual abuse—it is our first line of defense. Knowing that all abductors and all sexual abuse cannot be prevented, the second line of defense becomes quick identification and apprehension of the perpetrator.

These results will hopefully guide future studies of other samples of child molesters. Further examination of the patterns of abduction and circumstances of the initial contact with the child, as well as other variables, may lead to a more precise characterization of abductors and better informed identification and apprehension efforts.
Investigative Analysis and Summary of Teaching Points

[This section was written by Supervisory Special Agent Kenneth V. Lanning, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia.]

Introduction

The analysis and summary outlined below are intended to set forth practical investigative applications for this research project. In addition to the research findings, this information also includes the opinions and observations of the author based on his many years of professional experience in the behavioral analysis of the sexual victimization of children.

The topic of this publication, child molesters who abduct, can be defined by the four criteria of age of victim (child), motivation for abduction (molestation), type of offense (abduction), and relationship between offender and victim (nonfamily). The cases studied involved the nonfamily abduction of victims younger than 18 primarily for the sexual gratification of the offender.

The age criterion is fairly straightforward and obvious, but involves lumping together individuals who physically, socially, and behaviorally vary greatly. The motivation criterion is more complicated and uncertain. The primary motivation for an abduction can be difficult to determine with certainty. The abduction criterion is a matter of legal definition and public perception. It usually implies some movement of the victim, but does not necessarily involve physical force. Although often called “stranger abduction,” the nonfamily criterion is more accurately defined by the lack of a family or guardian relationship between offender and victim. Cases can and do involve abductions by acquaintances.

Definitions

In written and spoken communication, definitions are crucial to understanding. The problem is that when we use basic or common terms, we rarely define them. The result is often the confusion created by calling different things by the same name or the same thing by different names. The definition problem is most acute when professionals from different disciplines come together to work or communicate. Defining terms, however, does not change the fact that in other contexts and references the same terms may be intended or defined to mean otherwise. The important point is not that terms should or can have a single definition, but that people using them should communicate their definitions and people reading or listening should recognize those definitions, whatever they might be.

These definitional issues are usually more important in communicating about the nature and scope of the crime problem than in investigating and solving the crime. Investigators need to be aware of these definitional variations, however, so that they can intelligently communicate about the problem without losing credibility.
Child

What is a child? The answer to this seemingly basic and simple question can be confusing and complex. It is not clear by either legal or societal standards when childhood begins and ends. Is a fetus, a youth, or an adolescent a child? If adolescents are children, then a phrase like “children and adolescents” is redundant and confusing.

There clearly can be conflict among laws and between law and society when it comes to defining the term “child.” The main difficulty is with the 13- to 17-year-old age group. Those are the victims who most likely look like adults, act like adults, and have sex drives like adults, but who may or may not be considered children under all laws or by society. Most estimates and incidence studies of missing children, such as NISMART, define and count adolescents as children. Many people, however, using or hearing the term “missing child” are probably referring to or thinking about children 12 years of age or younger. Prevention slogans such as, “Never leave your children unattended,” have little application to teenagers.

Sympathy for child victims is often inversely proportional to their age and sexual development. Even the choice between the terms molestation and rape when referring to the sexual assault of children seems to be significant. The term rape is often chosen not because of a specific act, but for emotional emphasis or to define the victim more as a female than a child. If rape is defined as vaginal penetration without consent and the legal essence of being a child is that consent is irrelevant, then precisely what it means to “rape” a child is unclear. If it is a reference to a specific act, maybe it would be better to clearly state the act. If it is a reference to the lack of consent, this would seem to be an attempt to distinguish between children who consent to sex and those who do not. It seems to imply that children who are tricked, manipulated, or seduced to obtain their “consent” or cooperation are less victimized. The issue of consent, either for sexual activity or their disappearance is always a bigger problem in cases involving adolescent children.

Legal definitions of “who is a child” vary from state to state and even statute to statute in the same state, especially when dealing with adolescent victims. To determine who is a child, law-enforcement officers must turn to the law. The penal code will legally define who is a child. Different statutes, however, (i.e., age-of-consent laws, child-pornography laws) applying to the same case can define a child differently. Law-enforcement officers and others must still deal with their own perceptions as well as those of the jury and society. As previously stated, for this research project children were generally defined as individuals who had not yet reached their eighteenth birthday.

One of the problems in using this broad, but sentimentally appealing, definition of a child is that it lumps together individuals who may be more unlike than alike. In fact 16 year olds may be socially and physically more like 28-year-old young adults than 4-year-old children. Pubescent teenagers can be viable sexual targets of a much larger population of offenders. In sexual assaults involving minimal verbal interaction (i.e., many sexually motivated abductions), the interpersonal immaturity of a teenager is essentially meaningless. Their physical maturity becomes the overriding factor for many offenders. NISMART estimates that teenagers (50 percent) and girls (75 percent) were the most common victims of nonfamily abduction.
Another related issue concerns the age difference between the child victim and perpetrator. The general perception is to assume that the offender is a significantly older adult. This is often not true, especially when referring to adolescent victims. Recently there has even been considerable media attention about cases involving child abductors who are younger than 10 years of age. Children abducted in a sexual context by an offender who is a child or peer are considered victims of sexually motivated child abduction.

The homicide rate for children is highest between birth and age 4 and between the ages of 13 and 17. From the ages of 0 to 4, the most likely perpetrator is a family member and the least likely is a “stranger.” From the ages of 13 to 17, the most likely perpetrator is an acquaintance and the least likely is a family member. (Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994).

NISMART also estimates, based on analysis of FBI and NCMEC data, that there were 43 to 147 “stranger abduction” homicides annually between 1976 and 1987 with no discernible change in the rate. The characteristics of children murdered in the course of stranger abductions tended to parallel the findings on nonfamily abduction. Older teens were by far the most common victims of stranger abduction homicide with young children at only one-fourth the risk or less. There were conflicting data on whether girls or boys were at greater risk of “abduction murder.”

**Abduction/Missing**

Most of the current attention about abducted children arises from concern and publicity about missing children. For many the terms abduction and missing have become almost synonymous.

As previously stated, NISMART estimates 3,200 to 4,600 “legal definition” nonfamily abductions of children annually in the United States. Because the vast majority of these abductions were of short duration or “short-term abductions,” the absence was usually not noted before the return of the child. Therefore these children were, by common definition, not really missing. Of the total nonfamily abductions, NISMART estimates 200 to 300 are “stereotypical kidnappings” or “long-term abductions.” These children, by definition, are both abducted and missing. This means that only approximately 6.25 percent to 6.50 percent of nonfamily-abducted children are technically missing children.

In short-term abduction cases the motivation is easier to evaluate and investigation focuses primarily on the sexual assault. In long-term abduction cases the motivation is harder to evaluate and investigation usually focuses on finding the child.

Abduction can generally include not only forcibly moving, but also preventing the return of a child. Some children go with the offender voluntarily with parental knowledge or permission. When they fail to return at a designated time, they can become “abducted” children. Law-enforcement agencies almost always respond with maximum resources when the nonfamily abduction of a child is clearly known; however, in many missing-children cases, especially those involving teenagers, determining if an abduction even took place can be difficult. Without reliable witnesses, a variety of factors (e.g., the tender age, past history, family situation) about a missing child are often considered in deciding if an abduction has occurred. The possibility of consent by a teenager can also be
an issue in determining whether or not a true abduction took place. A runaway or lured-away child, however, can easily become an abducted child when prevented from returning.

The publicity and attention paid to unsolved or fatal stereotypical child abductions should not obscure the fact that the vast majority of sexually motivated child abductors release their victims alive and sometimes even return them to the vicinity of their homes.

Molestation
From a motive perspective, nonfamily abductions can be divided into the six broad categories of

- **nontraditional** - very young children abducted predominately by a woman to fill a perceived void in the offender’s life. (For the results of research in this area and more information on this topic call NCMEC at 1-800-THE-LOST/1-800-843-5678 or visit NCMEC’s web site at www.missingkids.com to order free copies of the books titled For Healthcare Professionals and An Analysis of Infant Abductions.)
- **ransom** - children abducted to obtain financial benefit from the victim’s family. These are usually easy to solve because the abductor must make some contact with the family.
- **profit** - children abducted to obtain financial benefit from a third party. Most for-profit trafficking in children involves buying (not abducting) children from parents or legal guardians. Cases involving forcible abduction are rare in the United States. Cases involving some kind of deception (i.e., telling mother her baby died at birth) are less rare.
- **sexual** - children abducted primarily for the sexual gratification of the offender. This is the focus of this research and discussion.
- **killing** - children abducted to be killed by the offender. For some individuals the act of killing itself brings arousal and/or gratification. From an investigative analysis perspective, there is a difference between a murderer who happens to sexually assault his victim and a molester who happens to murder his victim.
- **miscellaneous criminal** - children abducted for a wide variety of reasons related to criminal activity. Common examples include crimes such as stealing a vehicle with a child in it, taking a child hostage to facilitate escape, abducting a child in retaliation for a personal or criminal disagreement or to prevent testimony in court.

A possible seventh category, **political motivation**, could include children who have been abducted for political or governmental gain or advantage. The author is aware of no documented cases of this category in the United States. This discussion will primarily focus on sexually motivated abductions of children with some limited focus on killing-motivated cases.

What is a sexually motivated child abduction? In theory it could be determined by the motivation for the abduction or by specific acts performed during or after. The true nature of motivations and behaviors may not always be clear and obvious. Seemingly “nonsexual” behaviors (i.e., abducting, inflicting pain,
killing) can be in the service of sexual needs and may bring sexual arousal and/or gratification in and of themselves. Seemingly “sexual” behaviors (i.e., vaginal or anal intercourse) can be in the service of nonsexual needs and may, in fact, be actually motivated by power and/or anger. Even if motivated by nonsexual needs, such acts may still be considered sexual assaults by the law.

Motivation and sexual assault are generally easier to evaluate in short-term abduction cases. The child is returned alive and hopefully can describe the offender’s behavior and/or is examined by a qualified physician. If the child is recovered dead, a good crime-scene examination and autopsy may help determine motivation and indicate sexual assault. If the child remains missing, however, motivation often is not knowable with certainty and investigators must keep an open mind and not pursue only one investigative possibility.

Sexual acts or assaults can be overt (e.g., vaginal or anal penetration by a penis or foreign object) and therefore their intent may be easy or unnecessary (i.e., strict liability) to prove in court. They can also be covert (e.g., touching, kissing, photographing) and therefore difficult for the victims to recognize and law enforcement to prove intent. In criminal cases the primary criteria most often used by investigators and prosecutors in determining sexual assault are body-orifice penetration and presence of seminal fluid on or in the body or at the crime scene; however, a variety of acts not generally considered sex (e.g., use of restraints, hair cutting, multiple stab wounds, urination) might behaviorally constitute sexual activity or assault. Some acts (e.g., listening to children urinate) may not be criminal even if sexual intent is proven. They simply involve behavior not proscribed in the penal code.

A crime can also have more than one motivation. If there are multiple offenders, whose motivation defines the crime? In some cases it can be difficult to determine motivation even from the offender after the case is solved. We know that offenders are more reluctant to admit sexual motives than other types of motives (e.g., profit, revenge, anger, power). Some offenders may not even realize their true motivation. An offender may eventually request a ridiculously small ransom for a child he had abducted to molest in an apparent attempt to convince others, but primarily himself, that he is not a sex offender.

NISMAEST estimates that two-thirds or more of the short-term abductions involved sexual assault. In early 1994 the FBI did an unpublished analysis of 55 kidnapping investigations initiated from October 1, 1992, through December 31, 1993, involving only female victims younger than the age of 13. It found that sex was the main motivation more often when the victim was Caucasian (39 percent) than when the victim was Black (33 percent) and Hispanic (24 percent). Four of the 62 victims have not been located. Of the 44 girls found alive, 10 were sexually molested. The dead bodies of 14 of the victims were located, with “physical evidence of sexual molestation” present in five of these cases.

Deciding or determining that an abduction is sexually motivated may not always be essential in an investigation or prosecution. In long-term abduction cases it usually plays a major role in identifying and evaluating potential suspects. The sexual nature of the abduction could be important in showing motivation and obtaining a conviction in a court of law and determining or qualifying for a particular sentence after a conviction. It is also important in discussions or research about the nature and scope of a particular crime problem.
Nonfamily
The cases studied in this research were, and still are, often called “stranger abductions.” This is a misleading term. The concept of exactly who is a stranger is often difficult for young and even older children to understand. Who is a stranger can be viewed on a continuum. A “stranger” can range from someone never seen before and unknown, to someone seen but nameless, to someone named but unknown, to someone named and slightly known, and anyone in between. More importantly the term has little criminal justice significance and children are often criminally abducted or held by well-known acquaintances.

These cases are called “nonfamily” to differentiate them from the larger and dynamically and legally different category of family or parental abductions. In today’s world, even this distinction is not always easy. Many children live in nontraditional families with people such as stepparents, stepgrandparents, “stepsiblings,” parents’ live-in lovers, cults. These relationships can create confusion and legal problems concerning permission, consent, and child abduction.

Child Molesters Who Abduct

Why do some child molesters abduct their victims while others do not? Children can generally be easily controlled and manipulated by adults without physical force. Child molesters who nonviolently seduce or coerce their victims frequently come under minimal investigative scrutiny. Those who forcibly abduct and physically injure their victims usually become subjects of large-scale, intensive investigations. From the offender’s point of view, it seems to make little sense to abduct a child victim. This study suggests that the use of abduction may stem primarily from the offender’s poor interpersonal and social skills and their otherwise inability to control their victims.

Perpetrators of sexually motivated nonfamily child abduction appear to be a widely diverse population of offenders. This may be due in part to the broad definition of the term. The use of physical violence and deadly force is usually not necessary to sexually victimize a child. Most child molesters seduce, manipulate, or coerce children well-known or related to them. When committing a forcible sexual assault and abduction, however, it is criminally smart to target strangers (i.e., victims to whom you cannot be connected).

Typology
The author has previously published a typology of child molesters titled Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis. (Call 1-800-THE-LOST/1-800-843-5678 or visit www.missingkids.com to order a free copy of this book.) Although this typology was not originally intended to be used in abduction cases, this research indicates considerable possible application. The typology distinguishes between Situational and Preferential Child Molesters. With Situational Child Molesters there are four patterns of behavior consisting of Regressed, Morally Indiscriminate, Sexually Indiscriminate, and Inadequate. With Preferential Child Molesters there are three patterns of behavior consisting of Seduction, Introverted, and Sadistic.
Situational Child Molesters have no true sexual preference for children, but may molest them for a wide variety of situational reasons. In many cases children may be targeted because they are weak, vulnerable, or available. Some offenders’ sexual activity with children may involve acts that they are embarrassed or ashamed to request or do with a preferred adult partner.

Sexually Indiscriminate Situational Child Molesters carry out their bizarre sexual fantasies with young, less threatening, less judgmental, and highly vulnerable children. Morally Indiscriminate Situational Child Molesters have no conscience and select children because they have the opportunity and think that they can get away with it. Regressed Situational Child Molesters have low self-esteem and use children as substitutes for adults, while Inadequate Situational Child Molesters are social misfits and select children out of insecurity and curiosity.

Situational Child Molesters are more likely to view and be aroused by adult pornography, but engage in sex with children in certain situations. Their patterns of behavior are more likely to involve the concept of Modus Operandi or Method of Operation (MO) that is well-known to most law-enforcement officers. MO is a pattern of behavior engaged in by an offender because it works and will help him get away with the crime. MO is fueled by thought and deliberation. Most offenders change and improve their MO over time and with experience.

Preferential Child Molesters (Pedophiles), on the other hand, have a real sexual preference for children. Their sexual fantasies and erotic imagery focus on children. They usually have age and gender preferences. The younger the age preference, however, the more likely it is that they will molest both boys and girls. A preference is only that. An offender with a preference for boys might also molest some girls and have sex with both male and female adults.

Seduction Preferential Child Molesters, in particular, generally have a method of access to children and are usually high in nonoffense contact with children. Introverted Preferential Child Molesters are most like the old stereotype of the child molester in that they are more likely to hang around playgrounds and other areas where children congregate, watching them or engaging them in brief sexual encounters. They lack the interpersonal skills to seduce them. Sadistic Preferential Child Molesters are aroused by their victims’ responses to the infliction of pain and suffering and may use lures or force to gain access to and control of their victims.

Preferential Child Molesters tend to spend much of their lives trying to convince others, but primarily themselves, that they are good people and not evil sexual deviants. They tend to rationalize their behavior by claiming that they “love” children and only have sex with those children who voluntarily “consent.” Because of their usual ability to control children through the seduction process and need to rationalize their behavior as consensual, Seduction Preferential Child Molesters rarely forcibly abduct children. In fact they frequently inject themselves into the issue and investigation of missing children as people like volunteers, searchers, and operators of runaway-children shelters. When identified by law enforcement, pedophiles often have collections of photographs
and information about missing children. It is frequently assumed that this is evidence of involvement in the children’s abductions. Although this is possible, a far more likely explanation is that the material is part of their rationalization process by contrasting their “consensual” sexual activity with these forced abductions and by showing their concern for “truly” abused children.

The patterns of behavior of Preferential Child Molesters are more likely to involve the concept of sexual ritual that is less known to most law-enforcement officers. Sexual ritual is nothing more than repeatedly engaging in an act or series of acts in a certain manner because of a sexual need. In order to become aroused and/or gratified, a person must engage in the act in a certain way. Ritual is necessary to the offender but not to the successful commission of the crime. In fact, instead of facilitating the crime, it often increases the odds of identification, apprehension, and conviction. Ritual is fueled by erotic imagery and fantasy and can be bizarre in nature. Most offenders find it difficult to change and modify ritual, even when their experience tells them that they should. Understanding sexual ritual and rationalization is the key to investigating Preferential Child Molesters.

It is the Morally Indiscriminate, Sexually Indiscriminate, and Inadequate Situational Child Molesters, not the Introverted and Sadistic Preferential Child Molesters, who are most likely to get involved in nonfamily abduction by kidnapping children who they have had little, if any, prior contact with. In some cases the violence may be a carefully planned component of the assault such as with a Sadistic Pedophile who is sexually aroused and gratified by the suffering of his child victims. The Seduction Preferential Child Molester is more likely to get involved by not allowing a child he knows and has seduced from returning home.

**Phases**

Abduction by child molesters consists of the four phases of Build-Up, Abduction, Post Abduction, and Recovery/Release. The elements of these phases vary depending on the type of offender involved and whether abduction occurred at the beginning of the sexual assault or the child was not returned after having been obtained without abduction.

- **build-up** - fantasy about sexual activity creates a need. Whether or not it specifically includes children, the fantasy greatly influences the nature and content of the need. A wide variety of precipitating stressors affect the desire and ability of the offender to control or act out these needs. Active validation (i.e., communicating with individuals who share or encourage your urges), passive validation (i.e., collecting material that reenforces or advocates your urges), and rationalization also help in giving in to these sexual needs. Finally, an opportunity to act out is either presented or planned and carried out.

- **abduction** - selecting a child victim who is a complete stranger or cannot be linked to the offender in any way is probably the single most important factor in determining whether an offender will get away with a child abduction. The “thought-driven” situational offender tends to follow an MO, consider risks, take advantage of opportunities, and select
any target who fits within his victim profile. Mistakes are usually the result of being impulsive and sloppy. The “fantasy-driven” preferential offender tends to follow a ritual, have a script, and consider his needs. Fulfilling these needs may increase the risks he is willing to take to obtain specific victims and engage in specific acts. Mistakes are usually the result of being compulsive and needy.

In order to escape detection, a sexual sadist, even one with extraordinary interpersonal skills, may try to abduct victims to whom he cannot be linked. More importantly, however, are his needs to fulfill his fantasies and feed off the pain and suffering of others. Some Seduction Preferential Child Molesters wind up abducting or not returning a child easily linked to them because they need the child all to themselves away from a judgmental society. Some long-term child abductions are really short-term molestations gone bad.

- **post abduction** - after a sexually motivated abduction, a child will be kept long enough for the offender to engage in some amount of sexual activity. This is usually a brief period of time; however, fantasy needs may sometimes compel the offender to keep the child for a longer period of time. He can keep the child himself or give the child to someone else. Some pedophiles would like to believe that they will now live happily ever after with their victim. Obviously certain skills and living arrangements are necessary to do this. In a few cases abducted children have been brought to secret rooms, boxes, or chambers set up by the offender. For sexual sadists, keeping the child alive and conscious for some period of time is essential to their needs. Part of their pleasure comes from total control and power over the victim.

- **recovery/release** - in some cases the child will be recovered as a result of investigative efforts. Most often the child is released when the offender is sexually finished with the child. An abductor can discard the child with no concern for how or if the child will get home. He can return the child to the location of the abduction or child’s home or otherwise facilitate the child’s recovery. Assisting the return of the child victim is fairly common in short-term abduction cases. Some victims are released because reality does not live up to the offender’s fantasy. Some are released because of law-enforcement pressure and media publicity. Some victims are killed for the exact same reasons. For more information on child recoveries call 1-800-THE-LOST/1-800-843-5678 or visit www.missingkids.com to order a free copy of Recovery and Reunification of Missing Children: A Team Approach.

An abductor may kill the child and dispose of the body in some manner. This last scenario is distinct from offenders who abduct children to kill them. The deadly force can occur before, during, or after the “sexual” acts or it can be a sexual act. A few abductors have also killed themselves. Whether you are looking for a murderer who happened to sexually assault his victim or molester who happened to murder his victim can be important. The end result for the victim may be the same, but the focus of the investigation might be significantly different.
Criminal Investigative Analysis
This research and the author’s behavioral analysis experience will be applied to
the three investigative situations, involving sexually motivated nonfamily child
abductions, of child found alive, child found dead, and child still missing.
- **child found alive** - this is the most common outcome in nonfamily
  abduction cases. With a living victim, valuable information can usually
  be obtained from a detailed interview with the child. Obviously the tim-
  ing of this interview and amount of detail will be dependent on the age
  and developmental stage of the child and on the amount and duration of
  the emotional and physical trauma inflicted. Supervisory Special Agent
  Roy Hazelwood’s 1983 article in the *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, titled
  “The Behavior-oriented Interview of Rape Victims: The Key to Profiling,”
  should be consulted and modified for child victims to assist in obtaining
  needed information for investigative analysis of the offender. A good
  forensic medical examination by a qualified physician can also be helpful
  in assessing the kinds and sequence of behavior engaged in by the perpe-
  trator.

  Many child abductors have a history of social (e.g., multiple jobs, failed
  relationships) and sexual (e.g., nuisance sex offenses, failed assaults of
  adults) inadequacies. Offenders with known histories of nuisance sex
  offenses, even against adult victims, should be considered viable suspects.
  Peeping at adult women and sexually assaulting children can both be
  signs of sexual inadequacy. Because their behavior patterns include low
  social competence and low nonoffense contact with children, the
  abductors are often Inadequate Situational Child Molesters or Introverted
  Preferential Child Molesters. Seduction Preferential Child Molesters with
  a demonstrated ability to nonviolently manipulate children should be con-
  sidered unlikely or weak suspects in short-term abduction cases. Of course
  the investigative analysis and focus will be greatly influenced by the
  victim’s interview and description of the offender’s physical, verbal, and
  sexual behavior.

  Tracking cases and attempting to link similar cases are essential. As
  just described, the concept of what is a similar case must be carefully
  evaluated. Some sex offenders become more violent and dangerous as
  their crimes progress. Others do not involve a steady progression from
  less serious to more serious offenses. In fact they sometimes zigzag back
  and forth between nuisance and serious sex offenses. In evaluating the
  dangerousness of nuisance offenders, investigators should always look
  for focus (i.e., change from general to specific victim) and escalation
  (i.e., change in behavior over time).

  During the same general time frame, one offender may also victimize
  both adults and children. As previously discussed, the age of the child
  victim is an important factor in this analysis. Some offenders may see
  little difference between a 15-year-old and 22-year-old. In addition the
  perpetrator of this type of offense may also be the perpetrator of an
  unsolved abduction/murder or a long-term, missing-child case.
child found dead - in these rarer cases, a good crime-scene examination and professional autopsy are essential to the analysis process. The child victim can no longer verbally speak to us. The crime scene and autopsy must do the talking. Both the “sexual” acts and sexual motivations must be considered in sexual-homicide investigations. As part of the analysis process, the definition of what constitutes a sexual act or assault should not be limited to a narrow legal definition. Multiple motivations and perpetrators must also be considered. As previously discussed, an abductor may use force or kill his victim for many reasons.

Although anyone younger than 18 may be considered a “child,” it is clear that there are major differences between the victimization of older and younger children. The younger the child victim, the more likely it is that the murderer is a family member; however, parents who kill their young offspring seem to be less likely than other murderers of children younger than 12 to sexually assault them prior to the murder. Albeit a difficult and unpleasant task, parents must be carefully evaluated and eliminated as suspects, if possible, even in cases where they have reported their child missing or abducted. With adolescent victims, acquaintances and peers must be considered as likely offenders and both heterosexual and homosexual relationships need to be evaluated.

The investigation of sexually motivated homicides of abducted children, especially pubescent children, should not be limited to or even automatically focus on individuals with a history of sex offenses against children. As previously stated, persons with a history of social and sexual inadequacies and poor interpersonal skills would be better suspects in most cases.

Evidence of a preferential interest in children or sexual sadism (e.g., victim tortured while kept conscious and alive, sexual bondage) would change this suspect focus. Preferential child molesters with a demonstrated ability to nonviolently seduce and control children rarely abduct them, but they may kill them to avoid detection. Sexual sadists are likely to abduct and usually have good interpersonal skills.

For purposes of criminal-investigative analysis, force can be divided into the three categories of inadvertent, indiscriminate, and intentional.

Although the word seems inappropriate and inadequate considering the result, the “inadvertent” category is used to describe force caused by the offender’s selfish need to be sexually gratified with little concern for the child victim. Inadvertent force is seen most often when there is a significant size difference between the offender and child and when the offender views the victim as an available, nonthreatening orifice or partner rather than as a child. This type of force frequently involves a very young child or child who resists and a socially and sexually inadequate offender who may not intend to injure or kill, but just does not care.

The “indiscriminate” category is used to describe a more organized offender who selects a sexual-assault victim who might happen to be a child and whom he might hurt or kill if need be. The term indiscriminate refers more to the selection of the child victim than to the violence or
death. Most of these offenders are not pedophiles, but are manifesting morally indiscriminate or psychopathic tendencies (Antisocial Personality Disorder).

The “intentional” category is the most varied. It includes sex offenders who kill their victims to avoid detection (probably the largest category of sexual homicides of children), sadists and serial killers who hurt and kill for sexual pleasure, pedophiles who kill because of misguided “love” or ambivalent hate, and extreme inadequates who are intimidated by interpersonal contact.

A psychopath whose 4-year-old girl victim eventually dies of exposure when he discards her after luring her into his car and sexually assaulting her, a pedophile who abducts and tortures to death a 12-year-old boy to satisfy his sadistic urges, and a sexually motivated serial killer who strangles to death a prostitute who turns out to be 17 years old, have all committed a sexually motivated child abduction resulting in death. The dynamics and investigation of these cases may, however, have little to do with each other.

A basic step in the criminal investigation analysis of sexual homicide is evaluating whether the offender is organized or disorganized. This is based on assessment of criminal acts, analysis of victim and crime scene, and evaluation of forensic evidence. Because of factors such as multiple offenders, unplanned events, victim resistance, alcohol or drug use, extreme stress, a crime scene may reflect aspects of both organized and disorganized behavior.

“Organized” sexual child killers tend to be psychopaths, pedophiles, and/or serial killers who are of average to above-average intelligence and socially competent. They indiscriminately or intentionally (thrill, sadism, fear of discovery, hate) abduct and kill their child victims. They are cunning and tend to plan their crimes. They tend to target strangers and engage in aggressive and sexual acts prior to death. They transport their victims and dispose of their victims’ bodies in a way or place to limit evidence or prevent discovery or by displaying them where they will be found to shock and outrage society.

In comparison “disorganized” sexual child killers tend to be individuals who are younger, less intelligent, and more sexually inadequate. They inadvertently or intentionally (love, inadequacy) abduct and kill their child victims. They have difficulty with interpersonal relationships and tend to target known victims. They kill closer to their home or “safe” area. Sexual acts are often committed after the victim is unconscious or dead and the body is frequently left at the assault scene. If they dispose of their victims’ bodies, they do so by quickly “dumping” them or burying them in shallow graves where they are more likely to be found.

In fact, maybe one of the best indications of whether a sexual child killer is organized or disorganized is how quickly and where you find the victim’s body. Parents who murder their children and attempt to cover it up by reporting them missing or abducted, often wrap the children in plastic and bury them in a place that they are familiar with. If they truly love the child, they may even try to discreetly lead investigators to the place of “burial” so that the body will be “discovered” and properly buried.
**child still missing** - these are by far the most difficult, frustrating, and emotionally draining child-abduction cases for law enforcement. Because the child is still missing, it is hard to identify the motivation with any degree of certainty. Without reliable witnesses, it may be hard to know that the child was even abducted. There is little to analyze other than possibly the sophistication of the abduction if it was observed. By process of elimination and statistical probability, sexually motivated nonfamily abduction usually becomes the focus of the investigation of many missing-children cases. The large reservoir of available manpower and aggressive, high-priority style of the investigation then results in the identification of every known and suspected sex offender within 200 miles. Multiple suspects need to be prioritized by some criteria. Often it is difficult to ascertain the true and exact nature of an offender's sexual behavior from arrest records. In the absence of case-specific facts and evidence to the contrary, general suspects should be prioritized based on the ranking of the known offenses or behaviors noted below.

- sex offenses involving abduction of children, especially with victims of the same apparent age and gender as the missing child
- sex offenses involving abduction of adults, especially failed abductions
- abductions of children
- abductions of anyone
- sex offenses involving child victims
- sex offenses involving adult victims and displays of deviant arousal patterns
- demonstrations of sexual inadequacy
- any sex offense

Preoffense precipitating stressors and postoffense changes in behavior in the lives of potential suspects should be carefully documented and evaluated. Suspects should generally be treated with respect and dignity when interviewed to increase the likelihood of cooperation and disclosure. Sex offenders tend to disclose only what they think you already know and what they can rationalize. Interviewers should encourage and facilitate this rationalization process.

Investigators should be alert to the fact that many sex offenders falsely confess to crimes that they did not commit or claim to have knowledge about organized child sex rings, abduction of children, satanic cults, or child murders. The information furnished usually turns out to be exaggerated, distorted, or patently false. Investigators have no choice but to investigate and check out such allegations because they might be partially or totally true. Investigators, however, must be skeptical and cautious in their response. Such stories should be carefully evaluated and assessed, and investigators should consider early use of the polygraph by an examiner experienced in interviewing child molesters.

To date there is no evidence to support allegations of child abductions by highly organized sex rings or satanic cults. Adults tend to believe what they want or need to believe. In a highly emotional case like a long-term child abduction, even experienced investigators can become gullible
“believers” of almost anything. The emotion of these cases also causes some investigators to develop their own theories about the abduction and refuse to change them when the evidence indicates otherwise.

**Investigative Assistance**

Unsolved abductions and murders should be entered in state and FBI Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) systems by completing the necessary forms. This will aid in evaluating the possibility of serial offenses. Consider requesting the assistance of the FBI’s National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime in Quantico, Virginia, at 703-632-4400 for investigative analysis and support. In addition the nearest FBI office can assist in these efforts.

Technical assistance should be requested from the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children at **1-800-THE-LOST/1-800-843-5678** in all types of cases of missing/abducted children.


Appendix

No summary of this *Case in Point* Series would be complete without including the prior editions as printed between June 1990 and March 1993. The editions of this series reprinted on the following pages were copyrighted by the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children, Alexandria, Virginia, USA. All rights reserved.
Case in Point

Training Points on the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program

FOR:
- parents and guardians
- schools: teachers, counselors, truant officers
- health care: child psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, nurses
- law enforcement
- the court system: attorneys, prosecutors, juvenile court judges, guardians ad litem
- corrections and probation officers

Following is a case history from one of the conducted research interviews in the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program. Although there are lessons to be learned from this case, it is only one case, and generalizations to all cases of sexually motivated child abduction should not be made. The results of this research will be primarily disseminated based on the analysis of all or groups of the cases and not just one case. Individual case histories, however, can have some instructional value. [NOTE: All names and locations have been changed.]

CASE HISTORY 1

At the age of 31 William Russell Davis was discovered by the police hiding in a closet in his apartment with two 8-year-old boys whom he had kidnapped off the street and held captive for six hours—kissing, fondling, masturbating, fellating, and sodomizing them with a funnel and a pencil. One boy had been choked and beaten with a belt. Not an isolated event, Davis’s crime was the culmination of a lifetime of aberrant behavior, much of which remained undiscovered by the criminal justice system.

Caught three times for child molestation and sexual assault, Davis admits to many previous incidents of child sexual assault that went undiscovered. By the time he was first caught at the age of 24 for sexually molesting his niece, he had already sexually assaulted more than 100 child victims. He had begun sexually molesting children when he was 12 years old. Davis was incarcerated for an extended period of time only after his last crime: the kidnapping and sexual assault of the two boys.

Davis’s life is marked by years in and out of an orphanage and foster homes, separation from his family, failure in school and in the military, and chronic unemployment. Lonely, a constant liar, low in self-esteem, and a viewer of child pornography, Davis reports being haunted by thoughts and fantasies of sex with children. Davis was driven by strong urges and committing crimes of increasing violence and deviance. He admits that there was a good possibility that eventually he would have killed a child victim. When being interviewed about the kidnapping of the two boys, Davis stated, “If I had kept them there a couple of days, they’d probably be dead.”

Almost from birth, William Russell Davis experienced disruption, transience, and instability in his home life. His mother and father separated when he was a year old, and Davis never heard from his father again. Davis’s mother, unable to support him and his older brother and unable to control William’s “acting out,” placed them in foster homes and eventually in an orphanage. When their mother remarried, 10-year-old William and his brother moved back into the home. He lived at home with his mother until he was 20, when he entered the military.

Intelligence tests reveal Davis to be a fairly bright individual, but his educational background is patchy at best: He repeated the first and fourth grades and remained a poor student until he was expelled from high school for truancy at the age of 20. Psychological tests reflect significant central nervous system damage of a perceptual nature.

Davis reports sexual experimentation with and exploitation by older boys while living in the orphanage. At night, after the lights were out, older boys in his cottage would fondle and sexually abuse him. It was Davis’s first experience with sex—but it always involved exploitation and was limited to older males. From the age of 12 Davis began fondling younger children and using coercion and threats of violence to control them. For the next eight years Davis sexually molested more than 100 children luring them away from adults and threatening them if they told. When he was 15 Davis entered into an ongoing consensual homosexual relationship with a 14-year-old boy, which lasted for three years. Shy, introverted, manipulative, and a self-admitted chronic liar, Davis kept
hidden for years his acts of sexual molestation, assault, and homosexuality. When he left his mother’s home at age 20 and entered the military, his activities escalated into more serious acts of deviance and cruelty.

Stationed in California as a medic, Davis became obsessed with a critically ill boy in his ward. Excited by the boy’s helplessness, he fondled and pinched the boy’s penis when no one was looking. He fantasized about pulling the tube out of the boy’s throat and watching him suffocate. The boy’s inability to speak—to “tell”—made the sexual assault even more exciting for Davis: He would never get caught. Davis indicated he was confused and driven by an uncontrollable sadistic urge: “Why it started I don’t know, I just had the urge to hurt him…. It was exciting to see him grimace; that just seemed to make me want to do it more.” Davis’s suspicious behavior was not carefully investigated, and his sexual assaults against children yet again escaped detection. He was transferred to another job for “poor performance of duty.”

Davis claims his subsequent tour of duty in Vietnam was cut short because of a “nervous breakdown,” and he was given an honorable discharge from the army. Davis then returned home, where his mother—now separated from her second husband, got him a job as a janitor. After six months of working steadily, Davis grew depressed and discouraged, skipped work, fought with his adult homosexual lover, and was forced to leave his mother’s home. He then went to stay with his brother, sister-in-law, and her young daughter. It was in his brother’s house that the first documented evidence of a sexual crime with a child occurred—with Davis’s 10-year-old niece.

While Davis had gotten pleasure from fondling and “tickling” his niece since she was 4 years old, he made his first violent sexual attack on her when she was 10. As they returned from the store after buying a present for one of her friends, Davis started fondling her and then chased her into the woods and violently held her down, partially undressing her and plunging his finger into her vagina. His niece struggled to get free, screaming and crying, which excited Davis more. Suddenly a man with a shotgun appeared and threatened to blow Davis’s head off. The child ran off. Afraid to confront his brother, Davis wandered around outside the house, knowing that the police would soon arrive.

Davis was arrested for child molestation; he was, however, given the option of undergoing treatment as an alternative to legal action. Passive and cowardly by nature, Davis typically blamed outside events and “fate”: When asked why he, an alleged admitted homosexual, molested a little girl, he replied, “She just happened to be there.”

The outpatient home Davis was placed in during his treatment program was that of a family with a 5-year-old boy. Once again Davis went into action. At first he “courted” the boy with affection and attention convinced that the boy enjoyed his fondling and “wrestling” games. After a few months with the family, Davis convinced the parents (who were rarely home) to let him take the boy to the zoo, promising to be home by 4:00 P.M. When the zoo closed for the night, Davis took the boy into the bathroom of the zoo and “started getting these urges again.” When everyone was gone, he held the boy tight in his grip on the bathroom floor, kissing and fondling him and pinching his penis. Excited by the boy’s terror and disgust, he inserted his finger in the boy’s anus, threatening to beat him if he tried to escape. Davis sexually assaulted the boy for more than six hours; he choked the boy when he tried to escape around midnight. The police spotted Davis and the boy walking about 10 blocks from the zoo at 1:30 A.M. Davis was arrested and sent to jail. Medical examination revealed intensive bruises and red marks on both buttocks of the child, scratches on his genitals, a bruised bump on the left side of his forehead, bruises on both arms and fingers, and a scratch on both cheeks.

After five months in jail, Davis went to trial and was sentenced to five years of probation with a stipulation that he again undergo treatment. Davis described the sentencing judge as “very lenient, very understanding.”

While in treatment Davis picked up two boys at a video arcade and spent $150 on them, playing pinball and riding the go-carts. He found the 10-year-old boy particularly appealing and took him into a photo booth, where he held him tight against him, fondling him and pinching him. Typical of Davis’s distorted perception and reluctance to take responsibility for his actions are his remarks concerning this incident, “I had the impression, and I still do when I think of it, that the child was a prostitute.”

Also during treatment Davis violated his probation on the grounds that reporting interfered with his community college classes. Davis was taking Recreation—a subject he describes as, “A beautiful setup…. Yes, I could see myself getting into a lot of trouble. Perhaps going as far as committing homicide or something.” Even though Davis had violated probation, his probation officer recommended that probation be terminated because only six months remained.

After dropping out of college Davis lived quietly alone in his apartment, still unemployed. One evening he looked outside and saw two boys riding down the street on a bicycle. Deviant sexual fantasies began, and his mind raced thinking how he could get the boys into his apartment. He conned the boys into getting off the bike, grabbed the smaller boy, and enticed the other into following him into the apartment. He forced the boys into the bedroom and undressed them. This led to fondling, kissing, and then performing fellatio on them. Davis then bathed them in the tub and began sticking a pencil and a funnel into their rectums. Becoming more violent, Davis started pinching and squeezing the boys’
penises. When one boy got upset and started to cry, Davis beat him with a belt. After holding the children captive and having sex with them continually for almost six hours, Davis was finally caught by the police while hiding in a closet with the two boys. The police searched Davis’s apartment after spotting the boys’ bicycle in front of Davis’s apartment building.

One of the boys required hospital treatment because his penis was so swollen and red. The victims were initially very frightened around men and underwent counseling as a result of the trauma. William Davis was arrested; convicted of two counts of kidnapping, two counts of sodomy, and four counts of sexual abuse; and sentenced to 60 years in prison.

Tortured by feelings of inadequacy, lack of social skills, and low self-esteem, Davis turned to children because they were vulnerable and easy to dominate. He admits, “I think it was because I could control them and get what I wanted.” Sexual violence against the weak and helpless made him feel like the “top man on the totem pole.”

Cunning and insidious, Davis managed to escape detection for years; even after arrest and treatment, he continued to molest, with each successive incident gradually increasing in violence and sexual deviance. Moreover, although Davis affected remorse after each crime, in the end his own explanation of his behavior was the truest: “I don’t really think that I really care.”

**CASE HISTORY 1: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS**
The following significant life events and behaviors of William Russell Davis were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

**Personal History**
- at age 1 mother and father separated
- father suspected alcoholic with psychiatric history
- ages 1 to 10 lived in orphanage and foster homes
- corporal punishment in orphanage
- sexual exploitation by older boy in orphanage
- mother remarried and then separated again
- ages 10 to 20 lived with mother and older brother
- home characterized by chronic instability and disruption
- mother was lenient and easily fooled
- hostile, acted out, bit teachers as a child
- never married

**School Records**
- failed first grade
- failed fourth grade
- poor grammar school performance
- poor junior high school performance
- expelled from eleventh grade for truancy
- received high school equivalency (GED)
- dropped out of community college

**Chronic Behaviors**
- enuresis
- headaches, dizzy spells, blackouts
- speech impediment
- convulsions, seizures, spasms, tics, fits
- temper tantrums, hyperactivity
- thumb sucking (until 11 or 12 years old)
- isolation, withdrawal, extreme shyness
- chronic lying
- fire setting
- destruction of property
- destruction of own possessions
- cruelty to animals
- cruelty to other children
- assaultive against adults

**Sexual Behaviors**
- arrested for multiple sexual assault on children
- sexually victimized by older boys in orphanage
- compulsive masturbation
- peeping
- fetishism (masturbating with underwear advertisements showing boys)
- viewing child pornography
- sexual conflicts, fears
- sexual dysfunction
- sexual aversion (to women)
- concern over genital size
- concern over sexual skills
- homosexual
- sexually attracted to boys ages 8 to 12

**Personal Characteristics**
- low self-esteem, lonely, friendless
- shy, lack of social skills
- no experience with women
- fear of being caught
- sadistic
- afraid of adults
- afraid of guns
- sorry for himself
- “does not know” why he committed crime
- pent-up anger
- dislikes himself
- sadistic and sexual acts gave him a feeling of “superiority”

**Medical/Physical/Psychological Records**
- above average intelligence
- sexual and psychological conflicts
- diagnosed as a pedophile with possible sexual sadism and mixed personality disorder
- a follower not a leader
- inadequate personality
- in and out of hospitals for sexual problems and depression
- electroshock therapy
- has used Valium, Haldol, Thorazine
Arrest, Conviction, and Commitment Chronology

*Note:* Davis admits to molesting and sexually abusing more than 100 children before he was first caught.

1. Arrested and charged with *Child Molesting*.
   After sexually assaulting his 10-year-old niece, Davis was given the option of committing himself to the state hospital for treatment in a sex offender program, which he was in for 18 months. While being treated on an outpatient basis and living in a protected home in which a 5-year-old child lived, he assaulted that child and was again arrested (*see* next entry).

2. Arrested and charged with *Sexual Abuse*.
   First conviction. Davis was placed on five years’ probation by a man he describes as a “lenient judge.” Davis admits to molesting other children during his probation. He violated probation with the excuse that his community college classes interfered with reporting. The probation officer recommended that probation be terminated on the grounds that only six months remained. Immediately after this Davis offended again this time kidnapping two small boys and sexually assaulting them for six hours (*see* next entry).

3. Arrested and charged with *Kidnapping* (two counts), *Sodomy* (two counts), and *Sexual Abuse* (four counts). Second conviction. Sentenced to 60 years.

**Patterns of Crime**

William Russell Davis is considered a dangerous sexual offender who has sexually assaulted more than 100 children—mostly blonde, slender, Caucasian boys between the ages of 8 and 12. He was sexually aroused by the child victims’ helplessness, pain, and fear. Victims are lured away from others and then threatened with violence to avoid disclosure. There was a gradually increasing use of force and aggression over time, and the subject admits that it was just a matter of time before he killed.

Although Davis claimed to suffer remorse and guilt over his repeated sexual assaults, he has offended again and again, unable or unwilling to control his actions. Moreover, at the actual time of the crime, he claims to have felt no guilt or even fear of getting caught—only excitement. He reports feeling remorse “afterwards, after things would happen. I would never really think about it while I was in the act.”

William Russell Davis underwent sexual offender treatment twice, but it has had little or no effect on his criminal behavior. In the words of one therapist, “He did not follow through with therapeutic recommendations of clinical staff or peer group, and he stated that he had minimal interest in working on changing his long-standing destructive behaviors. Mr. Davis has not shown an appreciable decrease in deviant arousal, nor willingness to work on the necessary procedures to accomplish this. Mr. Davis had developed no insight or skill in handling his deviant sexual arousal. He is almost certain to reoffend.”

**Investigative Teaching Points**

From an investigative point of view, the following are the major training points of this case.

1. At the time he was first caught at the age of 22, the offender had already molested more than 100 children.
2. Although the offender’s first known victim was his 10-year-old niece with whom he lived (intrafamilial sexual abuse), he had and continued to molest children outside the home.
3. The first child he abducted and held for a long period of time was an acquaintance. It was a nonfamily abduction, not a stranger abduction.
4. The offender sexually assaulted children while undergoing treatment on an outpatient basis.
5. Although the offender prefers boy victims, he has molested several girl victims.
6. The offender admitted that one of the most likely reasons he would hurt or kill his victims was to avoid identification.
7. Lack of good interpersonal skills with even children seems to increase the likelihood of violence and abduction of children.
Case in Point

Training Points on the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program

FOR: • parents and guardians
• schools: teachers, counselors, truant officers
• health care: child psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, nurses
• law enforcement
• the court system: attorneys, prosecutors, juvenile court judges, guardians ad litem
• corrections and probation officers

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has joined in cooperation with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, to examine and study the case histories of serial child molesters and abductors and disseminate the results to criminal justice professionals. The focus of the research will be on serial child molesters with large numbers of victims, but especially on sexually motivated child abductions. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the child abductors whose identities are most likely to be unknown at the time of the offense. More importantly, however, there is little current research about such offenders from a law-enforcement perspective.

For purposes of this research a child will be defined as anyone not yet 18 at the time of the molestation or abduction. Although the sexually motivated abduction of one such child would qualify an offender for this study, the focus will be on offenders who demonstrated a pattern of preferring child victims and not selecting them as vulnerable substitutes for adult victims. This is not intended to be a study of child killers and, therefore, the majority of offenders interviewed and studied will be those who abducted their child victims but did not kill them.

The goal of the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program is to gain insights into the backgrounds, behavior, and techniques of such offenders in order to either prevent their crimes or identify and stop them more quickly.

Following is a case history from one of the conducted research interviews in the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program. Although there are lessons to be learned from this case, it is only one case, and generalizations to all cases of sexually motivated child abduction should not be made. The results of this research will be primarily disseminated based on the analysis of all or groups of the cases and not just one case. Individual case histories, however, can have some instructional value. [NOTE: All names and locations have been changed.]

CASE HISTORY 2

At the age of 33 Dwayne Lee Scott was identified by two boys as the man who had befriended and sexually abused them. The children were questioned when they were identified in photographs found by a woman living in Scott’s neighborhood. Each photograph depicted a different young boy completely nude with his penis in full view. In one photograph a boy’s penis was erect. The photographs (of boys ranging in age from 8 to 13 years) were stolen from Scott’s apartment, displayed in the neighborhood, and discovered by a mother who called the police.

When the police questioned two boys identified in the photographs, the children described their experiences with Scott. The first child interviewed stated that he had spent every other weekend with Scott at his apartment. Every time the child stayed overnight, he and Scott would share the same bed. Once in bed, Scott would fondle the child’s penis and masturbate the child. Then they would perform fellatio on each other. The child remarked that he was too embarrassed to tell anyone about the incidents and continued to visit Scott because the man took him to baseball games and other activities and purchased many gifts for him. The second child interviewed stated that he had spent the night at Scott’s apartment on four or five occasions since meeting him two years earlier. During those visits Scott fondled the child’s penis and masturbated him. The child said that he was embarrassed about the offenses and afraid that his family and friends would not understand if he told them about Scott’s actions.

Scott’s subsequent arrest, on counts of Sodomy and Sexual Abuse, was the culmination of a lifetime of sexual abuse—both as a victim and an offender. Scott had been convicted of Sodomy nine years earlier for sexually abusing a 10-year-old boy he met while coaching a Little League baseball team and admitted to sexually abusing more than 50 young boys. Many of the children were molested numerous times with one child being coerced into more than 100 sexual acts with Scott over a 3 1/2-year period of time. This pattern of abuse followed incidents in which Scott claims he was repeatedly sexually abused—at the age of 8 by his father, at the age of 9 by an employer, and at the age of 13 by an armed assailant.

Scott’s childhood was filled with disappointments and loneliness. Scott’s father served in the U.S. Navy and did not live on a permanent basis with his wife and two sons until Scott was 8 years old. At that time his father returned to the housing project where they lived in a small Massachusetts town when he was dishonorably discharged from the military. Once home the elder Scott subjected his wife and sons to verbal and physical abuse. Shortly after arriving home the father started to sexually abuse Scott. When Scott’s mother and younger brother would go to the grocery store on Saturday mornings, the father would call Scott into his bedroom and order his son to strip and join him in bed. Once in bed the father would fondle his son. When Scott refused to fondle his father in the same way, the man would force his son to masturbate him and perform fellatio on him. Scott was sexually abused in this way for several months until his father was killed in an automobile accident. He never
told his mother fearing that she would not believe him.

After his father’s death the family’s financial situation became bleak, and they filed for bankruptcy. As a result Scott went to work as a paperboy. At the age of 9, while on his paper route, Scott’s adult supervisor would periodically fondle him and force Scott to reciprocate. The supervisor made it clear that, in order to keep his job, Scott would have to continue with the sexual activity. At one point when the supervisor was fondling Scott in his car, the police apprehended the man, a known sex offender, and took both Scott and the man to the police station. The police placed Scott in a room all by himself for 45 minutes with no explanation as to why he was being detained. Scott felt threatened, believed he was in trouble, and did not understand that the police were trying to help him. Fearing that he would go to jail for his actions, Scott refused to tell the police or his mother what had happened.

The next instance of sexual abuse occurred when Scott was 13 years old. While Scott was returning from the grocery store one day, a man came out of an isolated wooded area and stuck a gun in his face. The man forced Scott into the woods and ordered him to undress. The man fondled Scott and then forced Scott to perform fellatio on him. Once again Scott did not tell anyone about the abuse.

Scott described himself as a normal child who enjoyed playing baseball and socializing with friends before the sexual attacks began, but said, “after my molestation, I started withdrawing within myself.” Although Scott’s interest in sports continued and he graduated from high school, psychological tests reflected a chronic immaturity problem. He was withdrawn, extremely shy, and a chronic liar. His low self-esteem resulted in feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt. Scott also had a chronic weight problem that resulted in obesity in adult life.

Two weeks after the sexual assault by the gunman, Scott claims he committed his first sexual assault. Scott manipulated an 11-year-old boy living in his trailer park into joining him in a washroom. Scott coerced the child into dropping his pants, and they fondled each other. For the next few years Scott had sexual relations “off and on” with younger boys while unsuccessfully trying to form heterosexual relationships.

By the time Scott was 16 years old he was “coercively manipulating” 10- to 12-year-old boys for sexual purposes. After graduating from high school Scott volunteered as a Little League baseball and elementary school basketball coach and began molesting young boys he met through his coaching activities. As a coach Scott was a respected and trusted member of the community, and he used this trust to gain access to children. He started a pattern of behavior that would “work” for him for many years. Feeling inadequate in social skills and lacking many adult friends, Scott sought the companionship of the boys he met through his coaching activities. He befriended the children and their parents and gained their trust. Once trust was built to what Scott called “an adequate level,” he would offer to take a group of boys to sporting events, video arcades, and other outings that would interest boys of that age group. With parental consent Scott would treat the boys to a day-long event filled with fun and adventure.

In spending time with a group of boys, Scott would identify a passive and insecure child who he believed would “consent” to his sexual advances. Once identified, he would invite the child to spend time alone with him at his home watching television and playing games. Many times he would give the child gifts. When Scott was certain that the boy would not refuse his advances nor tell anyone about his actions, he would invite the child to spend the night with him. At some point during the night Scott would initiate sexual activity with the child. Scott justified his actions by stating, “I’m not hurting these boys. I’m not forcing them into anything.” Although he never used overt force to sexually abuse these children, he developed techniques to gain the trust of both children and parents, seduce the children, and ensure the children’s silence about the abuse.

Scott’s sexual abuse of children went undetected until he was arrested at the age of 23 on a sodomy charge. Scott was arrested for fondling and performing fellatio with a 10-year-old boy. Scott molested the child on numerous occasions—often two or more times a week—for more than one year. The crimes took place at Scott’s apartment or in his automobile. At the time of his arrest police suspected Scott of molesting other boys, but no other charges were filed. Scott was convicted of the charge and given a five-year suspended sentence with probation. Special conditions of Scott’s probation included imprisonment in jail every weekend for a period of nine months, participation in a mental health treatment program, and prohibition from contact with any person younger than 18. Due to good behavior and a perceived progress in his counseling sessions, Scott’s weekend jail sentence was suspended after four and one-half months, and he was discharged from probation after a three and one-half year period of time. When asked several years later about this mental health treatment program—which relied on group therapy sessions in which none of the other patients were child molesters or sex offenders—Scott stated, “Counselors didn’t really know how to deal with sex offenders.”

While gainfully employed as a janitor at a local university, Scott returned to voluntary coaching positions and started his old pattern of “courting” and molesting children. This pattern continued for nine more years until Scott was arrested on two counts of Sodomy and one count of Sexual Abuse and sentenced to 20 years in prison. Tortured by feelings of inadequacy, low self-esteem, and a general distrust of people, Scott turned to children because they were vulnerable and often easily coerced. Although he experi-
enced some remorse for his actions, Scott gained too much pleasure from the activity to stop molesting young boys.

Cunning and manipulative, Scott managed to escape detection for years. When asked how to stop child molesters, Scott urged parents and schools to offer sex education classes telling children that no one has the right to sexually abuse them and, if abused, they need to tell someone. In addition Scott indicated that parents need to believe their children if they report sexual abuse, be understanding—not judgmental—in such situations, and keep an open line of communication with their children. “If parents had shown a whole lot more interest in their children, my activities with them would have been very much more difficult.”

CASE HISTORY 2: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS
The following significant life events and behaviors of Dwayne Lee Scott were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

Personal History
- lived with mother and younger brother until age 8 when father returned to family
- alcoholic father dishonorably discharged from military service
- father subjected mother and children to verbal and physical abuse
- sexually abused by father at age of 8 on a weekly basis for several months
- sexual abuse by father ended when the elder Scott died in an automobile accident
- sexually abused at the age of 9 by an adult who supervised the child’s duties as a paperboy
- when picked up for questioning about the above incident, Scott was made to feel like a criminal instead of a victim of sexual abuse
- sexually assaulted at gunpoint when 13 years old by an assailant in an isolated wooded area
- rejected for service in the armed forces because of a hernia problem
- never married

School Records
- grammar school performance suffered after molestation by father began
- fair junior and senior high school performance
- received high school diploma

Chronic Behaviors
- overeating
- isolation, withdrawal, and extreme shyness
- lying

Sexual Behaviors
- marked inhibition to age-appropriate sexual activity
- was a compulsive masturbator
- collected photographs of children he victimized
- viewed movies featuring male children
- viewed catalogue advertisements for underwear featuring male children
- concerned over genital size
- showed sexual ignorance, incompetence, conflicts, fears, dysfunction, aversion, and inhibitions towards females
- sexually attracted to boys ages 8 to 13

Personal Characteristics
- chronic weight problem
- low self-esteem
- little experience with women
- tremendous sense of inadequacy and self-doubt
- thinks no one cares about him
- feels sexually inadequate and socially incompetent
- believes others will reject him

Medical/Physical/Psychological Records
- above average intelligence
- heavy, stocky build weighing up to 290 pounds
- dehydrated for first six months of life
- experienced three operations to correct a hernia problem
- diagnosed as having a chronic immaturity problem with an avoidance personality disorder
- functions emotionally at an early adolescent level

Crime Classification
- Social Competence: low
- Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
- Non-Offense Contact with Children: high
- Physical Injury to Child: low
- Sadism: low
Arrest, Conviction, and Commitment Chronology

Note: Scott admits to molesting and sexually abusing more than 50 boys since the age of 13. The majority of these crimes occurred while he was a Little League baseball and elementary school basketball coach preying on the children he met at local sporting events.

1. Arrested and charged with **Sodomy**.
   First conviction. Scott was given a five-year suspended sentence with probation following his conviction for sexually abusing a 10-year-old boy he met while coaching a Little League baseball team. Scott abused the boy on numerous occasions over a one-year period of time. The special conditions of Scott’s probation included imprisonment in jail every weekend for a period of nine months, participation in a mental health treatment program, and a prohibition from contact with any person younger than 18. Due to good behavior and a perceived progress in the mental health treatment program, Scott’s weekend jail sentence was suspended after four and one-half months, and he was discharged from probation after three and one-half years.

2. Arrested and charged with **Sodomy** (two counts) and **Sexual Abuse**.
   Second conviction. Despite the noted progress in his treatment program, Scott continued to seek sexual gratification through relationships with male children. Nine years after his first conviction, Scott’s home was burglarized. Among the items stolen in the break-in were photographs of nude boys living in Scott’s neighborhood. The photographs were discovered by a parent who called the police. Upon identification and questioning of the victims, Scott was identified as the offender, charged, convicted, and sentenced to 5- and 20-year prison terms to be served concurrently in the state penitentiary. While serving his sentence Scott is participating in the state’s Sex Offender Program.

Patterns of Crime

Dwayne Lee Scott is a dangerous sexual offender who has sexually abused more than 50 children—all Caucasian boys between the ages of 8 and 13. As a child who was sexually molested at gunpoint by an unknown assailant and numerous times by his father and an employer, Scott began distrusting people at an early age. When Scott did not seek help to resolve his feelings of distrust and betrayal, he began to strike out at others by sexually abusing boys he felt he could easily seduce, coerce, and manipulate.

As a trusted member of the community, Scott used his Little League and elementary school basketball coaching positions to gain easy access to young boys. While “courting” these children with special attention and gifts, Scott would identify a child most likely to be receptive to his advances and coerce the child into sexual activity.

Dwayne Lee Scott is currently participating in the state’s Sex Offender Program while serving his 20-year prison term. The program has helped him address many of his inadequacies, inhibitions, and failings. Scott has begun to learn to trust people and realizes the cyclical nature of his behavior. Scott now worries that each of the 50 children he has molested will in turn “go out and molest 50 children.” Upon release from prison, Scott states that he hopes to enter into a consensual relationship with an adult and participate in a support group to help address any “deviant fantasies that I can’t control.”

Investigative Teaching Points

From an investigative point of view, the following are the major training points of this case.

1. The offender gained access to children through his neighborhood and volunteer coaching activities and was considered a “nice guy.”
2. The offender would specifically target passive and insecure children with a preference for boys in a certain age range.
3. In addition to seducing his child victims, the offender also “seduced” their parents by gaining their trust and confidence.
4. The offender justified his behavior because he did not physically force his victims and because they “consented.”
5. The offender’s young adolescent male victims did not disclose their victimization until confronted with evidence, and they continued to voluntarily and repeatedly return to him until disclosure.
6. The failure of the investigation at the time of the offender’s first arrest to go beyond the one reported victim and identify any of his many other victims likely contributed to his relatively light sentence and quick return to molesting.
7. The offender admits to molesting more than 50 boys since he began molesting at the age of 13.
The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.

   A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
   B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult which included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
   C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
   D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
   E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.

   A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
   B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
   C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).

   A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in a job or recreational setting. In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.

   An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing physical injury to the victim). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.

NOTES
Case in Point

Training Points on the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program

FOR: • parents and guardians
• schools: teachers, counselors, truant officers
• health care: child psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, nurses
• law enforcement
• the court system: attorneys, prosecutors, juvenile court judges, guardians ad litem
• corrections and probation officers

Following is a case history from one of the conducted research interviews in the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program. Although there are lessons to be learned from this case, it is only one case, and generalizations to all cases of sexually motivated child abduction should not be made. The results of this research will be primarily disseminated based on the analysis of all or groups of the cases and not just one case. Individual case histories, however, can have some instructional value. [NOTE: All names and locations have been changed.]

CASE HISTORY 3
When Douglas Hayes was 6 years old his stepfather began sexually abusing him. This victimization continued through adolescence. At the age of 11 Hayes himself began preying on children—eventually developing a preference for blonde haired boys with bangs who ranged in age from 6 to 14. At the age of 31, when arrested the third time for committing sexual acts upon children, Hayes admitted to sexually molesting at least 30 children. Hayes abused most of the children while on parole, after having served 10 years of a life sentence for kidnapping and sexually molesting a 7-year-old boy.

Douglas Hayes’s childhood was characterized by an unstable home life. His mother and father separated shortly after his birth, and he never had any subsequent contact with his father. Hayes’s mother remarried when he was nearly 6 years old and left him with his grandparents for the first six months of the marriage. Upon her return Hayes went to live with his mother and stepfather. At that point in time the stepfather began to molest Hayes on a regular basis, insisting that Hayes sleep with him where upon he would fondle Hayes’s genitals, perform fellatio on the child, and then force Hayes to reciprocate. Hayes claims he was also molested on two separate occasions, from the ages of 7 to 9, by two different men—a neighbor and one of his stepfather’s friends.

Hayes’s family was uprooted every few months due to his alcoholic stepfather’s chronic unemployment problems, and Hayes was often sent to live with various family members for brief periods of time.

Hayes’s sexual interest in and experimentation with girls began at age 7. He engaged in fellatio and cunnilingus with a 7-year-old female cousin and attempted this same activity with a female playmate. At the age of 9 Hayes first became sexually interested in boys. That year, while spending the summer with an aunt and uncle, Hayes engaged in fellatio with his 10-year-old male cousin on a nightly basis and also had sexual intercourse with his female cousin.

Hayes had trouble relating to and making friends with the other children in school. Although Hayes has differing recollections of his school years, he most recently claimed that within the first few weeks of the seventh grade, at the age of 11, he was advanced to the eighth grade. He felt that his difference in age and maturity levels alienated him from his 13-year-old classmates. At this point in time Hayes started socializing with younger children ranging in age from 5 to 9. Because he believed the girls in his class were inaccessible, Hayes began to hate them, and this, he recalls, is when he started having fantasies about raping girls.

He fantasized that he could force the girls in his class to have sex with him. Fearing that he would be “caught” if he raped a classmate, he began to entertain thoughts of raping girls he did not know.

Shortly after the rape fantasies began, Hayes decided to act on his desires. He approached two girls, aged 8 and 12, told them he was “a rich kid whose sister was giving away her dolls because they were moving out of town” and offered to give the dolls to them. He coaxed both girls to a heavily wooded hillside by promising to show them the dolls, but instead threatened them with a knife and ordered them
to remove their underpants. He performed cunnilingus on the younger girl and then attempted to have sexual intercourse with the older one. When the older girl began to cry, he stopped and ordered both girls to perform fellatio on him. They performed this act until he ejaculated. Hayes went home, telling the girls to stay where they were until he was out of sight.

Three weeks after the assault the younger of the two girls recognized Hayes in the school library and informed the police. When questioned by two detectives Hayes initially denied raping and molesting the girls, but later confessed. When questioned about his home life, Hayes told the police about the sexual abuse he suffered at the hands of his stepfather. Fearing that a conviction on child molestation charges would result in her husband’s imprisonment, Hayes’s mother tearfully implored the child to change his story. Succumbing to this mother’s pleas, Hayes recanted the sexual abuse charge against his stepfather. Hayes was subsequently tried and convicted in juvenile court on a charge of Immorality and remanded to a juvenile home where he was to remain until his twelfth birthday.

Shortly before his twelfth birthday Hayes and another boy escaped from the home. While on the run with his friend, Hayes coaxed a 6-year-old girl into a secluded area where he tried—but failed—to have sexual intercourse with her, and then forced her to perform fellatio on him and the other boy. They left the girl and ran from the scene. The other boy turned himself in to the police, and Hayes was apprehended the next day. As a result of this offense Hayes was sent to another juvenile home where he was to remain for 14 months. During this time Hayes became ill with bronchitis and rheumatic fever. While he was bedridden for two months in the facility’s hospital, three different boys allegedly beat and forced him to perform sexual acts with them. After recovering and moving back into a dormitory at the facility, Hayes also engaged in consenting sexual relationships with fellow male inmates.

Hayes was paroled and returned home at the age of 13. Once again his stepfather’s sexual abuse resumed. Hayes, however, admits that at this time he frequently initiated the sexual activity with his stepfather. He was very depressed and claims he attempted suicide by ingesting a mixture of all the drugs he found in the family’s medicine cabinet. His fantasies of raping girls continued, and he again attacked a young girl by sodomizing her and forcing her to perform fellatio on him. At 14 Hayes lied about his age to get a job, and he moved out of his abusive household. For a time he lived with a man with whom he had a sexual relationship. Until age 18 he changed jobs and residences frequently, at times returning to live with his mother and stepfather.

During this time Hayes’s sexual fantasies increasingly revolved around boys. At age 18 Hayes joined the Army, and he began collecting pictures of naked children that he viewed while masturbating. While on leave from the military he attacked two boys, aged 8 and 9, by taking them to an orange grove and threatening to harm them if they did not do as he said. He had anal intercourse with one boy and performed fellatio on the other.

When Hayes could get weekend passes he would spend his time looking for young boys. His fantasies revolved around kidnapping a boy and keeping the child. He then when AWOL, bought camping equipment, and moved to another state. Hayes found a 7-year-old boy on a farm and talked the child into helping him carry the camping equipment into a heavily wooded area. Once they were deep into the woods, Hayes forced the boy to perform fellatio on him, and he performed fellatio on the boy. Hayes also had “intercourse” by rubbing his penis between the boy’s legs. He kept the boy two days and two nights, letting the boy go when he heard a search party nearby. A few hours later the search party found Hayes. Hayes was charged with Taking Away a Child With Intent to Detain from Parent and sentenced to life in prison.

After serving 10 years of this sentence, Hayes was paroled. At 30 years of age Hayes was determined to stay straight and pursue a heterosexual lifestyle. He consciously avoided young boys in an attempt to control his desires for them. He started dating a woman, and they married a year later. During the first year of marriage his fantasies and desires for children subsided, and his relationship with his wife was satisfactory. During the second year of marriage, however, he began to feel unsuccessful because he was not “providing” a lavish lifestyle for his wife. As an architectural draftsman he was not earning a salary commensurate with his wife’s friends nor successful in obtaining other meaningful or lucrative jobs. He felt inadequate, believed that he would lose his wife, and once again began fantasizing about having sex with boys. He sought boys to molest, looking in secluded areas that were conducive to accosting children. Hayes began frequenting wooded areas near city parks and residences and took every opportunity to force boys into the woods to sexually molest them.

At this point in time Hayes was still married, but was not spending much time with his wife. Every night after work he would go looking for boys to molest and stay out searching until after dark. His wife left him and moved in with a girlfriend. In his anger and frustration at losing his wife, he raped her. This action nearly compelled his parole officer to revoke his parole, but Hayes remained free and continued to prey on children. His molestations increased in frequency to once every few days.

Hayes was finally caught after he accosted three children, two boys and a girl, who were playing in a residential area. He threatened them with a knife and told them to get into his car. As they ran away screaming, he grabbed the girl, threw her into his car, and drove off. He took her to a wooded area, sodomized her, forced her to perform fellatio on him, and then had anal intercourse with her. Afterwards he dropped the child back at a point near where he had abducted her. Hayes was arrested a week later for this offense.

In the ensuing trial on charges of kidnapping, rape, and molestation of the 10-year-old girl, Hayes refused to plead guilty. In the first trial for this crime Hayes was found guilty, but on appeal the conviction was reversed due to a technicality. At the second trial Hayes was again found guilty, but on appeal the conviction was reversed on the grounds that Hayes had not received a speedy trial. Reflecting on that experience, Hayes felt that if he had been afforded more “understanding” by the detectives during the investigative proceedings he would have
been more cooperative and perhaps would have pled guilty, thus preventing his victim from having to appear so many times in court to testify against him.

In spite of conflicting accounts of his background and childhood victimization, Hayes is quick to point out to almost everyone that for many years he had a sexual relationship with his stepfather. He claims that is why he likes children and that if it explains his actions, it must also excuse them. In spite of some consensual sexual activity with adult men when he was an adult, Hayes maintains that he is not a homosexual since he never really found such activity entirely satisfying. He states that his preference in sexual activity is simultaneous oral sex. His only sexual relationship with an adult female occurred during his marriage that lasted only a year. His desire for children, he claims, is not entirely a sexual problem.

He feels that because his sexual activity involves both young boys and girls, it is something about their youth rather than their gender that attracts him. Hayes claims he was lying when he admitted during a previous evaluation that he was a male prostitute.

Hayes is currently incarcerated at the state penitentiary for a parole violation on his life sentence and has twice been denied parole.

CASE HISTORY 3: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Douglas Hayes were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

**Personal History**
- parents separated shortly after his birth
- mother remarried when Hayes was 6, leaving him with his grandparents for six months
- sent to live with various relatives throughout childhood
- sexually abused by alcoholic stepfather until age 14 and by adult acquaintances
- unstable family life including frequent moves as a child
- at age 11 spent one year and six months in juvenile homes
- sexually exploited by other boys while in juvenile homes
- changed occupations and moved frequently
- received an undesirable discharge from the Army

**School Records**
- conflicting information concerning skipping and repeating different grades
- eighth grade highest level achieved in school
- received high school equivalency diploma while in prison
- completed 200 hours of college credit while in prison

**Chronic Behaviors**
- isolation, withdrawal, extreme shyness, loneliness, depression
- chronic runaway
- lying
- stealing/shoplifting
- cruelty to other children
- chose younger playmates and friends

**Sexual Behaviors**
- sexual interest in and experimentation with females began at age 7
- sexual interest in boys began at age 9
- at age 10 engaged in sexual contact with male cousin
- sexual fantasies of raping girls began at age 11
- concern over genital size
- viewed and collected pictures of naked children
- sexual preference for boys ages 6 to 14 with blonde hair and bangs
- driven by “fantasies” of sex with children, especially boys, and thoughts of keeping the children for several months

**Personal Characteristics**
- felt rejection from family early in life and never knew biological father
- experienced insecurity in social situations
- has trouble making friends
- feels incompetent and lacks a sense of achievement in work environments
- plagued by feelings of low self-esteem, unhappiness, and dissatisfaction with life and lifestyle

**Medical/Physical/Psychological Records**
- suffered from bronchitis and contracted rheumatic fever at age 12
- attempted suicide as a teenager
- diagnosed as a psychopathic personality with compulsive deviated sexuality

**Crime Classification**
- Hayes’s sexual preoccupation with children obviously is high. He has a long history of sexual involvement with children. His non-offense contact with children appears, however, to be low. That is, almost all of his contact with children was in the service of finding victims for his sexual gratification. He spent very little, if any, time with children engaged in social or recreational activities. The physical injury to the victims was low, but his pattern of sodomizing the victims suggests muted sadism. Additional possible evidence for muted sadism is his apparent need to frighten the children through abduction and the use of weapons.

Social Competence: low
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: present, muted
**Arrest, Conviction, and Commitment Chronology**

*Note:* Hayes admits to molesting and sexually abusing at least 30 children throughout his lifetime.

1. Arrested and charged with *Immorality.*
   First conviction. At age 11 Hayes sexually assaulted two girls aged 8 and 12. He was arrested and sent to a juvenile home to remain until his twelfth birthday. He ran away from the home, sexually assaulted a 6-year-old girl, and was sentenced to 14 months at another juvenile facility.

2. Arrested and charged with *Taking Away a Child with Intent to Detain from Parent.*
   Second conviction. While AWOL from the Army, Hayes kidnapped a 7-year-old boy. Hayes detained and sexually molested the boy for two days. He pled guilty as charged and was sentenced to life in prison. He was paroled 10 years later.

3. Arrested and charged with *Inducing Child into Conveyance with Intent to Commit Sex Offense, Sodomy, and Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor.*
   Hayes kidnapped, raped, and molested a 10-year-old girl. Hayes was found guilty of this charge. Although Hayes’s conviction was reversed on two separate appeals, he was returned to prison on a parole violation of his life sentence. Hayes has twice been denied parole.

**Patterns of Crime**

Driven by his sexual fantasies of raping children, Douglas Hayes sexually molested approximately 30 children throughout his lifetime. His victims were both male and female, but he preferred little boys. Although the availability of his victims was a primary factor in his selection, many of them had similar physical characteristics. Hayes preferred slender boys with blonde hair and bangs. Hayes reasoned that his selections were victims of circumstance—the children were in the wrong place at the wrong time. Hayes felt his assaults on children were due to an “uncontrollable urge” to gain control resulting from his abusive background and upbringing. Immediately after his assaults Hayes experienced temporary guilt, depression, and fear of getting caught.

Hayes acknowledged that in the last six months of his assaults he was becoming more violent and haphazard in his routine—using weapons, forcibly picking up children repeatedly in the same areas, and using his own automobile in the abduction—thereby increasing the chance of being apprehended. Hayes perceived these actions as a subconscious desire to be caught in order to “get some relief.”

**Investigative Teaching Points**

From an investigative point of view, the following are the major training points of this case.

1. Many of the offender’s sexual assaults took place in the 1940s and 1950s. Thus it should be evident that serial child molestation and abduction is not a new phenomena.
2. For at least four years he was *both* a child victim and child molester.
3. The offender recognized even at the age of 11 the importance of targeting strangers when committing forcible sexual assault or abduction.
4. His first known forcible sexual assault of a child was committed when he was 11 and the child victim was 12.
5. Although he had a sexual preference for boys, the offender molested several girl victims and also had sex with both male and female adults when he was an adult.
6. Men who have sex with boys should be considered child molesters not homosexuals.
7. As with most sexually motivated child abductors, the offender released his victims alive and returned most to the vicinity of their homes.
8. When interviewed or evaluated over the years, the offender has furnished conflicting and even contradictory information about his background and victimization.
9. The offender relocated from one community to another when his urges to have sex with children got strong.
10. The offender claims that the reason he did not confess and plead guilty when last arrested was because the police treated him like “scum.”
11. The offender became more violent and dangerous as his crimes progressed.
The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.

A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult which included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.

A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).

A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in a job or recreational setting. In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.

An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing physical injury to the victim). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadistic when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.
Case in Point

Training Points on the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program

FOR:  • parents and guardians  • schools: teachers, counselors,\n     \n• law enforcement  • the court system: attorneys, prosecutors,\n• health care: child psychologists,\n     juvenile court judges, guardians ad litem\n• corrections and probation officers

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has joined in cooperation with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, to examine and study the case histories of serial child molesters and abductors and disseminate the results to criminal justice professionals. The focus of the research will be on serial child molesters with large numbers of victims, but especially on sexually motivated child abductions. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the cases of serial child abduction. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the child abductors whose identities are most likely to be unknown at the time of the offense. More importantly, however, there is little current research about such offenders from a law-enforcement perspective.

Following is a case history from one of the conducted research interviews in the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program. Although there are lessons to be learned from this case, it is only one case, and generalizations to all cases of sexually motivated child abduction should not be made. The results of this research will be primarily disseminated based on the analysis of all or groups of the cases and not just one case. Individual case histories, however, can have some instructional value. [NOTE: All names and locations have been changed.]

CASE HISTORY 4

Joseph Evan Stevens’s criminal history began when he was 11 years old with minor theft offenses, and, by the age of 16, he was stealing cars. At the age of 23, while in the U.S. Navy, he committed his first rape. Friends gave Stevens the name of a woman “who would have sex with him.” He met the woman at a bar, and she gave him her address. When Stevens arrived uninvited at her house, she refused his advances. Humiliated by her refusal, Stevens said, “She was an obvious prostitute, so I raped her.” Stevens did not use force or threaten the woman. The woman’s daughter had entered the room when they were arguing and Stevens picked the child up. Fearing he would hurt her daughter, the woman consented to do whatever he wanted. Stevens contends that he had no intention of hurting the child, but sensing her fear, took advantage of the situation. For several hours Stevens directed the woman to perform sexual acts with him.

The day after the assault the woman called the Naval base and accused Stevens of rape. Other service members verified that she willingly gave Stevens her address, so no charges were filed against Stevens. Later that year he was charged with theft of government property and served six months in a military prison. Following his incarceration Stevens received a discharge under less than honorable conditions.

Stevens became involved in flashing and making obscene phone calls. He was arrested for indecent exposure at one time, but the charge was subsequently dropped. Stevens’s obscene phone calls consisted of explaining a rape scenario to women. He would call women and tell them he was selling “rape insurance.” He would then graphically describe a rape in which a burglar came in through a window, tied a woman up, beat and raped her. Stevens would see how far he could carry the conversation before the woman hung up. He would then masturbate after the conversation ended.

Stevens admits to committing another rape after picking a woman up at a bar. Following an argument with the woman’s husband, Stevens broke into the couple’s residence. His intent was to rob them, but upon entering the residence, he found the couple’s 16-year-old daughter home alone. Stevens raped the girl by using threats. Fearful of being caught, Stevens left the state after the attack. He was never charged with this assault.

Stevens had always been able to find work and support himself. Yet he was somewhat of a drifter and never held a job for very long. At one point Stevens married the daughter of a college professor, and they remained together for nearly three years. When the marriage ended Stevens claims the divorce, “Didn’t affect me because I loved her. It affected me because I wasn’t man enough to hold on to my own property.”

After breaking up with his wife Stevens continued exposing himself to young women. He committed the next assault a few months after the divorce. Stevens was walking his dog in a park near his apartment. He saw two 10-year-old girls riding their bicycles and exposed himself to them. They tried to ride away, but he would not let them. He pushed one girl off her bicycle and caught up with the other and restrained her. He told the girl that his dog was an attack dog and would hurt her if she did not do what he said. He
Stevens dropped the girl back near her residence after the assault. He was identified by a witness, arrested within two hours of the assault, charged with aggravated kidnapping and sexual intercourse without consent, and confessed to the crimes.

When asked what drove him to commit these assaults he responded that it was a combination of the hate he experienced in his childhood and his alcohol and drug problems. Stevens was adopted at 9 months of age. His natural mother was unmarried and unable to keep him. His natural father is a cousin to his adoptive father. Initially another family member had planned to adopt Stevens, but a bitter family dispute resulted in a spiteful fight over his adoption.

Stevens’s childhood was filled with anger, instability, and neglect. His adoptive father was an alcoholic who worked away from home during the week. When he returned home every weekend he would drink continually. Stevens described his father as passive and unhappily and his mother as “a 300-pound bitch” who got pleasure from beating her children. Although all of his siblings—three older brothers, two older sisters, and a younger brother—were beaten by his mother, Stevens perceived that he was a special target for this physical abuse. Stevens recalls that his mother would call him the “bastard” of the family and tell him that he had “tainted blood.” His mother beat the children with her hands, kicked them, and whipped them with a belt. Sometimes she would throw things at them. Stevens recalls times when she would throw cans of food at him and remembers once when she threw a knife that grazed the wall directly above his head.

Stevens’s childhood was marked by constant physical and emotional abuse. He maintains that sex was never discussed in the family, and his parents showed little affection for one another. When Stevens was 5 or 6 years old he was caught by his mother playing “show and tell” with his younger cousin under a bed. His mother verbally reprimanded him telling him that what they were doing was “dirty” and “nasty.” She then beat him in front of his cousin, compounding his embarrassment. Stevens recalls that he could not understand why he was being punished, as he thought they were playing quietly and not bothering anyone.

Throughout his elementary school years Stevens was a good student who exhibited signs of an above-average intelligence. His performance at school, however, became progressively worse. While in high school he frequently had disciplinary and truancy problems. Stevens began drinking during that time period and was part of a group of teenagers involved in minor criminal activity.

After graduating from high school Stevens enlisted in the U.S. Navy. While in the military he took electronics classes and learned a number of manual skills. Until joining the Navy Stevens had little exposure to sex, apart from infrequent consensual, heterosexual experimentation. In the Navy, however, he had access to prostitutes and frequently employed their services.

Stevens states he became disillusioned with the Navy when he realized that “it is an organization whose aim is to kill people.” Stevens claims he deliberately became involved with criminal activities and pranks in an effort to get himself thrown out of the Navy and began drinking as much as a fifth of whiskey a day and abused drugs including amphetamines, marijuana, and LSD.

Stevens rarely, if ever, felt guilt after committing the attacks. He never expressed remorse for the victim, only for himself. He stated that he had no particular interest in young girls or children, but that they were vulnerable to his attacks. Stevens tried to make his assaults as random as possible so that law-enforcement officials would not know his method of operation.
CASE HISTORY 4: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS
The following significant life events and behaviors of Joseph Evan Stevens were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

Personal History
• adopted at 9 months of age by his natural father’s cousin
• alcoholic father who worked away from home during week and drank continually when home with the family on weekends
• suffered emotional and physical abuse at hands of mother
• childhood filled with anger, instability, and neglect
• enlisted in U.S. Navy after graduation from high school
• received an honorable discharge from first military tour of duty
• received a discharge under less than honorable conditions from second military tour of duty
• three-year marriage ended in divorce
• moved frequently in adult life living in at least seven different states

School Records
• good to excellent grammar school performance
• fair junior and senior high school performance
• frequently had disciplinary and truancy problems in high school
• received high school diploma
• received training in electrical related subjects

Chronic Behaviors
• speech impediment (stuttered in childhood)
• chronic runaway
• lying
• stealing/shoplifting
• abuse of alcohol
• abuse of nonprescription drugs

Sexual Behaviors
• first had sexual intercourse at age 16 with female school mate
• often had sexual intercourse with prostitutes while serving in the military
• exposed his penis and made obscene phone calls to adult women and girls
• attracted to females ranging from age 7 to his own age

Personal Characteristics
• worked many jobs mostly within the construction trade including electrical, plumbing, and welding work

Medical/Physical/Psychological Records
• above-average intelligence
• in good health with minor back problems
• medium, average build

Crime Classification
The case of Joseph Evan Stevens illustrates the classification complexity of a mixed-age offender. Stevens’s victims were both girls and adult females. As such he is not classifiable in the strict sense, either as a child molester or an adult offender. Stevens’s last known offense was the violent sexual assault of a 7-year-old girl. This offense, taken alone, would suggest the profile of a low non-offense contact, high physical injury child molester. Although the offense appears to have elements of sadism, it also appears to have been impulsive, which is not consistent with a profile of sadism. We clearly could, however, have inferred his anger from the sexual offense he committed on this child and by examining that offense can determine the likelihood of a sadistic motive. The apparent presence of sadism in this offense is, again, somewhat misleading in that none of Stevens’s prior offenses appear to have sadistic elements.

Stevens’s preceding sexual offense also appeared to be an impulsive, predatory assault on children, in this case assaulting two 10-year-old girls. In this offense, however, Stevens was impotent and left without causing physical harm to the victims. Instead of taking out his frustration on the victims, he beat up two “buddies.” This offense, taken alone, would suggest a different profile, that of a low non-offense contact, low physical injury, exploitative child molester. Prior to this offense Stevens raped a 16-year-old girl. The assault was not violent and clearly opportunistic. This offense, taken alone, would have suggested the profile of an exploitative rapist with high impulsivity and a track record of nonsexual offenses. Stevens’s first known sexual offense was the rape of an adult woman when he was in the service. Again, based on this offense, the profile of a rapist—and not a child molester—would have been indicated.

In addition to the complexity of mixed victim ages, we see ample evidence to suggest two different motives. Stevens has a high degree of sexual preoccupation, sexual deviance as expressed through several behaviors including exhibitionism and obscene phone calls, and concerns about sexual inadequacy. We also see evidence of Stevens hating women. He referred to his mother as a “300-pound bitch” who used to beat and whip him and on one occasion threw a knife at him. At least two of his offenses came after an experience in which he felt spurned or rejected by women. What is clearly apparent is that Stevens is extremely angry, and his anger is primarily focused on female victims.

Social Competence: high
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: low
Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
Physical Injury to Victim: high
Sadism: present
Arrest, Conviction, and Commitment Chronology for Sexual Offenses

*Note:* Stevens admits to committing numerous obscene phone calls, acts of indecent exposure, and sexual assault of females for which he was never arrested.

1. Arrested and charged with *Indecent Exposure* (three counts). Although Stevens cannot explain his desire to expose himself, he claimed, “It was like waving a flag around, just to say I was a man or something.” All three counts were dismissed.

2. Arrested and charged with *Assault With Intent to Rape*, *Assault on an Officer With a Dangerous Weapon*, and *Indecent Exposure.* First conviction. All of the above listed charges were dismissed, but Stevens was convicted of *Aggravated Assault of a High Nature.* He was committed to the state penitentiary for one to five years.

3. Arrested and charged with *Unlawful Sexual Contact*, *Public Indecency*, and *Assault.* Second conviction. Stevens pleaded guilty to the charges after he accosted two 10-year-old girls and forced one of the girls to perform sex acts on him. Stevens was committed to the state penitentiary where he served two years for these crimes.

4. Arrested and charged with *Sexual Intercourse Without Consent* and *Aggravated Kidnapping.* Third conviction. Stevens pleaded guilty to both charges and was sentenced to 15 and 60 years respectively for these crimes. The sentences are being served concurrently in the state penitentiary. Characterized as the most “vicious” of Stevens’s crimes, this conviction was based on his abduction and violent rape of a 7-year-old girl.

Patterns of Crime

Joseph Evan Stevens is a dangerous predatory sexual offender who is known to have sexually assaulted both adult females and girls as young as 7 years old. Stevens’s sexual crimes ranged from indecent exposure and obscene phone calls to rape and abduction. Stevens would take advantage of circumstances that were conducive to finding or abducting and sexually assaulting females.

Stevens physically bound a victim while forcing her to perform sex acts and use vulgar terms to describe body parts. Stevens states that he was prepared to overcome any resistance from his victims by any means, short of murder.

Investigative Teaching Points

From an investigative point of view, the following are the major training points of this case.

1. The offender’s sexual behavior was also in the service of non-sexual needs such as power and anger.
2. The offender is a morally and sexually indiscriminate child molester without a real *sexual* preference for children.
3. Even after progressing to rape the offender *continued* to expose himself and make obscene phone calls.
4. During a time frame when the offender could have been arrested for “nuisance” sex offenses against, or the rape of, adult women, he was also sexually assaulting female children.
5. The offender acted out his more bizarre sexual fantasies with young, less threatening, highly vulnerable female children.
The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.
   A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
   B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult which included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
   C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
   D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
   E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.
   A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
   B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
   C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).
   A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in a job or recreational setting. In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.
   An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing physical injury to the victim). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadistic when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.

NOTES
Following is a case history from one of the conducted research interviews in the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program. Although there are lessons to be learned from this case, it is only one case, and generalizations to all cases of sexually motivated child abduction should not be made. The results of this research will be primarily disseminated based on the analysis of all or groups of the cases and not just one case. Individual case histories, however, can have some instructional value. [NOTE: All names and locations have been changed.]

CASE HISTORY 5

Arthur Andrew Prestwick left his groundskeeping job at the country club early that day. He had been putting in long hours at work, was tired, felt stressed, and was looking forward to going home and getting high on marijuana. He took a friend home and then decided to drive around for a while. He had been doing a lot of that lately. He had no particular destination in mind, but found himself on a residential street where he saw several young girls playing. He asked them if he could see their underwear. When the girls told Prestwick "no," he drove on. He then found himself on another street where there were several more little girls playing. One little girl, however, was standing apart from the others playing by herself. The 3-year-old girl had long blond hair and was wearing a T-shirt and maroon slacks.

He drove up to her, with the window on the passenger side of his car rolled down, and asked if he could see her underwear. She initially did not understand what he said, so Prestwick continued to talk to her until she sat down and took off her slacks. After she did this he opened the car door and told her to get in. Once she was in the car, he drove off, aimlessly at first, and then proceeded to a deserted park in a secluded, mountainous area. Upon arriving at the park he carried the little girl to a public outhouse, helped her remove her T-shirt, fondled her, and forced her to fondle his penis.

Upon hearing traffic nearby Prestwick tried to flee leaving the little girl in the bush. He claims, however, that each time he went to walk away the little girl tried to follow him. Fearing he would be caught with the girl, Prestwick forcibly dropped the child into an eight foot pit in the outhouse and drove away.

Prestwick claims to have left the scene, stopped for gas, and called 911 to advise them of the girl’s whereabouts; however, there is no record of this call. Prestwick then proceeded to drive home where he showered and later went shopping. He then picked up his fiancée, went out to dinner, and went dancing.

The little girl was found three days later by tourists who were using the facilities at the park. She was admitted to the hospital’s intensive care unit suffering from cuts, abrasions, and dehydration, as well as circulation and skin damage to her feet as a result of standing in urine and feces for three days. She survived the incident and, as a result of a loving family and extensive therapy, she has largely recovered.

Prestwick was arrested and charged with Criminal Attempt to Commit Murder After Deliberation and Sexual Assault of a Child. Prestwick was convicted of these crimes and sentenced to 10- and 4-year prison terms to be served concurrently.

This was Prestwick’s first conviction for a sex crime although, on prior occasions, he had been arrested on various sexual charges. Prestwick committed his first known sexual assault when he was 13 years old. He was walking his dog one September day when he spotted two young boys. He told the brothers, aged 4 and 5, that he wanted to show them his fort. He took them into some bushes, knocked them down, fondled their genitals, and performed fellatio on them. After the attack one boy complained of pain in his mouth, the other of pain in his genitals. The boys’ mother, unaware of what had occurred, took her sons to the doctor. The doctor told the mother that one child’s penis was swollen to almost four times its normal size, and both boys were placed on antibiotics for a resulting infection. Prestwick was the prime suspect in this case, but was not charged.
Five days later Prestwick was again detained by the police, this time on a charge of sexually assaulting a 3-year-old boy. Prestwick was charged with Deviate Sexual Intercourse by Imposition and released to the custody of his mother. The arresting officer recommended an informal filing of charges provided Prestwick voluntarily submit to psychological counseling. Prestwick did this, but attended only a few of the scheduled sessions.

From 1976 until 1980 Prestwick was arrested several times for burglary, theft, and a curfew violation. He never served time for any of these arrests. In March 1980 police were called to investigate a suspicious party attended by Prestwick. When officers entered the barn where the party was held, they found pictures of nude women and underwear tacked to the walls. The underwear belonged to both women and little girls. Many appeared to have been worn, and some were new—with the sales tags still attached. They also found a suitcase that contained 60 to 70 pair of women’s underwear and a stash of adult pornographic magazines. This investigation resulted in Prestwick’s arrest for criminal trespassing, but the charges were subsequently dropped.

Prestwick was born in June 1962 in Idaho. At about the age of 4 or 5 it is reported that he was sexually assaulted by an older brother. During the assault his brother reportedly urinated in the child’s mouth. The assault is reported in one psychiatric evaluation, but Prestwick now denies it. At about the age of 8 Prestwick admits to looking at pornographic magazines and masturbating. This investigation resulted in Prestwick’s arrest for criminal trespassing, but the charges were subsequently dropped.

Prestwick was the youngest of five children and often picked on by his siblings. He tended to be a loner and enjoyed music while his brothers enjoyed sports. Prestwick considers his being teased by his older siblings to be slightly worse than normal.

Prestwick’s parents divorced when he was 10 years old, and he continued to live with his mother, who never remarried, almost until the time of his incarceration in 1984. He felt he had a close relationship with both of his parents. He said his mother was a lenient person and allowed him to do things other parents would never let their children do such as borrow the family car at the age of 15 before he had his driver’s license. Prestwick disliked the fact that his mother was a messy housekeeper and never seemed to sit still because of medication she took for narcolepsy. Her “pack rat” tendencies and “constant motion” were sources of consternation for Prestwick.

To date Prestwick’s father has been married five times. His father had been married twice before marrying his mother. After divorcing Prestwick’s mother his father dated and married much younger women. While growing up Prestwick remembers his father smoking marijuana, although at the time he was not aware that the “cigarette” was an illegal drug. When Prestwick got older, he and his father would smoke marijuana together.

Prestwick attended public schools for the majority of his education, but never considered himself part of the “norm.” He felt that he was always in the “freaks” group and claims his teenage years were “not easy.” His peers teased him often, and he did not apply himself to his studies. He tended to be opinionated and would voice his opinions whether or not anyone wanted to hear them. During his school years Prestwick claims to have enjoyed listening to music, taking it easy, and looking at soft-porn magazines. His first consenting sexual act was at the age of 16 with a girlfriend of the same age. He recalls that it was at about this age that he began experiencing fantasies about lady’s underpants and began stealing them. It was also at this age that Prestwick began peeping into motel windows to see women in their underwear.

Prestwick attended a high school military academy for about one and one-half years and seemed to thrive in the disciplined atmosphere. He earned good grades in the military academy; however, he could not continue his education there because of the cost. He always felt short-changed, because he was unable to complete his education at the military institution. Before attending military school he occasionally used drugs, mostly marijuana and sometimes cocaine. While at the academy his drug use abated, but it began again when he returned to public school. While in the public school system his grades and attendance were poor, at best, and he quit school at the beginning of his senior year.

After he left high school Prestwick went into the U.S. Air Force. He had enjoyed the military academy, but was not enamored with military life. He felt that the military did not care about the fact that he did an excellent job carrying out his assigned duties and they worried too much about trivial matters. Prestwick was counseled on several occasions by a psychiatrist because of his unkempt appearance and lack of punctuality. He also ran into problems when he failed to properly handle his financial responsibilities.

Prestwick was engaged while he was in the military. He met his fiancée in England. She worked as a nanny there, and when Prestwick proposed she decided to go to the United States to marry him. When Prestwick’s fiancée lived with him and his mother, problems arose. There was tension between the two women. Prestwick stated that while his fiancée would cook an occasional meal, he did most of the cooking, and the house was always a mess. To escape the tension in the house, Prestwick and his fiancée would often go out. They spent whatever money they made trying to stay away from the house and, consequently, never seemed to be able to save enough money to move out. Prestwick loved both his mother and fiancée and felt torn between the two women.

Prestwick felt that the tension at home and work contributed to his involvement with the little girl. He felt that he was being pressured into a marriage that he was not ready for. He had a desire to control people and describes himself at that time as being “highly sexed.” He believes that he has now gained control over his sexual urges and says that it nauseates him to think of what he did to the little girl.
CASE HISTORY 5: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Arthur Andrew Prestwick were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

Personal History
- at age 10 parents divorced
- lived with mother, and, at one point, fiancée also lived in same household
- mother was on medication for narcolepsy
- father smoked marijuana and used other drugs
- fought with brothers
- did not have close relationship with any siblings
- mother was lenient
- felt pressured into marrying his English fiancée who came to the United States to be with him
- home environment characterized as messy, mother said to be a “pack rat”
- father remarried twice after divorcing mother, went out with and married much younger women
- mother never remarried

School Records
- attended school until beginning of senior year
- obtained GED
- grades were poor when attended public schools
- grades were good when attended military school
- had truancy problem while in public school system

Sexual Behaviors
- possible victim of sexual assault by older brother at age 4 or 5
- observed older brother and friends masturbating
- began looking at adult pornographic magazines and masturbating at the age of 8
- at age 13 forcibly performed oral sex on three boys, all younger than 6
- fetishism (initially women’s undergarments, then looking at girls and women in their undergarments)
- voyeurism
- made harassing, obscene phone calls to randomly selected women
- first consenting sexual experience at age 16 with female of same age
- met girls through a telephone teen party line
- his fiancée refused to wear the sexy lingerie he bought for her

Personal Characteristics
- used drugs occasionally
- “does not know” why he committed crime
- states that “the idea of having sex with kids is revolting”
- resented having to attend public school
- teased by peers
- felt torn between mother and fiancée
- hated the fact that mother’s house was always messy
- low self-esteem
- married his wife after his incarceration, now filing for divorce
- had friends, but tended to be a loner

Medical/Physical/Psychological Records
- normal intelligence level
- some disturbance of thought and feeling
- not a follower, not a leader
- some tendencies towards suicide

Crime Classification
Prestwick has a long history of sexual abuse of children and, thus, was classified as “high” in sexual preoccupation. His crimes appeared to be predatory and opportunistic. In addition his contact with children seems to have been limited to sexual encounters. For this reason his non-offense contact with children was classified as “low.” The question of the degree of physical injury to his victims is the most problematic aspect of Prestwick’s classification. In the governing offense the girl could have sustained far more serious physical injuries than she apparently did. Indeed, she could have died from exposure. His treatment of the girl would appear to have been the result of his ineptness and, possibly, panic at the thought of being apprehended rather than sexualized or nonsexual aggression. For lack of any further evidence of his intent to inflict serious physical injury on his victims, he has been classified as “low” in this category. This is a case, however, in which additional information might reveal an underlying fantasy life that is considerably more violent than Prestwick’s manifest behavior suggests.

Social Competence: low
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: absent
Arrest, Conviction, and Commitment Chronology for Sexual Offenses

Note: Prestwick admits to molesting and sexually assaulting four children since the age of 12.

1. Arrested and charged with **Deviate Sexual Intercourse by Imposition**.
   This arrest came when Prestwick was 13 years old following his third sexual assault on three different children in a one week period of time. Because of Prestwick’s age the recording officer suggested that the matter be pursued from the standpoint of psychotherapy. Prestwick was released to the custody of his mother. The recording officer also suggested that the case be informally filed provided that Prestwick voluntarily submit to psychological counseling. Prestwick agreed, but attended only a few sessions.

2. Arrested and charged with **Criminal Trespassing**.
   The charge was not prosecuted. This was an offense in which officers found 60 to 70 pair of women’s underwear in a suitcase in a barn near Prestwick’s home. In addition several pair of women’s underwear and photographs of nude women were tacked to the walls and ceiling of the barn.

3. Arrested and charged with **Criminal Attempt to Commit Murder After Deliberation** and **Sexual Assault of a Child**.
   This is the first offense for which Prestwick was convicted and served time. He received 10- and 4-year sentences respectively for these convictions. He was released from prison in December 1990 after serving these sentences. His release from prison after serving only six years for such a heinous crime made the case the focus of community backlash against the legal system.

Patterns of Crime

Arthur Andrew Prestwick is known to have sexually assaulted four children younger than 6. In his teenage years the assaults were on young boys. Prestwick later developed a fetish for women’s underwear. He then had a compulsive need to drive around residential neighborhoods asking young girls to show him their underwear. Prestwick was reportedly sexually assaulted at the age of 4 or 5 by an older brother, but now denies this. Prestwick indicates a desire to have control over people and believes this to be somewhat of a motivating factor in the charge of **Criminal Attempt to Commit Murder After Deliberation** and **Sexual Assault of a Child**.

Prestwick describes himself as being “highly sexed,” but denies any particular fantasies specifically regarding children. He states, “The idea of having sex with kids is revolting.” In regards to his present offense, he states he could not control the sexual urge he was experiencing at that time. During the diagnostic interview conducted at the beginning of his incarceration, it appeared to Prestwick’s admission examiner that Prestwick experienced significant difficulties regarding sexual adjustment, particularly concerning the control of sexual urges. The examiner recommended that Prestwick become involved in an intensive sex offenders’ treatment program.

Investigative Teaching Points

From an investigative point of view, the following are the major training points of this case.

1. Because the offender’s child victims were very young, it increased the probability that he will molest both male and female children.
2. The offender’s pattern of sex offenses does not involve a steady progression from less serious to more serious offenses, but instead zigzags back and forth.
3. The offender engaged in serious sexual assaults (Sexual Molestation of three young boys), then “nuisance” sex offenses (Obscene Phone Calls, Fetish Burglary, Peeping), then serious sexual assault (Sexual Assault and Attempted Murder of a Young Girl).
4. Because he is a situational child molester, the offender viewed and was aroused by adult pornography, but engaged in sexual acts with children.
5. The offender’s sexual activity with children involved activity that he was embarrassed or ashamed to do with an adult sexual partner.
6. Alert civilians being vigilant for suspicious individuals in their neighborhood can help police find missing children and solve cases.
7. The offender’s explanation of how his 3-year-old victim wound up in the outhouse is a classic example of sex offender rationalization. Allowing offenders to do this is often the only way to get them to confess.
The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.
   A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
   B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult which included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
   C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
   D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
   E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.
   A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
   B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
   C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).
   A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in a job or recreational setting.
   In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.
   An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing physical injury to the victim). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of sadistic arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadistic when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.
Case in Point
Training Points on the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program

FOR: • law enforcement • the court system: attorneys, prosecutors, juvenile court judges, guardians ad litem • schools: teachers, counselors, truant officers • health care: child psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, nurses • corrections and probation officers

NOTE: This edition of Case in Point is based on the research findings of the Massachusetts Treatment Center in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and focuses on data from interviews of incarcerated murderers conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Unlike some of the editions in this series that focused on investigative aspects of serial child molesters and abductors, this piece includes special insights for health care and child protection professionals.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has joined in cooperation with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, to examine and study the case histories of serial child molesters and abductors and disseminate the results to criminal justice professionals. The focus of this edition is on serial child molesters who abduct and murder their victims. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the child abductors whose identities are most likely to be unknown at the time of the offense.

To date the U.S. Department of Justice’s Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention’s National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children in America (NISMART) has provided the only scientific estimates of the incidence of nonfamily abduction of children. There were an estimated 3,200-4,600 nonfamily abductions in the United States in 1988 in which a child [younger than] the age of 18 was taken, lured, or detained against [his or her] will by someone who is not a member of the child’s family. Among those cases recorded in a sample of police sexual assault files, most (89 percent) were girls and most of the victims were minorities; 41 percent were Black, 29 percent were Hispanic, and 24 percent were [Caucasian]. Twenty-three (23) percent were 16 to 17 years of age; 12 percent were 14 to 15 years of age; 10 percent were 12 to 13 years of age; 14 percent were ages 9 and [younger]; and in 41 percent of the cases the age of the victim was not specified. Virtually all (99 percent) of the perpetrators were male; 18 percent of the perpetrators were aged 16 to 20; 14 percent were aged 21 to 30; and the age of the perpetrators was unknown in 61 percent of the cases. Half of the perpetrators were classified as strangers and 41 percent were acquaintances of the victim. While distance and duration were generally not well reported, it was found that in 43 percent of the cases the victim was moved from the street. Regarding location, 23 percent were taken to a vehicle; 21 percent were taken to a building; and 38 percent were taken to some other location. Force was used in at least 85 percent of the instances, and a weapon was used against the victims in 86 percent of the cases.¹

For purposes of this research a child will be defined as anyone not yet 18 at the time of the molestation or abduction. Although the sexually motivated abduction of one such child would qualify an offender for this study, the focus will be on offenders who demonstrated a pattern of preferring child victims and not selecting them as vulnerable substitutes for adult victims.

The goal of the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program is to gain insights into the backgrounds, behavior, and techniques of such offenders in order to either prevent their crimes or identify and stop them more quickly.

Serial child abductors and molesters pose one of the most dangerous threats to the safety of our children. Although the number of such offenders is unknown, each of these criminals typically has a very large number of victims and long history of criminal behavior.
CHILD MOLESTERS WHO MURDER THEIR VICTIMS

The focus of this Case in Point is on child molesters who abduct and murder their victims. The four cases highlighted here were taken from a group of child molesters currently incarcerated in various state penitentiaries who were interviewed by FBI agents between 1985 and 1989. The intention of this Case in Point is to shed light on offender characteristics and patterns observed in four cases involving child homicide. Although there is little scientific information about child killers, specific characteristics of the child molester may provide a basis for some insights about this type of offender.

CASE HISTORY A

Donald was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. He has been on death row for approximately four years. He is 30 years old and comes from a middle-class family. He has three older sisters, and his parents are retired. No other family member has a criminal or psychiatric history. There is no evidence that any family member abused alcohol or drugs. Donald himself claims he did not drink or take drugs. There is no evidence of physical or sexual abuse in the family.

Donald attended special classes in school and quit in the ninth grade. He remembers not getting along with his peers or teachers. As far back as Donald can recall he was sexually interested in boys. His first sexual activity with boys occurred when he was 11 years old. When he was 12 he began using pornography that depicted younger boys. His use of pornography increased as he grew older. At first his sexual contacts with boys were of an experimental nature, but they soon became a way of life for him.

He initially had sex with boys of his own age, but, as he grew older, he remained attracted to young boys ranging in age from 9 to 14. His first arrest was at age 13 when he lured a 10-year-old boy to a secluded area and made the boy fellate him. Although he was not incarcerated, the court stipulated that he attend therapy. He went to counseling for two years, but reported that it had no impact on his sexual behavior. When asked what caused his attraction to boys, he could not offer an explanation. He said he is attracted to males in the same way others are attracted to females.

Donald lived with his parents and worked at various unskilled jobs. He would sometimes invite young boys over to his house, and they would engage in sexual activities. On several occasions his parents walked in while he was engaged in sex acts with the boys. They reprimanded him, but took no other action. From age 13 to 18 Donald was arrested for sex offenses five times; each time he was given suspended sentences. His typical offense would be to lure a young boy to a secluded area, fellate the boy, and have the boy fellate him. There was no evidence that Donald used physical force, and there were no physical injuries to the victims.

Sometime in late adolescence Donald’s offense pattern changed. He began to use Dramamine, a drug used to alleviate motion sickness, on his victims in order to sedate them. At age 19 he met a 9-year-old boy on the street and asked the boy if he would show him a good bike trail. Once they were in a wooded area, Donald forced the boy to drink a solution of water and Dramamine and then fellated the boy. When he told the boy to fellate him, the boy refused. Donald became so angry that he brutally beat the boy and left the scene. The boy was hospitalized with severe bruises and a concussion. Based on the victim’s description and Donald’s past criminal history, the police were able to apprehend him. Donald was convicted of Indecent Assault and Battery and Attempted Murder. He was placed in a psychiatric hospital, and two months later he escaped. He traveled south and was able to get enough odd jobs to buy food and a bicycle. He continued to victimize young boys, usually by luring them to a secluded area on a ploy or by befriending them.

One day he woke up and decided he was going to abduct a boy, have sex with him, and kill him. He rode around on his bicycle and passed by a bus stop. He saw a 9-year-old boy near the bus stop. He struck up a conversation with him and lured him away. He brought him to a wooded area. He tried to force the boy to drink a coke that he had mixed with Dramamine. The boy kept spitting it out, and that made Donald angry. He forced the boy to fellate him and then sodomized the boy. During the assault Donald hit the boy to get him to do what he wanted. After he sexually assaulted the boy, Donald took his belt, placed it around the boy’s neck, put his knee on the boy’s head, and strangled him to death. He then cut the boy’s face and anus with a knife. He took the boy’s clothes, covered the body with leaves and grass, and left the scene.

Two days later he met a 10-year-old boy, named Ken, who was doing his paper route. Donald started talking with the boy and convinced him to go with him to Virginia. They took a bus and arrived in Virginia the next day. They worked odd jobs to earn money for food. They spent the next eight days together and had sex with each other often. Donald developed a close relationship with Ken and wanted to stay with him. Donald considered Ken to be his social and sexual partner. One morning Donald told Ken that they were going to abduct a boy and kill him. They got up as usual, went to look for work, went to breakfast, then went looking for a victim. They passed a bus stop near the center of town and saw several young boys. They picked one out and began to talk with him. They convinced the boy, who was 11 years old, to accompany them to a secluded area a short distance from town. As before Donald had a mixture of Dramamine and coke to give the boy. When they arrived at the wooded area Donald gave the boy the Dramamine mixture, but the boy wouldn’t drink much of it. Donald forced the boy to fellate him, and then he sodomized the boy. The boy attempted to get away, but Donald caught him and began beating him. He took a belt, put it around the boy’s neck, and strangled him to death. He then put the body in an area with thick brush, put the boy’s clothes in a bag, and he and Ken left the area. He dumped the bag with the boy’s clothes in a nearby ravine.

Several days later a woman, who had seen a picture of Ken on a television program about missing children, saw Ken and Donald in a restaurant and called the police. They came and arrested Donald for Kidnapping. During the police interview with Ken they learned Donald had had sex with Ken and that Donald had killed a young boy a few days earlier. Ken
led the police and FBI agents to the scene of the murder where they found the body.

Donald later admitted that he had victimized more than 100 boys ranging in age from 9 to 13. Donald seldom used physical force when committing these crimes, but would, on occasion, use threats. When he was living at home with his parents he would persuade boys to go to his house where he would engage in sex with them. The police found a bag of pornographic pictures, many of which were snapshots of his victims. He would sometimes show his victims these pictures to lure or excite them.

Along with the pictures police found a list of names and telephone numbers of the boys Donald had assaulted. Donald said he liked young boys because he could “train” them about sex and because “their skin is smoother, younger, they have no hair and are cleaner.” Donald said he seldom assaulted the same victim twice and that all of his victims were strangers. He could not offer any explanation as to why he decided at some point in time to kill two of his victims. He only said that he killed them to make a point to society. In his mind adults should have the right to have sex with young boys as long as it is consensual. He felt society was wrong to have laws against sex with minors, and he felt that he had carried out some sort of revenge when he murdered the two boys. He seemed to be saying, in effect, “If I can’t do it legally, I’ll show you, I’ll kill them, see how you like that!”

Donald said he was always a loner and could never get along with people. He reported that he had no serious problems with his parents. Although he liked them both, he liked his mother more than his father. Donald claimed he was never cruel to animals, wet the bed, nor set fires. Since early pubescence he had severe acne. He claims to have had one heterosexual encounter with a female when he was about 18 and stated that he didn’t like it.

Donald was very successful in luring young boys away from the initial encounter location to a secluded area. It seems he never used physical force to abduct the victims. Although the evidence is not clear, it appears that his crimes became more violent over time to the point of murder. Although his real motives for murdering two young boys may never be known, it is likely that there would have been additional abduction murders had he not been apprehended.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal History</th>
<th>Chronic Behaviors</th>
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<tr>
<td>• raised in middle-class family</td>
<td>• none noted</td>
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<tr>
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<td>• severe acne throughout life</td>
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<tr>
<td>• lived with parents until age 19</td>
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<td>• a loner with no friends</td>
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<td>• poor social/life skills</td>
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<tr>
<th>School Records</th>
<th>Sexual Behaviors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• attended special classes</td>
<td>• attracted to young boys since age 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>• quit school in 9th grade</td>
<td>• sexual activity with boys began at age 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>• did not get along with peers or teachers</td>
<td>• started using pornography at age 12</td>
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<td>• first arrest for sex offense at age 13</td>
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<td>• arrested five times between age 13 and 18 for sex offenses</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>• violence in sexual assaults escalated over time</td>
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**CASE HISTORY A: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS**

**Personal History**
• raised in middle-class family
• no reported family problems
• severe acne throughout life
• never held a full-time job
• lived with parents until age 19
• a loner with no friends
• poor social/life skills

**School Records**
• attended special classes
• quit school in 9th grade
• did not get along with peers or teachers

**Chronic Behaviors**
• none noted

**Sexual Behaviors**
• attracted to young boys since age 11
• sexual activity with boys began at age 11
• started using pornography at age 12
• first arrest for sex offense at age 13
• arrested five times between age 13 and 18 for sex offenses
• believes sex with young boys should be permitted
• lured more than 100 young boys for sex over his lifetime
• sexually assaulted and murdered two boys ages 9 and 11
• took pornographic pictures of many of his victims
• violence in sexual assaults escalated over time

**CASE HISTORY B**
Richard is currently serving a life sentence for the murder of two young boys. He was born and raised in Ohio and came from a dysfunctional family characterized by an alcoholic father who physically and sexually abused Richard and one of his sisters. He has three older brothers, two younger brothers, and two younger sisters. His father was described by Richard as “crazy,” irresponsible, and mean. He would terrorize the family and be verbally and physically abusive, especially when he was drunk, which was often. Richard remembers being severely beaten for relatively minor incidents. He said that although the other children were hit by his father, none were beaten as badly as he was. Richard remembers his mother as a very big, overweight woman who was home most of the time. She was good to the children and a quiet woman who only drank socially. The family was frequently on welfare as his father did not work regularly.

Richard said the family was not close and that all the children moved out of the house as soon as they were able to do so. Two of Richard’s brothers burglarized homes and would take him along on some of their capers. On one occasion they were caught by the police. In court Richard’s mother told the judge that Richard was frequently beaten by his father and had been sexually assaulted by him since he was 4 years old. The judge took custody from the parents, placed Richard in a boarding school, and enrolled his two brothers in a training school.

Richard was 6 years old at the time he entered the boarding school. He remembers feeling abandoned by his family,
unloved, and scared. He would not let people get close to him or make friends. Soon after he arrived at the boarding school the house father started buying Richard gifts. On Richard’s birthday the house father brought him to his room where he had several birthday presents for Richard. He talked Richard into taking his clothes off, and the house father fondled and fellated him. During the next year Richard had sex with the house father as well as other children at the school. The house father was arrested for having sex with the children, and Richard was transferred to another boarding school where he stayed until he was 12 years old. He was then returned to his family.

Several months after he returned home his mother reported his father to the authorities for molesting one of his sisters. His father eventually was forced to leave the house. Richard was almost 14 at that time. He was going to school and working part-time to help his mother with expenses. His uncle moved in with the family after his father left. Richard said he was good to the kids, but he too was an alcoholic. Richard quit school in the seventh grade and went to work full-time delivering groceries. He began to drink heavily for a time, but stopped after about a year. At age 14 Richard had his first heterosexual experience with a 16-year-old neighborhood girl. She became pregnant and wanted to get married, but he did not marry her. Richard stated that when he was 15 years old he began letting other boys and young men fellate him in return for money.

Richard changed jobs a couple of times before enlisting in the U.S. Army at age 17. While on leave, at the age of 18, he met a girl in a barroom. He struck up a conversation and told her he wanted to have sex. She refused, and he hit her. He then hung the boy with a rope. This triggered thoughts about having sex with a young boy and killing him. This fantasy excited him, and he began to plan an assault. He had had many sexual experiences with young boys who were 8, 9, and 10 years old and never thought anything of it. In fact it seemed normal to him. It was the thought of raping a boy, however, that fascinated him. A few days later he and Diane had an argument. The following day Richard went to a trailer park that he and Diane had been to earlier.
that week looking for a trailer to buy. He approached a 10-year-old boy and talked him into getting into his car under the pretext of meeting his wife to look for a trailer. Richard drove the boy to a wooded area, kissed him, fondled him, forced him to commit fellatio, sodomized him, and then strangled him to death with the child’s T-shirt.

Although Richard did not admit to the abduction, sexual abuse, and murder of the child, the following summary is based on his thoughts on “how I would have done it.”

Richard was very keyed up, or ‘high’ when he thought about taking sex from a boy, knowing the boy couldn’t get away. He stated, ‘There is fear, but it is commingled with excitement.’ He was excited by the fact the boy wore white socks. He had developed a fetish for white socks on boys. He wanted to love the boy more than anything. Richard stated that the boy was not scared and did not resist him until Richard sodomized him. He reported that the sexual pleasure was much more satisfying than in consensual sex. Richard stated that killing the boy was part of the sex act. It made him feel strong and powerful. He said, ‘The feeling was incredible, ejaculation is probably three times longer than normal.’ He didn’t think about getting caught, because there were no witnesses, and the boy was dead. Therefore, there were no thoughts about consequences. Richard reported that, if he had done it, he probably would have spent about two hours with the boy. He also said there would have been no hostility involved in the assault, just the sexual desire to have sex with a boy who didn’t want it. This is what would make it enjoyable.

This assault took place approximately 200 yards from the house where Richard’s sister lived. The body was found there, by the police, buried in a shallow grave. The police did not locate the body, however, until Richard was arrested for a subsequent murder, and his next victim’s body was found in the same area.

Several weeks after the murder Richard and Diane purchased a trailer and moved in together. Richard stated that they were getting along well. Diane’s children visited them each weekend. Richard said he would play with the children and take them places, but never thought about touching them sexually. Three months after moving in together, Diane’s son, Josh, was reported missing, and the child’s body was found three days later.

Once again Richard denied that he had anything to do with the disappearance and murder, but following is a summary of what he said would have happened had he “done it.”

He had returned to the trailer park after he had been out hunting. He saw Josh and the thought entered his mind to take him and force him to have sex. Richard had to run an errand, and Josh wanted to go with him. Richard told him he didn’t want him to go as he knew that his ‘feelings’ were to harm Josh. Josh kept pleading with Richard to take him, and Richard finally did. He drove to the same area where he had killed the other boy several months earlier. Richard explained his feelings of love for Josh, but said he was compelled to have sex with him. Richard took Josh into the woods and punched him in the head to knock him out. He then sodomized Josh while he stabbed him in the back and ejaculated. Richard then buried the body in a shallow grave, approximately [20] yards from the prior victim’s grave. He went back to the trailer, put his clothes in the washing machine, and Diane and he went to bingo. At the time Diane did not know that Josh was missing. When they returned from bingo the police were there and told them that Josh was missing. Josh’s father had come by and couldn’t find him, so he called the police. After learning that Richard had a criminal record and...was in violation of his parole by being in Ohio, they arrested him. After questioning neighbors and relatives, the police found out that Richard often hunted near his sister’s home. They searched the area and found both bodies. Through forensic analysis of footprints and hair fibers they were able to indict Richard for both murders. Richard stated that although he loved Josh, ‘the sex act, the sex urge, was so overwhelming that it had to be completed.’

Richard has a long history of sexual assaults—some charged and many uncharged/unreported. He has both male and female, child and adult victims. He was apparently bisexual, although he seemed to have a stronger attraction to young boys. He denies having fantasies. Based on the extent of his sexual activities, however, it is obvious that he had a very strong sexual drive; uncontrollable sexual urges; and a very violent, sadistic fantasy life. His consensual sex activities were apparently not enough to satisfy his desires. He admits that he was driven by an overwhelming urge to take sex from young boys, even though he said he could get consenting sex from young boys and adolescents virtually at will. His rapes of women can be seen as another example of his need to “take sex.” His statements about the excitement, power, and fear that he felt when he assaulted the two murder victims, coupled with the fusion of sex and violence, are the prototypical characteristics of a sadist.
CASE HISTORY B: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

Personal History
• raised in a dysfunctional family
• father was an alcoholic, irresponsible, mean
• was physically and sexually abused by father
• family often on welfare
• two brothers have criminal records
• sent to boarding school by judge at age 6
• sexually abused by house father at boarding school
• entered the U.S. Army at age 17 and was discharged at age 21
• went AWOL twice while in the service
• married at age 21
• has spent more than half his life in prison
• unstable work history

Chronic Behaviors
• alcohol abuse
• impulsive

Sexual Behaviors
• prostituted himself at age 15
• raped several women
• had “consenting” sex with young boys, adult men and females
• sexually promiscuous
• sadistic fantasies
• sexually assaulted and murdered two boys 6 and 10 years old

School Records
• placed in boarding school from age 6 to 12
• quit school in 7th grade

CASE HISTORY C

Peter is currently serving a life sentence for one count of Murder and one count of Attempted Murder. Peter is the oldest of three siblings with a younger sister and brother. He was born in New York to a middle-class couple. His parents were never separated or divorced. His family life was stable with no major problems.

Peter said he got along well with both his parents, but added that they did not communicate about anything. His father was a minister, and the family relocated frequently. This was disruptive to Peter and made it difficult for him to have friends. His mother had a college degree, but did not work outside of the home. She was the primary caretaker and disciplinarian. Peter’s father was involved in church activities and spent a great deal of time working with various charitable organizations. Although his father was a minister, Peter felt that his parents were not overly strict. Peter’s brother used drugs heavily and was committed to a psychiatric hospital when he was 20 years old. No other family members had a drug, alcohol, criminal, or psychiatric history. There were no reports of physical or sexual abuse in the family.

At age 12, while swimming in a lake, a man approached Peter and struck up a conversation. He talked Peter into putting women’s clothing on and fellated Peter. Peter was initially frightened, but enjoyed the experience. He continued to meet this man at the lake regularly for the next two months. Each time the man would have Peter wear women’s clothes, and he would fellate Peter. It was following these episodes that Peter began to steal women’s undergarments from clothes lines and cross-dress. This practice continued for several years. He was caught on many occasions for stealing undergarments, but no charges were lodged.

When Peter was about 15 years old he began to expose himself to girls and was arrested for Indecent Exposure several times. His first arrest was at age 18 when he exposed himself to two 17 year old girls and chased them. He received probation for this offense. A year later he was arrested for a similar offense and, again, was given probation. This time, however, he was ordered to go to counseling. Peter continued to expose himself to both young girls and adult women until his current arrest. He said that there were no particular types of victims he preferred, just anyone who would be in the area at the time. He would also walk the streets dressed in women’s clothes.

Peter said he would become sexually aroused when he cross-dressed.

Peter developed a fascination with guns at an early age and bought his first gun when he was 17. He hunted and would shoot skeet regularly. He stated that guns took the place of sex for him. He would carry either a knife or a gun often, although he claimed the murder he later committed was the first time he ever used a weapon to inflict injury.

Peter graduated from high school at age 18. He stated he had average marks and did not repeat any grades. There were no significant problems noted in his school records. Peter never married and had few heterosexual experiences. He said he dated a few girls in high school, but didn’t have sexual intercourse until he was 21 while in the service and stationed in Okinawa. That experience was with a prostitute.

Peter joined the U.S. Army when he was 21 and remained in the service for 10 years. While in the service he often drank heavily and experimented with LSD and marijuana. He was caught several times for exposing himself to women on the Army base. He was never court martialed, but did spend time at an Army psychiatric hospital. He was finally given a
general discharge due to his psychiatric problems and an ulcer. After his discharge Peter obtained a job at a sporting goods store. He continued to cross-dress and expose himself to women. He would cruise in his car looking for victims.

He committed a series of indecent exposures and assaults around a college campus a short distance from where he lived. He would park his vehicle near campus, dress in women’s clothing, and walk the streets. On one occasion he grabbed a woman, held a gun to her, handcuffed her, and forced her to a secluded area. He made her disrobe and fondled but did not rape her. He was never charged with this offense.

Peter had three or four jobs between the time he left the service and his recent arrest. About two months prior to the murder Peter was injured on the job. He had been out of work and was becoming increasingly frustrated over his inability to satisfy his sexual feelings. One evening, as he was cruising in his vehicle, he saw two 11-year-old girls. He pulled over to the side of the road and asked them for directions. As they approached his vehicle, he pulled out a gun and told them to get in. He handcuffed both girls and drove to a secluded, wooded area. He made them disrobe, fondled them, and made them fellate him. After the sex acts were completed Peter shot both girls with his gun and proceeded to leave. He had traveled about five miles when he decided to go back and see if the girls were really dead. In the meantime someone heard the gunshots and called the police who went to the area to check on the report. Peter went to the place he had shot the girls and found that one of them was no longer there. As he was leaving the scene a policeman stopped him. The police detained Peter, and after searching the area, found the girl’s body. The second victim was found later wandering in the area and taken to the hospital. She survived and testified in court.

Peter felt that although he drank heavily at different times throughout his life, alcohol was not a contributing factor to his acting out. He had few friends and considered himself a loner. When questioned about the murder Peter said he knew if the victims got in his car he would not be able to let them live. His primary motive for shooting them was to avoid apprehension. He said the incident took about an hour and that he was highly stimulated by the sex acts. He said that he was never very selective about his victims. It was merely a matter of someone being in the right place at the right time. He did state, however, that he would usually seek an area that would make for a quick escape. He further mentioned that although he rarely thought about getting caught, part of the excitement was eluding capture.

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**CASE HISTORY C: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS**

**Personal History**
- stable family life
- parents’ marriage intact
- good relationship with parents
- family moved frequently
- younger brother abused drugs
- sexually assaulted at age 12
- avid interest in guns
- few heterosexual experiences
- never married
- in U.S. Army for 10 years
- experimented with drugs
- a loner with few friends

**School Records**
- no problems in school
- graduated from high school
- never repeated grades

**Chronic Behaviors**
- drank heavily

**Sexual Behaviors**
- began cross-dressing at age 12
- stole women’s undergarments
- exhibitionism beginning at age 15
- first arrest at age 18 for exhibitionism
- sexually assaulted and shot two 11-year-old girls killing one
CASE HISTORY D

Lee is currently awaiting disposition on a stay of execution. He was convicted of brutally murdering two young boys and sentenced to death. He has also been convicted of a third murder of a child in another state. He has been in prison since age 20, after his 1984 arrest for Assault and Battery on a 25-year-old woman he attempted to rob. When the police obtained a search warrant for his room they found several copies of detective magazines and some drawings he had made of two different murder scenes. Upon further investigation the police were able to match rope they found in his room to the rope that was used on one of the murder victims. They also had a description of his car from a passerby who saw him with one of the boys he abducted and murdered. According to Lee he had planned the assaults several days before he actually committed them. He drove around looking for a young boy, someone between the age of 11 and 14. He targeted boys who were somewhat slender and smaller than he was.

In August of 1981 he stalked a 13-year-old boy who was doing his paper route. One day when the boy had left his house at around 5:30 P.M. to start his route Lee parked his car a short distance from where he saw the boy; took his knife, rope, and tape; and started walking towards the child. After the boy had delivered papers to the first few houses, Lee approached him, and the boy said hello. As the boy was about to walk away Lee grabbed him and put his knife to the boy’s throat, telling him not to make any noise. He led the boy to his car, tied his hands and feet, and put tape over the boy’s mouth. Lee then put the boy in the trunk of his car and drove to a secluded area a few miles away. Lee made the boy take his clothes off, but told him to leave his underpants on. He told the boy to lie on his back, but the boy refused. Lee forced him to the ground and began to strangle him. He then took out his knife and stabbed the boy repeatedly until he was sure he was dead. He then bit the boy on his neck, chest, and legs and slashed the bite marks. He left the scene and returned to the barracks where he threw the knife in a dumpster. He went to his room and masturbated.

A few days before this last murder Lee had an argument with a fellow soldier. He was very upset by this and feels this triggered the abduction and murder. Lee reported that between those two murders, he had, on several occasions, thought about abducting and killing someone else, but did not carry out that plan.

Lee was born in Massachusetts and has one younger sister. Lee’s mother and father divorced when he was 8 years old. After the divorce Lee, his mother, and his sister moved to New Hampshire. According to Lee his parents constantly bickered and berated each other. His mother blamed his father for everything that went wrong. He recalled that his mother had a short temper and would often throw things around when she got angry. She would frequently belittle Lee and make him feel worthless. She was critical of all the friends he used to hang around with feeling that they were a bad influence. Lee had few friends and spent most of his time, when he was young, jogging, riding his bike, or going to boy scout activities. He suppressed his feelings about his parents’ divorce and said it was not a “big deal” to him. His mother was a housewife for the first several years after Lee was born and the dominant parental figure. When Lee was about 4 years old, his mother began working in a department store. His paternal grandmother took care of him every day while his mother was at work.

His mother later took accounting courses and became a bookkeeper. His mother never remarried, but did date after the divorce. His father worked in a family restaurant. Lee felt his father was cold and uncaring and said his relationship with his mother was “average.” Lee noted that after the divorce his father tried unsuccessfully to obtain custody of Lee. Following the divorce Lee saw his father only two or three times a year. His father remarried when Lee was 15 years old. There is no evidence that Lee was sexually or physically abused. He reports a great deal of anger and hostility concerning childhood and upbringing; however, he did not specify the reasons for this hostility. There is no criminal or psychiatric history for any family member and no evidence of drug or alcohol abuse.

Lee implied that his mother bathed him until he was 13 years old. He does not believe, however, that any sexual activities took place. He thinks his violent fantasies began around age 6, shortly after his mother caught him masturbating. One of his fantasies involved cannibalizing his babysitter. This bizarre fantasy clearly presaged his biting the three murder victims. By the age of 13 Lee said he was masturbating five times a day, and his fantasies had changed to strangling and stabbing someone to death. These fantasies persisted throughout his life. Although there is some indication that he attempted to kill animals during this time period, the details are unknown.

Around age 16 Lee started collecting issues of Detective Magazine. He became obsessed with them; reported that he liked to look at the pictures depicting people in fear, especially women; and used them when he masturbated. He recalled one magazine in particular depicting a woman being threatened with a knife. Lee said a knife is more personal
than a gun. His fascination with these magazines and their violent themes continued throughout his life.

He joined a boy scout troop when he was about 12 years old and was the oldest boy in the group. He continued his involvement with scouting up until his arrest. He denies ever having sexual relationships with any of the boys in the scouts. He never dated and people would often ask him if he was gay. At first he was attracted to boys one or two years younger than he was. As he grew older his attraction to younger, slender boys persisted and grew stronger. Although he stated that it was more than the sex that attracted him to younger boys, he never identified what the “more” was.

Lee never repeated a grade, and his marks were good until he began junior high school, at which point his marks dropped to barely passing. There is no evidence at any point, however, of serious behavior problems in school. Moreover there is no indication of what may have been responsible for the decline in his academic performance. Lee attended a private Catholic high school in New Hampshire and delivered newspapers to pay for his tuition. His grades in high school improved, and he maintained a C+ average. He was a member of the track team in high school. He reported that he was harassed by bullies in school nearly every day. He said that when he was young he was shy and felt people avoided him. Lee began to befriend younger boys when he was a sophomore in high school.

After graduating from high school Lee attended college in New Hampshire for one year where he was in the ROTC program. He did poorly in college and, after the first year, decided to join the U.S. Air Force. He had just turned 19 at the time. After he finished basic training he was stationed in Iowa where he lived on an Air Force base. Lee worked as a radar technician and had no problems in the service.

Lee never married, reportedly never had a consensual sexual relationship, had no close friends, and apparently never dated. Although the records do not indicate that he had consensual homosexual relationships, it seems possible that he did.

His first murder took place at age 17 when he was living at home in New Hampshire. Lee said that prior to the crime a friend moved away and before he left they had an argument. Lee felt badly about the argument and loss of a friend. He stalked an 11-year-old boy who used to walk near where Lee had his paper route. He forced the boy at knife point to follow him to a secluded area. He then had the boy undress, leaving only his underpants on. Lee stabbed the boy to death and slashed his body where he had bitten him. It wasn’t until after his arrest for the two murders in Iowa that authorities in New Hampshire realized the similarities in the crimes and lodged a murder charge for the homicide of the 11-year-old boy in their state.

Lee described all his crimes as premeditated. He stalked all three victims, wore gloves in all three murders, brought rope and tied one of the victims, and bit and slashed the bodies of all three victims. He revisited the scene of two of the murders. He said there was no conversation with any of the victims outside of threats. In each assault Lee describes himself as being angry, hostile, frustrated, and lonely. All three victims were strangers, and he stated that he could not assault someone he knew.

After the murders he fantasized about the victims and masturbated while reliving the assaults. He has little remorse about his crimes, and it is very likely that he would have murdered again if he hadn’t been apprehended. The murders appear to be the culmination of his rich and violent fantasy life, which began at a very early age and continues now.

### CASE HISTORY D: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal History</th>
<th>School Records</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• parents divorced when he was 8 years old</td>
<td>• no reported problems in school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• parents constantly fought with each other</td>
<td>• graduated from high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• mother frequently belittled Lee</td>
<td>• attended one year of college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• a loner with few friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• never dated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• never married</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• active in boy scouts from age 12 to arrest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• joined the U.S. Air Force at age 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• collected detective magazines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• reported being harassed nearly daily by bullies in school</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chronic Behaviors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• none noted</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual Behaviors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• sadistic fantasies beginning at age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• compulsive masturbation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• bit victims after killing them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• masturbated while reliving murders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sadistically murdered three boys ages 11, 12, and 13</td>
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CRIME CLASSIFICATION VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Donald</th>
<th>Richard</th>
<th>Peter</th>
<th>Lee</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Competence</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Preoccupation with Children</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Offense Contact with Children</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadism</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

The above table presents the “Crime Classification Variables” for the four vignettes presented in this Case in Point. Three of the four offenders were low in Social Competence. This seems to fit the prototype of those child molesters who cause severe injury to their victims. On an “attachment continuum,” the relative inability to form and sustain meaningful interpersonal relationships with peers often motivates would-be child molesters to seek out children for companionship—or simply sexual gratification. In some cases the child molester does develop “relationships” with his victims (i.e., the victim becomes a social companion as well as a sexual partner). Such attachments require some degree of caring and empathetic relatedness, however, distorted by the offender. The four cases we are presenting in this Case in Point fall at the extreme end of this attachment continuum. There is an absence of any empathy or sense of caring for the victim. There is no attachment or relatedness to the victim. The victim, for the most part, serves only to satisfy a brief moment of perverse sexual pleasure for the offender. It is noteworthy in this regard that Donald, Peter, and Lee all considered themselves to be “loners.”

Sexual Preoccupation with Children is high for all four offenders. This is a function of the duration of their interest in and/or sexual fantasies involving children. In three of four cases Non-Offense Contact with Children is low. The motive for associating with children for these offenders is solely for sexual gratification. The one offender for whom Non-Offense Contact was high (Lee) resulted from his involvement in scouting, where he had frequent contact with young boys in the context of scouting activities. Although it is not clear from the records whether Lee himself had any sexual involvement with any of the boy scouts, it seems highly unlikely that his involvement was purely altruistic. Physical injury obviously was high in all four cases, as the victims were murdered. Sadism was present in three of the four cases. These three cases (Donald, Richard, and Lee) involved brutality and a fusion of sex and violence.

Also common to Donald, Richard, and Lee is the early manifestation of sexual deviancy. All three offenders experienced some form of sexually deviant thoughts, fantasy, or behavior, as well as sexual victimization, when they were young. In Donald’s case he became interested in pornography at age 12. He was sexually attracted to boys and had his first sexual experience with boys at age 11. His attraction to young males continued throughout his lifetime.

Richard was sexually abused by his father when he was 4 years old and also sexually abused by the house father at the boarding school he was placed in when he was 6 years old. Richard’s interest was not limited to young boys. His intense sexual needs spanned the gamut in age and gender and included both consenting and forced sexual activity. His need to take sex forcibly became a compelling drive that led to his brutally murdering two young boys. Lee reported having sadistic fantasies as early as 6 years old. Although there is no information in his records to suggest the origin of these fantasies, it is clear that the fantasies were dominant throughout his life and the murders of the three young boys were a culmination of his sadistic fantasies. Consistent with the speculation that fantasy was an important etiologic factor in all of these cases, it is noteworthy that all of the murders were planned.

Like the other three offenders, Peter experienced sexual abuse when he was a young boy of 12. He was coerced into having sex with an adult stranger, who also made him dress in women’s clothing. This seemed to be the starting point for his deviant sexual interests (e.g., cross-dressing and exhibitionism). We know little about the motives for the murders. Although he claims that he shot the girls to elude apprehension, we may reasonably speculate that there were other motives driving the offense that culminated in murder. There is no evidence, however, that the assaults were sadistically motivated.

What factors influence why someone premeditates and calculates a brutal murder? Why it is that they are able to cross over the boundary between primitive, violent thoughts to primitive, violent behavior? Of all the offenders known, the serial killer is certainly the most dangerous of all. It is especially disturbing and
horrifying when the victims are young children. As yet there are no scientific methods to accurately determine who is capable of premeditated murder. Although many offenders share several characteristics, no two are exactly alike. There are several characteristics that seem to be present in many of the cases. The offender himself was a victim of sexual abuse, often at a young age. The feeling that they were not able to “get along” with others, again beginning at an early age, is associated with the feeling each had of being a “loner.” Preoccupation with violent and/or sadistic fantasies for several years seems to be present for many of these offenders. Paraphilias beginning at a young age are also common. Perhaps the most common characteristic associated with this type of offender is his inability to develop any genuine, deep feeling or concern for other human beings. Although there are no methods to measure empathy, or true concern, accurately it seems highly unlikely that these offenders could experience these feelings and commit such atrocious crimes.

Child molesters rely on the vulnerability and naiveté of their young victims to facilitate their assault. Educating our children about child abuse and how to react to sexual overtures is probably our best and only available defense against child sexual abuse today. The scenarios presented in this issue are certainly the extreme cases in the spectrum of child sexual abuse. Perhaps some of these tragedies can be avoided with proper educational/instructional programs directed towards both parents and children. Primary prevention methods could include standardized instruction modules, training, and program evaluation. Programs should emphasize the dangers involved and present several examples of both verbal and physical situations that are overtly or covertly sexual in nature and the dangers involved. Programs should also include a repertoire of simple responses that the child could employ based on the nature of the sexual overture. The responses would range from verbal to physical, as well as a combination of verbal and physical. Each program could be tailored to a specific age group. For example a very basic elementary program for children age 4 to 7; a somewhat more detailed program for children age 8 to 10; and a more sophisticated program geared for children age 10 to 14. The programs must be sensitive to the different age groups it instructs in terms of the likely situations that each age group may encounter. Follow up programs should be offered so that children will not forget the lessons. There should be a referral system for children to access in cases when they experience sexual abuse. Care must be used not to create undue fear and distrust of people, but rather to instill an awareness of the dangers that exist in the area of sexual abuse. Educating children about these dangers is no less important than educating them about the dangers of drugs and alcohol.

END NOTES


The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.
   A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
   B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult that included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
   C. Provided evidence of assumed responsibility for a child for three or more years.
   D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
   E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.
   A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
   B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
   C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children that attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).
   A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by limited contact involving children in nonsexual contexts (e.g., jobs, hobbies, or recreation). In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.
   An offender with high non-offense contact with children has frequent contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing moderate to severe physical injury to the victim including death). High injury also involves forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadist when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. If none of the above factors were present, sadism would be rated as absent.

NOTES
Serial child abductors and molesters pose one of the most dangerous threats to the safety of our children. Although the number of such offenders is unknown, each of these criminals typically has a very large number of victims and long history of criminal behavior.

To date little research has been done on the patterns and motivations of serial child molesters and abductors. One such effort, however, is ongoing at the Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, which houses sex offenders. The MTC was established in 1959, under Section 123A of the Massachusetts General Laws, for the evaluation and treatment of “sexually dangerous persons.”

This law provides that a person found guilty of a sexual offense can be committed to the Massachusetts Treatment Center for a period of time from one day to life if he is judged to be sexually dangerous. The following study included 157 child molesters who met the MTC inclusion criteria. This special edition of the Case in Point series examines two different types of child molesters studied at MTC.

In this MTC study a child molester was defined as someone whose sexual offenses were against victims younger than 16. A sexual offense was defined as any sexually motivated assault involving physical contact with the victim. When the victim age criterion was not sufficient (for example because the offender was young or because of multiple victims of varying ages), several additional guidelines were used. Age discrepancy between offender and victim was considered, as was the pre-dominant ages of victims and any other victim age trends.

**NOTE:** For this study the definition of abduction is not necessarily in accord with statutes nor stereotypes of “stranger danger.” The determination of abduction in this study was made on the basis of detailed information in the offender’s research file. Each offense is coded in terms of the place in which the offense actually took place. For cases in which the place of encounter and offense differed on 50 percent or more occasions for all known offenses, the offender was coded as an abductor. Offenders were coded as nonabductors when the place of encounter and offense matched for all known offenses.

This MTC study examined a number of descriptive aspects of the child molesters. This information is outlined in the “Matrix of Abducting Child Molesters Compared to Nonabducting Child Molesters” located on page 6. The matrix is provided as a useful tool in the work of both mental health clinicians and law-enforcement officers in understanding the patterns of child molesters. The following case histories of three offenders represent the two different categories of child molesters in this MTC study. [NOTE: All names and locations have been changed.]

**SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A:**

**AN ABDUCTING CHILD MOLESTER**

Charles Adler’s most recent crime was only one in a series of many attempted as well as completed rapes of young girls. His abduction pattern consisted of luring preadolescent and adolescent girls—for whom he had a sexual preference—into the woods on the pretense of looking for animals and then attempting to rape them. His last known crime began when he met two children in a post office and asked if they would like to help him catch rabbits. He led them into the woods and when the 12-year-old girl stated that she had to get home, he grabbed her from behind, pulled out a sheath knife, held it to her throat cutting her, forced her to undress, and attempted to rape her. The girl’s 8-year-old brother watched the entire attack after running to hide in nearby bushes. Adler, as in many of his attempted rapes, was impotent. He was so infuriated by his inability to rape the girl that he had the urge to “do her in.” Instead Adler fled from the woods leav-
and angry. Adler beat up other children and got pleasure from torturing animals. The animal torture included tying up frogs in order to burn them alive and throwing cherry bombs at cats.

Feeling rejected by his family and peers, Charles Adler grew up mistrusting others and despising authority. He reports that he began drinking heavily in adolescence. His first sexual experience occurred at age 12 when he was sexually exploited by a cousin and her mother. Around age 13 Adler once again ran away from home. This time he lived in the swamps for eight to nine months. He states that it was like being “Tarzan,” claiming that he lived off the land with no one to tell him what to do or when to do it.

At age 14 Adler began to have rape fantasies that involved tying up young victims, raping, and then burning them. He reports tying up his sister at that time but claims that he did not actually rape her. His heroes during adolescence were Batman, Al Capone, and John Dillinger. Adler believed that his gangster heroes had the guts that he lacked. Adler dropped out of school in the ninth grade and was on his own at the age of 16. Adler’s non-sexual offenses include three vagrancy charges and he spent two years in prison for a grand larceny conviction at the age of 17. After being released Adler claims to have committed nine rapes before his first conviction for the attempted rape of a 14-year-old girl. He spent one year in a state hospital for that offense and was cleared of four charges of attempted rape due to lack of sufficient evidence.

Adler was married at the age of 21 for two years. His wife divorced him while he was in prison. Although Adler managed to marry, it is evident that he has remained socially isolated most of his life with few, if any, significant adult relationships. Moreover his sporadic menial work history further underscores his general low level of social competence. Rehabilitation attempts through therapy and incarceration seem to have little effect in subduing Charles Adler’s intent to force sex on young girls. While in group therapy in prison he admits fantasizing about rape using a gun or knife and he has stated that if he were let out of prison he would do the same thing all over again.

Adler has few friends within the prison population and spends a great deal of time reading literature on wildlife and the occult. His therapists state that he has not made full use of therapy sessions, and he has not been recommended for release.

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**SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS**

The following significant life events and behaviors of Charles Adler were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

**Personal History**
- raised by alcoholic parents
- inconsistent care taking by parents
- physical abuse by father
- intrafamilial sexual abuse at age 12
- enuresis until age 15
- teenage runaway
- longest term of employment was for an eight month period of time
- divorced

**School Records**
- dropped out of school in ninth grade
- low reading and math skills

**Chronic Behaviors**
- cruelty to animals
- cruelty to other children
- stealing
- excessive drinking

**Sexual Behaviors**
- taught by family that sex was “not nice”
- attracted to preadolescent and adolescent girls
- fantasies of rape, bondage, and burning victims
- impotent in many of the attempted rapes
- fantasies of forcing sex with a weapon

**Personal Characteristics**
- ridiculed by peers
- jealous of siblings
- low self-esteem
- believes others are out to get him
- mistrusts others
- feels rejected by family and society
- lonely, friendless
- emotionally immature

**Crime Classification: Abducting Child Molester**
- Social Competence: low
- Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
- Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
- Physical Injury to Child: high
- Sadism: high
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: A GOOD GUY

At the time of his last arrest, Philip Brisio, a school bus driver, had raped and forced oral and anal sex on numerous children—both boys and girls—and had been incarcerated a number of times for sexual offenses. These offenses include Lewd and Lascivious Behavior, Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor, Indecency Assault and Battery on a Child, Sodomy, and Unnatural Acts. Yet Brisio has claimed repeatedly that he has never hurt a child and that all of his victims were willing partners. Also he believes that the children truly enjoyed being with him. For example he would take the children to the movies, restaurants, playgrounds, and beaches without the permission or knowledge of their parents.

The events leading to Brisio’s last arrest involve a child sex ring in which children were exchanged among adults for money and photographs were taken of nude children. Brisio victimized both male and female children and encouraged the boys to have sex with their sisters. The children involved in these activities ranged in age from 10 to 13.

Brisio is the seventh of 12 children. The family lived in a three-room apartment with sparse furnishings and little food. His father was a quiet, sickly man who worked long hours to support the family. The father often called the children “a good guy,” though passive and ineffectual. Brisio recalls, however, that his mother ran their home “like a tyrant” and says that he had a “miserable” childhood. He stated, “I didn’t think anyone cared about me or loved me. I didn’t feel like I belonged anywhere...like if I didn’t come home one day nobody would even notice. I got along okay with my brothers and sisters, but my mother gave me really bad beatings almost every day.” Frustrated and teased by other children, Brisio had frequent temper tantrums, was difficult to control, and often ran away from home.

At age 7 Brisio began taking female children into the cellar, disrobing them, and rubbing up against them. At the age of 11 Brisio was sexually assaulted and sodomized by an adult male. By the age of 12 he was engaging in sodomy with male peers, and by the age of 13 he had become involved in an ongoing sexual relationship with an adult male. At the age of 14 he began to sodomize 6- and 7-year old boys. Brisio’s victimization of children continued well beyond adolescence. At the age of 15 he ran away from home and began wandering. At the age of 17 he enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps, but he was discharged after six months because of headaches he claims to have faked in order to be released from military duty. He then enlisted in the U.S. Air Force, but he was discharged after 15 months for fraudulent enlistment. His sporadic employment history includes jobs as a security guard, janitor, bus boy, grocery clerk, and school bus driver.

His criminal record begins at about the time he left home when he was arrested for gambling. Most of his nonsexual offenses were automobile related, with the exception of charges for one count each of Assault and Battery and Breaking and Entering. His first arrest for a sexual offense occurred at the age of 22 when he tried to commit sodomy on a 10-year-old boy. He was committed to a state hospital for this offense, but he was discharged shortly thereafter.

Emotionally unstable, bitterly angry, and diagnosed as a sexual psychopath, Brisio’s many incarcerations for sexual offenses have not stopped his criminal sexual behavior. Throughout his life he has been in and out of jails and hospitals for repeated sexual crimes against children. At one time his parole was revoked because of new offenses against children.

Philip Brisio has mainly targeted young boys between the ages of 8 and 9 for abduction and sexual exploitation. He claims that he takes out his sexual urges on children because of inner pressures of anger and frustration. While in prison Brisio denies any sexual fantasies of children. He manipulates the therapy group, has used treatment to avoid prison, and does not fully utilize treatment. Thus therapists do not recommend his release.

SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B: AN ABDUCTING CHILD MOLESTER

Donald Wynn’s sexual abuse of his daughter, which began immediately after her birth, was one of many instances of his repeated pattern of sexual victimization of young girls. He admits to dating women in order to be close either to their younger sisters or young daughters and is skillful in gaining employment that brings him into contact with children.

When Donald Wynn opened his music studio, at age 26, he was very excited about the prospect of being alone with children. He reports teaching half hour music lessons to 70 students each week in which he often victimized his young female students while their parents were in the waiting room just next door. The offenses against young girls consisted of fondling the children—with and without their clothes on—and forcing the children to hold his penis. At times he would perform oral sex on the girls while he masturbated himself to ejaculation. Involved with child pornography collectors, Wynn would take photographs of his students in the nude and then exchange them with other collectors. His sexual behavior with his students continued for 10 years before he was arrested.

Donald Wynn, the second of three siblings, reports being close to his mother while growing up, since his father was rarely home and drank heavily when he was with the family. The father often called his son by a girl’s name and teased him about being effeminate. His father kept a collection of “girlie” magazines, which Donald discovered and read avidly. Wynn became sexually involved with his younger brother around the age of 6, and the involvement did not end until he was in his early 20s. This relationship left him feeling guilty and ashamed. As a teen Wynn began to engage in oral sex with younger boys in his neighborhood to keep them quiet about the sexual activity with his brother.

Overweight, shy, and friendless, Wynn had an inferiority complex. He
first became sexually involved with little girls at the age of 18. At that time he dated a girl in order to be close to her 5-year-old sister. Later he married a divorced mother with two young sons. After his marriage Wynn repeatedly victimized the children’s 14-year-old babysitter. Donald Wynn’s wife forced him to see a psychiatrist after he confessed to sexually molesting the babysitter. His doctor prescribed medication in an attempt to control Wynn’s fear, anxiety, paranoid ideation, and erotic preoccupations. Wynn has been hospitalized a number of times for his sexual preoccupation with children and depression.

Following his arrest for the sexual victimization of his music students, Wynn was examined by a psychiatrist at a mental health clinic. He was found competent to stand trial and no evidence of illness was found. While committed to the treatment center, however, Wynn continued his preoccupation with little girls, having been caught twice ordering child pornography through the mail using the names and addresses of other inmates.

The following excerpt is from a letter written by Wynn to another child pornographer. The letter, confiscated by postal agents in an unrelated child pornography investigation, illustrates Wynn’s motivation and refers to his sexual relationship with his daughter that began when she was 1 week old.

After I was arrested, my wife was shown the photos I took of my daughter and informed of what had been going on. She was shocked and it’s taken her a long time to forgive me, but it appears now she has finally accepted it and will stick with me. This has all happened within the last few weeks. Now that my wife has come around, I’ll see my family on a regular basis. You know what helped? My wife had my daughter examined and interviewed both by a pediatrician and a psychologist and both of them told my wife that my daughter has suffered no ill effects whatsoever from our relationship. That convinced her that I’ve always treated my daughter with love, gentleness, and tenderness, and I didn’t harm her. Of course, in here I have to play their game, so I do, but we both know that the facts speak for themselves.

Cunning and manipulative, Donald Wynn’s status at the treatment center is described in the following statement by his therapist. “Overall...Mr. Wynn...is lacking a sense of true pain on an emotional level.... He tends to externalize blame quite often. There appears to be at this time little true motivation to change.... It appears his current goal in therapy is to say the right things in order to be released in the near future.”

SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Philip Brisio were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

Personal History
• enuretic until age 9
• physical abuse by mother
• mother aggressive, domineering, punitive
• father weak, ineffectual, passive
• parents slept in separate rooms with children
• parents spoke only Italian; could not communicate with Philip
• often employed in positions giving him access to children

School Records
• repeated first, second, and fifth grades
• fought with other children
• other children called him “dummy”
• quit school in tenth grade
• whipped by teacher
• intellectual capacity is “dull normal”

Chronic Behaviors
• impulsive
• frequent temper tantrums
• difficult to control
• runaway
• compulsive gambler

Sexual Behaviors
• sexually attracted to boys ages 7 to 9
• at age 7 took female peers into basement, disrobed them, and rubbed against them
• first sexual experience at age 8 or 9 with an adult female relative
• at age 11 sodomized and prostituted by adult male
• involved in child sex rings and taking photographs of nude children
• sexual intercourse and oral and anal sex with young boys and girls

Personal Characteristics
• described childhood as “miserable” and a time in which he “didn’t feel loved”
• underlying guilt and depression
• perceived himself as “sick”

Crime Classification: Abducting Child Molester
Social Competence: low
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: high
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: low
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY C: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Donald Wynn were obtained from interviews with the subject, records of professionals analyzing the subject, and criminal justice system reports.

Personal History
• close to mother
• alcoholic and absent father
• psychological abuse by father
• discharged from military

School Records
• repeated tenth grade
• poor grades in college; dropped out after two years

Chronic Behaviors
• weight problem
• compulsive masturbator (e.g., 6 to 10 times daily)

Sexual Behavior
• at age 6 began sexually molesting brother
• sexually exploits peers
• as an adult subjected daughter to incest (not charged)
• fondling and had oral sex with female children
• child pornography and child molestation

Crime Classification: Nonabducting Child Molester
Social Competence: high
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: high
Physical Injury: low
Sadism: low

ABDUCTING CHILD MOLESTERS COMPARED TO NONABDUCTING CHILD MOLESTERS

Abduction may be understood as a strategy for achieving control over the victim and not necessarily as a sign of greater brutality or aggression. Child abductors, when compared to nonabducting child molesters, were found to be (1) lower in social competence, (2) lower in amount of non-offense related contact with children, and (3) higher in presence and use of weapons during offenses, but not higher in amount of aggression or victim injury.

This study suggests that for some offenders abduction may be a strategy for controlling the victim. Abductors, as compared to nonabducting child molesters, more frequently carry and use weapons to intimidate and control the children, not necessarily to hurt them. The greater need to control the children (through abduction and intimidation) may stem from their poor interpersonal and social skills. Offenders who do not typically abduct their victims may have a higher degree of social competence and a greater ability to gain control over their victims by verbally enticing or tricking the child. All child abductors cannot, however, be subsumed under the motivational umbrella of control.

Analysis of the data further indicates that abduction tends to be associated with the presence of sadism. This would seem to be a different motivation from control, suggesting fantasy-driven offenses in which abduction is a part of the fantasy.

The descriptive characteristics of the abductors and nonabductors are reported in the following matrix. Both groups were predominantly Caucasian and comparable with respect to IQ, educational achievement, and achieved skill level. There was a tendency for the nonabductors to have less post-high school education (5 percent versus 17 percent for abductors). The nonabductors were more likely to have been married (58 percent versus 35 percent for abductors). The average victim age was comparable for both groups. Nonabductors were more likely to have offended against children in their nuclear or extended family (26 percent versus 8 percent for abductors) and the abductors were more likely to have offended against a child not known to them (33 percent versus 20 percent for the nonabductors).

Editor’s Note: The purpose of this series is “to gain insight and provide technical assistance and training to law-enforcement agencies, State and local governments, elements of the criminal justice system, public and private nonprofit agencies, and individuals in the prevention, investigation, prosecution, and treatment of the missing and exploited child case, and in locating and recovering missing children.” (42 USC 5771)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MATRIX</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abducting Child Molesters Compared to Nonabducting Child Molesters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Abductors</th>
<th>Nonabductors</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Caucasian</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieved Skill Level</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled/Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/Lower Management</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Upper Management</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Achievement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School (partial or completed)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School (partial or completed)</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-High School</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Than Once</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>96.40</td>
<td>94.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
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<td>15.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average Number of Victims</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While Offender was Still a Juvenile</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>0-6</td>
<td>0-3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average Number of Victims</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Offender’s Adult Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.63</td>
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<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>2.41</td>
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<td>Range</td>
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<td>Average Age of Victims</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>10.28</td>
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<td>Standard Deviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relationship to Victims</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Member</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acquaintance</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Known by Offender</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Offenses With Weapon Present</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Offenses with Weapon Used</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severity of Sexual Aggression</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>1.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Severity of Nonsexual Aggression</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**END NOTES**

1The Crime Classification module is based on five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.

A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult which included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.

A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children, if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact).

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).

A. A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in a job or recreational setting. In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.
B. An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing physical injury to the victim).

H. High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism.

The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.

2Sexual aggression is the amount of harm done to the victim in the context of an offense. It is based on a five point scale with zero denoting no evidence of sexual aggression and four denoting evidence of extreme sexual aggression.

3The nonsexual aggression category is based on a seven point scale with zero denoting no evidence of aggression in a nonsexual context and six denoting evidence of extreme aggression in a nonsexual context.

**NOTES**
Case in Point
Training Points on the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program

FOR: • parents and guardians
• schools: teachers, counselors, truant officers
• health care: child psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, nurses
• law enforcement
• the court system: attorneys, prosecutors, juvenile court judges, guardians ad litem
• corrections and probation officers

NOTE: This special edition of Case in Point is based on the research findings of the Massachusetts Treatment Center in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Unlike some of the other editions in this series that focused on investigative aspects of serial child molesters and abductors, this piece includes special insights for health care and child protection professionals.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has joined in cooperation with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, to examine and study the case histories of serial child molesters and abductors and disseminate the results to criminal justice professionals. The focus of this special edition is on opposite-, mixed-, and same-sex serial child molesters. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the child abductors whose identities are most likely to be unknown at the time of the offense. More importantly, however, there is little current research about such offenders from a law-enforcement perspective.

For purposes of this research a child will be defined as anyone not yet 18 at the time of the molestation or abduction. Although the sexually motivated abduction of one such child would qualify an offender for this study, the focus will be on offenders who demonstrated a pattern of preferring child victims and not selecting them as vulnerable substitutes for adult victims. This is not intended to be a study of child killers and, therefore, the majority of offenders interviewed and studied will be those who abducted their child victims but did not kill them.

The goal of the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program is to gain insights into the backgrounds, behavior, and techniques of such offenders in order to either prevent their crimes or identify and stop them more quickly.

Serial child abductors and molesters pose one of the most dangerous threats to the safety of our children. Although the number of such offenders is unknown, each of these criminals typically has a very large number of victims and long history of criminal behavior.

To date little research has been done on the patterns and motivations of serial child molesters and abductors. One such effort, however, is ongoing at the Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, which houses sex offenders. The MTC was established in 1959, under Section 123A of the Massachusetts General Laws, for the evaluation and treatment of “sexually dangerous persons.” This law provides that a person found guilty of a sexual offense can be committed to the Massachusetts Treatment Center for a period of time from one day to life if he is judged to be sexually dangerous. The following study included 174 child molesters who met the MTC inclusion criteria. This special edition of the Case in Point series examines three different types of child molesters studied at MTC.

The child molesters included in this study have been classified on the basis of the sex of their victims: opposite-sex, mixed-sex, and same-sex child molesters. This issue provides an example of each and a comparison of these subgroups from a study conducted at the MTC. The sample is comprised of child molesters who have been designated as “sexually dangerous” and who have been committed to the MTC. Sexual preference of the child molesters was determined from data derived from clinical and criminal files containing information obtained from multiple sources and documenting both charged and uncharged sexual offenses. “Exclusive” incest cases were excluded from this study, as were cases where victim age selection appeared indiscriminate (i.e., victims were both younger and older than 16).

In this MTC study a child molester was defined as someone whose sexual offenses were against victims younger than 16. A sexual offense was defined as any sexually motivated assault involving physical contact with the victim. When the victim age criterion was not sufficient (for example because the offender was young or because of multiple victims of varying ages), several additional guidelines were used. Age discrepancy between offender and victim was considered, as was the predominant ages of victims and any other victim age trends.

NOTE: For this study the definition of abduction is not necessarily in accord with statutes or stereotypes of “stranger danger.” The determination of abduction in this study was made on the basis of detailed information in the offender’s research file. Each offense was coded in terms of the place in which the offender initially encountered the victim and the place in which the offense actually took place. For cases in which the place of encounter and offense differed on 50 percent or more occasions for all known offenses, the offender was coded as an abductor. Offenders were coded as nonabductors when the place of encounter and offense matched for all known offenses.

This MTC study examined a number of descriptive aspects of these child molesters. This information is presented on page 6. The findings are provided as a useful guide in the work of both clinicians and law-enforcement officers in understanding the patterns of child molesters. The following case histories of three offenders represent the three different categories of child molesters in this MTC study. [NOTE: All names and locations have been changed.]
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: OPPosite-SEX CHILD MOLESTER

Malcolm Martin is a 41-year-old single, heavyset man who was found guilty of Kidnapping and Unlawful Sexual Contact. Martin stated, “My problem started in 1976. I was driving along and seen [sic] this girl on the side of the road. I pulled my truck over and exposed myself to her. She didn’t turn so I picked her up and put her in the van and went into the woods just [50] yards from her home and took her hand and put it on my penis. And she said she did not want to touch it, so I let her go and she walked home. I got [13] years, [5] years to run forthwith, 8 years concurrent.”

Martin served five years for the offense and was released in 1981. In 1983 he was convicted on four counts of Public Indecency. On one occasion he went up to a group of children who were waiting at a school bus stop. He dropped his pants and started playing with his genitals. He was wearing a face mask at the time. On another occasion he stood on the street, exposed himself, and masturbated. The children screamed and ran from him. He then ran back to his car when he heard the school bus coming. He received six-month sentences for each count with one year of probation and actually served a total of six months in the county jail for the exposure offenses.

Martin is the second of three children. He has an older brother and a younger sister who were adopted. His mother and father are now deceased, and there is no record of a criminal or psychiatric history in the family.

Martin stated that he was always a loner, did not have a happy childhood, and did not want to get close to people. He reported he was molested by his 40-year-old uncle when he was 7 or 8 years old and that the abuse continued for about three years. He said he did not tell anyone because the man “was the family’s best uncle.” Martin said the molestation “felt good” until he did not want to be touched anymore. He then felt bad, dirty, and alone. The molestation occurred in the child’s house, the uncle’s car, and a wooded area. The uncle would visit, give Martin beer, and have the child sit on his lap. The activity included fondling and fellatio. Martin said he was happy when the uncle died.

Martin attended four different schools. He left high school at age 17 and stated he never liked school because it was boring. Although Martin never married, he dated a woman, from 1983 to 1986, who had three children—5- and 9-year-old girls and a 2-year-old boy. Martin felt he had a good relationship with the children. But, because he feared he might molest them, would sometimes act as if he was angry with them in order to keep them at a distance.

The woman knew of the reasons for his 1983 incarceration and visited him in prison. When released the relationship continued. Martin described having sex in order to “keep her,” but reported that he got more satisfaction from exposing himself than from having sex with her. This, he felt, was because he did not have to prove himself to those that he “flashed.” With his girlfriend, however, he felt he had to prove himself. There was also the issue of “power.” He said he felt in control and powerful with the children but not with his girlfriend.

In 1986 they began experiencing difficulty in the relationship because of outside forces. A policeman, familiar with Martin’s history, did not like the idea of Martin living with the mother of three children and threatened to take the children away from her if she continued with the relationship. Martin moved out of her household and for the next three months slept in his employer’s garage. During that time Martin made several attempts to talk with his girlfriend, but she refused to speak with or see him. He became so frustrated that he threatened to kill himself.

On the day Martin committed his latest offense he drank a six-pack of beer and began driving without any particular destination in mind. During the drive he had several thoughts including one of smashing his car into a bridge abutment. He remembers stopping near a church and talking to a priest. About one hour after he arrived at the church, a girl came by on a bicycle. Martin claims the child ran over his foot with her bicycle and a conversation ensued. The child eventually got into his car, and they drove around ending up at a pizza parlor. Martin stated that when the child said she had been involved with sexual activities at home, he decided to expose himself to her. Martin claimed the girl then grabbed him and began to masturbate him. Martin also claimed the child complied when he asked her to “blow” him. After driving her “home,” Martin claimed they made plans to see each other the following week.

The victim’s trial testimony, however, differed significantly from Martin’s story. The child stated, “I was playing hide-and-seek when this car pulled up and a man asked where there was a pizza place. I gave directions; the man offered three dollars for me to show him where. I agreed if he would bring me back. He drove to the pizza parlor, got out and ordered a pizza, and then came back to the car. He then drove in a different direction. He stopped the car, removed my clothes, and began touching me in my privates. I began crying. He took me back to the church parking lot.”

After discovering the girl was missing, the police were called and a search of the area ensued. When Martin’s car pulled up at the church, one of the searches asked Martin to stop. The victim got out, and Martin sped off. A teletype message was sent with a description of the vehicle, a partial plate number, and a description of the assailant. The next day the police found Martin, in possession of a concealed weapon, at a rest area.

In 1965 Martin enlisted in the U.S. Marines, served one year in Vietnam, and received five ribbons and medals while on active duty. But while in Vietnam he went AWOL for 51 days, was court-martialed, and was given a general discharge.

Martin reports beginning to drink heavily in Vietnam and claims that alcohol has caused him problems in terms of losing jobs and “acting-out” sexually. He has also been arrested four times
for drunkenness or drunk driving and reported occasional use of marijuana starting in 1967.

His employment history includes work as a general laborer, taxi driver, truck driver, and self-employed painter. Martin has worked fairly steadily in several short-term and semi-skilled jobs experiencing some periods of unemployment.

While incarcerated in 1984 he was transferred to a state hospital after he slashed his wrists. Martin said he was depressed and felt hopeless, helpless, and guilt-ridden. He had also been on a hunger strike. Reports from the hospital state that Martin participated in the sex offender treatment program and was administered Depo-Provera to lower his abnormally high testosterone level.

During his stay at the Massachusetts Treatment Center Martin admitted he had a serious problem and knew he needed help, but demonstrated little or no insight into his problems. One notation on his intake questionnaire states, “I would expose myself in places where someone who was doing it in his right mind would not do it. These places were in schools, bathrooms, in halls, in their rooms, in school yards, in front of police stations, in supermarkets, and in department stores. I didn’t care where I had to do it, whenever or wherever I was when I would get into this mental state.... I don’t know why I look at kids as a sex object. I loved kids (as they are) in my normal state. But when left alone, I fall into a state which I can’t get off track.”

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The following significant life events and behaviors of Malcolm Martin were obtained from interviews with the subject, institutional records, and criminal justice system reports.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Personal History**
- enlisted in U.S. Marines, serving four years with a one-year tour of duty in Vietnam
- single
- performed semi-skilled work
- dated women with young children

**School Records**
- erratic school record
- high school dropout

**Sexual Behaviors**
- subjected to sexual abuse at age of 7 by uncle
- exhibitionist as teenager and adult

**Personal Characteristics**
- unhappy childhood
- loner
- heavy drinker
- overeater

**Medical/Physical/Psychological Records**
- history of depression
- suicide attempt after incarceration
- pedophilia and exhibitionism

**Crime Classification**: Opposite-Sex Child Molester
This case illustrates the escalation of the offense history as it coincides with the evolution of sexual fantasy around children. It is critical to look closely at the changes in patterns of offenses over time.

As noted in *Case in Point, Special Edition* (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, August 1990), abduction can be inferred to be a strategy for controlling victims. For those child molesters low in social competence or who do not possess the interpersonal skills necessary to entice or seduce the victim, it may be necessary to resort to a variety of strategies to control the victim, including abduction. Other means of controlling a victim include verbal threats and brandishing weapons. As reported in the August 1990 edition of this series, abductors are more likely to possess weapons than non-abductors.

**Social Competence**: low
**Sexual Preoccupation with Children**: high
**Non-Offense Contact with Children**: low
**Physical Injury to Victim**: low
**Sadism**: absent
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B:
MIXED-SEX CHILD MOLESTER

John Jones is a 45-year-old divorced father of two children. He was divorced by his wife approximately six months after his arrest for child molestation. He is of somewhat heavy build with a light complexion and balding black hair. Jones was sentenced to a 4 1/2- to 10-year prison term after pleading guilty to the rape of a child.

Jones related a history of his sexual offenses against children dating back some 10 years and involving 10 or more girls and boys between the ages of 9 and 12. His first offense occurred when he and his wife were visiting relatives who had a foster child living with them. When Mr. Jones was studying late one evening after everyone else had retired, the foster child—a girl about 10 years old—awakened to go to the bathroom. According to Jones, she came in to talk to him and “then she sat on my lap and after a while I started fondling her. She did not resist at all, in fact it seemed she was allowing me to.” Two days later he took the girl fishing with him in the woods and there disrobed her and penetrated her vagina with his finger. These incidents provided the experiential basis for Jones’s fantasies, which have continued to the present day. The girl apparently told others about these incidents, because Jones’s wife confronted him on their return home and he denied it.

Several years later Jones performed similar acts with one of his daughter’s girlfriends. She too “never made any attempts to stop me and just seemed to allow it.” The third episode occurred when his wife was in the hospital and his daughter was worried about her mother’s health. While trying to comfort his daughter Jones began fondling her genital area, but stopped when she asked what he was doing. This, he claims, was the only incident of sexual activity with his daughter who was then about 9 years old. The incident took place two years before his arrest.

During the next year, when he was driving one day, Jones accosted a girl about 12 years old who he did not know. He took her by the hand into the bushes and told her he would not hurt her if she stayed quiet. He removed her clothes, fondled her, penetrated her vagina with his finger, unzipped his pants, and masturbated on top of her. In the same year he coerced two girls, about 10 or 11 years old, to go into the woods with him. While in the woods he told them not to say anything, removed their clothing, and took pictures of them.

The year before his arrest, Jones also fondled another of his daughter’s girlfriends. This child was about 12 years old and would stay in the pool with him after his daughter left. Jones’s wife suspected the abuse and confronted him. Jones admitted to fondling the girl, but no apparent attempts were made to curb this abusive behavior.

Although Jones can clearly detail the events leading to his most recent conviction, he claimed to be most puzzled by those crimes that involved young boys. In the three months preceding his arrest Jones’s work involved extensive travel around the country. He reports feeling extremely tense because he was carrying “the full weight of the organization” he was representing and hoped to be compensated for his “extra” efforts. When this did not happen, he felt rejected. He was also drinking heavily at the time and began seeking children to molest.

Jones accosted two boys playing with a turtle in a park. Jones led the children into the woods and told them not to say a word. He removed their pants, took some pictures, and had one boy hold the other child’s penis. He then performed fellatio on one boy before returning to his hotel room and drinking until he passed out. The next day Jones followed a girl into a wooded area, asked her to help him find his dog, and led her into the woods. He took her arm, instructed her to lie down, told the child he “would not hurt her if she did not yell” and that he “just wanted to take some pictures.” He proceeded to remove her clothes and fondled her. She became scared and started to run. Later that day he was arrested and claimed to have “felt a tremendous sense of relief, that it was finally over.” Jones had never been arrested prior to this and had no other criminal history.

Jones was the oldest of five boys, with each one separated in age by two years. Each brother is now married except for the middle one. Jones’s parents are retired, and he describes his family as “just the typical middle class family with a strong tradition of Italian Catholic roots.” His paternal grandparents were separated and the grandmother lived with the family for a period of 15 years.

Jones attended parochial school until the sixth grade. He passed every year but was always a borderline student. He said he developed a “nervous disorder,” was treated for hyperactivity, and enrolled in a private school for the next two years which he “found easier.” Following the private school he entered public school and his grades improved. He worked part-time during high school and after graduating enlisted in the U.S. Air Force where he was assigned to the air police. Jones married within a year after leaving the service and worked at various jobs while taking college-level classes in the evening.

Jones claims a lifelong tendency to be withdrawn from others and was shy and quiet when young. He played trumpet in the high school band and pursued a photography hobby by setting up a darkroom in his basement.

When asked during an interview to draw a picture of whatever came to mind, Jones sketched the incident which gave rise to his sexual fantasies. The incident occurred sometime between the age of 6 and 8. At that time, as curious children, Jones and his brother removed the underwear of a girl in their neighborhood.

Another significant memory Jones recalled after his arrest is that of being fondled on several occasions by a priest at the parochial school he attended. The abuse was limited to the priest fondling Jones’s genital area through his clothing while sitting on the man’s lap. Jones did not make a connection between the abuse at the hands of the priest and his “nervous disorder” leading to a change in schools.
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of John Jones were obtained from interviews with the subject, institutional records, and criminal justice system reports.

Personal History
• traditional, intact family
• enlisted in the U.S. Air Force serving for five years
• married with two children

School Records
• attended private and public schools
• earned a Bachelor of Science degree in graphic arts while attending night school

Sexual Behaviors
• sexually abused by authority figure
• victims included offender’s daughter, a friend’s foster child, and strangers

Crime Classification: Mixed-Sex Child Molester
Jones has strengths that enable him to delve into his past and explore the origins of his sexual preoccupation with children. Because he identifies significant memories that include sexual involvement with both males and females, one could explore, in treatment, this link to his mixed gender child preference. Also to be explored would be Jones’s childhood memories of the violation and betrayal by the priest.

Social Competence: high
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: absent

SPECIAL CASE HISTORY C: SAME-SEX CHILD MOLESTER

Chad Downs is a 44-year-old single man who was sentenced in May 1986 for 4 1/2 to 10 years in prison for Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child with a concurrent sentence for Unnatural Rape of a Child. In December 1985, while on parole for another child molestation conviction, he was given a concurrent four to eight year sentence for Rape of a Child and Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child Under 14.

One victim, a 9-year-old boy, told his mother of the sexual activity with Downs after seeing a movie in school advising children to tell their parents if someone had approached them sexually. The boy estimated that he participated in 50 sexual incidents over a three-month period of time with Downs and said he observed his 14-year-old cousin with Downs. Downs claimed he was acting as a substitute father for the victim, and the victim’s mother said Downs would come over to their house two or three times a week. She never suspected that anything was going on, but said there were times when he came over too much, and, if her son had friends at the house when Downs arrived, the man would not stay long. Although the victim’s cousin claimed he knew about Down’s molestation of children, he denied any sexual contact with the man.

Downs has a 21-year history of molesting boys ranging in age from 9 to 15. He generally would give the boys beer and masturbate in front of them. Downs was an airplane pilot, and it is reported that the boys submitted to the sex in exchange for promises of airplane rides. Downs admitted being sexually involved with these boys but said he was drunk at the time of the offenses.

On one occasion Downs arranged with the parents of two boys to let their sons stay at his trailer for a weekend. Downs told both boys that there was only one bed and they would have to sleep with him. Downs gave one of the boys, age 15, three beers and fondled him while masturbating. The next night he did the same with the 13-year-old boy.

A therapist’s report noted Downs had “grown-up as an only child in an unhappy
home. He had a good relationship with his mother, but was unable to form an identification with his father who was described as an aloof, critical, and abusive man. He claimed his father was never at home and that, when he was, he was not affectionate. Downs harbors many distressing feelings in relationship to his past history with his father.” Downs has no knowledge of his father’s whereabouts. His 85-year-old mother is currently in a nursing home. Downs is concerned about her welfare and expresses anxiety about her eventual death. Downs is a high school graduate and never served in the military. Downs has a consistent and lengthy job history working in a factory for 10 years and newspaper plant for 12 years.

Although there were some efforts, following his incarceration in the 1960s, to establish heterosexual relationships, Downs perceived that he experienced repeated rejection from the women he dated. He describes himself as a sensitive and shy person who has been a loner most of his life. He was involved in counseling in 1971 and again in 1981. Downs was paroled from his previous sentence in May 1984. In 1985, when he became involved with the 9-year-old boy, his parole was revoked.

A parole officer’s report described Downs as an extremely sick individual who has repeatedly demonstrated an inability to refrain from pedophilic behavior. He is a highly intelligent man who has had no meaningful friendships with peers in his life. Downs appears socially immature and almost incapable of establishing appropriate adult heterosexual relationships, causing him to repeatedly gravitate to children whom he apparently does not feel threatened by. Downs stated that he truly believes his actions with children are not wrong. This apparent lack of remorse or guilt would seem to suggest that prospects for rehabilitation are poor.

**SPECIAL CASE HISTORY C: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS**

The following significant life events and behaviors of Chad Downs were obtained from interviews with the subject, institutional records, and criminal justice system reports.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal History</th>
<th>Personal Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• only child</td>
<td>• lengthy, consistent work record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• absent father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Records</th>
<th>Crime Classification: Same-Sex Child Molester</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• graduated from high school</td>
<td>Social Competence: high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• airplane pilot</td>
<td>Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual Behaviors</th>
<th>Non-Offense Contact with Children: low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• sexual preference for boys</td>
<td>Physical Injury to Victim: low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• rejected by women</td>
<td>Sadism: absent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHILD MOLESTERS AND THE SEX OF THEIR VICTIMS**

Examining child molesters on the basis of the sex of their victims was one of the earliest taxonomic distinctions. The division of these offenders into opposite-sex, mixed-sex, and same-sex groups has become something of a standard for classification of child molesters.

The literature notes that child molesters’ sexual preference appears to be stable over time, has proven useful in predicting subsequent offending, and apparently is related to a constellation of offender characteristics. Same-sex child molesters have been found to be less aggressive, younger, better educated, more often single, and more frequently diagnosed as sociopathic than opposite-sex child molesters. Same-sex child molesters choose older victims, more frequently abuse children who are not related to them, less frequently consume alcohol during their offenses, and report different sexual histories from opposite-sex offenders.

This MTC study analyzed data from 66 opposite-sex, 58 mixed-sex, and 50 same-sex offenders. Although the three sexual preference groups displayed comparable IQ’s, the mixed-sex group was lower in education and achieved skill levels than the two pure sexual preference groups. The mixed-sex group also had more adult penal offenses and more known victims. While the mixed-sex group’s victims were younger, the same-sex groups selected older children.

There were a variety of interesting differences between the opposite- and mixed-sex offenders. During childhood the mixed-sex group was subjected to more family pathology and displayed more academic and behavioral management problems than molesters who had opposite-sex victims. As adults the mixed-sex offenders were lower than opposite-sex offenders in interpersonal and professional competence, and higher in alcohol abuse, aggression, impulsivity, and psychiatric disturbance.
In comparing same- and opposite-sex offenders there were notable differences. The same-sex offenders showed more emotional and behavioral instability during childhood and in adulthood less interpersonal competence and more evidence of psychiatric disturbance.

The most significant group differences were reflected in the subjects’ adulthood, when both the same-sex and mixed-sex groups displayed less interpersonal competence, less academic and vocational competence, and more psychiatric disturbance than the opposite-sex offenders.

There were noteworthy implications of early sexual victimization of the sample of child molesters. The same-sex offenders were more than two and one-half times more likely to have been sexually victimized than opposite-sex offenders and two times more likely than mixed-sex offenders to have been sexually exploited.

END NOTE

1The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.
   A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
   B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult that included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
   C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
   D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
   E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.
   A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
   B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
   C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, that attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).

   A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in a job or recreational setting. In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.

   An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing physical injury to the victim). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadistic when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.

NOTES
ING THEM AS VULNERABLE SUBSTITUTES FOR ADULT VICTIMS. THIS IS NOT INTENDED TO BE A STUDY OF CHILD KILLERS AND, THEREFORE, THE MAJORITY OF OFFENDERS INTERVIEWED AND STUDIED WILL BE THOSE WHO ABDUCTED THEIR CHILD VICTIMS BUT DID NOT KILL THEM.

THE GOAL OF THE SERIAL CHILD MOLESTER AND ABDUCTOR PROGRAM IS TO GAIN INSIGHTS INTO THE BACKGROUND, BEHAVIOR, AND TECHNIQUES OF SUCH OFFENDERS IN ORDER TO EITHER PREVENT THEIR CRIMES OR IDENTIFY AND STOP THEM MORE QUICKLY.

SERIAL CHILD ABDUCTORS AND MOLESTERS POSE ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS THREATS TO THE SAFETY OF OUR CHILDREN. ALTHOUGH THE NUMBER OF SUCH OFFENDERS IS UNKNOWN, EACH OF THESE CRIMINALS TYPICALLY HAS A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF VICTIMS AND LONG HISTORY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR.

TO DATE LITTLE RESEARCH HAS BEEN DONE ON THE PATTERNS AND MOTIVATIONS OF SERIAL CHILD MOLESTERS AND ABDUCTORS. ONE SUCH EFFORT, HOWEVER, IS ONGOING AT THE MASSACHUSETTS TREATMENT CENTER (MTC) IN BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, WHICH HOUSES SEX OFFENDERS. THE MTC WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1959, UNDER SECTION 123A OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL LAWS, FOR THE EVALUATION AND TREATMENT OF “SEXUALLY DANGEROUS PERSONS.” THIS LAW PROVIDES THAT A PERSON FOUND GUILTY OF A SEXUAL OFFENSE CAN BE COMMITTED TO THE MASSACHUSETTS TREATMENT CENTER FOR A PERIOD OF TIME FROM ONE DAY TO LIFE IF HE IS JUDGED TO BE SEXUALLY DANGEROUS. THE FOLLOWING STUDY INCLUDED 64 CHILD MOLESTERS WHO MET THE MTC INCLUSION CRITERIA. THIS SPECIAL EDITION OF THE CASE IN POINT SERIES EXAMINES THE USE OF PORNOGRAPHY BY CHILD MOLESTERS.

IN THIS MTC STUDY A CHILD MOLESTER WAS DEFINED AS SOMEONE WHOSE SEXUAL OFFENSES WERE AGAINST VICTIMS YOUNGER THAN 16. A SEXUAL OFFENSE WAS DEFINED AS ANY SEXUALLY MOTIVATED ASSAULT INVOLVING PHYSICAL CONTACT WITH THE VICTIM. WHEN THE VICTIM AGE CRITERION WAS NOT SUFFICIENT (FOR EXAMPLE BECAUSE THE OFFENDER WAS YOUNG OR BECAUSE OF MULTIPLE VICTIMS OF VARYING AGES), SEVERAL ADDITIONAL GUIDELINES WERE USED. AGE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN OFFENDER AND VICTIM WAS CONSIDERED, AS WAS THE PRE-
him. Graham went directly into education and taught at the elementary and junior high levels for 20 years. While teaching he also coached soccer and served as a volunteer fireman and scoutmaster.

The 11-year-old boy scout who reported Graham’s actions to the police had joined Graham in the darkroom he had rented for many years. Graham was to help the child receive his photography merit badge. While in the darkroom Graham showed the child pictures of other children in the victim’s age range who were engaged in fellatio with each other and with Graham. When the child resisted Graham’s advances, the man told the boy sexual jokes, touched him with a vibrator in the genital area, and made him touch his genitals. They played strip poker using cards with pornographic pictures until the child persuaded Graham to take him home.

After the child’s parents reported this incident to the police, a search warrant was obtained and several items were confiscated from a safe located in Graham’s darkroom. The police found more than 200 photographs of young boys engaged in oral sex, sexually explicit magazines and movies, and sexual paraphernalia. Some of the photographs showed boys tied up with fake knives stuck in their chests. Graham claims he took these photographs for his own enjoyment and never sold them.

Graham identified eight children depicted in the photographs and was subsequently charged with nine counts of Disseminating Matter Harmful to a Minor, eight counts of Posing a Child in the State of Nudity, eight counts of Rape of a Child, and one count of Indecent Assault and Battery of a Child Under the Age of 14. As a result of a plea bargain, the Indecent Assault and Battery charge was dropped, and Graham pleaded guilty to the remaining charges.

Graham believes his desire for “relationships” with boys began at the age of 7 when a 14-year-old cousin seduced him. He claims that he was “emotionally involved with these boys” and did not realize that what he was doing was considered a criminal act. Graham stated that he was able to gain access to the boys through his volunteer work. He states that he “worked hard” to gain the trust of parents so that their sons could visit his darkroom “to learn photography.”

Prosecutors concluded, “Year after year, time after time, Graham refined his ways and continued to seduce boys. It is believed that the victims did not come forward to tell what happened because of shame, embarrassment, and guilt.”

Graham is currently incarcerated at the Massachusetts Treatment Center. Clinicians at the facility state Graham’s “…stay is marked by an almost bland indifference or lack of awareness of the true depth of his problem.”

SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B

Samuel Johnson grew up with his parents and one brother in Detroit. His parents were happy, although his father traveled a great deal on business and was usually only home with the family on weekends. Johnson graduated from high school and joined the service where he trained as a pilot. He left the military after serving in Okinawa and the Korean War, but later returned to active duty and was honorably discharged after serving a total of 20 years. Following his service in the military Johnson worked as an electronics technician in the defense industry, but was often laid off in times of economic recession. He eventually found steady employment at a telephone company in the state of Massachusetts.

Johnson has four children from his first marriage, which ended in divorce, and two children from his second marriage to the wife of his crime partner Jason Stone. Johnson is currently separated from his second wife and attributed both marital separations to a “dissatisfactory sexual life.”

The men’s sexual and pornographic exploitation of children was discovered when Johnson’s daughter looked through a window at his residence and saw her father taking pictures of a boy who was tied-up. The girl told her mother, who was already separated from Johnson, and Mrs. Johnson reported the activity to the police. Upon executing a search warrant at the residence, police confiscated 15,000 slides and photographs depicting bondage, primarily with young girls but also including pictures of both male and female children spanning a wide age range; correspondence indicating that photographs of people engaged in bondage had been exchanged with others; dangerous weapons including a loaded .38 caliber semi-automatic handgun; various sexual devices; catalogues and forms for ordering sexually oriented correspondence; sexually explicit publications; and notebooks and a diary detailing sexual activity involving bondage.

Johnson was charged with three counts of Unnatural Acts With a Child Under 16, Indecent Assault and Battery With a Child Under 14, and Unnatural Acts With a Child Under 16 for repeated offenses committed with two different children over a six-year period of time.

On one occasion Johnson invited a 13-year-old boy to his home, “incapacitated” the child with rum, took him to the cellar, tied the boy up with ropes attached to pulleys on the ceiling, placed a copper ring with turn-buckle knobs on the child’s penis, and took photographs of the scene. On another occasion Johnson tied the same 13-year-old boy to a rack, and Stone took pictures while Johnson held a whip and stood over the boy.

Another boy, aged 14, visited Johnson’s home many times in which he was given beer, shown obscene photographs of nude women and young children engaged in sex, and forced to engage in mutual fellatio with Johnson. In addition Johnson brandished the .38 caliber gun and a knife and threatened, “You’d better not tell anybody or you’ll be in serious trouble.”

During the trial Johnson pleaded guilty to four counts of Assault and Battery With a Deadly Weapon and was sentenced to serve 8 to 10 years in prison. Stone pleaded guilty to one count of Assault and Battery and was sentenced to serve two and one-half years in jail.
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Arnold Graham were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

**Personal History**
- employed as an elementary and junior high school teacher for 20 years
- boy scout leader
- soccer coach
- volunteer fireman
- never married
- lived at home with elderly parents
- raised by alcoholic parents
- intrafamilial seduction at age 7
- suffers from cardiac myopathy and colitis
- suffered a heart attack three years prior to his arrest

**School Records**
- high school graduate
- college graduate
- obtained teaching certificate

**Chronic Behaviors**
- heavy smoker
- excessive drinker
- ceased both chronic behaviors after surviving heart attack

**Sexual Behaviors**
- attracted to boys aged 10 to 12
- never engaged in heterosexual intercourse

**Personal Characteristics**
- neatly groomed
- well mannered
- intelligent
- rationalizes behavior and actions in manner that he feels is appropriate for the circumstance
- manipulative

**Crime Classification**

Social Competence: high
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: high
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: absent

**Influence of Pornography on Developmental and Criminal History**

The following is an assessment of Arnold Graham’s interest in pornography based on the MTC research questions outlined in the table on page 7.

- Exposure at home: no data
- Masturbation to pornography: yes
- Exposure as a child: yes
- Exposure as an adolescent: yes
- Exposure as an adult: yes
- Negative feelings toward pornography: no
- Use of pornography prior to criminal offenses: yes
- Use of pornography during criminal offenses: yes
- Use of pornography to relieve the impulse to commit an offense: yes
- Overall influence of pornography on life: very high

In summary Graham had an early and consistent exposure to pornography. He used pornography prior to and during his sex crimes against children as well as using pornography to try to relieve the impulses to commit an offense. He has no negative feelings toward pornography, and the overall influence of pornography on his life is high.

Pornography is sometimes described as an anonymous form of a sexual outlet. Anonymous sexual outlets are those that do not have “partners.” In Graham’s case the use of pornography is not anonymous. He created his own pornography by enticing young boys into his darkroom. Perhaps because of his high social competence, Graham was able to persuade the boys to believe that the sexual activities were normal behavior. He told the prosecutor that the photographs in which boys appeared to be tied up with fake knives in their chests were acts of creativity, not sadomasochism. The less socially competent offender might have had to purchase a commercial form of pornography rather than producing his own.
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Samuel Johnson were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

**Personal History**
- Raised in family environment in which father often traveled on business
- Joined military, trained as a pilot, served 20 years including tours of duty in Okinawa and the Korean War
- Honorably discharged from military service
- Worked as an electronics technician in the defense industry often being laid off in times of economic recession
- First marriage ended in divorce
- Currently separated from second wife
- Has four children from first marriage and two children from second marriage
- Gainfully employed as a telephone technician for eight years prior to his arrest

**School Records**
- High school graduate
- Completed many classes after high school especially in electronics field

**Chronic Behaviors**
- None noted

**Sexual Behaviors**
- Attracted to acts of bondage since early adolescence
- Dissatisfactory sexual life in both marriages
- Concern over genital size
- Sexually stimulated by sadomasochistic activities

**Personal Characteristics**
- Described by employer as dependable, honest, ambitious, and hardworking

**Crime Classification**
- Social Competence: high
- Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
- Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
- Physical Injury to Victim: low
- Sadism: muted

**Influence of Pornography on Developmental and Criminal History**

The following is an assessment of Samuel Johnson’s interest in pornography based on the MTC research questions outlined in the table on page 7.

Exposure at home: did not report exposure
Masturbation to pornography: yes
Exposure as a child: yes
Exposure as an adolescent: yes
Exposure as an adult: yes
Negative feelings toward pornography: no
Use of pornography prior to criminal offenses: yes
Use of pornography during criminal offenses: yes
Use of pornography to relieve the impulse to commit an offense: yes
Overall influence of pornography on life: very high

In summary Johnson had an early and consistent exposure to pornography. He used it prior to and during his sex crimes against children. He tried to use pornography to relieve the impulse to commit an offense. The overall influence of pornography on his life is high.

Johnson states emphatically that the victim’s involvement was entirely voluntary and no actual pain was ever inflicted; however, he does state that the photographed expressions of pain were feigned for the purposes of sexual gratification. Thus the idea of pain was sexually arousing for him, and he used the photographs as a vehicle feeding his own sadomasochistic fantasy life. The photographs were important at two levels. The creation of the photographs served as an expression—or enactment—of his sexually deviant fantasies. And, once created, the photographs provided a masturbatory stimulus. Although Johnson created the pornography with a partner, he claimed no interstate trafficking of the photographs, and police were unsuccessful in obtaining evidence of any trafficking activities.
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY C

In 1986 Edward Cunningham was arrested and charged with numerous counts of Rape of Child, both forcibly and nonforcibly, as well as Posing Children in State of Nudity. He was convicted of both offenses and sentenced to respective 22- and 27-year terms to be served consecutively. He was implicated in these crimes as a result of a federal investigation involving the buying and selling of pornographic photographs via mail. During an undercover operation, Cunningham was identified as a sender and recipient of the photographs. Local police accompanied postal inspectors to serve a federal warrant to search his house, where more than 1,000 photographs of nude children were discovered and confiscated, as well as camera equipment, videotapes, and VCR equipment. Some of the children in the photographs were identified and later testified against Cunningham during the trial.

One of the victims was Cunningham’s 13-year-old nephew who had been abused by him over a period of two years. According to the testimony of the boy, Cunningham would molest him on a regular basis, almost every Sunday, while his parents were bowling.

Initially he masturbated his nephew and engaged him in fellatio and anal intercourse. He bribed the boy, with money, not to tell anyone about the abuse. Cunningham began taking photographs of the naked boy and would show his nephew photographs of other nude children. He took the boy on camping trips where he would perform sex acts on the child.

Cunningham’s photograph collection was accompanied by a list of names of his victims with codes written in the margins. The codes described the actions performed on the victims and the anatomy of Cunningham’s victims (e.g., “C” denoted a circumcised boy and “U-N-C” denoted an uncircumcised child).

One victim was identified from the photographs as the 9-year-old son of Cunningham’s former girlfriend. While living with the child and his mother, Cunningham would wake the boy during the night and force him to perform acts of mutual masturbation and fellatio. Cunningham continually threatened the child to remain silent about the abuse. Cunningham beat the boy and, on one occasion, badly bruised him with a wrench. He photographed the boy in the nude and showed him pictures of naked boys and men. Cunningham had pictures of naked girls as well and would hit the boy if he was tempted to look at them.

Cunningham employed similar means to obtain most of his victims. He first became friendly with the boys, giving them rides on his motorcycle and inviting them to go camping. Once he got a boy alone in the woods in his tent, he would begin to wrestle with and undress the child. Cunningham then coaxed the boy into performing fellatio on him, and he reciprocated. Sometimes he took two boys at once on these camping trips and engaged in sexual activities with both of them at once. According to the victims’ statements there were no threats, physical or verbal. The boys were told merely to keep silent about what transpired.

Cunningham’s acute feelings of inadequacy and incompetence led to his inability to form stable, emotionally intimate relationships with adults. This was evident in his turbulent relationships with “girlfriends,” whom he used merely to gain access to their children. He had difficulty making friends his own age and regarded his victims as friends. He himself was the victim of sexual assaults on two occasions, once at the age of 12 at the hands of a neighborhood teenager, and again at the age of 15 by a male in his thirties. Cunningham denied vehemently that he was a homosexual, but he engaged in several consenting sexual encounters with men his own age during adulthood. Any attempts at heterosexual intercourse always ended in impotency, which Cunningham found humiliating.

It was speculated that Cunningham’s attraction to young boys was an attempt to create a loving parent-child relationship that he longed for but never experienced during his own childhood and escape the responsibilities and demands of adulthood. He always disliked and feared his father, who sometimes beat him. He felt very close to his mother, but she had suffered a bipolar depression since he was 10 years old. Cunningham lived with his parents until he was in his thirties. He had chronic problems with alcohol abuse, and he had trouble holding a job any longer than a few months at a time. He claimed that the majority of his offenses were committed while under the influence of alcohol.
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY C: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Edward Cunningham were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

Personal History
- mother suffered from bipolar depression and had a psychotic breakdown when Cunningham was 10 years old
- experienced close relationship with mother, but disliked father
- sexually assaulted at 12 years of age by a teenage boy
- sexually assaulted at 15 years of age by an adult male
- employment history was erratic and unstable, held semi-skilled and unskilled jobs
- served two years in the National Guard
- lived with his parents until he was in his thirties

School Records
- repeated seventh grade
- dropped out of school in the eleventh grade
- received GED at 24 years of age
- attended night school at a community college for one year

Chronic Behaviors
- severe headaches, accompanied by nausea and acute dizziness
- nightmares as a child
- alcohol abuse

Sexual Behaviors
- engaged in consenting homosexual relationships during adulthood
- collected photographs of nude children
- sexually attracted to adolescent boys aged 12 to 15
- attempts at heterosexual intercourse end with impotency

Personal Characteristics
- feelings of inadequacy and incompetence
- deeply depressed and anxious
- difficulty with interpersonal relationships
- likes children
- hobbies include body building, camping, riding motorcycles
- normal intelligence/IQ

Crime Classification
Social Competence: low
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: high
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: muted

Influence of Pornography on Developmental and Criminal History

The following is an assessment of Edward Cunningham’s interest in pornography based on the MTC research questions outlined in the table on page 7.

Exposure at home: no
Masturbation to pornography: yes
Exposure as a child: yes
Exposure as an adolescent: yes
Exposure as an adult: yes
Negative feelings toward pornography: no
Use of pornography prior to criminal offenses: yes
Use of pornography during criminal offenses: yes
Use of pornography to relieve the impulse to commit an offense: yes
Overall influence of pornography on life: high

In summary Edward Cunningham had an early and consistent exposure to pornography. He used pornography prior to as well as during his sex crimes against children as well as unsuccessfully using it to relieve the impulse to commit an offense. The overall influence of pornography on his life is high.

Evidence in this case of muted sadism is revealed by Cunningham’s use of a belt to spank the children and the acts of sodomy that he committed. Sodomy provides evidence of possible fantasies involving the infliction of pain on the victim. The fact that physical injury to the victims appeared to be relatively low, however, indicates that the aggression was mitigated by other factors. This is a borderline case with respect to the intensity of the sadism. Ordinarily we do not expect to see evidence of sadism in a case involving high non-offense related contact with children. That is, sadism is more often observed among those offenders whose only contact with children is in the context of an offense. In addition we would need access to medical reports on injury to victims to determine classification of physical injury; the greater the degree of injury, the stronger the evidence for sadism.
The threat posed by child molesters continues to grow at an alarming rate in our nation today. Many social scientists point to pornography as a contributing factor to sex offenses; however, prior studies of rapists have shown that there is little “...compelling evidence to support the hypothesis that exposure to pornography as a child or adolescent is positively associated with a sexual offender history as an adult.” Thus the purpose of the Massachusetts Treatment Center study was to examine the level of “...exposure to and use of pornography in the familial, developmental, and criminal histories of [38] rapists and [26] child molesters.”

The study revealed several important findings in regard to the exposure to and use of pornography by these [64] convicted sex offenders. In the early familial and developmental years, both groups reported similar exposure to pornography; however, as adults, child molesters reported “significantly more exposure” to pornography in comparison to rapists. In addition child molesters were also, “...more likely to use such materials prior to and during offenses and to employ pornography to relieve an impulse to commit offenses.”

Implications for interviewing child molesters include questions regarding exposure to and use of pornography during offenders’ developmental years and criminal careers. Also it is important to determine the influence of this exposure on their lives, as perceived by the offenders, and avoid using one’s own preconceived notions as to what is normal or typical. Do not accept terms such as “typical” or “normal” from the offender. Delve more deeply into specific numbers, times, and examples when questioning about pornography interests.

Extensive use of pornography, in general, reflects a high degree of sexualization and a high degree of preoccupation with sexual and offense-related fantasies. It is critical to note that the presumed motivation behind these sexual offenses is intrusive, preoccupying sexually deviant fantasies, and not pornography per se. Pornography can be used, however, as a sign of such underlying fantasies. Thus it is very important to explore, in detail, the various indicators of sexual fantasy, including pornography use, frequency of “sexual activities” (such as masturbation) in a given week, and presence of deviant sexual behaviors that typically do not involve physical contact with victims (e.g., exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism, cross-dressing, and obscene phone calls).

### Scale Differences Between Rapists and Child Molesters

(N = 64)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scales</th>
<th>Rapists (N = 38)</th>
<th>Child Molesters (N = 26)</th>
<th>F Valuea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) Exposure at home</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) Masturbation</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Exposure as child</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) Exposure as a teenager</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) Exposure as an adult</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>13.97****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F) Negative feelings toward pornography</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(G) Use of pornography prior to criminal offenses</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>9.96***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H) Use of pornography during criminal offenses</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>10.75***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) Use of pornography to relieve the impulse to commit an offense</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>7.61**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) Overall influence of pornography on life</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>5.11*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Univariate analysis of variance.

*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .005; **** p < .001

[The p-value indicates the level of significance attributed to the difference between rapist and child molesters. A p-value of less than .05 (*) indicates a significant difference between the groups and a p-value of less than .001 (****) indicates a much greater level of significant difference between the groups.]
The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fits two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fits fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.
   A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
   B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult that included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
   C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
   D. Actively involved in an adult-oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
   E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.
   A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
   B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
   C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual's pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).
   A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in nonsexual contexts (e.g., jobs, hobbies, or recreation). In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.
   An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing physical injury to the victim). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadistic when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.

Case in Point

Training Points on the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program

FOR: • parents and guardians
• schools: teachers, counselors, truant officers
• health care: child psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, nurses
• law enforcement
• the court system: attorneys, prosecutors, juvenile court judges, guardians ad litem
• corrections and probation officers

NOTE: This special edition of Case in Point is based on the research findings of the Massachusetts Treatment Center in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Unlike some of the other editions in this series that focused on investigative aspects of serial child molesters and abductors, this piece includes special insights for health care and child protection professionals.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has joined in cooperation with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, to examine and study the case histories of serial child molesters and abductors and disseminate the results to criminal justice professionals. The focus of this special edition is on risk factors associated with recidivism among serial child molesters. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the child abductors whose identities are most likely to be unknown at the time of the offense. More importantly, however, there is little current research about such offenders from a law-enforcement perspective.

For purposes of this research a child will be defined as anyone not yet 18 at the time of the molestation or abduction. Although the sexually motivated abduction of one such child would qualify an offender for this study, the focus will be on offenders who demonstrated a pattern of preferring child victims and not selecting them as vulnerable substitutes for adult victims. This is not intended to be a study of child killers and, therefore, the majority of offenders interviewed and studied will be those who abducted their child victims but did not kill them.

The goal of the Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program is to gain insights into the backgrounds, behavior, and techniques of such offenders in order to either prevent their crimes or identify and stop them more quickly.

Serial child abductors and molesters pose one of the most dangerous threats to the safety of our children. Although the number of such offenders is unknown, each of these criminals typically has a very large number of victims and long history of criminal behavior.

To date little research has been done on the patterns and motivations of serial child molesters and abductors. One such effort, however, is ongoing at the Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, which houses sex offenders. The MTC was established in 1959, under Section 123A of the Massachusetts General Laws, for the evaluation and treatment of “sexually dangerous persons.” This study that looked at re-offense rates among child molesters who had been committed to the Massachusetts Treatment Center for Sexually Dangerous Persons in Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

The group of offenders that we will report on included all of the child molesters (n=115) who were released from MTC between 1960 and 1984 and could clearly be designated as child molesters (i.e., individuals who committed victim-involved sexual assaults on children aged 16 or younger) and for whom adequate data collection was possible. Demographic characteristics of the sample are as follows: Race: Caucasian (93.7%); IQ: average = 96.84, S.D. = 15.4, range = 57-131; Education (highest grade level): average = 8th grade; Achieved Skill Level (0 = unskilled - 6 = professional): average = 1.10; Marriage: 52% never married.

Recognizing the problematic nature of the collection of information on the post-release criminal behavior of ex-offenders, we considered it essential to include as many official sources of data as were possible. We gathered our re-offense information from a variety of sources including state and local police...
records, court records, probation records, parole officer reports, Federal Bureau of Investigation records, and MTC's follow-up studies. Although they were somewhat redundant in terms of the information that they provided, this redundancy allowed us to cross-check the information. It should be noted, of course, that the information we obtained only identified subjects who came into contact with the criminal justice system upon their release from MTC.

In obtaining a chronology of post-release criminal activity, the occurrence and prevalence of law violations was summed over the entire post-release period. A list of possible criminal charges was generated using both a Commission of Probation handbook and the FBI's Reference Guide to Aid in Understanding Arrest Abbreviations. The final list contained a total of 174 crime charge options, 78 of which appeared for coding in our sample. For purposes of the present study, three criminal domains were examined: (1) sexual offenses; (2) nonsexual, victim-involved offenses; and (3) nonsexual, victimless offenses. The first category consisted of 15 sexual charges (e.g., Carnal Abuse, Accosting, Unnatural Acts, Indecent Assault, Assault With Intent to Rape, Rape, Sodomy, Statutory Rape, and Incest). The second category consisted of 13 nonsexual, victim-involved charges (e.g., Assault, Assault and Battery, Assault With Intent to Kill, Assault With Intent to Rob, Manslaughter, Murder, Robbery, and Armed Robbery). The third category consisted of 22 victimless charges (e.g., Larceny, Trespassing, Disorderly Conduct, Forgery, Drunkenness, Breaking and Entering, Malicious Destruction of Property, Conspiracy, and Possession of a Dangerous Weapon).

All post-release charges against subjects in our sample were encoded in chronological order for each individual (the first charge after release was charge number one, etc.) beginning in 1960 and ending in October 1984. We examined all post-release charges that fell within the three above mentioned categories in relation to four of the crime classification variables that we use (social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, and physical injury to the victim). Overall we found that the recidivism rate for all sexual charges over five years was 24.8%. The recidivism rate for sexual charges over the 25-year, follow-up period was 36%.

Social Competence: We found that low social competence was associated with a much greater likelihood of re-committing a nonsexual, victim-involved offense. Indeed only one offender (out of 32) who was high in social competence committed such an offense, compared to 20 (out of 83) of those offenders who were low in social competence. Level of social competence did not predict sexual re-offenses.

Sexual Preoccupation with Children: We found that high sexual preoccupation with children was associated with a greater likelihood of re-committing a sexual offense. Only three offenders who were rated low in this category (out of 20) recommitted a sexual offense, compared with 38 offenders (out of 95) who were rated as high in sexual preoccupation with children. Sexual preoccupation with children was not related to the re-commission of nonsexual offenses.

Non-Offense Contact with Children: We found that non-offense contact with children was the most powerful predictor of re-offense, but only for nonsexual offenses. Those who were low in non-offense contact were much more likely to re-commit nonsexual, victim-involved and victimless offenses. Only two men (out of 49) who were rated high in non-offense contact re-committed nonsexual, victim-involved offenses, compared with 19 (out of 66) who were rated as low. Similarly 11 men (out of 49) who were high in non-offense contact re-committed victimless offenses, compared with 26 men (out of 66) who were low in non-offense contact. Non-offense contact did not predict sexual re-offenses. One-third of those who were low in non-offense contact (22 out of 66, or 33%) re-committed sexual offenses, compared with about 39% (19 out of 49) of those who were high in non-offense contact.

Physical Injury to Victim: Physical injury to the victim was associated with a greater likelihood of re-committing a nonsexual, victim-involved offense. Six (out of 17, or about 35%) of those who were high in victim injury re-committed a nonsexual, victim-involved offense, compared with 15 (out of 98, or about 15%) of those who were low in victim injury.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Based on our 25-year follow-up of 115 child molesters, we found that (1) social competence and non-offense contact with children were good predictors of re-offense for nonsexual crimes, and (2) sexual preoccupation with children was a good predictor of re-offense for sexual crimes. The relation of low non-offense contact with re-offense may be understood in terms of the higher degree of impulsivity of those offenders. Overall the crime classification variables that we use do appear to have predictive utility when it comes to recidivism. It is very important to note, however, that these crime classification variables are sensitive to different types of criminal behavior. Sexual preoccupation with children, for instance, should be emphasized when it comes to sexual re-offense. Non-offense contact with children and social competence, on-the-other-hand, should be emphasized when it comes to nonsexual re-offense. The question of predicting likelihood of re-offense is, of course, vastly more complex than is suggested by those last two sentences. We may conclude, however, that child molesters are indeed highly variable with respect to re-offense risk, and we can increase the sensitivity or precision of our predictions by examining specific crime classification variables.
### Table 1
Percentage of Offenders Who Re-Offended Within Each Re-Offense Category

**Categories of Criminal Re-Offense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Classification Variables</th>
<th>Sexual Offenses</th>
<th>Non-Sexual, Victim-Involved Offenses</th>
<th>Non-Sexual, Victimless Offenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Competence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Preoccupation with Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Offense Contact with Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury to Victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2
Strength of Association Between Crime Classification Variables and Three Categories of Criminal Re-Offenses

**Categories of Criminal Re-Offense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Classification Variables</th>
<th>Sexual Offenses</th>
<th>Non-Sexual, Victim-Involved Offenses</th>
<th>Non-Sexual, Victimless Offenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Competence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Preoccupation with Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>++</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Offense Contact with Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury to Victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- _no association_
- + weak positive association
- ++ positive association
- +++ strong association
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A

Roy was remanded to MTC on a one-day-to-life civil commitment. He also received a concurrent 5- to 10-year prison sentence. Both of these dispositions are a result of two sex offenses committed within a four-month period when Roy was 21 years old.

The first offense involved a 7-year-old boy. Roy was fishing at a lake when the boy approached the area on his bicycle. The boy stopped to walk around the lake and, as the boy was about to leave, Roy called out and asked the child to “come over.” He took the boy to a secluded area, unzipped the boy’s pants, and fellated him. He then took his own penis out and forced the boy to fellate him, telling the child he would kill him if he did not do as he was instructed. He gave the boy a nickel, and the boy cried as he rode his bicycle away. When the boy got home, he told his parents what happened, and they notified the police.

During the next three months Roy had sexual encounters with two teenage boys, 13 and 15 years of age. He met them and struck up a relationship. Roy would pick them up in his car, drive to a secluded area, and they would masturbate each other. This happened on six different occasions.

Some people in the neighborhood noticed that he was associating with young boys and called the police. The police questioned the boys and Roy, learning of the sexual activities between them. They also questioned him about the sexual assault of the 7-year-old boy, and Roy admitted that he committed that crime. He was charged with two counts of Unnatural and Lascivious Acts With a Child Under 16 and two counts of Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child Under 14.

Roy is the second oldest of four children. His father was a self-employed mechanic and good provider for the family. His mother worked in a factory. No one else in Roy’s immediate family has a criminal record. There is no history of family alcohol or drug abuse, nor did Roy use drugs or drink to excess. In general he remembers feeling secure and happy as a young child.

When he was 7 years old, about two years after he started school, he was sexually assaulted and sodomized by an adult who was unknown to him. Roy never told his family about the assault. Following the assault he became unfriendly, hostile, and aggressive. As he grew older these behaviors worsened and became especially evident when he entered adolescence. He began acting like a “young punk.”

Roy left school in his sophomore year at age 16. He repeated the second grade (the same year he was assaulted), as well as the fourth grade. His scholastic performance was poor, and he was an increasing behavior problem. He was troublesome in class and would influence the other kids to misbehave.

After he quit school he began working for his father as a mechanic’s helper. He lived with his parents until his arrest for the sex offenses.

At age 16 he was arrested and charged with Unlawful Use of an Automobile and Operating Without a License. Both charges were dismissed. The following month he was charged with Use [of a Vehicle] Without Authority and again the charge was dismissed. At age 18 he was stopped for Speeding and Failure to Obey a Traffic Signal. At age 19 he was again stopped for Speeding. At age 20 he was arrested for Forgery and Burglary. He spent two months in jail and was paroled.

Psychological testing revealed that Roy was a suspicious, sarcastic, and hostile person. The tests also revealed that he had very rigid defenses and felt alone in the world, struggling to control his fantasies that he realized were “odd.”

During the first year at MTC Roy attended therapy, but did not actively participate. In general his behavior was unfriendly, hostile, and aggressive. During the following two years he developed a more positive, kinder attitude towards others. He gained insight into his past and developed better judgment. In the course of therapy he reported an incident that he felt precipitated his sexual assaults. Shortly before his offenses, while at a party, Roy was offered $50 by a man who wanted to perform fellatio on him. Roy agreed and afterwards felt angry and disgusted. This experience apparently awakened memories of his own childhood victimization. Roy felt that his offenses were attempts to “hurt” his victims as he had been hurt.

After three and one-half years at MTC, he was found no longer sexually dangerous and released to the community. He returned to his parents’ home and once again worked for his father.

Four years after his release from MTC Roy was stopped for Speeding resulting in a fine. Eight years after his release Roy was charged with Receiving Stolen Property for which he received probation. During that same period of time he had not been charged with any new sexual offenses.
**SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS**

The following significant life events and behaviors of Roy were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

### Personal History
- Sexually assaulted at age 7
- Lived at home with parents
- Worked as mechanic’s helper
- Never married

### School Records
- Repeated second and fourth grades
- Poor academic performance
- Behavior problems
- Quit school at age 16 in sophomore year

### Chronic Behaviors
- Criminal conduct such as auto theft and speeding

### Sexual Behaviors
- Victims ranged from 7 to 15 years in age
- Victims were all male
- No physical injury to victims

### Personal Characteristics
- Hostile and aggressive attitude

### Crime Classification
The only noteworthy feature of this classification is Roy’s apparently minimal offense and non-offense related contact with children. According to available data his first sexual offense did not occur until he was 21 years old, and all of his sexual offenses occurred within a relatively brief period of three months. This consideration speaks to his low sexual preoccupation with children, as well as his low non-offense contact with children.

- Social Competence: Low
- Sexual Preoccupation with Children: Low
- Non-Offense Contact with Children: Low
- Physical Injury to Victim: Low
- Sadism: Absent

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**SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B**

Mark is currently serving his second one-day-to-life commitment at MTC. His first recorded sexual offense was at age 24 while he was in the U.S. Army. Mark was caught, by the military police, sexually molesting an 8-year-old boy. He was subsequently discharged under other than honorable conditions. Mark was first committed to MTC on a one-day-to-life civil commitment at age 27. He remained at MTC for three years and was released by the court. He was re-arrested 18 months after his release and returned to MTC for his second commitment.

Mark is an only child. His parents, neither of whom had psychiatric, criminal, or substance abuse histories, separated when Mark was 3 years old. He remembers being in leg braces for most of his first three years of life, although he does not remember why. His father, a truck driver by vocation, was home infrequently. His mother reportedly was a very strong-willed, hypersensitive, unemotional, and domineering woman. Mark felt his mother was demanding and critical and that he was weak and never able to please her. He resented her for the way she was and how he was never able to stand up to her. Family interactions were often fraught with conflict. After his parents separated, Mark and his mother moved to a farm for a short time and later to a duplex in the city. They lived there until he joined the service at age 23. His maternal grandmother lived in the same house and his godmother lived in the duplex next to them. Mark’s mother had no social life, and neither mother nor son ventured out of the house much. His most significant, meaningful relationship was with his grandmother. He was very close to her and remembers her as warm and caring. His grandmother died when he was 20 years old, his father died when he was 24 years old, and his mother died when he was 27 years old.

At age 6 he remembers being masturbated by a 15-year-old boy. At 16 years of age his sexual attraction for other males, especially young boys, began. At around this time he also began to feel afraid of people in general and different from others. Although he was sexually attracted to younger boys, he did not act on his feelings and fantasies until after high school. From that time on he claims to have had literally hundreds of contacts with boys between the ages of 7 and 13. His contacts ranged from two or three encounters with a single victim to more than 30.

Mark entered parochial school at age 6 and remained there through his high school years. At that time he had thoughts of becoming a priest. After he graduated he changed his mind and went on to attend college. At age 23 he graduated from college and shortly thereafter enlisted in the U.S. Army. Just prior to entering the military his mother caught him with a young boy in his bedroom. She asked him to get help, but he said he did not need help. After basic training he was commissioned as a second lieuten-
ant. Throughout this time he had few social interactions or friends. Although he dated a few women in college, sexual activities were limited to kissing and fondling. One year after entering the service he was caught molesting an 8-year-old boy resulting in his discharge under other than honorable conditions. It was only one month after his discharge that he was arrested for molesting a child and given probation.

After his release from the military he worked as a truck driver for a short time and then as a teacher’s aid. It was while working as a teacher’s aid that the next two offenses took place. For an approximately two-month period of time he would ask one of the students, a 7-year-old boy, to accompany him. He would lead the boy to a bathroom, have the boy disrobe, and make the child lie down on the floor. The subject would then get on top of the boy, move up and down, and ejaculate. He would then take the boy’s penis and rub it with his hands and have the boy rub his penis. He told the boy to keep their actions “a secret,” but the boy finally told his mother about Mark’s abuse.

In the second of these offenses Mark molested another 7-year-old boy at the same school. During the boy’s math class Mark would kneel next to the child and maneuver his hands onto the boy’s penis. The boy would push his hands away, but Mark would put them back on his penis. Mark would sometimes squeeze the boy’s penis so hard it hurt.

Mark was charged with two counts of Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child Under 14 and was given 2- and 2 1/2- to 5-year sentences to be served concurrently.

While at MTC Mark disclosed that, from the age of 18 until his arrest at age 26, he had engaged in more than 200 sexual contacts with young boys. He claimed that most of these encounters consisted of mutual masturbation and fondling. He wouldbefriend a child and sometimes the child’s family. He would take the child home with him, where both he and the boy would get undressed. He would then masturbate the boy, lie on top of him, and ejaculate while rubbing his penis on the boy’s body. Mark would think of these relationships as if he were a big brother or father to the children he befriended. He claims that he never sodomized his victims nor used extreme force or violence.

During his first commitment to MTC he actively participated in therapy, maintained a job, was involved in the Jaycees, and was active in sports. He reported a significant reduction in his pedophilic interests and in fact claimed he had developed strong interests in women. Three years after his commitment to MTC he was cleared of his “sexually dangerous person” status by the court and released to the community. Within two months he was again molesting young boys. He met and befriended five young boys ranging from 9 to 12 years of age. He managed to get permission from their parents to allow them to spend the night at his house. Mark and the boys would disrobe. He would then play with their genitals, and they would do the same to him. He would then fellate the boys and attempt to have them fellate him. On one occasion he pulled one of the boys on top of his back and had the boy insert his penis into his anus. He once gave the boys liquor to drink while they were at his house. He would sometimes take the boys to a movie or breakfast. He would also take them to an amusement park and sometimes let them drive his car. A search of Mark’s apartment led to the discovery of several pictures he had taken of some of the boys while they were nude.

The governing offense that brought about Mark’s second commitment to MTC occurred when he drove to an adjacent state and abducted a 13-year-old boy. Mark approached the boy, who was jogging in the early evening near his home, and asked the child to help him carry a dog that he had hit with his car. The boy entered the car, and Mark drove off. He drove to a secluded area, pulled out a knife, and told the boy not to try to escape. He placed the knife at the boy’s side, then took some rope and tied the boy’s hands and feet. Mark covered the boy with a blanket and drove away with the boy in the car. After a short time the boy complained that the ropes hurt and he could not breathe under the blanket. Mark loosened the ropes and dropped the blanket to the boy’s chin.

They drove for several hours and finally arrived at Mark’s house. Mark carried the boy from the car to the house. He put him on the bed, untied him, and took off his shoes. He guided the boy to the bathroom, undressed him, and put him in the shower. Mark then got into the shower with the boy and washed him all over. He then ordered the boy to wash his body. After the shower Mark and the boy got into bed. He started to rub the boy’s body and told the boy to do the same to him. Mark kissed the boy on the mouth, putting his tongue in the boy’s mouth and making the boy do the same to him. He masturbated the boy, and when the boy refused to masturbate him he slapped the boy on the head. The boy then complied with his demand. He maneuvered the boy on top of him and began to move up and down. He stopped, got some rope and tied the boy’s hands and feet again. He then began to rub the boy’s penis and shorty fell asleep.

The following morning he made the boy engage in mutual fondling and mutual fellatio. Mark eventually ejaculated into the boy’s mouth. After these sexual activities, Mark then gave the boy some breakfast. After breakfast he tied the boy up again, put some tape over his mouth, put cotton in his ears, and taped a towel over his eyes. He told the boy not to try to escape and left. After several hours Mark returned. He untied the boy and forced him onto the bed. He fellated the boy and had the boy sodomize him. They stopped, and Mark once again prepared something to eat. They watched television for awhile, and Mark again initiated sexual activities with the boy including mutual masturbation and fellatio. These sex acts continued for another day. On the third day Mark again left the house after tying the boy up. After several hours the boy managed to loosen the ropes and escaped to a nearby house. He told the people there what happened, and they immediately called the police. Mark was arrested that evening and charged with Kidnapping, five counts of Rape of a Child, and three counts of Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child. In addition he was charged with the offenses he committed prior to the above incident. He was sentenced to serve a term of years equal to his natural life for each of the offenses he committed and recommitted to MTC for a one-day-to-life term.
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Mark were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

**Personal History**
- in leg braces for first three years of life
- mother was unemotional and domineering
- father was frequently absent due to job
- sexually assaulted at age 6
- enlisted in U.S. Army and discharged after molesting an 8-year-old boy
- worked as a truck driver and teacher’s aid
- never married

**School Records**
- no problems in school
- graduated from high school
- received college degree

**Chronic Behaviors**
- none noted

**Sexual Behaviors**
- attracted to boys ranging from 7 to 13 years of age
- limited heterosexual experience
- admitted to more than 200 sexual encounters with young boys
- no physical injuries to the victims

**Personal Characteristics**
- few friends
- socially isolated and withdrawn

**Crime Classification**
Determining Mark’s level of social competence would appear to be somewhat problematic in that he has a reasonably high degree of “academic” competence. He graduated from college and attained the rank of second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. If we look at other aspects of Mark’s life, however, there is evidence of marked deficits. He never married, had few friends, and generally was socially isolated. Although he dated a few women in college, none of these “encounters” resulted in a relationship. His job as a teacher’s aid would appear to be substantially below what one would expect given his level of education and service rank. His sexual preoccupation with children clearly is high given that he had “hundreds” of contacts with children since the age of about 18. His non-offense contact with children is high on two accounts. He had many long-term sexual liaisons with children, as many as 30 with a single victim. In addition his job as a teacher’s aid placed him in close contact with children, a number of whom he assaulted. As for injury, almost all of his sexual acts with children involved mutual masturbation, fondling, and some frottage (rubbing). There was no evidence of the use of extreme force or violence, and no serious physical injury of the victims was reported.

Social Competence: low
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: high
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: absent
I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.

A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult that included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.

The sexual preoccupation with children decision attempts to assess the strength of an offender’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which children are a major focus of the offender’s thought and attention). If unequivocal, direct evidence (e.g., direct report by the offender of the presence, nature, and duration of fantasies about children) is available, indicating that children have been a central focus of the offender’s sexual and interpersonal fantasies and cognitions for a protracted period (at least six months), the offender is rated as having high sexual preoccupation with children.

In the absence of direct evidence about the offender’s fantasies and cognitions, the following criteria should be used to guide this decision:

A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).

A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in nonsexual contexts (e.g., jobs, hobbies, or recreation). In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.

An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing moderate to severe physical injury to the victim, including death). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. In lieu of self-report of such arousal or sadistic fantasies, it is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, not usually seen as part of normal sexuality. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadistic when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. The absence of the above factors would qualify an offender to be rated low in sadism.

NOTES

END NOTE

1The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.
NOTE: This special edition of *Case in Point* is based on the research findings of the Massachusetts Treatment Center in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Unlike some of the other editions in this series that focused on investigative aspects of serial child molesters and abductors, this piece includes special insights for health care and child protection professionals.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has joined in cooperation with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, to examine and study the case histories of serial child molesters and abductors and disseminate the results to criminal justice professionals. The focus of this special edition is on juvenile serial child molesters. Although sexually motivated child abductors are fewer in number, these are the child abductors whose identities are most likely to be unknown at the time of the offense.

To date the U.S. Department of Justice’s Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention’s National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Throwaway Children in America (NISMART) has provided the only scientific estimates of the incidence of nonfamily abduction of children. There were an estimated 3,200-4,600 nonfamily abductions in the United States in 1988 in which a child [younger than] 18 was taken, lured, or detained against [his or her] will by someone who is not a member of the child’s family. Among those cases recorded in a sample of police sexual assault files, most (89 percent) were girls and most of the victims were minorities; 41 percent were Black, 29 percent were Hispanic, and 24 percent were [Caucasian]. Twenty-three (23) percent were 16 to 17 years of age; 12 percent were 14 to 15 years of age; 10 percent were 12 to 13 years of age; 14 percent were ages 9 and [younger]; and in 41 percent of the cases the age of the victim was not specified. Virtually all (99 percent) of the perpetrators were male; 18 percent of the perpetrators were aged 16 to 20; 14 percent were aged 21 to 30; and the age of the perpetrators was unknown in 61 percent of the cases. Half of the perpetrators were classified as strangers and 41 percent were acquaintances of the victim. While distance and duration were generally not well reported, it was found that in 43 percent of the cases the victim was moved from the street.

For purposes of this research a *child* will be defined as anyone not yet 18 at the time of the molestation or abduction. Although the sexually motivated abduc-tion of one such child would qualify an offender for this study, the focus will be on offenders who demonstrated a pattern of preferring child victims and not selecting them as vulnerable substitutes for adult victims. This is not intended to be a study of child killers and, therefore, the majority of offenders interviewed and studied will be those who abducted their child victims but did not kill them.

The goal of the *Serial Child Molester and Abductor Program* is to gain insights into the backgrounds, behavior, and techniques of such offenders in order to either prevent their crimes or identify and stop them more quickly.

Serial child abductors and molesters pose one of the most dangerous threats to the safety of our children. Although the number of such offenders is unknown, each of these criminals typically has a very large number of victims and long history of criminal behavior.

The MTC was established in 1959, under Section 123A of the Massachusetts General Laws, for the evaluation and treatment of “sexually dangerous persons.” This law provides that a person found guilty of a sexual offense can be committed to the Massachusetts Treatment Center for a period of time from one day to life if he is judged to be sexually dangerous. This special edition of the *Case in Point* series examines juvenile sexual offenders.

**THE JUVENILE SEX OFFENDER**

The wide variety of adult sexual offenders has been well documented, and concerted efforts are underway to identify groupings of similar types or subgroups of offenders for the purposes of determining origins of the behavior, improving prediction, and enhancing dispositional decisions. No comparable classification
The purpose of this study was to examine what dimensions might serve as reasonable points of departure in the search for models for classifying juvenile offenders. Although speculations about the classification of juvenile sexual offenders exists, no compelling, reliable, validated classification system has emerged. Consequently we chose to examine two reliable, reasonably valid classification systems that we have generated—one for rapists and one for child molesters—as preliminary models.

The subjects in this study were child molesters who had been observed at the Massachusetts Treatment Center for Sexually Dangerous Persons in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. The term “child molester” refers to an adult male whose sexual offenses were committed against victims younger than 16. A sexual offense was defined as any sexually motivated assault involving physical contact with the victim.

Subjects in the entire sample initially were divided into two groups—those whose criminal records indicated that they had been charged with or convicted of a sexual offense prior to their nineteenth birthday. We refer to this sample as our juvenile sex offenders (JSO). Those who had not been charged or convicted of a sexual offense until after their nineteenth birthday are referred to as nonjuvenile sex offenders (NJSO). From the subsample of those offenders who had been administered a confidential, computerized Developmental Interview, we were able to identify a third group of offenders. This group consisted of offenders who reported that they engaged in sexually coercive behavior as adolescents. According to court records and criminal history information, however, these men were never charged or apprehended as adolescents. We refer to this group as “hidden” juvenile sex offenders (HJSO).

This MTC study examined a number of descriptive aspects of these child molesters, and the research findings are highlighted in the table on page 9. The following case histories offer insights into these three different types of sexual offenders. [NOTE: All names and some locations have been changed.]

SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: JUVENILE SEX OFFENDER

Jason was committed to MTC for a one-day-to-life sentence when he was 21 years old after being convicted of three counts of Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child Under 14. He was also given an eight-year concurrent prison sentence.

Jason’s first sexual offense was at age 14 with an 8-year-old girl. Jason attacked the victim, with a small chain, outside of a movie theater. Although she told him to stop, he began pinching and fondling her in the genital area. Another child tried to stop him, but was unable to thwart the attack. Jason then pushed the victim on the ground and started to punch her. The victim’s mother came along, and Jason ran away. Jason was identified, charged with Indecent Assault and Battery, convicted, and given probation.

Jason’s second sexual offense was at age 16 and involved a 5-year-old boy who lived in the same apartment house. Jason invited the victim to his apartment to play checkers. During the game he pulled the boy’s pants down and flicked his finger against the boy’s penis. He then placed the boy’s hand on his own penis. Jason then put his finger in the boy’s rectum and attempted to penetrate him with his penis. He held the boy while doing this. The victim broke free and left the apartment. A month later the boy told his mother and the police what Jason had done.

Jason’s third sexual offense occurred when he was 16 years old and involved a 7-year-old girl. Jason and his family were camping at a state park. The victim and three other girls were walking up from a lake when Jason approached them. He asked the victim if she wanted a piggyback ride. She said no, but he grabbed her and took her into the nearby woods out of sight of the other girls. He pulled her shorts down and fondled the child’s vagina, penetrating her with his finger. He then took her back to the campsite after threatening to slap her if she told anyone. She was questioned by her uncle who became suspicious after she acted “peculiar,” and she told him what Jason had done. The uncle called the police. Upon investigation of the charge Jason was indicted and convicted of Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child Under 14 and committed to the Department of Youth Services. At the time of the above offense the subject had been attending out-patient counseling as a result of his prior sexual offenses.

Jason’s fourth offense occurred the same year. One day when Jason’s sister was babysitting for a 6-year-old boy in her family’s apartment, Jason brought the child into the bedroom, made the boy touch his penis, and licked the boy’s penis. Jason was once again committed to the Department of Youth Services for this offense.

Between the ages of 10 and 16 Jason was convicted of several nonssexual offenses including charges for Larceny, Receiving Stolen Property, Breaking and Entering, and Forger. For these crimes he was committed to the Department of Youth Services.

Jason’s fifth offense occurred when he was 17 years old. Jason was babysitting for his step-sister’s 3-year-old son. During the time he was babysitting he fondled the boy’s penis and stuck his finger in the boy’s anus. Later that night, as the boy’s mother was trying to get him ready for bed, he cried, hit her, and would not let her get near him. Remembering a television program on child abuse, she brought a doll to her son and asked him to tell her, by using the doll, what happened while Jason was babysitting that day. The boy put his finger at the rear of the doll and said that Jason put his finger there. The boy then started playing with his penis and said Jason did that too. The boy also told his mother that Jason threatened to cut him with a knife if he told anyone.

As a result of the above assault, Jason was charged with and convicted of two counts of Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child Under 14 and received a four- to six-year sentence along with a one-day-to-life civil commitment to MTC. He was also tried and convicted for a series of unrelated, nonssexual offenses including Using a Motor Vehicle Without Authority, Breaking and Entering, Larceny in a Building, Attempting to Commit a Crime, Operating a Motor Vehicle to Endanger Lives, and Leaving the Scene After a Property Damage Accident. For these nonssexual crimes he was given a two-year jail sentence to run concurrently with his sentence for the sexual offense.

Jason is the third of four children. His parents owned a cab company and subsequently spent little time with the children. All of his siblings have had serious behavior problems and were, at one time or another, placed in institutions for their misconduct. Jason was put on Ritalin for a short time when he was 7 years old with no apparent improvement in his behavior. He was enuretic until age 10. Jason was a serious discipline problem by the time he was 8 years old. He would swear, throw furniture, put his fists through windows, and break windows with a baseball bat.
In school he was a serious behavior problem as well. Beginning in kindergarten Jason was impulsive, had temper tantrums, threw things, fought with and stole from other children, and swore. He was often truant, verbally abusive to teachers, and suspended several times for his behavior. Jason was forced to leave public school due to his serious behavior problems and subsequent court placements.

Jason was first removed from his home at age 13 due to reported physical abuse by his father. Department of Social Services reports indicated signs of emotional deprivation as well.

At age 13 Jason was assigned a Big Sister. At age 14 he was placed in a foster home. This placement lasted two months before he was removed for stealing. His second foster placement lasted two weeks. He ran away because he thought the discipline at the home was too strict. He was returned to his biological family and remained there for a short time. It was at this time that Jason committed his first sexual assault. He was next sent to a Department of Youth Service facility and then transferred to several other placements. He would often steal from the staff at these placements. During an evaluation to determine a suitable long-term placement, Jason was found to be in a habitual state of depression. It was determined that he was a neglected child, and he was placed in the care and custody of the Department of Social Services. He threatened suicide on several occasions during this time and was committed to the children’s unit at the state hospital. He was subsequently transferred to an outreach program where he did reasonably well. He spent approximately one year in this program and was returned home to his parents when he was 16 years old. It was shortly after his return home that he began a series of sexual assaults.

Jason’s parents divorced when he was away from home at the Department of Youth Services placement. His mother remarried several months later, and Jason resided with her and his new stepfather. His father also remarried a few months after the divorce.

In spite of his serious behavior problems Jason managed to have friends while growing up. Most of these friends were, however, in trouble with the law and in general “trouble makers.” He was classified as developmentally, emotionally, and socially retarded and was observed to have very poor judgment and be verbally and physically aggressive. He was extremely sensitive to criticism and became aggressive and defensive quickly when he felt threatened.

### SPECIAL CASE HISTORY A: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS

The following significant life events and behaviors of Jason were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

**Personal History**
- removed from parents’ home at age 13 due to physical abuse by father
- placed in foster homes from age 14 to 16
- temper tantrums as a young boy

**School Records**
- serious behavior problems
- frequent truancy
- verbally abusive to teachers
- suspended several times

**Chronic Behaviors**
- physically and verbally aggressive
- constant behavior problem
- suicide threats

**Sexual Behaviors**
- male and female victims, ranging from 3 to 8 years of age
- first sexual offense at age 14
- no serious physical injury to victims

**Personal Characteristics**
- physically and verbally aggressive from an early age
- very poor judgment
- very poor impulse control
- severe deficits in social and interpersonal skills
- highly defensive

**Crime Classification**

The classification of low social competence is based on the absence of any long-term relationships or jobs. His sexual offenses span a three-year period beginning at age 14, therefore sexual preoccupation with children is classified as high. Jason’s contact and involvement with children was, for the most part, limited to his sexual assaults. Thus non-offense contact with children was classified as low. None of the victims were seriously injured, yielding a physical injury to victim classification of low. Finally there was an apparent absence of any sadistic fantasies or behaviors. Jason is a fairly impulsive, exploitative offender with a long track record of criminal activity. His sexual offenses gratified momentary sexual urges and were not linked to any fantasies of his victims as social companions.

Social Competence: low
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: absent
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B:
“HIDDEN” JUVENILE SEX OFFENDER

Gerald was remanded to MTC for a one-
day-to-life commitment when he was 30
years old. The current offense that event-
tually led to the commitment involved
several incidents of sexual activity with
many boys ranging in age from 5 to 15.
One of the victims, a 7-year-old boy, died
as a result of what Gerald stated was an
accident. He was charged with seven
counts of Unnatural Acts and one count of
Murder. The Murder charge was
dropped due to improper arrest pro-
cedures. Gerald, then age 23, enticed
several boys to indulge in sexual activi-
ties with him. He was not, however,
charged with all of the sexual incidents
that he had been involved with over a
period of many years prior to his arrest.

Gerald enlisted several boys to par-
ticipate in sex. They reportedly were all
willing participants to whom he gave small
amounts of money in return for their
participation. He took these boys to a
secluded area along a riverbank. Once there he took
the boy to the secluded area along the riverbank. Once there he took
the boy’s penis out of his pants and
played with it. Then he put the boy’s
penis in his mouth. When the boy started
to cry, Gerald grabbed him by the back of
the neck and, holding on to his clothes,
dangled him over the river. Gerald reported
that he lost his grip, and the boy fell into
the river and drowned. Gerald stated that
he ran along the riverbank in an effort to
get the boy, but could not catch him. Dur-
ing the investigation of the murder, it was
discovered that Gerald was known to many
boys in the town for his sexual exploits
with adolescents and subsequently linked
to the death of the 7-year-old boy. He
was found guilty on seven counts of
Unnatural Acts and remanded to MTC
for a one-day-to-life commitment.

Gerald is the youngest of three chil-
dren. His delivery at birth was a difficult
one, and he was always a frail child. His
father was a truck driver with no alcohol,
criminal, or psychiatric history, but it is
reported that he would often strike Gerald
with an open hand. He died when Gerald
was 12 years old. Following the death of
Gerald’s father, Gerald’s mother began
drinking heavily and blamed Gerald for
her husband’s death. She consistently
belittled Gerald telling him he was no
good. When he was 17 years old, Gerald
taped some of her degrading remarks and
secluded himself in his bedroom, listen-
ting to the tapes while getting drunk.

Gerald started drinking at age 12,
shortly after his father’s death and drank
more and more as he grew older. He would
often get drunk and on several occasions
experienced blackouts. He felt very
unwanted by both parents and was
enrgetic until he was 17 years old.

At age 6 he was sexually molested by
an older boy. He was molested by an adult
male when he was 7 years old, which
included fondling and fellatio. At age 12
he was sexually involved with a 40-year-
old man who lived next door. Gerald stated
he had sexual intercourse once or twice
when he was a teenager.

Gerald attended parochial school from
the first to the seventh grade, repeating
grades two and four. He attended public
school for the eighth and ninth grade, but
because of poor grades was transferred
to a vocational school.

He has had only one job since age
18. He was employed by a newspaper
company as a conveyer operator and
considered a good worker by his employer.
He was employed there until his most
recent arrest.

Gerald has had difficulty relating to
women for as long as he can remember
and has always felt uncomfortable around
them. In spite of this he had been seeing
a woman for two years prior to his arrest.
He said that they never had sexual inter-
course, but he thought they might have
gotten married if he had not been arrested.

Gerald has a long history of homosexual
experiences. As he grew older he contin-
ued his homosexual activities with
younger boys, many of whom apparently
were willing participants. He also has a
history of multiple paraphilias including
voyeurism and masochism. Indeed sev-
eral of his offenses were noteworthy for
their explicit masochism.

Following his arrest, Gerald was
committed to the state hospital for
observation to determine competency
for trial. After being diagnosed as
schizophrenic and chronic
undifferentiated type, he was found not
competent to stand trial. He was commit-
ted to the state hospital and remained
there for seven years. He eventually was
found competent and remanded to MTC
for a one-day-to-life commitment.
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY B: SIGNIFICANT LIFE EVENTS
The following significant life events and behaviors of Gerald were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

**Personal History**
- frail as a child
- father died when Gerald was 12 years old
- sexually assaulted at age 6 and again at age 7
- heavy drinker
- held one job from age 18 to arrest
- never married

**School Records**
- no behavior problems
- poor academic performance
- repeated second and fourth grades

**Chronic Behaviors**
- alcoholism

**Sexual Behaviors**
- victims all male ranging from 5 to 15 years of age
- many consenting homosexual experiences
- one victim died as a result of assault
- masochist

**Personal Characteristics**
- great difficulty relating to women

**Crime Classification**
The classification of social competence for Gerald is straightforward. He was never married, and there is no evidence that he ever sustained any long-term relationship with a peer. But he does report having many homosexual encounters. Gerald’s known offenses did not begin until the age of 23 and spanned a period of roughly one year. Although this alone qualifies Gerald for a classification of high sexual preoccupation with children, he had in fact been sexually involved with young boys since he was 15 years old. All of Gerald’s contacts with children occurred in the context of an offense, hence the low non-offense contact with children rating. The classification of high injury results from the death of the 7-year-old boy. The classification of sadism, however, poses the greatest problem. If the death was an accident (i.e., he was trying to scare the child into complying with his sexual wishes, but never intended on dropping the child into the river), as he reported, then sadism would be coded as absent. If he was deriving any sexual gratification by placing the child in fear, or if the death occurred prior to drowning (i.e., from head wounds) during sexual contact, then sadism would be considered present. When the victim’s body was recovered, there were head wounds that did not appear to be the result of drowning (i.e., wounds that did not result from contact with rocks in the river). The injury evidenced in the last offense in conjunction with Gerald’s known history of masochist behavior as reported earlier with his other victims lead to a classification of sadism. That is, given Gerald’s attraction to a number of different deviant sexual practices, including masochism, which may be associated with sadism, we have inferred the presence of sadism in the governing offense involving homicide. This is, however, a difficult classification since we do not have explicit behavioral evidence of sadism.

Social Competence: low
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: low
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: present
SPECIAL CASE HISTORY C: NONJUVENILE SEX OFFENDER

Thomas was committed to MTC when he was 33 years old. He received two, 12- to 15-year concurrent sentences as well as a one-day-to-life civil commitment to MTC. He was convicted on two counts of Rape of a Child, and three counts of Indecent Assault and Battery on a Child Under 14.

These charges stem from several sexual offenses spanning a six-month period of time. Thomas, then age 31, was living with a woman and her three daughters, ages 7, 8, and 9. On one occasion he told the three girls and one of their friends, age 10, that he was going to make a movie of them with his video camera. They were told to remove their clothes and “bend over and spread their cheeks into the camera.” They were then told to turn around and spread their legs and to play with their “kitty” (vagina). He then told one of them to get on the other’s back and ride her like a horse.

On another occasion Thomas went into the 9-year-old daughter’s room, told her to get into bed, and then climbed in himself. He lifted up her pajamas, told her to remove her panties, and instructed her to sit on his face while he licked her anus. She was then told to play with his penis by pulling it up and down. He then told her to suck on his penis, which she did until he ejaculated. On other occasions he penetrated the victim’s anus with his finger and the victim’s vagina with his penis.

Three months later the 9-year-old daughter and her 10-year-old girlfriend were with Thomas. He asked them if they wanted to watch a movie. The movie depicted women urinating on men. After the movie the two girls accompanied Thomas into the bedroom. Both girls were told to remove their clothes, and the 10-year-old was instructed to sit on his face while the 9-year-old played with his penis. After a while he had the girls change places. Thomas then penetrated the 9-year-old’s vagina with his finger. He eventually allowed them to dress, and they left the bedroom.

Two months later the same 9-year-old girl was sleeping at a friend’s house. Thomas was also there. During the night he got into bed with the girl, and he had her masturbate him to ejaculation. These sexual activities took place on various occasions, sometimes involving only the 9-year-old and other times involving all the girls. Thomas would also show them pornographic films while he was babysitting for them, and they would then duplicate the sexual acts that they saw in the films. When asked why they had not reported these incidents to their mother, the girls replied that Thomas said they would be in “big trouble” if they told anyone about what they were doing.

During the time that these sexual assaults with the children were occurring, Thomas moved in with the mother of one of his victims. He persuaded the woman to bring other men home and had her perform sexual acts with these men while he watched through a peephole in the bedroom wall. He also made peepholes in the bathroom and watched the young girls when they went to the bathroom. In addition Thomas had his woman friend urinate in his mouth, wherein he would swallow the urine. He also had her defecate while he watched.

In September 1980 Thomas, then age 27, was convicted of his first sex offense—three counts of Indecent Assault and Battery and three counts of Lewd and Lascivious Speech and Behavior—for which he was given a one-year suspended sentence and probation. This offense involved fondling a 12-year-old girl for whom he was babysitting.

Thomas is the oldest of seven siblings. His father was in the service, and, as a result, the family relocated frequently. His father drank and often got into barroom brawls. Thomas described his mother as a very passive, timid person who was, at best, a neglectful parent, failing to fill in for his father’s frequent absences.

Thomas was raped when he was 8 years old by a 27-year-old male acquaintance. He was again raped when he was 13 years old by another acquaintance.

He completed the tenth grade at age 16 and dropped out of school. No serious behavior problems were reported during his school years.

At the age of 14 he began experimenting with drugs including alcohol, LSD, marijuana, model glue, and turpentine. He reportedly stopped his polydrug use at about age 15, but continued using alcohol. After his father’s death he began drinking heavily.

At age 18 Thomas joined the U.S. Marines. Shortly after joining it was discovered that he had a medical problem and was subsequently discharged from the service. After his discharge he worked for several years as an auto mechanic changing jobs a number of times. When he was 20 years old Thomas invested in a service station. He worked there for four years until he was forced to leave due to a serious motorcycle accident. As a result of this accident he had to undergo several operations over the next two years leaving him with one leg shorter than the other. This physical disability prevented him from working for the next two years. Although he eventually returned to work, he remained limited in terms of physical tasks.

Thomas married for the first time at age 20, reportedly to get away from home. There were two children from this marriage. There were many separations and, after four years, they divorced. Following his divorce he dated several women, and lived with a few of them for brief periods of time. He remarried at age 30, and his wife had one child. This marriage also was plagued by many separations. It was, in fact, while he was still married that he moved in with the woman who was enticed into performing a variety of deviant sexual acts with Thomas as well as other men that she brought home. Thomas eventually disclosed that he has been fascinated with and fantasized about sexual practices involving urine and defecation since he was an adolescent.
The following significant life events and behaviors of Thomas were obtained from interviews with the subject and the institutional records.

**Personal History**
- family moved frequently
- mother very passive
- father heavy drinker, fought often
- father frequently absent
- sexually assaulted at age 8
- sexually assaulted again at age 13
- serious motorcycle accident leaving him with a physical disability
- discharged from the U.S. Marines due to medical problems
- married at age 20, two children, divorced four years later
- married second time at age 30, one child
- many separations in both marriages

**School Records**
- quit school at age 16 in tenth grade
- no problems in school

**Chronic Behaviors**
- polysubstance abuse until about age 15
- heavy alcohol abuse

**Sexual Behaviors**
- victims all females, ranging from 7 to 12 years of age
- preoccupied with sexual and sadomasochistic fantasies
- practiced voyeurism and masochism
- obsessed with urine, feces, and anuses

**Personal Characteristics**
- passive aggressive personality
- angry and hostile attitude
- narcissistic

**Crime Classification**
Thomas presents a somewhat unusual classification case. With his history of relationships with adult women, two marriages, several children, and reasonably stable employment, he clearly is “high” in social competence. Although his sexual preoccupation with children must be considered as “high” given his extensive sexual contact with many victims, his sexual offenses appear to have a very late onset (i.e., when he is about 27 years old). There is no evidence, either from the institutional files, criminal records, or his confidential self-report, that he committed any sexual offenses prior to the age of about 27. His non-offense contact with children must also be considered “high” in that he spends considerable time with children, not all of which is offense-related. His contact is, however, highly exploitative and clearly intended to satisfy his sexual needs. What makes this case most unusual, however, is not the apparently late onset of sexual offenses, but the presence of a high degree of sexual fantasy, sexual preoccupation, and deviant sexual interests. When he does begin acting out, his behavior is marked by a fascination with urine and feces. In addition the sexually deviant behavior typically involved a variety of paraphilias including masochism and voyeurism. Despite the high degree of deviance, there was very little physical injury to the victims, and no evidence of sadism. Thomas, it would appear, was preoccupied with very deviant sexual fantasies long before he started acting on them. We can guess that in Thomas’s case, his relatively high level of social competence; his ability to sustain fairly stable, long-term relationships with adults; and his ability to, at least superficially, function as an adult within society, enabled him to keep from acting on his fantasies. How he satisfied his fantasies prior to his offenses and what happened at the age of 27 that “unleashed” his fantasy life are important questions to which the information does not provide answers.

Social Competence: high
Sexual Preoccupation with Children: high
Non-Offense Contact with Children: high
Physical Injury to Victim: low
Sadism: absent
### CASE STUDY COMPARISONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile Factors</th>
<th>Jason Juvenile Sex offender</th>
<th>Gerald &quot;Hidden&quot; Juvenile Sex Offender</th>
<th>Thomas Nonjuvenile Sex Offender</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject: Sexually Abused</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subject: Physically Abused</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subject: Physical/Emotional Deprivation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quality and Level of Interpersonal Relationships</td>
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<td>fair</td>
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<td>Unsocialized Behavior in Childhood and Adolescence</td>
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<td>low</td>
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<td>Unsocialized Behavior in Adulthood</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational Achievement</td>
<td>GED</td>
<td>10th grade</td>
<td>10th grade</td>
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### COMPARISON OF JUVENILE SEX OFFENDERS, "HIDDEN" JUVENILE SEX OFFENDERS, AND NONJUVENILE SEX OFFENDERS

About 40 percent of those adult sexual offenders with no official charges for juvenile sexual offenses reported that they did in fact commit one or more sexual assaults as adolescents. Thus the “actual” number of juvenile sexual offenders increased from 37 percent to 63 percent after the “hidden” cases were included. The results reported here were derived from analyses on three groups: the NJSOs (no evidence from clinical or criminal files and no report of juvenile sexual offenses, 36.5 percent of sample); JSOs (evidence from clinical or criminal files and self-report of juvenile sexual offenses, 36.5 percent of sample); and HJSOs (no evidence from clinical or criminal files of a juvenile sexual assault, but the offender reported that he did commit at least one assault as an adolescent, 27 percent of sample).

The hypotheses that JSOs would be higher in lifestyle impulsivity and general antisocial behavior were strongly supported. The JSOs were the highest in aggressive behavior in childhood and adolescence, though no different from the other two groups in aggressive behavior during adulthood. In measures of social and vocational competence, the JSOs again were consistently and significantly lower, with the HJSOs occupying something of a middle ground between the JSOs and the NJSOs. In achieved skill level, for instance, the JSOs were markedly lower than the HJSOs and the NJSOs (means of 0.52, 2.00, and 2.26 respectively), with the latter two groups not differing. In other instances, such as life management skills, the JSOs are the lowest, followed by the HJSOs and the NJSOs (means of 1.58, 2.67, and 3.37 respectively). Again, the overall quality of interpersonal relationships was rated as poorer for the JSOs. The HJSOs were similar to the NJSOs in childhood and adolescence, but seemed to slip in adulthood, occupying a clear middle position between the JSOs and the NJSOs.

The three groups were identical with respect to childhood experiences with sexual abuse. Three quarters of all subjects in each of the groups were sexually abused. Similarly, approximately half of the subjects in each group were emotionally abused. The only noteworthy group differences involved physical abuse. Physical abuse was evident in 82 percent of the HJSOs and 64 percent of the JSOs, but only in 37.5 percent of the NJSOs.

In conclusion poor social relationships; inferior life management skills; and impulsive, antisocial behavior were found to be related to both having been sexually aggressive as a juvenile and being apprehended for a sexual offense (i.e., being a JSO). The apprehended group had the lowest levels of social competence and the highest levels of antisocial behavior.
This is, of course, not surprising. The obvious difference between the JSOs and the HJSOs is that the offenders in the former group were caught. We have thus confirmed initial speculations that these men would be, overall, less competent.

Our hypothesis that juvenile sexual offenders were more likely to have been sexually assaulted during childhood was not supported. The percentage of offenders who experienced sexual victimization in childhood or adolescence was virtually identical for all three groups. In addition the average age of onset of sexual abuse for the three groups was comparable (11 for JSOs, 8 for HJSOs, and 10 for NJSOs). Thus, although sexual victimization clearly characterizes this sample of sexual offenders, it does not differentiate among the three groups. Although the NJSOs have the lowest percentage of physical abuse, the JSOs (with 64 percent) and HJSOs (with 82 percent) are inconsistent with expectations.

Since all subjects in all three groups ultimately committed sexual assaults, the age of onset of sexual aggression is the cardinal issue that was examined in this study. The average age of onset (the first official charge for a sexual assault) for the JSOs was 15, compared with 25 for HJSOs and 28 for NJSOs. In sum two questions arise from this study: (1) What factors are responsible for the early onset of sexually aggressive behavior on the part of the JSOs and the HJSOs? (2) What factors are responsible for some juvenile offenders being apprehended (JSOs) while others are not (HJSOs)? We have provided a tentative answer for the second question. As stated, the JSOs are distinguished by their greater degree of aggression, their higher level of impulsivity, and their lower level of social and interpersonal competence. Thus the HJSOs are more “competent” at eluding apprehension. The data examined in this study provided no answers, nor even any apparent clues, regarding the first question.

### GROUP COMPARISONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile Factors</th>
<th>Juvenile Sex Offender</th>
<th>&quot;Hidden&quot; Juvenile Sex Offender</th>
<th>Nonjuvenile Sex Offender</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject Sexually Abused</td>
<td>72.2%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>72.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subject Physically Abused</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subject Emotionally Abused</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
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<td>Educational Achievement*</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>2.94</td>
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<td>Achieved Skill Level**</td>
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<td>Quality of Interpersonal</td>
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<td>Relationships at Time of Index Offense*****</td>
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<td>Age at First Official Charge for Sexual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
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</table>

N = 50

**LEGEND**

* 2 = some high school education; 3 = completed high school or received GED
** 0 = unskilled; 1 = semiskilled; 2 = clerical
*** 4-point scale (1 = subject lived independently with financial aid for 1 year; 2 = subject entirely self-supporting and independent for 2 years
**** 2 = frequent heterosexual dating experiences; 3 = in a relationship for 1 year or less; 4 = in a relationship for longer than 1 year; 5 = cohabitated
***** 1 = infrequent heterosexual dating experiences; 2 = frequent dating; 3 = in a relationship for 1 year or less; 4 = cohabitated; 5 = at time of index offense subject divorced or separated
****** 6-variable scale (range: 0-1; 0 = absent; 1 = all variables present)
******* 8-point scale (range: 0-1; 0 = absent; 1 = all variables present)

2. The Crime Classification module is based on the following five elements: social competence, sexual preoccupation with children, non-offense contact with children, physical injury to child, and sadism. Following are the criteria used to classify an offender within this module.

I. Five criteria were used to determine social competence. If an offender fit two or more of the following criteria, then he was listed as having high social competence. If an offender fit fewer than two of the following criteria, then he was listed as having low social competence.
   A. Maintained a single job for three or more years.
   B. Involved in a sexual relationship with another adult that included marriage or cohabitation for at least one year.
   C. Provided evidence of assuming responsibility for parenting a child for three or more years.
   D. Actively involved in an adult oriented organization (nonvocationally related) with frequent adult interpersonal contact for one or more years.
   E. Maintained a friendship with an adult, not involving marriage or cohabitation, lasting at least one year and involving active contact and shared activities.

II. Three criteria were used to determine sexual preoccupation with children.
   A. The offender is considered to have a low sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and all of his sexual encounters with children (both charged and uncharged incidents) occurred within a six-month period of time. The offender is considered to have a high sexual preoccupation with children if he is older than 20 and there is evidence of three or more sexual encounters with children in which the time period between the first and third encounter is greater than six months. These encounters may be with a single victim over many incidents and should not be limited to charged offenses.
   B. For the offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children there is evidence that he has had enduring relationships with children (excluding parental contact). This includes sexual and nonsexual and professional and nonprofessional contacts.
   C. In addition an offender with a high sexual preoccupation with children initiates contact with children in numerous situations over his lifetime.

III. Many factors were taken into consideration when classifying non-offense contact with children. In general the amount of contact is a behavioral measure of the time spent with children. It includes both sexual and nonsexual situations, but excludes contact resulting from parental responsibilities. This definition must be distinguished from sexual preoccupation with children, which attempts to assess the strength of an individual’s pedophilic interest (i.e., the extent to which thoughts of children dominate his fantasy life).
   A. A low amount of non-offense contact with children is characterized by little or no contact with children in nonsexual contexts (e.g., jobs, hobbies, or recreation). In general the only contact such a person has with children is in the context of sexual assault.
   An offender with high non-offense contact with children has regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts. It is assumed that repeated sexual encounters with the same child implies the development of a relationship that goes beyond sexual involvement. For that reason, when there are three or more sexual encounters with the same victim, the offender is coded as having high non-offense contact with children.

IV. Low physical injury to victim is characterized by the absence of physical injury to the victim and the presence of only such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats—as long as these acts result in no lasting physical injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, or contusions). High physical injury to victim includes hitting, punching, choking, aggressive sodomy (i.e., any violence causing moderate to severe physical injury to the victim, including death). High injury also includes forcing the victim to ingest urine or feces.

V. In regards to sadism there must be evidence that the offender is sexually aroused or otherwise derives pleasure from placing the victim in pain or fear. It is necessary to rely upon behavioral evidence, such as the use of violence to facilitate arousal or ritualized, bizarre acts, and to rely upon evidence of sadistic fantasies. Other examples of sadistic acts include: aggressive sodomy, object insertion, or violence focused on breasts, genitals, or the anus. A presence of any of the above behaviors, in conjunction with high physical injury (see IV above), would qualify an offender to be rated high in sadism. The offender may be classified as muted sadistic when there is evidence of sadistic fantasies or behavioral evidence that suggests sadism (such as bondage, insertion of foreign objects) in the absence of high physical injury. In the case of muted sadism, pain and injury may be feigned, but not actually inflicted. If none of the above factors were present, sadism would be rated as absent.
The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime

The National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) is part of the FBI’s Critical Incident Response Group. NCAVC combines investigative/operational support functions, research, and training in order to provide assistance, without charge, to federal, state, local, and foreign law-enforcement agencies investigating unusual, bizarre, or repetitive violent crimes. This effort is augmented in the field by more than 150 NCAVC Coordinators who provide a necessary and effective link between NCAVC and FBI field offices and local law enforcement.

NCAVC supports major violent criminal cases for all levels of law enforcement by providing the services noted below.

- Profiles of unknown offenders
- Crime analysis
- Personality assessments
- Threat assessments
- Investigative strategies
- Interview strategies
- Trial preparation and prosecutive strategies
- Support for search-warrant affidavits
- Expert testimony
- Coordination of other resources including the use of FBI Evidence Response Teams and FBI laboratory services

NCAVC staff members deploy, as necessary, to provide on-site assistance. Other assistance is provided through telephone communication or through consultations where investigators travel to Quantico, Virginia.

NCAVC also serves the law-enforcement community by producing such resources as the Child Abduction Response Plan. This guide was developed to assist investigators in the very time-sensitive, life-threatening investigations involving child kidnapping.

The changing trends in violent criminal behavior necessitate continuous staff training and research, which directly impacts on NCAVC’s ability to provide useful crime analyses. NCAVC staff members conduct behaviorally based research in such areas as serial murder, weapons of mass destruction, sexual homicide, child abduction or sexual exploitation, threat assessment, serial rape, and school violence. Results of the research are incorporated into training and operational functions and shared with the law-enforcement community through presentations and publications in professional journals.

H.R. 3494, legislation passed in 1998, created the Morgan P. Hardiman Child Abduction and Serial Murder Investigative Resources Center (CASMIRC). CASMIRC is to provide investigative support through the coordination and provision of federal law-enforcement resources, training, and application of other multidisciplinary expertise, to assist federal, state, and local authorities in matters involving child abductions, mysterious disappearance of children, child homicide, and serial murder across the country.

NCAVC works in close coordination with other federal agencies and organizations. In child exploitation or abduction matters, NCAVC maintains a strong liaison with the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children and Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention within the U.S. Department of Justice.

Requests for services should be directed to the nearest FBI field office or The National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime
FBI Academy
Route 1
Quantico, Virginia 22135-0002
U.S.A.
703-632-4400
The National Center for Missing & Exploited Children, established in 1984 as a private, nonprofit organization, serves as a clearinghouse of information on missing and exploited children; provides technical assistance to the public and law-enforcement agencies; offers training programs to law-enforcement and social-service professionals; distributes photographs and descriptions of missing children worldwide; coordinates child-protection efforts with the private sector; networks with nonprofit service providers and state clearinghouses on missing-person cases; and provides information on effective legislation to help ensure the protection of children per 42 USC § 5771 and 42 USC § 5780. NCMEC, in conjunction with the U.S. Postal Inspection Service, U.S. Customs Service, and Federal Bureau of Investigation, serves as the National Child Pornography Tipline (1-800-843-5678) and hosts the CyberTipline® at www.cybertipline.com.

A 24-hour, toll-free telephone line, 1-800-THE-LOST (1-800-843-5678), is available in the United States and Canada for those who have information on missing and exploited children. The toll-free number when dialing from Mexico is 001-800-843-5678, and the “phone free” number when dialing from Europe is 00-800-0843-5678. The CyberTipline for online reporting is available worldwide at www.cybertipline.com. The TTY line is 1-800-826-7653. The NCMEC business number is 703-274-3900. The NCMEC facsimile number is 703-274-2200. The NCMEC web-site address is www.missingkids.com.

For information on the services offered by our NCMEC branches, please call them directly in California at 714-508-0150, Florida at 561-848-1900, Kansas City at 816-756-5422, New York at 585-242-0900, and South Carolina at 803-254-2326.

A number of publications, addressing various aspects of the missing- and exploited-child issue, are available free of charge in single copies by contacting the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children’s Publications Department at

Charles B. Wang International Children’s Building
699 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314-3175
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Child Molesters Who Abduct: Summary of the Case in Point Series

Foreword

Introduction

Method

Results

Discussion

Investigative Analysis and Summary of Teaching Points

References

Appendix