

AN EXPLORATION OF BURGLARIES COMMITTED BY SEXUAL OFFENDERS

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Amelie Pedneault

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The Designated Thesis Committee Approves the Thesis Titled  
AN EXPLORATION OF BURGLARIES COMMITTED BY SEXUAL OFFENDERS

By

Amelie Pedneault

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE STUDIES

SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

August 2010

Dr. Danielle Harris, Department of Justice Studies

Dr. Mark Correia, Department of Justice Studies

Mrs Maureen Lowell, Department of Justice Studies

## ABSTRACT

### AN EXPLORATION OF BURGLARIES COMMITTED BY SEXUAL OFFENDERS

by Amelie Pedneault

The presence of burglary charges in the criminal career of a male sex offender has been found as a valid empirical predictor of the seriousness of the criminal career of the offender. Burglary is systematically classified as a property offense in studies about the criminal careers of sex offenders. This approach ignores the possible sexual and versatile dimensions of burglary and hides a possible escalation of the offender toward sexual aggression in his incidents of burglary. This thesis remedies these gaps and investigates the various components of, and evidence of escalation in, incidents of burglary.

The sample of offenders is composed of 281 sex offenders with at least one incident of burglary. A second sample contains 762 separate incidents of burglary committed by these offenders. The results indicate a variety of characteristics in incidents of burglary. A typology is developed to represent these elements: nonsexual, covert sexual, overt sexual, and versatile. The thesis analyses the differences in the criminal careers of those sex offenders. Finally, the results also show various forms of escalation in incidents of burglary that are correlated with more violent criminal histories. This thesis discusses the implications of these findings with regards to the previous literature, particularly regarding specialization and versatility.

## Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Problem statement and aim of the thesis.....	1
1.2	Overview of the thesis.....	4
<b>2</b>	<b>REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE .....</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1	Burglary: prevalence and predictive value of future dangerousness .....	5
2.2	The problem of defining burglary as a property offense .....	8
2.2.1	Various types of burglary .....	9
2.3	Escalation in incidents of burglary .....	12
2.4	Hypotheses.....	14
<b>3</b>	<b>RESEARCH DESIGN.....</b>	<b>16</b>
3.1	Overview of the study.....	16
3.2	Sample.....	16
3.3	Measures.....	19
3.4	Procedures .....	21
3.5	Statistical data analyses.....	21
<b>4</b>	<b>RESULTS.....</b>	<b>23</b>
4.1	Two typologies: burglaries and burglars.....	23
4.1.1	Typology of burglaries .....	23
4.1.2	Typology of burglars.....	29
4.2	Escalation.....	35

<b>5</b>	<b>DISCUSSION.....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>LIMITATIONS.....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH.....</b>	<b>56</b>
	<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>58</b>
	APPENDIX A – List of variables, response options, and coding.....	62
	APPENDIX B – Decision rules.....	66
	APPENDIX C – Frequencies – characteristics of four types of burglary.....	67
	APPENDIX D – Frequencies – characteristics of four types of burglars.....	69
	APPENDIX E – Escalation.....	71

## List of Figures

Figure 1 - <i>Patterns of escalation- type of burglary</i> .....	37
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## List of Tables

Table 1 - <i>Prevalence of Burglary in Existing Samples of Sex Offenders</i> .....	7
Table 2 - <i>Typology of burglaries</i> .....	24
Table 3 - <i>Frequency – Type of weapon by burglary type</i> .....	27
Table 4 - <i>Chi-square – Characteristics of four types of burglary</i> .....	28
Table 5 - <i>Typology of burglars</i> .....	30
Table 6 - <i>Chi square –Burglars: Characteristics, criminogenic experience, criminal histories and sexual deviance</i> .....	34
Table 7 - <i>t-test –Burglars: General characteristics, criminal histories, and sexual deviance</i> .....	35
Table 8 - <i>Frequency – Forms of escalation</i> .....	38
Table 9 - <i>Frequency - Number of forms of escalation</i> .....	40
Table 10 - <i>t-tests - Criminal histories – 5 forms of escalation</i> .....	42
Table 11 - <i>ANOVA – Differences in the criminal histories of the offenders categorized by their number of forms of escalation</i> .....	43
Table 12 - <i>ANOVA –Total number of forms of escalation by burglar type</i> .....	45

## **1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Problem statement and aim of the thesis**

An English jurist named Edward Coke once wrote "The house of everyone is to him as his castle and fortress, as well for his defence against injury and violence as for his repose." (Semayne's case, 1604). This passage reflects the particular status of the residence in our culture: it is a place of safety and privacy for the occupants and their property. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that getting inside a residence illegally offers criminal opportunities to access people and valuable property in unique settings. For example, empirical studies showed that more than a third of rapes are perpetrated in residences (Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1985; McDermott, 1979; Amir, 1971; Macdonald, 1971). In addition, more than two thirds of burglaries perpetrated in the US in 2007 were in residences (67.9 percent) and resulted in important financial losses (FBI, 2008).

These findings indicate that burglaries occur in a range of circumstances, involve different behaviors, and can comprise a variety of characteristics. The author defines burglary as the illegal entry and presence of an offender in a structure. This definition treats burglary as an incomplete offense that is defined by the nature of the other offense(s) committed by the offender once inside the residence. This study focuses on the specific behaviors and components that were evident in each incident (e.g., sexual behaviors, financial gain behaviors). Importantly, this study is unable to account for deeper psychological motivations of burglary (e.g., thrill seeking, power seeking, anger

satisfaction) and is limited only to consideration of the behaviors that are known to have occurred during a burglary.

Burglary is a prevalent offense in the criminal histories of sex offenders. Offenders who commit at least one sexual offense are categorized as sex offenders, and they are considered distinct from general offenders (Simon, 1997), particularly defined by their tendency to specialize in sexual aggression. Specialization indicates an offender that concentrates his criminal activities in one area of crime, such as sexual offenses (Soothill, Fitzpatrick, & Francis, 2009). Because they are assumed to be specialists in sexual aggression, their treatment is focused on their sexual rehabilitation.

Burglary is included in sex offenders assessment tools (like risk matrix) because it is considered to be a valid indicator of the dangerousness of a sex offender. In effect, sex offenders with histories of burglary have been found to have more serious criminal careers than sex offenders who did not commit burglary (Harris, Pedneault, & Knight, 2009a). The exact role played by burglary in sexual aggression is still unknown. It is fascinating to consider that even in a context where sex offenders are assumed to be specialists and to be oriented toward sexual aggression, studies about the criminal careers of sex offenders restrict burglary to financial gain (Harris, Smallbone, Dennison & Knight, 2009b; Lussier, LeBlanc, & Proulx, 2005a; Lussier, Proulx, & LeBlanc, 2005b; Mazerolle, Brame, Patternoster, Piquero, & Dean, 2000; Miethe, Olson, & Mitchell, 2006). Considering all burglaries as property crimes can hide other powerful dimensions, such as sexual gratification. Because sexual incentives are not included in studies about

the criminal careers of sex offenders, it might hinder the full comprehension of the role played by burglary in their criminal careers.

Particularly, LeBlanc and Fréchette (1989) identified burglary as a “stepping stone” or gateway toward sexual aggression, expressing a popular belief that burglary somehow leads to sexual aggression in the same way that smoking marijuana leads to more serious drugs. Schlesinger and Revitch (1999) noted that sexual killers often committed financial gain burglaries and sexual burglaries before they committed sexual murders. In addition, a history of burglary and/or sexual burglary can be found in the criminal histories of famous serial killers such as Richard Ramirez, Dennis Rader, Ted Bundy, Carlton Gary, and Albert DeSalvo. This idea of escalation in incidents of burglary is defined as the increase in seriousness of an offender’s criminal history (Soothill et al., 2009). These findings are interesting because they seem to indicate an escalation process that occurs in incidents of burglary.

The present exploratory study seeks to deepen the understanding of the significance of burglary in sexual offenders’ histories by defining it as an offense with a variety of behaviors and components, and as part of an escalation process. More specifically, four goals have been identified: develop one integrated typology of burglaries committed by sex offenders based on the nature of the characteristics revealed by the incident; investigate the differences in the criminal histories of sexual offenders based on their types of burglaries; explore the variety and frequency of types of escalation in incidents of burglary among sex offenders; investigate the differences in the criminal histories of sexual offenders based on their escalation in incidents of burglary.

## **1.2 Overview of the thesis**

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 reviews empirical findings relative to the significance of burglary in criminal careers of sexual offenders. This chapter also includes a subsection about burglary and escalation. These findings are discussed, and limitations and gaps in the current state of knowledge are identified to support the present thesis. Chapter 3 presents the research project, and details the study. More particularly, the research questions are stated, and the sample, measures and procedures are detailed. Chapters 4 and 5 present the results obtained and discuss their implications relative to the significance of types of burglaries and forms of escalation in the criminal histories of sexual offenders and their contribution to sex offender's assessment. Chapter 6 identifies the limitations of the present study. Finally, chapter 7 concludes the thesis by indicating the questions that future research should aim to answer.

## **2 REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE**

The present thesis aims to deepen our understanding about the significance of burglary in the criminal histories of sex offenders. This chapter reviews empirical findings relative to burglary and sexual aggression in order to place the present study in the context of existing literature and provide a specific focus of analysis for this thesis. First, the prevalence of burglary in the criminal histories of sex offenders is reviewed, and the link of burglary with future dangerousness is presented. Second, the literature in support of sexual and versatile dimensions of burglary is presented. Finally, the question of escalation in incidents of burglary is discussed.

### **2.1 Burglary: prevalence and predictive value of future dangerousness**

The starting point of this thesis is that burglary is a risk factor in the seriousness of the criminal career of a sex offender. Empirically, burglary has been found to be a valid predictor of the dangerousness of the criminal career of a sex offender, and it is included in assessment tools like the Risk Matrix (Thornton et al., 2003). Therefore, offenders with one or more incidents of burglary in their criminal history receive an additional point in the evaluation of their dangerousness. More particularly, two studies investigated the quantitative differences in the criminal careers of offenders who committed burglary then sex offenses and found burglary to be a risk factor.

Vaughn, DeLisi, Beaver, and Howard (2008) studied 500 frequent offenders incarcerated in an urban jail in Colorado between 1995 and 2000, 456 of whom had at least one arrest for burglary. Vaughn et al. performed a latent class analysis on those who had committed burglaries. Their analysis revealed four categories of burglars:

young versatile, vagrant, drug-oriented and sexual predators. The last group, the sexual predator burglars, represented only 6.1 percent of the sample; these offenders were especially distinct. They were the most violent, had the longest criminal careers, and had a history of sexual deviance. The authors indicated that these offenders were “disproportionately involved in the most serious forms and total incidence of crime” (Vaughn et al, 2008, p. 1390).

In addition, Harris et al. (2009a) studied the criminal careers of 828 men convicted of a sexual offense and evaluated at the Massachusetts Treatment Center between 1959 and 1991. They compared offenders who had at least one officially recorded burglary to offenders without burglary. Offenders with a record of burglary were twice as likely as offenders without a history of burglary to experience problems in elementary school and antisocial behavior during their adolescence. In addition, significantly more offenders with a history of burglary had a substance abuse problem and scored higher on the Psychopathy Checklist - Revised (Hare, 2003). Offenders with a record of burglary started their criminal activities earlier, were first charged at a younger age, and committed almost twice as many charges as offenders with no history of burglary. The length of their criminal career was also significantly longer than offenders without a record of burglary. Finally, offenders with a burglary were also more likely to recidivate with any type of crime, and to recidivate with a violent crime.

Moreover, it should be acknowledged that there is extensive evidence of previous burglary in existing samples of sexual offenders. Table 1 presents a summary of the results relative to the incidence of burglary in samples of sex offenders. In all these

studies, between 22 and 50 percent of the sex offenders' criminal histories included burglary. It is a consistent finding that a sizeable proportion of sexual offenders commit burglary.

Table 1

*Prevalence of Burglary in Existing Samples of Sex Offenders*

Study	Sample	Results relative to burglary
Davies and Dale (1996)	79 rapists	significant number of previous burglaries 7 prolific rapists attacked all their victims in their homes
Guttmacher (1963)	36 aggressive sex offenders	22 % had a previous record of burglary
Harris, Pedneault, & Knight (2009)	828 sex offenders	34% had previous record of burglary
Hazelwood and Warren (1989)	41 serial rapists	50% of the rapes occurred in the victim's home the most common nonsexual offense was B&E and burglary
Revitch (1965)	43 offenders who committed attacks on women	28% had a previous record of burglary
Schlesinger and Revitch (1999)	52 sexual murderers	42 % had a previous record of burglary
Scully and Marolla (1985)	114 convicted rapists	39% had previous record of burglary and robbery
Soothill, Francis, Sanderson & Ackerley (2000)	3,070 men convicted of a sexual offense against a woman in 1973 in England	24.2 % has a burglary prior or after their sex offense
van Mijk, Mali, Bullens and Vermeiren (2007)	256 juvenile violent sexual offenders	25% had previous property offenses

The findings presented indicate that burglary is prevalent in the criminal histories of sexual offenders and is associated with longer and objectively more serious and deviant criminal careers. Therefore, these findings clearly support the need for the present study.

## **2.2 The problem of defining burglary as a property offense**

As previously discussed, empirical findings indicate that burglary is a valid indicator of a sex offender's criminal career dangerousness. However, why this is the case is not explained by the research at this point. How burglary is linked with sexual aggression is unclear and has not been previously studied.

While looking at burglary in the criminal career pathways of sexual offenders, burglaries are categorized as property offenses (Harris et al., 2009b; Lussier et al., 2005a; Lussier et al., 2005b; Mazerolle et al., 2000; Miethe et al., 2006). In these analyses, burglary is viewed as purely financial, with no acknowledgement of sexual dimensions. According to that classification, burglary is an expression of criminal versatility, meaning that some sex offenders engage in a variety of crimes that are not sexual, one of which being burglary. This understanding of burglary supports a false construct of criminal versatility.

There are two problems with this classification of burglary as a property offense. First, it assumes a "one-size fits all" type of burglary. Treating burglary as motivated solely by financial gain in all cases is reductive and therefore does not account for other sexual or versatile characteristics. Second, classifying burglary strictly as a property offense denies the possibility of escalation that could occur during incidents of burglary.

After all, a burglary is an incomplete offense; its true nature is determined by the nature of the primary offense (e.g., theft, rape, assault) committed in the residence after the break-in. In other words, if burglary is evaluated and classified based on the characteristics of the incident, its nature will be different in different circumstances. Over time, a pattern might appear where an offender progressed in the seriousness of his incidents of burglary. These two problems identified are analyzed more thoroughly in the following paragraphs and are supported with pertinent empirical findings.

### **2.2.1 Various types of burglary**

Empirical evidence indicates that burglary is not always motivated by financial gain, but the picture is still complex. In the following paragraphs, the empirical evidence in support of broadening the definition of burglary beyond property offending is reviewed. First, the existing evidence of rapes occurring during burglaries is presented. Second, evidence of both rape and theft occurring in burglarized residences is discussed.

First, Schlesinger and Revitch (1999) uncovered sexual dimensions to burglary. They studied the criminal careers of 52 sexual murderers. They observed that 42 percent of the sample had a previous record of burglary. They developed a typology of sexual burglaries. *Covert sexual burglaries* were characterized by the absence of stolen property of any type. These burglaries were voyeuristic, and the offender aimed to observe a sexually arousing event, for example a women getting undressed or naked. This type of burglary involved breaking and entering in an occupied residence. *Overt sexual burglaries* were fetishistic. Property was not stolen because of its marketable value, but because of its sexually arousing value. Initially, a burglary of this type made little sense

because the offender went to the trouble to get access to a residence and appeared to have taken nothing. Items more likely to be stolen in overt sexual burglaries were women's pieces of clothing. Schlesinger and Revitch indicated that burglaries with strange circumstances (e.g., when the residence was occupied or when nothing of value was stolen) were indicators of implicit sexual motivations. Although Schlesinger and Revitch did a good job at identifying noncontact sexual dimensions, they failed to account for instances of contact sexual offenses during a burglary where a rape was committed after the break-in. This thesis aims to further their findings by acknowledging the presence of both contact and noncontact sexual characteristics of burglaries in an integrated typology.

There is sufficient evidence in the literature of rapes occurring during burglaries to support the argument that burglary is sometimes used to gain access to a sexual victim. A number of existing typologies support the argument that burglary is an accessory crime to rape in some cases. The various dimensions of three of these types are discussed hereafter. These types were selected because they represent the same criminal, or at least types of criminals with similar behavior relative to burglary and sex. First, Vaughn et al. (2008) identified the *sexual predator burglar*. He was violent, and had a history of sexual deviance. Second, in Groth's typology, the *power-reassurance rapist* was deemed more likely to break and enter in his victim's house to surprise her while she slept (Graney & Arrigo, 2002). Finally, in an analysis of rapists' target selection patterns, Rebocho, Beauregard, & Rossmo (2009) mentioned the *home intruder*, a rapist who used burglary to get access to sexual victims.

This idea of a link between rape and burglary is not new, as some offense-related behaviors are common to rape and burglary. Monahan, Marolla & Bromley (2005) found some similarities between rapists who rape stranger victims and general burglars. Both lacked planning, had no accomplice, and had no previous acquaintance with their victims. They also reported that rapes during a burglary were not uncommon. Davis, Wittebrood and Jackson (1997) also found common patterns in targets selection by rapists and burglars, and Warr (1988) found that the characteristics of a house that rendered it attractive in the eyes of a burglar were likely to render it attractive in the eyes of a rapist; isolation, easy access, and time were all considerations of the perpetrators of burglaries and rapes in residences. In addition, a stranger rapist was found to be more likely to have a previous record of burglary if he used forced entry (Davis et al., 1997). Guttmacher (1963) highlighted the sexual connotation of the legal term “breaking an entering”, and argued that it could be used to describe rape.

Second, some authors indicate versatility in incidents of burglary. In the context of a burglary incident, versatility indicates a variety of dimensions that might co-occur, including financial gain, covert sexual, overt sexual, and violent. Some studies suggest such versatility. Davis and Dale (1996) discussed the *burglar rapist* who offended further away geographically than a regular burglar, attacked women in upscale neighborhoods, and had precise requirements about the quality and value of stolen items. Their findings suggest a crossover between burglary, theft and sexual aggression; financial gain was part of the choice of his sexual victims for eight percent of their sample. Other studies identified instances of rape as a bonus to theft or theft as a bonus

to rape during residential burglaries (Scully & Marolla, 1985; Monahan et al., 2005). The frequencies of such occurrences were not reported or discussed, and the implications of these findings were nonexistent. These studies seem to indicate a very opportunistic and versatile dimension to burglary. It suggests the possibility of rape that is committed because of the presence of a suitable victim during a property burglary, and that of a theft committed because of the presence of valuable property during a rape. The present thesis investigates such occurrences more fully.

Clearly, a systematic classification of burglary as a property offense hides other powerful components in some burglary incidents. The literature reviewed previously supports the definition of burglary as an incomplete offense that is likely better defined by the nature of the primary offense (such as theft, rape, or assault) that accompanies the burglary. Depending upon which of these offenses is committed concurrently with the burglary, the burglary should be classified as a property, sexual, or violent offense. As stated by DeLisi and Walters (2008), “to the modal criminal offender, burglary is the pathway to access property; to others it is the gateway to the goals of kidnapping, rape, and murder.” This thesis aims to reflect the diversity of behaviors and characteristics of burglary, in particular nonsexual, covert sexual, overt sexual, and versatile burglaries. The thesis also aims to develop an integrated typology based on the presence of those characteristics.

### **2.3 Escalation in incidents of burglary**

Considering the variety of behaviors and characteristics implicated in burglary and that burglary can be used to gain access to valuable property, a violent victim, a

sexual victim or combination of those, it is reasonable to suggest that escalation can occur in the behavior of an offender during incidents of burglary. The movement of an offender from one type of burglary to another type over time might be “the stepping stone” toward sexual aggression discussed by LeBlanc and Fréchette (1989). This idea is in accordance with the general assumption of escalation in the field of sexual aggression. The general belief is that an offender starts with less serious offenses and progresses to more serious offenses. Burglary is particular, because of its status as an incomplete offense that is determined by the nature of the primary offense (e.g., theft, rape, or assault). Therefore, investigating the characteristics of incidents of burglary over time can unveil the escalation that can occur.

Davis et al. (1997) studied the criminal antecedents of rapists of stranger victims and found that a rapist who used forced entry in a residence to gain access to a victim was five times more likely to have a previous record of burglary than a rapist who did not, and, a rapist who stole from his sexual victim was four times more likely to have a previous record of burglary than a rapist who did not. These results found that some behaviors used during previous financial gain burglaries were often re-used by the offenders during subsequent sexual offenses, which could be indicative of an escalation process.

Escalation in incidents of burglary is also found in the criminal histories of the most serious sexual offenders. Schlesinger and Revitch (1999) mentioned that the 52 sexual murderers they studied had in large proportion histories of burglary and/or sexual burglary before they committed sexual murder. In fact, they noted that sexual murder

was accompanied by burglary in some incidents. Although they observed escalation, they did not specifically investigate that question. Similarly, in a study of 41 serial rapists, Hazelwood and Warren (1989) noted that breaking and entering and burglary were the most common nonsexual offenses. These were particularly prolific rapists since they accounted for a total of 837 rape incidents. Half of them committed rapes in their victim's home. It should be noted that these findings approach the question of escalation from the wrong angle of analysis: the most serious sex offenders (sexual killers or serial rapists) were studied. Considering instead the various characteristics and behaviors during burglary (financial gain, violent, covert sexual, overt sexual, and versatile) of a normal population of sexual offenders allows to collect generalizable data about the frequency and escalation process that occur in incidents of burglary.

Systematic classification of all burglaries as property offenses raises a second problem: it hides the escalation that can occur among incidents of burglary. This thesis aims to remedy this lack of acknowledgement of escalation in burglary incidents by measuring the frequency of types of escalation in a normal sample of sex offenders (not composed of the most dangerous serial rapists or sexual killers) and investigating the characteristics of the criminal careers of escalators.

## **2.4 Hypotheses**

The present study aims to explore the significance of burglary in the criminal careers of sex offenders, first by developing a clear typology of burglaries that accounts for diverse characteristics in recorded incidents of burglary. Because burglary is an incomplete offense that is seen as an accessory to a primary crime (like theft, assault, or

rape), it is hypothesized that the nature of burglary and its characteristics will differ depending on circumstances.

The second part of the present thesis aims to investigate frequency and types of escalation in burglary. Because this part of the thesis is largely exploratory, the author has only an expectation that escalation will occur in the incidents of burglary of some offenders.

### **3 RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **3.1 Overview of the study**

In the first part of the study, two typologies are developed. The first one presents different types of burglaries committed by sex offenders. This first typology aims to report information about the burglaries themselves. The focus of analysis changes in the second typology, where sex offenders are categorized based on the types of burglary they committed. The aim in the second typology is to report information about the sex offenders who commit burglary and the characteristics of their criminogenic experience and sexual deviance.

The second part of the study focuses on escalation. Specifically, it investigates the nature of escalation (if any) in the burglaries committed by sex offenders. Different forms of escalation are reviewed. They include the following variables: type of burglary, method of entry, frequency of burglary, occupancy, presence of a weapon, use of violence, and relationship of the offender with the victim. The results illustrate the prevalence of specific forms of escalation among the burglaries of sex offenders.

#### **3.2 Sample**

The sample used for the present study is composed of 281 male sex offenders who committed at least one burglary. They were selected from a larger sample of 828 male offenders who attended the Massachusetts Treatment Center for Sexually Dangerous Persons (MTC) in Bridgewater between 1959 and 1991. Another researcher (Harris, 2008) had access to the 828 files, and she selected the offenders' files based on their

criminal histories and the characteristics of their sex crimes. The first criterion of inclusion was an official record of breaking and entering or burglary. Second, the files of rapists who had committed a sexual offense in the victim's house (but who were not charged officially with breaking and entering or burglary) were also selected. This allowed for an examination of the use of trickery and false pretences to gain entrance to a structure. The resulting set of files was then reviewed by the author of the thesis. In the end, all 281 offenders whose file included behavioral evidence of burglary (i.e. either officially charged or not) were included in the sample. Specifically, this included offenders who entered a structure illegally, whether by breaking and entering, threat, opportunity, or false pretences.

The file of each offender contained information relative to his criminal history, the MTC evaluation data, the treatment plan, and data on subsequent criminal history. In addition, the file contained information relative to school, health issues, and psychological data. Previous to the present study, all 828 files were scanned electronically under supervision, and every piece of personal or identifying information was redacted from the files. The author of the thesis was given access and worked with electronic copies of the unidentifiable files of offenders who committed burglary.

The sample of sex offenders with burglaries is composed of 281 offenders. This represents 34 percent of the total sample. Precisely, the sample comprised 143 rapists, 93 child molesters, three incest offenders, 36 mixed offenders, and three nuisance offenders. The offender type was unclear in three cases. Rapists offended sexually against an adult female. Extra-familial child molesters offended sexually against children

for whom they were not a primary care provider, and incest offenders offended sexually against children for whom they were a primary care provider. Mixed offenders offended sexually against children and adults, and nuisance offenders committed noncontact sexual offenses, such as exposing themselves. All the offenders included in the sample were assessed at the MTC. Their sexual dangerousness was established, and a consequent decision to commit or release them was made. The number of offenders released is unknown.

The sample in itself must be questioned regarding the validity and generalizability of the findings. First, the period of time covered by the data collection should be kept in mind. The offenders studied were sent to the MTC between 1959 and 1991. The time period covered is considerable and cannot be considered as uniform regarding sociological, legal, and economical context. Questions are raised about the extent to which sex offenders in this period can be compared to sex offenders today. Particularly, the socioeconomic context has changed greatly, and its influence should not be underestimated, especially considering that the present study investigated aspects of burglary that could have been influenced by extreme poverty (e.g., some offenders had siblings who died from starvation) or socially condemned sexual practices (e.g., oral sex).

The representativeness of the sample is also a concern. The 281 offenders were from the Boston area and mostly white. Being sent to the treatment center instead of general incarceration might have been a selection bias. The extent to which the sample is representative of sex offenders in general is unknown, and in fact, these offenders cannot be found to be representative of any sample of sex offenders. Without replication, the

present study's findings cannot be generalized broadly. Different communities and their relations to the residence, society opportunity structure, and socioeconomic context are all variables that could affect the present results.

As a last comment relative to the sample, it should be noted all the offenders in the present sample were sent to a treatment facility for sexual offenses. The sexual aspect of their burglaries might therefore be overstated. The applicability of the present study's findings will have to be determined by replication with other samples of offenders.

Nonetheless, the present study is still valuable and pertinent. Considering that little is known about sexual offenders, their lives and their criminal pathways, the sample used can contribute important knowledge about these offenders. This sample is extraordinary because of the richness of the offenders' files. They contain a lot of valuable information about the offenders, their lives, and their criminal histories. In addition, because the sample is older, information over their life course is included in those files. Such abundant information and details allow a research design where many variables are accounted for or controlled and can be further investigated.

### **3.3 Measures**

Each offender was categorized as a rapist, child molester, or mixed offender (*type of offender*) (see Appendix A). Demographic data were also collected including *age*, *race*, and *religion*. *Full scale IQ* data were coded from the file. The temporal position of each burglary among all burglaries by the offender was recorded. Each burglary was classified according to the following *burglary classification*: nonsexual burglary,

nonsexual burglary with theft motivation, nonsexual burglary with violence, covert sexual burglary, overt sexual burglary, and versatile sexual burglary.

In addition, multiple variables were measured in order to portray accurately the time and circumstances of each burglary incident. The *dates of each incident* were collected, in order to establish a time line. The *method of entry* was coded, as different offenders used force, threats, or trickery to enter a house or simply took advantage of an opportunity (unlocked door, open window). Combined methods of entry were also available response options, since some offenders who unsuccessfully tried to gain entrance by trickery would resort to threats or force. *Occupancy* was also collected, since a decision to break into an occupied residence might be indicative of a sexual dimension. The *nature of the property stolen* was coded, as it is indicator of underlying dimensions; it can indicate the sexual component of the burglary (e.g., female underwear) or on the contrary, give evidence of a financial aspect (e.g., valuables). When the burglary was sexual, characteristics of the victim were considered: *age, race, and relationship with the offender* (when available). The *presence of a weapon and use of violence* were also coded, because they increase the seriousness of the offense. Finally, in order to assess one type of escalation, for each burglary incident, the preceding and subsequent burglary types of each offense were recorded.

To analyze the significance of the types of burglary, variables that were already coded by another researcher were used and are reported in Appendix A. Relative to the criminogenic experience of each offender, the following variables were used: *elementary school problems, adolescent antisocial behavior, employment problems, PCL-R score,*

*and substance abuse problems.* With regards to the criminal histories of the offenders, the following variables were used: *length of criminal career in years, any recidivism, any violent recidivism, any sexual recidivism, total number of charges, and total number of each charge.* Finally, regarding the level of sexual deviance of the offenders, the variables that were considered were *total number of adult victims in crimes, total number of child victims in crimes, victim of sexual abuse, sexual preoccupation, emotional congruence with children, exhibitionism, fetishism, transvestism, voyeurism, and smear feces.*

### **3.4 Procedures**

The data were collected by coding offenders' files. A coding sheet was created with the variables described above, and one coding sheet was completed for each offender. The files of the 281 sexual offenders in the sample were coded by the author in order to ensure consistency of the coding. When questions arose regarding definitions or coding, another researcher and the author consulted one another and established decision rules. These decision rules are reported in Appendix B.

### **3.5 Statistical data analyses**

The first step of the analysis was to develop a typology of burglaries and a typology of burglars. Because this thesis is primarily exploratory, descriptive statistics were used to identify the characteristics of every type of burglar and burglary. Measures of central tendency were used to develop general portrayals of types of burglaries and types of burglars. Mode and frequency were used when the variable was categorical, and mean was used when the variable was continuous. Measure of dispersion (standard

deviation) was used to report how every incident of burglary or burglar differed from that general portrayal.

The second step of the analysis was to compare the types of burglaries, types of burglars, and escalators versus non-escalators. They were compared on different variables representing their general characteristics, criminogenic factors, criminal histories and sexual deviance. Independent samples t-tests were used to compare two groups of offenders on continuous variables. Specifically, they were used to compare nonsexual burglars to overt sexual burglars and escalators to nonescalators. ANOVA analyses were used to compare the five groups of escalators and four types of burglars on continuous variables. One-way ANOVA is the appropriate statistical test to compare the means of more than two groups. To identify where the significance lies, Bonferroni posthocs were used because they are the most conservative. Finally, Pearson's chi-square analyses were used to compare the four types of burglars and burglaries on categorical variables.

## **4 RESULTS**

### **4.1 Two typologies: burglaries and burglars**

As a preliminary note, it should be noted that, for the purpose of this thesis, burglaries were classified based on the nature of the characteristics that were present in the organization of each incident. Therefore, the nature of an incident was qualified as sexual if sexual behaviors were reported during the incident and nonsexual if there was an absence of sexual behaviors reported during the incident. It is important not to confuse the circumstances of the burglary with its motivation. Sexual behaviors (e.g., stealing underwear, rape) may be motivated by a number of elements including sexual gratification, anger, or a desire for power or control (Groth, 1979). This thesis does not account for those deeper psychological motivations of burglary and is limited to consideration of the circumstances of each incident. The fact that sexual means were used to satisfy anger, or obtain power or sexual gratification, was, however, considered relevant in the classification of each burglary. Generally, the diversity of behaviors committed during an incident of burglary (e.g., using trickery to get in, eating, stealing arousing material, interrupting a rape to ransack) were considered meaningful in distinguishing the nature of a specific incident of burglary.

#### **4.1.1 Typology of burglaries**

The results indicate a variety of dimensions to burglary, and the typology developed is presented in Table 2. A variety of aspects in different circumstances were expected, and the results confirm the first hypothesis. It should be remembered that financial gain aspects were inferred when valuable property was stolen, and sexual

dimensions were inferred when voyeurism, fetishism or rape were committed during the burglary.

The 281 offenders with a history of burglary committed 762 separate incidents of burglary. Descriptive statistics established that 70.6 percent of all burglaries committed by sex offenders were nonsexual burglaries, frequently with apparent financial gain (68.4%) or nonsexual violence (2.2 %). It should be noted that nonsexual violent burglaries were not further analyzed due to their infrequent occurrence. Interestingly, 29.4 percent of all burglaries showed, at least partially, sexual dimensions. In particular, the behaviors and circumstances that surrounded 20.8 percent of all burglaries were entirely sexual, either in a covert way (5.2 %) or in an overt way (15.6%). Finally, 8.6 percent of all burglaries were determined to contain both sexual and financial gain characteristics (versatile).

Table 2

*Typology of burglaries*

	Frequency <i>n</i> (%)
Nonsexual burglaries	538 (70.6%)
Covert sexual burglaries	40 (5.3%)
Overt sexual burglaries	119 (15.6%)
Versatile burglaries	65 (8.5%)

Although the four types of burglaries are considered distinctly in the typology developed, they have some commonalities. Rapists composed the majority of all four types and were overrepresented across all types. In addition, in each type, breaking and entering was the method of entry used the most often. Finally, the majority of burglaries

were nonviolent. Appendix C presents the full characteristics of the four types of burglaries. In the following section, the four types of burglary are described, and important characteristics are reviewed.

Nonsexual burglary is defined as the unlawful entry of a structure where the offender behaviors and circumstances are nonsexual. In the sample studied, it was the case when valuable goods were stolen or when a victim was violently, but not sexually, assaulted. Incident 1 is an example of this type of burglary. In this case, the offender broke into the house of a friend's mother and stole money and a stereo. While reviewing the characteristics of the 538 nonsexual burglaries, it appears that, in general, nonsexual burglaries were conducted by breaking and entering (99.3%), and money was the most desired good stolen (22.8%). Only in this type of burglary was food reported stolen (2.5%). Rapists made up 52 percent of these offenders, but this is the type of burglary presenting the most diverse classification of perpetrators. Nonsexual burglaries were the most frequent type of burglaries committed by child molesters. In 90.3 percent of nonsexual burglaries, the burglarized residence was unoccupied. The use of weapons and violence during nonsexual burglaries was rare, occurring in only 1.7 percent and 3.2 percent of the cases, respectively.

The second type of burglary is the covert sexual burglary, defined as burglary with clear sexual characteristics but where no contact sexual offense is perpetrated. In the sample of burglaries, this occurred when a residence was burglarized with sexual voyeuristic components (e.g. to see a woman getting undressed) or fetishistic components (e.g. to steal female lingerie). For example, in Incident 2, the offender broke into a house

wearing a female swimming suit and stole female clothing. In the sample of 40 covert sexual burglaries, almost all perpetrators were rapists (97.5%). The most frequent method of entry was breaking and entering (97.5%), and only 2.5 percent of the incidents involved violence, threat or weapon to gain entrance. Lingerie and women clothing were the most desired goods (71.1%). Thirty percent of burglaries occurred in occupied residences. Finally, only a few covert sexual burglary incidents involved weapons (5%) and violence (5%).

Overt sexual burglaries describe a contact sexual offense committed during a burglary where no valuable property is stolen. Incident 3 is an example. In this case, the offender was visiting his sister at her apartment. Later that night, he knocked on the door of the 66 year-old landlady and asked to use the phone. When she refused, he broke a window and entered her apartment. He tried to rape her but was interrupted before completion. Considering the 119 incidents of overt sexual burglary comprised in the sample, the majority of perpetrators were rapists (79.8%), with child molesters accounting only for 6.7 percent. The most common method of entry was breaking and entering (63%), followed by trickery (17.6%). All of these burglaries occurred in occupied residences where nothing was stolen. Over a third of overt sexual burglaries involved a weapon (36.9%). Knife was the type of weapon selected the most often (26.9%) (see Table 3). Finally, violence was present in 42 percent of the incidents.

Table 3

*Frequency – Type of weapon by burglary type*

	Nonsexual burglaries <i>n</i> =538 <i>n</i> (%)	Covert sexual burglaries <i>n</i> =40 <i>n</i> (%)	Overt sexual burglaries <i>n</i> =119 <i>n</i> (%)	Versatile burglaries <i>n</i> =65 <i>n</i> (%)
Nothing	529 (98.3%)	38 (95%)	75 (63%)	30 (46.2%)
Gun	4 (0.7%)	0	3 (2.5%)	6 (9.2%)
Knife	1 (0.2%)	2 (5%)	32 (26.9%)	21 (32.3%)
Other	1 (0.2%)	0	6 (5%)	3 (4.6%)
Unknown	3 (0.6%)	0	3 (2.5%)	5 (7.7%)

The last type of burglary is the versatile burglary, defined as a burglary where a contact sexual offense is perpetrated *and* valuable goods are stolen *or* a nonsexual victim is violently assaulted. Incident 4 illustrates those burglaries. During the evening, the offender gained entrance in an apartment occupied by a couple by threatening them with a knife. He physically assaulted the male and sent him in a closet. He was raping the girl but interrupted the rape to steal jewelry and money. He completed the rape once the valuable property was in his possession and raped the victim a second time. Descriptive statistics relative to the 65 incidents of versatile burglary indicate that the majority of versatile burglary perpetrators were rapists (78.5%), with child molesters accounting only for 1.5 percent. The most common method of entry was breaking and entering (56.9%). However, methods of entry in incidents of versatile burglaries were the most various since many burglary incidents involved violence, threat or weapon (15.4%), trickery (10.8%), and trickery then force (9.2%). All of these burglaries occurred in occupied residences. The most common stolen items were money (56.6%) and jewelry and other valuables (15.7%). More than half of versatile burglaries involved a weapon (53.8%). Knife was the type of weapon used the most often (32.3%) (see Table 3). Finally,

violence was present in almost half of these burglary incidents (46.1%). This made it the type of burglary where weapons and violence were used the most often.

Pearson's chi-square analyses were conducted to compare the categorical characteristics of the four types of burglaries. Table 4 contains the significant results obtained. Three differentiated between the types of burglaries. They were occupancy of the residence burglarized, use of violence, and use of a weapon. An occupied burglarized residence, use of violence and use of a weapon were characteristics found significantly more often in incidents of burglary where a contact sexual offense was perpetrated, whether in an overt sexual burglary or a versatile sexual burglary.

Table 4

*Chi-square – Characteristics of four types of burglary*

Nonsexual burglaries <i>n</i> =538 <i>n</i> (%)	Covert sexual burglaries <i>n</i> =40 <i>n</i> (%)	Overt sexual burglaries <i>n</i> =119 <i>n</i> (%)	Versatile burglaries <i>n</i> =65 <i>n</i> (%)	$\chi^2$	<i>p</i> -Value
Occupancy of the residence burglarized 52 (9.7%)	12 (30%)	119 (100%)	65 (100%)	509.768	.000
Use of violence 17 (3.2%)	2 (5%)	50 (42%)	30 (46.1%)	199.823	.000
Use of a weapon 9 (1.7%)	2 (5%)	44 (37.0%)	35 (53.8%)	237.477	.000

#### **4.1.2 Typology of burglars**

There are 281 sex offenders in the sample who committed at least one burglary during their criminal career. These offenders were classified based on their type of burglaries and the results are reported in Table 5. The results indicate that 63.0 percent of them committed only nonsexual burglaries, and 37.0 percent of them committed at least one burglary with sexual components. Sexual aspects were considered covertly, overtly, or jointly with another offense. In particular, 4.6 percent of offenders committed covert sexual burglary, with no physical contact with a victim, but with clear voyeuristic and/or fetishistic sexual aspects, and 32.3 percent of all offenders committed a burglary where they sexually touched a victim. Among all offenders, 26.3 percent were overt sexual burglars where the only characteristics of their most serious burglary was sexual, and 6.0 percent of all offenders committed versatile burglary where a victim was raped and something of value was stolen. It appears beyond question that property was not the sole aspect to burglary in the present sample of sex offenders. Clearly, other dimensions were present and should be taken into consideration.

Offenders were divided in types of burglars. All their characteristics are presented in Appendix D. The majority was White and had PCL scores higher than 20, which reflect a certain level of deviance. In this section, the four types of burglar are defined and described, and their important characteristics are reviewed.

Table 5

*Typology of burglars*

	Frequency <i>n</i> (%)
Nonsexual burglars	177 (63%)
Covert sexual burglars	13 (4.6%)
Overt sexual burglars	74 (26.3%)
Versatile sexual burglars	17 (6.0%)

The first type of burglar is the nonsexual burglar, who committed only nonsexual burglaries. There were 177 nonsexual burglars in the sample of offenders studied. Forty-six percent of those offenders were child molesters, and they were the type of offender with the highest number of child victims in their crimes. Almost eighty percent of them experienced adolescent antisocial behavior, but only 8.3 percent had employment problems. This type of burglars started criminal activity the earliest and had the longest criminal careers. On average, they had 22.92 total charges in their criminal histories. They had the lowest number of violent charges and the highest number of other charges (public order) among the four types of burglars. Finally, almost half of them committed all their burglaries when they were juvenile (44.9%).

The 13 covert sexual burglars had a least one incident of burglary involving fetishistic and/or voyeuristic sexual components, but without any contact sexual offense. More than 90 percent of them were White (92.3%), and two thirds were rapists (66.7%). Sixty percent of them had adolescent antisocial behavior and almost a third of them experienced employment problems (30%). Their average age of onset was in adulthood (18.2 years old), and compared to the other burglars, they had the latest onset. Their

criminal career lasted a little over ten years, and they had 16.54 total charges in their criminal histories. Sixty percent of them did not recidivate at all. Finally, they had 3.38 burglary charges, and almost seventy percent of covert sexual burglars committed all their burglaries when they were adults (69.2%).

The overt sexual burglar is defined as an offender with at least one incident burglary where a contact sexual offense is committed but nothing valuable stolen. The 74 overt sexual burglars comprised in the sample were the most intelligent burglars. Almost 80 percent of these burglars were rapists (78.4%), and they had the highest number of adult victims in their crimes. Sixty-three percent had adolescent antisocial behavior and almost a fourth experienced employment problems (23.3%). They started criminal activity at 17 years old and their criminal career lasted less than eight years (7.75 years), the shortest duration among all types of burglars. On average, they had 20.65 total charges. They had 5.46 other charges (public order), the lowest mean among all types of burglars. Two thirds of overt sexual burglars did recidivate with any type of charges. Finally, they had 3.53 burglary charges, and only 9.5 percent of them committed all their burglaries as juveniles.

Finally, the versatile burglar is a burglar with at least one incident of burglary where he committed a contact sexual offense and stole valuable property at the same time or committed a nonsexual violent offense against another occupant of the residence at the same time as a rape. In the sample studied, seventy-one percent of the 17 versatile burglars were White and 30 percent were Black. Sixty-five percent were rapists, followed by 17.6 percent of mixed offenders. More than half of these offenders had

adolescent antisocial behavior (55.6%) and 22.2 percent experienced employment difficulties. Criminal activity started at 15.95 years old for versatile burglars and lasted almost nine years (8.47 years). They were the burglars with the most violent history and who committed the highest number of burglaries on average (5.76). Only 11.8 percent of them committed burglaries as juvenile only.

Pearson's chi-square and t-tests analyses were used to compare nonsexual burglars to overt sexual burglars. Because of their low *n*, it was decided to exclude the covert sexual and versatile burglars from subsequent analyses. Pearson's chi-square results were used for categorical variables and are presented in Table 6 while t-tests were used for interval-ratio variables and are reported in Table 7.

The results indicate two very different types of burglars. The nonsexual burglars were mostly child molesters who committed nonsexual burglaries during their adolescence. They started criminal activity early (before 16 years old) and committed more crimes but seemed to concentrate on less serious public order offenses. Overt sexual burglars were different. They were usually rapists and started offending later (after 17 years old). Their burglaries started or continued into adulthood. Their criminal careers were more violent, but shorter, maybe they were arrested sooner because of the seriousness of their crimes. Finally, the two groups did not differ in their levels of sexual preoccupation, but the files of overt sexual burglars showed significantly more evidence of fetishism and transvestism. Overt sexual burglars had more adult sexual victims (they were mostly rapists), while the number of child sexual victims of nonsexual burglars was

in the expected direction (they were child molesters in majority) but did not reach significance.

Table 6

*Chi square –Burglars: Characteristics, criminogenic experience, criminal histories and sexual deviance*

		Nonsexual burglars <i>n</i> =177 <i>n</i> (%)	Overt sexual burglars <i>n</i> =74 <i>n</i> (%)	$\chi^2$	<i>p</i> -Value
<i>General characteristics</i>					
Type of perpetrator	Rapist	69 (40.1%)	53 (72.6%)	27.280	.000
	Child molester	79 (45.9%)	9 (12.3%)		
	Mixed	20 (11.6%)	10 (13.7%)		
	Other	4 (2.3%)	0		
<i>Criminogenic experience</i>					
Problems in elementary school		85 (64.4%)	14 (46.7%)		NS (.072)
Adolescent antisocial behavior		104 (78.8%)	19 (63.3%)	10.562	NS (.074)
Employment problems		11 (8.3%)	7 (23.3%)	5.569	.018
<i>Criminal histories</i>					
Age period of burglary	Juvenile only	79 (44.9%)	7 (9.5%)	37.150	.000
	Juvenile and adult	28 (15.9%)	33 (44.6%)		
	Adult only	69 (39.2%)	34 (45.9%)		
<i>Sexual deviance</i>					
Sexual preoccupation		52 (40%)	10 (34.5%)		NS
Fetishism		5 (3%)	8 (11.4%)	6.836	.009
Transvestism		1 (0.6%)	4 (5.5%)	6.106	.013
Voyeurism		25 (16.9%)	19 (27.9%)		NS (.061)

Table 7

*t*-test –Burglars: General characteristics, criminal histories, and sexual deviance

	Nonsexual burglars <i>n</i> =177 M (SD)	Overt sexual burglars <i>n</i> =74 M (SD)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> -Value
<i>General Characteristics</i>				
Full IQ	95.7 (14.2)	101.6 (13.2)	-2.761	.006
<i>Criminal histories</i>				
Age of onset	15.45 (4.77)	17.15 (5.23)	-2.493	.013
Length of criminal career in years	13.01 (8.52)	7.75 (5.97)*	3.207	.002
History – total number of charges	22.92 (17.22)	20.65 (13)		NS
History – total number of violent charges	3.03 (3.34)	4.49 (4.89)	-2.345	.021
History – total number of sexual charges	5.08 (6.93)	4.27 (3.52)		NS
History – total number of property charges	6.59 (7.41)	6.43 (7.46)		NS
History – total number of other charges	8.21 (9.16)	5.46 (5.52)	2.929	.004
Total number of burglary charges	2.04 (1.50)	3.53 (2.98)	-4.083	.000
<i>Sexual deviance</i>				
Total number of adult victims	0.73(0.94)	1.33 (1.32)	-2.919	.004
Total number of child victims	1.73 (1.9)	1.07 (1.55)*		NS (.079)

\* missing data not included

## 4.2 Escalation

If the typologies of burglaries and burglars are useful to identify the characteristics of offenders' behaviors and circumstances of incidents, the idea of different dimensions to burglary implies a possible movement between the types of burglaries. To investigate this possible movement of progression of an offender between the various types of burglary, the second question of interest is relative to escalation. Escalation is defined as the increase in the seriousness in incidents of burglaries. Various forms of escalation were measured: types of burglary, occupancy of the residence burglarized, use of violence, use of a weapon, time between burglaries, and relationship of the offender with the victim. To study forms of escalation of an offender in his

burglary offenses, the offender must have at least two incidents of burglary in his criminal history. Therefore, among the 281 offenders comprised in the sample with a history of burglary, only 162 had at least two incidents of burglary. They constitute 57.7 percent of the total sample.

Each offender was scored on his escalation based on the methods of Belanger and Burton's study of escalation (2009) reported in Appendix E. Each offender's score of escalation could reflect, at most, six forms of escalation. The six forms of escalation measured are presented in the following paragraphs.

*Type of burglary.* The first form of escalation in an incident of burglary is progression in the types of burglary. Every burglary was classified into: nonsexual burglary with financial gain; nonsexual burglary with violence; covert sexual burglary; overt sexual burglary, and versatile burglary (with theft and rape). The aim of this variable is to see if an offender went from committing financial gain burglaries to sexual burglaries, or from noncontact sexual burglaries to contact sexual burglaries. The various patterns of escalation are presented in Figure 1.

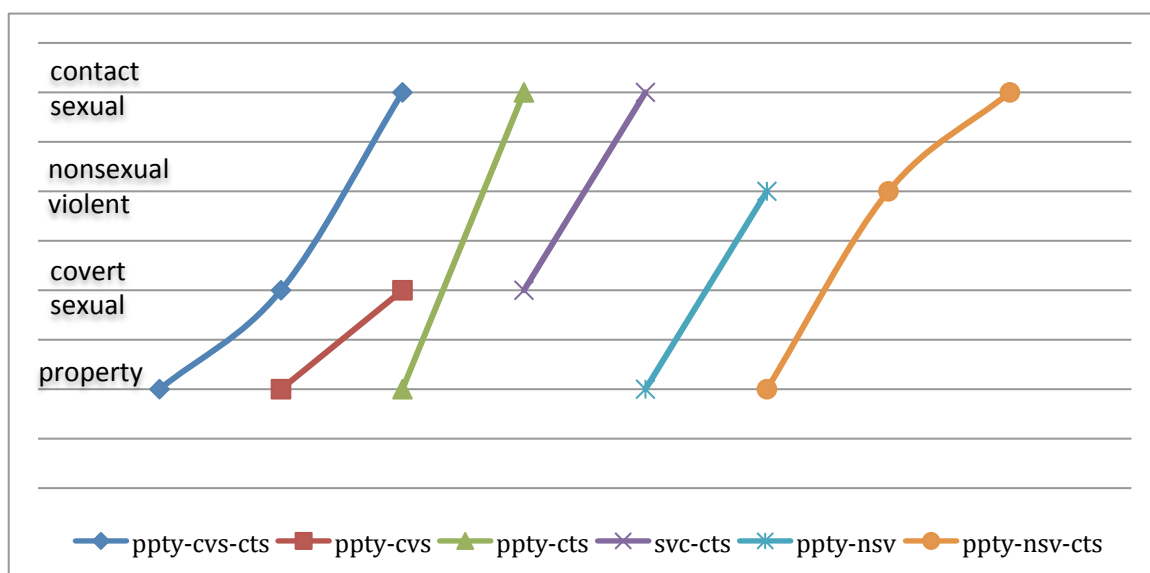


Figure 1

*Patterns of escalation- type of burglary*

Offender A is an example of escalation in type of burglary. He committed vandalism in the burglarized residence during his first burglary. In his second burglary, he stole valuable property. Finally, in his third incident of burglary, he broke into an apartment and raped a woman in front of her daughter. It is possible that a learning process occurs when a burglar gets reinforced by past burglary successes and considers other accessible gratifications during an incident of burglary. In the sample, 63 percent of all offenders repeated similar burglaries, and more than a third of all offenders (37%) escalated in their type of burglary (see Table 8). The most frequent pattern of escalation is the case where the offender started with financial gain burglaries escalated to contact sexual burglaries ( $n=44$ ).

Table 8

*Frequency – Forms of escalation*

Forms of escalation	Frequency <i>n</i> (%)
Type of burglary	60 (37%)
Occupancy of the residence burglarized	57 (35.2%)
Use of violence	36 (22.2%)
Use of weapon	38 (23.5%)
Time between burglaries	64/101(63.4%)
Relationship with victims	4/42 (9.5%)

*Occupancy of the residence burglarized.* The second form of escalation measured is occupancy of the residence burglarized. Every incident of burglary was coded as either occurring when nobody was present or somebody was present. With this variable, the author aims to measure the frequency of an offender escalating from committing burglaries in unoccupied residences to burglaries in occupied residences. The results indicate that more than half of offenders repeated similar burglaries, and 35.2 percent of offenders progressed from burglary in unoccupied residences to burglarizing occupied residences (see Table 8).

*Use of violence during a burglary.* The third form of escalation is use of violence. Use of violence was classified for each burglary. This variable aims to measure the frequency of an offender progressing from committing burglaries without violence to committing burglaries with violence. The results indicate that 22.2 percent of offenders went from committing burglaries without violence to committing burglaries with violence (see Table 8).

*Use of a weapon during incidents of burglary.* The fourth form of escalation measured is use of a weapon. With this variable, the author aims to measure the

frequency of an offender's offending pathway moving from committing burglaries with no weapon to committing burglaries with a weapon. The results indicate that almost a fourth (23.5 %) of offenders progressed from committing burglaries with no weapon to committing burglaries with a weapon (see Table 8).

*Time between incidents of burglary.* The fifth form of escalation is frequency. This form of escalation aims to capture an increase in the frequency of burglary. As an example of this type of burglary, offender B entered the homes of six women while they were sleeping and assaulted them. His first two sexual burglaries were one year apart. His third sexual burglary occurred two months after the second, his fourth three days after the third, and his fifth and sixth on the same night. His story seems to be indicative of an increasing sexual urge.

To study this form of escalation, the offender must have had at least three incidents of burglary in his criminal history. Therefore, only 101 offenders were included in this analysis. The results indicated that 63.4 percent of offenders decreased the time between their burglaries (see Table 8). Given the progression apparent in the decreased time between burglary, one might infer that this indicate an increasing deprivation or increasing need for sexual contact. However, the extent to which this measures need or sexual gratification remains to be seen.

*Relationship to victims of sexual burglaries.* The final form of escalation measured is the relationship of the offender with his sexual victims. Each relationship between the offender and his sexual victims was coded into the following categories: partner/ex-partner, family member, known acquaintance, unknown acquaintance, or

stranger. This variable aims to measure the frequency of an offender committing sexual burglaries on people closer to him and moving to people known to him to strangers. For example, the history of offender C reflects this type of escalation. During his first sexual burglary, he raped an ex-girlfriend. Two years later, he broke into the home of a girl he met for the first time that evening and raped her.

To study this form of escalation, the offender must have had at least two victims of sexual burglary. Only 42 offenders were included in this analysis. The results indicated that 9.5 percent of offenders started with victims with whom they had a closer relationship and progressed to victims with whom they had a weak relationship or no relationship at all (see Table 8).

These six forms of escalation were measured on each offender. The results indicate that no offender demonstrated all six forms of escalation (see Table 9). Sixty percent of offenders had at least one form of escalation in their burglary incidents, which indicate some kind of progression in burglary incidents of more than half of the offenders who committed at least two burglaries. Therefore, the second hypothesis is confirmed.

Table 9

*Frequency - Number of forms of escalation*

Numbers of forms of escalation	Frequency <i>n</i> (%)
No form of escalation	64 (39.5%)
One form of escalation	30 (18.5%)
Two forms of escalation	16 (9.9%)
Three forms of escalation	17 (10.5%)
Four forms of escalation	20 (12.3%)
Five forms of escalation	13 (8%)
Six forms of escalation	0

The most frequent form of escalation was a decrease in the time between incidents of burglary over time, followed by an increase in the seriousness of the burglary (type of burglary) (see Table 9). The third most frequent form of escalation was relative to the occupancy of the residence burglarized. A little less than a fourth of the sample started with burglaries where no violence or weapon were used and escalated to committing more serious burglaries where violence and/or weapons were used. Finally, the rarest form of escalation, occurring in less than 10% of cases, was for an offender to progress from known to stranger sexual victims.

Five independent sample t-tests were performed to compare escalators to non-escalators in five forms of escalation: type of burglary, occupancy of the residence burglarized, use of violence, use of weapon, and time between burglary incidents. The results are reported in Table 10. The most consistent finding is that in all five forms of escalation, escalators had significantly more total violent charges in their criminal histories than non-escalators. Escalators in occupancy and escalators in frequency also had significantly more property charges than non-escalators. Finally, it should be noted that non-escalators in use of a weapon had significantly more total other charges (public order charges) than escalators, which constitute less serious crimes.

Table 10

*t*-tests - Criminal histories – 5 forms of escalation

	Non-escalators <i>M (SD)</i>	Escalators <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> -Value
<i>Type of burglary</i>				
Total charges	23.83 (14.90)	27.32 (17.20)		NS
Total violent charges	3.11 (3.31)	5.35 (6.03)	2.65	.010
Total sexual charges	4.44 (4.10)	3.70 (3.36)		NS
Total property charges	7.83 (7.44)	10.52 (9.69)	1.98	.050
Total other charges	8.45 (9.45)	7.75 (7.21)		NS
<i>Occupancy of the residence burglarized</i>				
Total charges	23.41 (14.37)	28.28 (17.92)	1.885	.061
Total violent charges	3.28 (3.83)	5.16 (5.65)	2.251	.027
Total sexual charges	4.54 (4.3)	3.47 (2.75)	1.926	.056
Total property charges	7.69 (7.55)	10.93 (9.53)	2.376	.019
Total other charges	7.90 (8.83)	8.72 (8.41)		NS
<i>Use of violence</i>				
Total charges	23.31 (14.70)	31.47 (18.10)	2.785	.006
Total violent charges	2.98 (3.19)	7.28 (6.87)	3.368	.001
Total sexual charges	3.99 (3.72)	4.78 (4.24)		NS
Total property charges	8.21 (7.69)	11.00 (10.40)	1.768	.079
Total other charges	8.13 (8.92)	8.42 (7.85)		NS
<i>Use of weapon</i>				
Total charges	24.88 (15.27)	25.92 (17.75)		NS
Total violent charges	3.28 (3.57)	6.08 (6.66)	2.480	.017
Total sexual charges	4.06 (3.76)	4.53 (4.14)		NS
Total property charges	8.34 (7.68)	10.42 (10.42)		NS
Total other charges	9.20 (9.36)	4.89 (4.57)	3.841	.000
<i>Time between burglaries</i>				
Total charges	23.45 (11.03)	30.31 (17.46)	2.360	.020
Total violent charges	3.39 (3.24)	5.19 (5.70)	1.974	.051
Total sexual charges	4.67 (5.00)	4.06 (3.40)		NS
Total property charges	7.79 (4.48)	11.70 (10.26)	2.608	.011
Total other charges	7.60 (7.06)	9.36 (9.01)		NS

*Number of forms of escalation.* Burglars were arranged into groups based on the number of different forms of escalation they displayed. ANOVA analyses were conducted to investigate the differences between these categories of burglars. There are

significant differences in the total numbers of violent charges between the types of burglars categorized on the number of forms of escalation (see Table 11). Clearly a pattern appears where offenders with more forms of escalation committed significantly more violent crimes than offenders with fewer forms of escalation. Correlation analyses were conducted and indicate a medium sized positive relationship between the number of forms of escalation of an offender and his total number of violent charges,  $r=.312$ ,  $p$  (two-tailed) = .000. The more forms of escalation an offender had, the more total violent charges he had.

Table 11

*ANOVA – Differences in the criminal histories of the offenders categorized by their number of forms of escalation*

	Total number of forms of escalation						<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> -Value
	0	1	2	3	4	5		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)		
Total charges	22.25 (14.49)	25.20 (14.68)	20.75 (16.26)	30.65 (14.49)	27.25 (12.32)	34.46 (25.61)		NS
Total violent charges	2.83 (3.44)	3.2 (3.05)	2.19 (2.32)	4.82 (3.36)	6.65 (5.54)	8 (9.36)	5.501	.000 <sup>abcde</sup>
Total sexual charges	4.58 (4.51)	3.77 (3.16)	3.56 (3.22)	4.29 (3.24)	3.80 (3.98)	4.23 (3.47)		NS
Total property charges	7.25 (7.12)	8.6 (7.86)	7.94 (7.59)	11.12 (9.25)	8.2 (6.09)	16.62 (13.88)	3.188	.009 <sup>bcc</sup>
Total other charges	7.58 (8.80)	9.60 (9.81)	7.06 (9.80)	10.41 (8.05)	8.60 (8.27)	5.62 (4.86)		NS

<sup>a</sup> Offenders with no form of escalation were significantly different than offenders with 4 forms of escalation.

<sup>b</sup> Offenders with no form of escalation were significantly different than offenders with 5 forms of escalation.

<sup>c</sup> Offenders with one form of escalation were significantly different than offenders with 5 forms of escalation.

<sup>d</sup> Offenders with two forms of escalation were significantly different than offenders with 4 forms of escalation.

<sup>e</sup> Offenders with two forms of escalation were significantly different than offenders with 5 forms of escalation.

In addition, there were significant differences in the total number of property charges between the types of burglars. Again, a pattern appears where offenders with more forms of escalation committed a significantly higher number of property crimes than offenders with fewer forms of escalation. There was a significant small effect positive relationship between the number of forms of escalation of an offender and his total number of property charges,  $r=.195$ ,  $p$  (two-tailed)  $=.013$ . The more forms of escalation an offender had, the more property charges he had.

*Typology of burglars and number of forms of escalation.* Finally, an ANOVA analysis was conducted to compare the types of burglars on their number of forms of escalation. These results should be considered carefully. The low  $n$  of two of the four groups compared weakens the results. However, these results are reported because they reveal an interesting pattern. The results indicate that the three types of sexual burglars (covert, overt, and versatile) had more forms of escalation than nonsexual burglars (see Table 12). This might be indicative of a process of escalation in sexual burglars.

Table 12

*ANOVA –Total number of forms of escalation by burglar type*

	Nonsexual burglars <i>n</i> =177 M (SD)	Covert sexual burglars <i>n</i> =13 M (SD)	Overt sexual burglars <i>n</i> =74 M (SD)	Versatile burglars <i>n</i> =17 M (SD)	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> - Value
Total number of forms of escalation	0.69 (1.32)	2.8 (2.05)	2.91 (1.66)	2.36 (1.60)	2.920	.035 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nonsexual burglars were significantly different than overt sexual burglars.

## 5 DISCUSSION

The aim of the present thesis is to deepen the understanding of burglary in the criminal histories of sexual offenders. As a reminder, it should be noted that burglaries were categorized on the basis of behaviors and circumstances of an incident. It was hypothesized that distinguishing between the different nature and dimensions of burglary and accounting for escalation in incidents of burglary would enhance the assessment of sexual offenders. The results obtained indicate interesting differences between types of burglaries and patterns of escalation in incidents of burglaries. More precisely, the results argue against the actual definition of burglary in the literature, which is as a property offense. Instead, the present findings favor an incident-based and over-time analysis of incidents of burglary in the criminal history of sex offenders. In the following paragraphs, the pertinent results obtained are summed up and are put into perspective with the existing literature, and their implication are discussed.

*Types of burglaries.* The first part of this thesis developed a clear typology of burglaries that accounts for the various dimensions of burglary. Four types were identified: financial gain, covert sexual, overt sexual, and versatile. Results indicate that *nonsexual burglaries* were the least serious of all types of burglaries; they generally occurred in unoccupied residences and did not involve violence or weapons. Stolen items were money, valuable property, and food. It is possible that stealing valuable property indicates the deprivation of the burglar. *Covert sexual burglaries* also tended to be nonviolent, and generally no weapons were used. These burglaries had clear fetishistic sexual dimensions (considering the number of incidents where lingerie and female

clothing were stolen). In addition, the number of those burglaries perpetrated in occupied residences points to underlying voyeuristic sexual components, even if this specific question was not investigated. These findings about the presence of fetishistic and voyeuristic aspects to some burglaries are consistent with the typology developed by Schlesinger and Revitch (1999). These authors discussed only noncontact sexual burglaries (e.g., voyeuristic or fetishistic), but the results obtained in the present study clearly show a proportion of burglars who commit contact sexual burglaries. Contact sexual burglaries (including *overt sexual* and *versatile burglaries*) were the most violent and involved weapons the most often, in line with the findings of McDermott (1979) and Amir (1971), who found that rapes perpetrated in residences were more likely to involve weapons.

*Burglary is an offense with a variety of dimensions that requires an incident-based analysis.* These results clearly indicate that not all burglaries were characterized by financial gain, since 30 percent of all burglaries recorded had at least some sexual component. Some recent studies (Harris et al., 2009b; Lussier et al., 2005a; Lussier et al., 2005b; Mazerolle et al., 2000; Miethe et al., 2006) systematically classified burglaries as property offenses. Based on the present results, up to one third of these incidents might have been erroneously classified. This is an important consideration that could have influenced their results relative to versatility and specialization. It also suggests limitations to the methods used in these studies where every charge in an offender history is classified as a type of offense (e.g., property, violent, sexual), and the percentage of sexual offenses is calculated. In a case where an offender commits burglary in a

residence and rapes the occupant, an approach considering all charges would attribute part of the incident to property component and part of it to sexual component. In fact, while considering the incident itself and not the charges, it should be qualified as purely sexual, with no property aspect. In the case of a fetishistic covert burglary where female lingerie is stolen, the result of an analysis of specialization and versatility is even more erroneous. The two charges of burglary and theft would be qualified as property, while looking at the incident as a whole reveals only sexual dimensions.

Considering the variety of dimensions to burglary unveiled by the present findings, a new definition and approach to burglary become necessary in the field of sexual aggression. The nature of an incident of burglary should be defined by the nature of the primary crime perpetrated by the offender once inside the structure. The circumstances, offender's behaviors and characteristics of each incident of burglary should be considered carefully and taken into account to determine the nature of the burglary. Burglary should be the object of an incident-based analysis, and its nature qualified only after a complete review of all the circumstances.

*Types of burglars and their offending over time.* If every burglary incident of an offender must be looked at in its totality to determine its nature, the study of the offender himself and his categorization based on his burglaries can also provide insightful information. Four different types of burglars were established based on the most serious type of burglary they committed. Results indicate that *nonsexual burglars* generally committed their financial gain burglaries during adolescence. This is consistent with the finding that they were the most likely to experience adolescent antisocial behavior, but

the least likely to experience employment problems, so a plausible explanation might be that their deprivation lowered into adulthood. Nonsexual burglars started criminal activity at the earliest age, had the longest criminal career, and were the most likely to recidivate for any type of offense. They appear to be involved in a variety of less serious crimes, being the burglars with the highest number of public order charges and the lowest number of violent charges. They were the burglars who escalated the least in their burglary incidents. Nonsexual burglars seem to somehow correspond to the young versatile burglars of Vaughn et al. (2008) with whom they share a relatively young age during their burglaries and participation in a variety of crimes.

Compared to nonsexual burglars, the three types of *sexual burglars* (covert sexual, overt sexual, and versatile) experienced more employment problems, which could have caused deprivation of the offender and would have rationalized burglary as a means to financial gain and explained why their burglaries were often committed during adulthood. This is true in the case of versatile burglars, where the nature of stolen items seemed to be indicative of some type of deprivation since valuable property was most often stolen. In the cases of covert sexual and overt sexual burglaries, however, burglary was not used to gain access to valuable property but showed sexual dimensions (e.g. to satisfy fetishistic, voyeuristic, and contact sexual aspects). Particularly, the overt sexual burglar resembled the home intruder rapist discussed by Rebocho et al. (2009).

It is noteworthy that all types of burglars were not different in their level of sexual preoccupation. However, three types of sexual burglars (covert sexual, overt sexual, and versatile) experienced more voyeurism, fetishism, and transvestism, the first two being

aspects that have been previously identified in some instances of burglary (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). Even if the levels of sexual preoccupation were not different between the four types of burglars, the different types of burglars used burglary differently, some with sexual behaviors but not all. Nonsexual burglars gained access to valuable property, covert sexual burglars gained access to arousing material (e.g. looking at a woman getting undressed or stealing female clothing), overt sexual burglars gained access to sexual victims, and versatile burglars gained access to opportunities inside the burglarized residence.

The versatile burglars studied were a particular group of offenders. They used burglary to create opportunities. Considering they were the burglars with the highest total number of burglaries, burglary seems to be a way of offending for versatile burglars (e.g. their modus operandi); they learned and perpetuated burglary. Their methods of entry were inconsistent and adaptable to the circumstances. They were the offenders who had weapons the most often during their burglaries which might have given them control over whatever the situation was. The crimes they committed were subjected to what the offender found in the residence. For example, versatile burglars seized opportunities they had to commit rape during a theft in reason of the presence of a woman, or to commit a theft after a rape caused by the availability of valuable property. It was not uncommon for the offender to start by tying or undressing the occupant, then spend some time ransacking the residence and stealing valuable property before returning his attention to the victim to rape her. They went from female victims to property easily, as if both were commodities. There was definitely a sexual dimension to versatile burglaries, but the

offenders did not appear to be particularly specializing into sexual offending, but seemed more part of a general scheme of deviance.

In comparison, in the histories of covert sexual and overt sexual burglars, burglary appeared to be (or escalated to be) a way to specialize into sexual offending. Considering that these covert and overt sexual burglars were generally rapists, it sheds a new light on other findings indicating that rapists are generally more versatile and child molesters more specialized (Harris et al., 2009b). According to the present findings, burglary seemed to be indicative of specialization into sexual offending for rapists, and indicative of versatility for child molesters, which contradicts previous findings. In the case of burglary, these results are indicative of a trend: rapists commit burglary offenses, (that are considered nonsexual in the literature) with sexual behaviors and circumstances while child molesters do not. The results offer a new dimension to explore in studies of specialization and versatility of sex offenders and that is the presence of sexual components to offenses otherwise classified as nonsexual.

As an explanation, it is hypothesized by the author that a reinforcing process might take place in incidents of burglary, as all three sexual burglar types (covert, overt, and versatile) scored significantly higher than nonsexual burglars in their number of forms of escalation. It might be that successful financial gain burglaries have reinforced the use of burglary as a means to obtain gratification in various ways. This is consistent with Jeffery's (1965) differential reinforcement theory about the various possible reinforcements of burglary: it "can produce money, [...] a radio, sexual gratification, or the removal of an enemy" (p. 295).

*Escalation in incidents of burglary.* The last part of this thesis studied escalation. The results indicate that five types of escalation in incidents of burglary were associated with a significantly higher number of violent charges in the criminal careers of that offender. It has important implications relative to the assessment of sex offenders. An offender who escalated in the seriousness of his burglary incidents was more violent, whether it was in types of burglary, occupancy of the residence burglarized, use of violence, use of a weapon, or time between burglaries. In addition, the more types of escalation an offender demonstrated, the more his criminal history contained a higher number of violent and property charges. These results are consistent with the use of burglary as a predictive variable of nonsexual violence in the risk matrix assessment tool. In addition, variables relative to escalation in incidents of burglary could be a valuable addition to risk assessment tools. These variables are: increase in the types of burglary, increase in the violence, increase in the occupancy, increase in the use of a weapon, and decrease in time between burglaries. The present findings are too preliminary to ascertain the validity and reliability of those variables. However, the results clearly link every one of those variables with a history of violence, and these variables should at least be studied more fully.

*Burglary is an offense with a variety of dimensions that requires an analysis over time.* Considering that some types of burglars seemed to specialize in sexual offending in their incidents of burglary and that escalation in incidents of burglary was found to be correlated with more violence, it appears necessary to look at the characteristics of an offender's burglaries over time to account for patterns of escalation. The methods used

to account for specialization and versatility in the criminal careers of sex offenders use the percentage of sexual charges among all charges of an offender without consideration of where they occur in time. For example, these methods would miss an evident pattern in the case of an offender who commits three financial gain burglaries in unoccupied residences, then starts to burglarize occupied residences with a weapon. A thorough analysis of burglary requires one to look at the characteristics of burglary incidents over time.

## 6 LIMITATIONS

The aim of this study is to investigate the significance of incidents of burglary in the criminal histories of a sample of sex offenders. The methods used are not without limitations. More particularly, the data, the effect of procedures relative to missing information, the total number of burglary incidents and de-escalation into account are discussed.

The methods used rely solely on official data. This form of data is valid and reliable to produce a minimal estimation of incidents of burglary. However, considering the low clearance rates of burglaries in the US, many incidents committed by these offenders might never have been attributed to them, and particularly covert sexual burglary where women's clothing was stolen. These burglaries were more likely to have been unreported or unsolved. It would have been better to rely both on official and self-report data.

Relative to the procedures used, it should be noted that information was often missing for charges of burglary when it was not sexual. Because these offenders were in a treatment facility for sexual aggression, it might be that treatment providers focused on sexual aspects of the offender's behavior, which produces a bias in the information accessible in the offender's file. The author had to work with missing information for many aspects of the burglary when it was not a sexual burglary.

In addition, it was decided that all incidents of burglary supported by valid and pertinent information in the file would be counted. Part of this information came from discussions between the offender and his psychologist at the treatment center. An

offender who decided to open up therefore ended up with many more incidents of burglary than one who decided not to talk, which can affect the validity of the variable number of burglary incidents.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that de-escalation was not taken into account in the present study of escalation. De-escalation might be an important aspect of criminal pathways that was ignored here, and further study on the topic should take that aspect into consideration. In addition, one important variable was not included in the coding sheet. For offenders who escalated to sexual burglaries, it would have been interesting to know if their first sexual offense was actually the sexual burglary, which could have allowed a more thorough analysis of LeBlanc and Fréchette's (1989) stepping stone concept.

All these limitations should be considered carefully and kept in mind. However, because so little is generally known about sex offenders, the present thesis is important to deepen the understanding about their criminal pathways where burglary appears to be a significant event.

## 7 CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The literature on sexual aggression recognizes burglary as a valid predictor of the seriousness of the criminal career of a sex offender. However, the literature has a hard time recognizing the sexual nature of burglary in some circumstances, and burglary is often rigidly classified as a property offense. The present study fills this gap and shows multiple types of burglaries committed by a sample of sex offenders. It also classifies sex offenders by types of burglars, and distinctions between groups are made apparent.

This study is a first attempt to differentiate and clarify the different types of burglaries committed by sexual offenders, and to account for both nonsexual and various sexual components. Because the sample is composed of sex offenders, sexual aspects in incidents of burglary might be overstated. Therefore the results will not be generalizable to a sample of non-sexual burglars, but the typologies could easily be used in different circumstances. That is why it is necessary to replicate the present study with other samples of sex offenders and with samples of general offenders. Such research projects should pay close attention to the group of covert sexual burglars and versatile burglars. The small number of covert sexual burglars in the present sample has hindered significant statistical analyses. However, the psychological processes that are involved in the behavioral escalation toward contact offending is a topic of great interest. In addition, the versatile burglars should also be studied closely, as their search for sexual gratification might be interlinked with financial gain aspects and seems to indicate an opportunistic

dimension to their crimes. Particularly, research should look at an underlying lack of self-control as an explanatory factor to consider.

The link between escalation in burglary incidents and violence in criminal careers should be investigated further, as this study showed a positive correlation between the two. Escalation should be studied more fully, and analyses should take de-escalation into account. Further research is required to fully understand the implications of types of burglaries and forms of escalation.

In addition, it is of greatest importance to attach this thesis' findings to a strong theoretical framework. Particularly, the results must be explained by theory, especially regarding specialization and versatility. In the case of burglary, it seems that rapists were more likely to commit the offense with sexual dimensions, which was not the case for child molesters. In the sample studied, when child molesters committed burglary, it had no sexual aspect. It would be interesting to see if this is the case in other offenses, such as robbery and assault. Because rapists tend to commit a variety of offenses in comparison with child molesters, they should have more robberies and assaults in their histories. However, considering that an interaction occurs between the offender and the victims during such offenses, it should be interesting to investigate those offending incidents for evidence of sexual components, such as touching the victim or making the victim undress. Finding such behaviors during incidents of assault or robbery could indicate more sexual dimensions to rapists' offenses that are otherwise deemed to be indicative of versatility.

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## APPENDIX A – List of variables, response options, and coding

Variables	Response options	Coded
Type of offender	Rapist Child molester Incest Mixed Nuisance	1 – 2 – 3 - 4 - 5
Full scale IQ – WAIS test		
Burglary classification	Nonsexual burglary Nonsexual burglary about theft Covert sexual burglary Overt sexual burglary Versatile burglary	1 – 2 - 3 - 4
Burglar classification	Nonsexual burglar Covert sexual burglar Overt sexual burglar Versatile burglar	1 – 2 – 3 - 4
Dates of burglary incidents		
Method of entry	Use of force Trickery Violence / Threats / Violence Trickery then force Trickery then threats Opportunity	
Occupancy	No Maybe Yes	0 (No) – 1 (Maybe + Yes)
Nature of the property stolen	Nothing Food Alcohol and liquor Jewelry and other valuable Furniture Money Woman clothing Gun	
Race of the victim	White Black Latino Other	
Age of the victim		
Relationship between the offender and the victim	Family member Known acquaintance Unknown acquaintance Stranger	1 -2 – 3 - 4
Presence of a weapon	No Gun Knife Other	0 - 1
Use of violence	No Yes	0 - 1
Total number of burglaries		

Age period during al burglaries	Both juvenile and adult Juvenile Adult	0 - 1 - 2
Total number of adult victims in crimes		
Total number of child victims in crimes		
Length of criminal career in years		
Employment problems	No Yes	0 - 1
Elementary school problems	No Yes	0 - 1
PCL score 20-/+	>20 20+	0 - 1
Victim of sexual abuse	No Yes	0 - 1
Substance abuse	No Yes	0 - 1
Sexual preoccupation	No Yes	0 - 1
Emotional congruence with children	No Yes	0 - 1
MNS adolescent antisocial behavior	No Yes	0 - 1
Any recidivism	No Yes	0 - 1
Any violent recidivism	No Yes	0 - 1
Any sexual recidivism	No Yes	0 - 1
Exhibitionism	No Yes	0 - 1
Fetishism	No Yes	0 - 1
Transvestism	No Yes	0 - 1
Voyeurism	No Yes	0 - 1
Smear feces	No Yes	0 - 1
History – total number of charges		
History – total number of homicide		
History – total number of assault		
History – total number of rape		
History – total number of child molestation		

History – total number of dangerous negligence

History – total number of abduction

History – total number of robbery

History – total number of breaking and entering

History – total number of theft

History – total number of white collar crime

History – total number of drugs

History – total number of weapons

History – total number of property

History – total number of public order

History – total number of alcohol

History – total number of motor vehicle

History – total number of justice and military

History – total number of miscellaneous

History – total number of violent charges (including homicide, assault, dangerous negligence, abduction, and robbery)

History – total number of sexual charges (including rape, child molestation, contact SO, noncontact SO)

History – total number of property charges (including breaking & entering, theft, white collar crime, property)

History – total number of other charges (including weapons, drugs, public order, alcohol, justice/military, and miscellaneous)

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## APPENDIX B – Decision rules

Problem	Decision	Basis
Burglary charge – no additional information	It was coded that: - somebody was present; - the burglary motivation was theft; - what was stolen was unknown; - there was no violence; - there was no weapon.	Information obtained from the Boston police
Date of the burglary missing – no additional information	The date of the burglary was marked as missing.	
Date of the burglary missing – mention: during adolescence	The date of the burglary was marked as the 15 <sup>th</sup> birthday of the offender.	
Date of the burglary missing – know that before date X	The burglary was dated of January 1 <sup>st</sup> of the same year than the data known.	
Date of the burglary missing partially – only month and year, or only year	If the day was missing, it was assumed it was the first day of the month. If the month was missing, it was assumed it was the month of January.	
Conflicting information	The information with the most reliable support was chosen.	
Classification of the offender as a burglar – nonsexual burglaries + one sexual burglary	The offender was classified based on the type of his sexual burglary.	
Classification of the offender as a burglar – nonsexual burglaries + different sexual burglary	The offender was classified based on his most frequent type of sexual burglary.	

## APPENDIX C – Frequencies – characteristics of four types of burglary

	Nonsexual burglaries <i>n</i> =538 <i>n</i> (%)	Covert sexual burglaries <i>n</i> =40 <i>n</i> (%)	Overt sexual burglaries <i>n</i> =119 <i>n</i> (%)	Versatile burglaries <i>n</i> =65 <i>n</i> (%)
<i>Type of perpetrator</i>				
Rapist	280 (52%)	24 (60%)	95 (79.8%)	51 (78.5%)
Child molester	165 (30.7%)	6 (15%)	8 (6.7%)	1 (1.5%)
Incest	5 (0.9%)	0	0	0
Mixed	69 (12.8%)	6 (15%)	14 (11.8%)	13 (20%)
Nuisance	6 (1.1%)	0	0	0
<i>Method of entry</i>				
Breaking & entering	534 (99.3%)	39 (97.5%)	75 (63%)	37 (56.9%)
Violence, threat or weapon	1 (0.2%)	1 (2.5%)	7 (5.9%)	10 (15.4%)
Trickery	0	0	21 (17.6%)	7 (10.8%)
Opportunity	0	0	4 (3.4%)	0
Trickery then force	1 (0.2%)	0	10 (8.4%)	6 (9.2%)
Trickery then threat	0	0	1 (0.8%)	3 (4.6%)
Unknown	2 (0.4%)	0	1 (0.8%)	2 (3.1%)
<i>Occupancy of the residence burglarized</i>				
No	486 (90.3%)	28 (70%)	0	0
Yes	52 (9.7%)	12 (30%)	119 (100%)	65 (100%)
<i>Nature of stolen items</i>				
Nothing	126	6 (13.3%)	118 (99.2%)	2 (2.4%)
Unknown	350 (63.4%)	3 (6.7%)	0	9 (10.8%)
Money	28 (22.8%)	1 (2.2%)	0	47 (56.6%)
Jewelry /other valuables	11 (2%)	3 (6.7%)	0	13 (15.7%)
Furniture	8 (1.5%)	0	0	5 (6%)
Lingerie	0	32 (71.1%)	0	5 (5%)
Alcohol	13 (2.4%)	0	0	2 (2.4%)
Food	14 (2.5%)	0	0	0
Gun	2 (0.4%)	0	0	0
<i>Use of weapon</i>				
No weapon	529 (98.3%)	38 (95%)	75 (63%)	30 (46.2%)
Weapon	9 (1.67%)	2 (5%)	44 (37%)	35 (53.8%)

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<i>Use of violence</i>				
No violence used	520 (96.7%)	38 (95%)	69 (58%)	35 (53.8%)
Violence used	17 (3.2%)	2 (5%)	50 (42%)	30 (46.1%)

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## APPENDIX D – Frequencies – characteristics of four types of burglars

		Nonsexual burglars n=177 n (%)	Covert sexual burglars n=13 n (%)	Overt sexual burglars n=74 n (%)	Versatile burglars n=17 n (%)
<i>General characteristics</i>					
Race of the offender	White	150 (84.7%)	12 (92.3%)	58 (78.4%)	12 (70.6%)
	Black	22 (12.4%)	1 (7.7%)	14 (18.9%)	5 (29.4%)
	Latino	2 (1.1%)	0	1 (1.4%)	0
	Other/more	3 (1.7%)	0	1 (1.4%)	0
Type of perpetrator	Rapist	69 (40.1%)	8 (66.7%)	53 (72.6%)	11 (64.7%)
	Child molester	79 (45.9%)	2 (16.7%)	9 (12.3%)	2 (11.8%)
	Incest	3 (1.7%)	0	0	0
	Mixed	20 (11.6%)	2 (16.7%)	10 (13.7%)	3 (17.6%)
	Nuisance	1 (0.6%)	0	0	0
<i>Criminogenic experience</i>					
Problems in elementary school	No	47 (35.6%)	6 (60%)	16 (53.3%)	4 (44.4%)
	Yes	85 (64.4%)	4 (40%)	14 (46.7%)	5 (55.6%)
Adolescent antisocial behavior	No	28 (21.2%)	6 (60%)	11 (36.7%)	4 (44.4%)
	Yes	104 (78.8%)	4 (40%)	19 (63.3%)	5 (55.6%)
Employment problems	No	121 (91.7%)	7 (70%)	23 (76.7%)	7 (77.8%)
	Yes	11 (8.3%)	3 (30%)	7 (23.3%)	2 (22.2%)
Substance abuse problems	No	43 (33.1%)	4 (40%)	9 (30%)	2 (22.2%)
	Yes	87 (66.9%)	6 (60%)	21 (70%)	7 (77.8%)
PCL score 20+	No	79(60.8%)	6 (60%)	17 (56.7%)	6 (66.7%)
	Yes	51 (39.2%)	4 (40%)	13 (43.3%)	3 (33.3%)
<i>Criminal histories</i>					
Age period of burglary	Juvenile only	79 (44.9%)	2 (15.4%)	7 (9.5%)	2 (11.8%)
	Juvenile and adult	28 (15.9%)	2 (15.4%)	33 (44.6%)	7 (41.2%)
	Adult only	69 (39.2%)	9 (69.2%)	34 (45.9%)	8 (47.1%)
Any recidivism	No	48 (36.6%)	6 (60%)	10 (33.3%)	7 (77.8%)
	Yes	83 (63.4%)	4 (40%)	20 (66.7%)	2 (22.2%)
Any violent recidivism	No	91 (69.5%)	8 (80%)	17 (56.7%)	7 (77.8%)
	Yes	40 (30.5%)	2 (20%)	13 (43.3%)	2 (22.2%)
Any sexual recidivism	No	105 (80.2%)	8 (80%)	20 (66.7%)	8 (88.9%)
	Yes	63.4%	6.7%		10.8%
<i>Sexual deviance</i>					
Victim of sexual abuse	No	110 (84.6%)	7 (70%)	28 (96.6%)	9 (100%)
	Yes	20 (15.4%)	3 (30%)	1 (3.4%)	0

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Sexual preoccupation	No	78 (60%)	4(40%)	19 (65.2%)	7 (77.8%)
	Yes	52 (40%)	6(60%)	10 (34.5%)	2 (22.2%)
Emotional congruence with children	No	114 (88.4%)	10 (100%)	29 (96.7%)	9 (100%)
	Yes	15 (11.6%)	0	1(3.3%)	0
Exhibitionism	No	127 (77.9)	11 (84.6%)	57 (82.5%)	14 (87.5%)
	Yes	36 (22.1%)	2 (11.4%)	12 (17.4%)	2 (12.5%)
Fetishism	No	163 (97%)	11 (91.7%)	62 (88.6%)	14 (87.5%)
	Yes	5 (3%)	1 (8.3%)	8 (11.4%)	2 (12.5%)
Transvestism	No	170 (99.4%)	11 (91.7%)	69 (94.5%)	16 (100%)
	Yes	1 (0.6%)	1(8.3%)	4 (5.5%)	0
Voyeurism	No	123 (83.1%)	6(60%)	49 (72.1%)	12 (85.7%)
	Yes	25 (16.9%)	4 (40%)	19 (27.9%)	2 (14.3%)
Smear feces	No	171 (99.4%)	13 (100%)	73 (98.6%)	17 (100%)
	Yes	1 (0.6%)	2.5%	1 (1.4%)	0

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## APPENDIX E – Escalation

Forms of escalation	Coded <sup>a</sup>	Coded 1 (escalation) if:
Type of burglary	0-1	The offender progressed from a lower number to a higher number: 1- nonsexual burglary motivated with gain 2- nonsexual violent burglary 3- covert sexual burglary 4- contact sexual burglary (overt or versatile)
Occupancy of the residence burglarized	0-1	The offender progressed from: 1- residence burglarized is not occupied to 2- residence burglarized is occupied.
Violence	0-1	The offender progressed from: 1- burglary with no violence to 2- burglary with violence.
Weapon	0-1	The offender progressed from: 1- burglary with no weapon to 2- burglary with a weapon.
Time between burglaries	0-1	The time between the first and second burglary was longer than between following burglaries.
Relationship with the victim	0-1	The offender progressed from a lower number to a higher number: 1- partner/ex-partner or family member victim 2- known acquaintance, 3- unknown acquaintance, or 4- stranger
Total escalation score	Combination of zeros and ones (six digits score) <sup>b</sup>	

<sup>a</sup>All the burglaries of an offender were looked into and the offender was allocated a 0 or a 1 for every variable of escalation, 0 representing no escalation and 1 representing escalation.

<sup>b</sup>The offender was given an escalation score constituted of 6 numbers, all the 0s and 1s he got for the six escalation variables.