The Sexual Violence Against Marginalized Victims: An Offender-Based Approach

by

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Abstract

Research shows that sex trade workers and homeless populations are at a high risk of severe violence and homicide. Based on a sample of 229 violent sex offenders, the first study investigates differences between sexual crimes committed against marginalized (N = 73) and non-marginalized victims (N = 156). Findings from logistic regression analyses show that offenders who target marginalized victims are more likely to degrade their victim and use a variety of torture methods. Secondly, prior literature has focused on these offenders as constituting a homogeneous group. Based on a sample of 213 sex offenders who targeted marginalized individuals, we investigate the different pathways that these offenders take both prior to and during the commission of their crimes. Results of two-step cluster analysis regarding the offender's development, criminal history, crime context and modus operandi revealed three distinct pathways of the offending process. Implications for future research are discussed.

Keywords: Sexual violence; marginalized victims; pathways

To my Father, Grant Horan

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

Marginalized individuals, including sex trade workers and homeless individuals, are among the most highly victimized members of society (Salfati et al., 2008; Wenzel et al., 2000). Marginalized individuals can be defined as those who are not a part of the dominant group in society, who face numerous severe social problems and whose situations are highly unstable and crisis-prone due to a variety of factors, including societal disinvestment (as cited in Tusher & Cook, 2010).

Despite the high levels of victimization, these cases are additionally extremely difficult to investigate due to a variety of factors including the lack of public interest, lack of credible witnesses and the unwillingness by most sex trade workers and their clients to talk to the police (Salfati et al., 2008). In addition, the transient nature of marginalized individuals in conjunction with a lack of interpersonal relationships, leads them to be less likely to inform family or friends when they move to a different city or state/province. As a result, the disappearance of marginalized victims is less likely to be immediately noticed and reported to police, ultimately delaying the investigation and increasing the likelihood of lost or destroyed evidence (Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007). Moreover, the strategies used by offenders who target specific subtypes of marginalized individuals, further impedes on investigative success. Specifically, offenders who kill sex trade workers have been found to dump the bodies of the victims outside the central cities in which they met, resulting in a multi-jurisdictional police investigation. Furthermore, the modus operandi and specific decision-making involving the crime context (e.g., moving the bodies form the original crime scene, hiding the victim's body and committing the crime at night; Salfati et al., 2008), further delays body discovery and interferes with reliable evidence. Finally, in circumstances where the victim's body is found, investigators face additional challenges such as the increased likelihood of more than one sample of DNA

being found on the body (Quinet, 2011). This results in a high rate of unsolved crimes, especially regarding the murders of prostitutes (Salfati et al., 2008).

In response to the number of investigative difficulties, Salfati, James and Ferguson (2008) stress the importance of focusing on crime scene behaviours that are observable at the crime scene to better assist police investigations in solving violent crimes toward marginalized individuals. Prior research on marginalized populations has focused primarily on the victim, especially those in prostitution, including the prostitutes themselves, their working habits, and the reasons why they initially became involved in prostitution (Salfati et al., 2008) and much less on their offenders. Additionally, although marginalized individuals may be classified in different groups, prior studies have focused on specific subsets of marginalized victims (Salfati et al., 2008; Wenzel et al., 2000) and mainly on the homicide of these victims (Salfati et al., 2008). The current study takes a slightly different approach by examining marginalized victims in general, including sex trade workers, homeless populations and severe drug users and instead of only looking at sexual homicide offenders, the study investigates the offenders who inflict all levels of sexual violence on these victims. As a result, the current study will determine more about this specific type of offender, including the different strategies used in their crimes and whether they are a heterogeneous group whose offending patterns derive from a number of different pathways.

Chapter 2.

Violence Towards Marginalized Victims

Marginalized individuals, including sex trade workers and homeless individuals, are among the most highly victimized members of society (Salfati et al., 2008; Wenzel et al., 2000). However, victimization tends to be more frequent when marginalized individuals have a dependency such as drug use, as they are more inclined to take greater risks (Salfati et al., 2008). Aside from substance abuse, sex trade workers and homeless individuals share a number of similar lifestyle characteristics that increase their risk of victimization, which often includes a lack of shelter, physical proximity to high crime areas, engagement in high-risk behaviours (i.e. sex work), as well as previous victimization, and mental illness (Quinet, 2011). Therefore, a lifestyle composed of dependency and vulnerability evidently makes them attractive targets to offenders, including sex offenders.

Marginalized victims are additionally at a significantly increased risk of victimization compared to general society. According to Perreault (2015), violent victimization rates are on the decline throughout Canada. In 2014, approximately 20% of Canadians over the age of 15 reported at least one violent victimization within the year, which decreased from 25% in 2004 reports (Perrault, 2015). However, victimization rates among marginalized victims remain much higher. For example, Meinbresse et al. (2014) found that approximately 85% of their homeless sample has been a victim of violence during their homeless period and Tyler et al. (2004) found that 35% of homeless youth reported sexual victimization specifically while on the street. Similar rates of violent victimization occur toward sex trade workers. In a study by Kinnel (2002), findings showed that 82% of sex trade workers had experienced a serious violent attack on the streets, and that 37% of the incidents involved a sexual assault specifically. According to an interesting analysis conducted by Brewer et al. (2006), the frequency of sex trade

worker homicide steadily increased in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which has been hypothesised to be linked to the rise in the use of crack cocaine.

In addition to being violently victimized, sex trade workers also have an increased chance of being victims of lethal violence. Research shows that sex trade workers have the highest homicide victimization rate of any group of women (Brewer et al., 2006). Additionally, those who solicit on the street are more frequently at risk than those who work indoors (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004). For example, Potterat et al. (2004) found that being a street prostitute in the US made women 18 times more likely to be murdered than non-prostitute women of similar demographics. Finally, a Canadian study by Lowman and Fraser (1995) report that street prostitutes are 60 to 120 times more likely to be murdered than non-prostitute females and sequentially found that homicide is the leading cause of death among sex trade workers.

When investigating cases against marginalized victims, a number of investigative challenges have resulted in a high number of unsolved cases. For example, Kinnel (2001) reports that 69% of sex trade worker homicide cases within the UK have yet to be solved. Additionally, Brewer et al. (2006) found that 41% of sex trade worker homicide cases took longer than one year to solve, and 17% of cases took longer than five years to solve. As there is no scientific evidence indicating that police devote less time to the investigation of sex trade worker homicides (Beauregard & Martineau, 2016), we believe that differences in crime scene characteristics and offender behaviours consequentially affect the number of unsolved cases.

Context and Crime Scene Behaviours

Because of their environment, marginalized individuals – especially females – are especially vulnerable to attack. For instance, with regards to sex trade workers, whether they work the streets alone or with others, the nature of the services being provided are generally private and thus they most often than not find themselves alone with the client (Salfati et al., 2008). Moreover, as described by Kinnell (2006), this exchange typically takes place in an isolated location such as a dark alley, in a vehicle, in a park, in an industrial area or even the client's residence where it is less likely that

anyone will be present to intervene. These isolated locations make the sex trade worker a vulnerable target for violence, including robbery, as she is likely to carry on her person the money she made over the course of the evening. Marginalized individuals – whether they are drug users or sex trade workers – are doing their business with complete strangers (McKeganey & Barnard, 1996), which increases the chance of encountering a violent individual or one with previous convictions for sexual crimes. Specific to sex trade workers, it was suggested that the nature of the interaction between the worker and the client constituted a risk factor for victimization. As some clients may reveal certain vulnerabilities during the interactions (e.g., sexual dysfunction), this places the sex trade worker in a position of perceived power in that they can humiliate the client who may be particularly psychologically vulnerable (Brody, Potterat, Muth, & Woodhouse, 2005). Additionally, men select marginalized individuals due to the fact they are less likely to be reported missing (Quinet, 2011) and because they perceive them as vulnerable and available (Egger, 2002).

Turning to the crime scene behaviours, offenders who target marginalized victims have been found to use different strategies to commit their crimes than offenders who target other types of victims. For example, sexual homicide offenders of sex trade workers have been found to commit unusual and/or bizarre acts, fully remove the victims clothing and take items from the victim (Beauregard & Martineau, 2016). Salfati et al. (2008) also found high rates (52%) of stolen property in their sample of prostitute homicide victims. However, similar rates of theft have been found during attacks of homeless persons. Meinbresse et al. (2014) report that 49% of homeless victims in their sample were robbed during the attack, which suggests a plausible link between robbery and violent crime against marginalized victims generally.

Moreover, Beckman and Prohaska (2012) found that perpetrators often dump the bodies of prostitute victims outside of the central cities in which they first met. This creates a multi-jurisdictional police investigation, which increases the time to body recovery, consequentially reducing evidence. Additionally, prostitute homicide offenders have been found to target strangers and intoxicated victims, emphasizing that these offenders may be more easily able to rationalize violence against them than to non-prostitute women. Although it may be helpful if scholars could identify a central reason

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why some men seek to harm marginalized individuals, the empirical research indicates that these offenders have many different motivations.

Offenders Motivation for Violence

There are a number of reasons why clients of prostitutes become violent. Salfati et al. (2008) outlines that the most common reasons for a client to become violent are disagreements over the time and quality of the services, attempting to get their money back, and when the client is under the influence of alcohol. Additionally, Dodd (2002) found that 52% of prostitutes had experienced attacks for no apparent reason, but when a trigger towards violence occurred, it was often related to sex workers' refusal of the types of sexual services clients wanted (44%), disputes over money and clients not wanting to pay (42%), the sex worker ending the transaction before ejaculation (29%), or sexual delay or dysfunction by client (32%), which is usually due to alcohol. Moreover, research has indicated a variety of situations where clients are inclined to become violent, including when prostitute is a stranger to the client (O'Neill and Barberet, 2000), or as a result of condom use insistence by the street worker (Kinnel, 2006). Finally, Salfati (2009) found that when the women are identified as prostitutes, rapes generally tend to be more brutal and result in more injuries (Salfati, 2009).

Prostitute homicide offenders are also diverse within their motivation. Although their primary intention is to inflict pain on their victim (Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007), their motivations commonly include arguments over the service or payment, the prostitutes attempted robbery of the client, verbal insults, prostitute demands of the client, client misogyny, client hatred of prostitutes, sadism of the client, client's psychopathology, a combination of factors, or no factor whatsoever (Beckham & Prohaska, 2012). Overall, it is evident that the majority of violence towards prostitutes derives from an altercation that occurred within the service.

Salfati et al. (2008) found that violent outbursts are much more commonly aimed towards the situation, rather than towards the prostitute as a person. As the exchange is fundamentally a business encounter, Salfati et al. (2008) indicates that the client may see the prostitute as an object, which helps rationalize the violence toward them.

Conversely, some clients desire love and infatuation with the prostitute and consequentially explode in anger when the sex worker insists on payment. Due to the social-psychological element, these clients tend to be more insulted by the suggestion that they can only gain sexual compliance through payment (Salfati, 2013). It is therefore evident that offenders who target sex trade workers are inherently different and have a variety of different motivations for the commitment of their crimes. However, prior studies have described these offenders as being a homogeneous group. The following chapter takes a different approach by describing the various pathways among sex offenders, including subtypes of marginalized victims.

Chapter 3.

Pathways to Sexual Offending

Sex offenders constitute a heterogeneous population of individuals, but have been classified into typologies based upon their characteristics and motivations. Typologies, or classification schemes, have been created to better understand distinctions between types of offenders, which utilize offender characteristics and/or victim-choice information to outline a framework for analysis. The most common classification types are those that differentiate between rapists, child molesters, female sex offenders, juvenile sex offenders and cybersex offenders (Robertiello & Terry, 2007). However, research has progressed to understanding that offenders within each classification are not alike, and therefore can be further differentiated through a number of different pathways, which often include the offenders' development and the commitment of their crimes.

Inspired by Marlatt and Gordon's conceptualization of the relapse process in individuals with addictions, the Relapse Prevention Model (RPM) by Pithers, Marques, Gibat and Marlatt (1983) details the sequence of cognitions, emotions and behaviours in sex offenders. As the first pathway to sex offending, Pithers et al. view offending not as a dichotomy that is due to lack of control or fate, but as "as an inappropriate coping behaviour that results from a long series of decisions which slowly approach the final decision to perform a sexually aggressive act" (pg. 228). They additionally argue that following rehabilitation, when the sexual aggressor is in a state of abstinence from sexual crimes; a five-stage process occurs which leads the offender to lapse and relapse.

Not only have further versions and refinements been made to Pithers' Prevention Relapse Model, but studies have evaluated the validity of the model and whether it is the

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only pathway in the offending process of sexual aggressors (Ward, Louden, Hudson & Marshall, 1995; Proulx, Perreault, & Ouimet, 1999). As a response, these findings demonstrate that there is more than one pathway in the offending process of sexual aggressors, concluding to further diversity in offending. From this point, a number of studies have identified pathway models within subtypes of sex offenders (Ward & Siegert, 2002; Knight & Prentky, 1990), and their specific choice of victim.

Pathways in the offending process of extrafamilial sexual aggressors against women. Using a total of 180 men who were convicted on at least one sexual offence against an extrafamilial woman (at least 16 years old), Proulx and Beauregard (2014) analyzed pathways in the offending process of this offender type. Using modus operandi, precrime factors, sexual lifestyle, general lifestyle and personality disorder as categories of variables in the offending process, Proulx and Beauregard developed profiles for each category and further, overall pathways through the combination of all preceding profiles. They found three distinct pathways. The *sadistic* pathway is characterized by an anxious personality profile, which includes avoidant, dependent and schizoid traits, as well as deviant sexual preferences. These individuals suffer from low self-esteem and believe that the people they meet, especially women, reject and humiliate them. This leads the *sadistic* aggressor to have a general lifestyle dominated by distress (nightmares, insomnia, phobias, headaches, self-mutilation), anger (temper tantrums, rebelliousness, reckless behaviour) and avoidance (drug and alcohol abuse). In addition, the *sadistic* aggressor uses both deviant and nondeviant sexual behaviours as coping strategies for negative emotions. Their sexual lifestyle is considered as *hyperdeviant*, as the *sadistic* aggressor often turns to deviant sexual fantasies during compulsive masturbation, as well as consumes pornography, and frequents strip clubs and prostitutes. Additionally, they are sexually unsatisfied, which is often due to the fact that their deviant sexual fantasies lose much of their gratifying power over time. As a result, this leads the offender to have more violent and intense deviant sexual fantasies and therefore, commit more violent behaviours. Additionally, *sadistic* aggressors present low self-esteem in the year prior to their offence and report conflicts with women in general, including marital problems. They also report idleness prior to the crimes, which favours a strong investment in both their sadistic fantasies and the planning of sexual assaults. Finally, *sadistic* sexual aggressors have overwhelming deviant sexual

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fantasies, which constitute their motivation to offend and additionally shape the modus operandi.

Aggressors in the *angry* pathway present a dramatic personality profile, which includes high levels of narcissism and dependent personality disorders. These individuals are involved in an intimate relationship, and because they consider themselves as special, they expect their partners to fulfil their sexual and emotional needs. When they feel that their partner do not do so, or abandon them, the offenders feel that his world is ending and become depressed, anxious and angry. The *angry* aggressor has a chaotic and unstable general lifestyle; characterized by substance abuse, temper tantrums, rebelliousness and chronic lying. In order to cope with this distress, they have promiscuous sexual lifestyles (i.e. frequenting strip clubs, and prostitutes, consuming pornography). In the year prior to their index offence, the *angry* aggressor is lonely and has lost his sense of self-worth, usually as a result of the end of an intimate relationship. The offenders typically deal with these failures through substance abuse and the construction of revenge fantasies. Finally, their modus operandi is characterized by their intense anger, which steam from their need for revenge. Overall, sexual assaults of women represent coping mechanisms for their anger.

Finally, aggressors in the *opportunistic* pathway are characterized by a dramatic personality disorder profile, including narcissism and antisocial. This offender is similar to that of a psychopath, who is convinced they are superior to other people, have no empathy for others, are self-confident and see life as a party, with few limitations. The *opportunistic* aggressor reports their only life conflicts are with the judicial system or women, which are never the fault of their own. The *opportunistic* sexual aggressor additionally reports general sexual dissatisfaction. However, since they expect to have a willing partner at their convenience, they are at a risk of being sexually unsatisfied, despite the fact that they do have an active sexual life. Finally, his modus operandi is shaped on minimal planning. Specifically, the majority of the aggressor's assault women they already know, and therefore likely do not anticipate a criminal charge.

Although interesting, the pathways identified by Proulx and Beauregard (2014) looked at women in general, neglecting to investigate if offenders who target particular groups of women could present different pathways as well.

<u>Pathways in the offending process of sexual murderers against sex trade workers</u>. Beauregard and Martineau (2016) identified three pathways taken by sexual murderers who target sex trade workers. The researchers conducted classification analyses on the forensic awareness, victimology, crime locations and modus operandi of the offenders. Combining the results from each category, they developed three distinct pathways in which these offenders use when committing their crimes. In the first pathway, the sexual homicide offenders are mainly concerned with getting rid of any DNA, particularly semen, and *moving evidence*, including the victim's body. In addition, they target a victim who is likely a *drug-loner*, including those who abuse drugs and alcohol, and engage in minimal social interaction. They use either a *risky contact* location to contact their victims - one in which there is great potential for others to hear and/or see what is happening or an *outdoor to indoor* type of location, in which the offender will initially contact and attack their victim outdoors, but dispose of the body indoors. Finally, their main strategy to commit the crime is manipulation. This offender typically uses a con approach but also beats, stabs, and strangles the victim.

The second pathway is also characterized by the use of a *manipulative* modus operandi but the setting is somewhat different. Sexual murderers from this pathway target victims who are *alcohol/drug social,* including those who abuse drugs and alcohol, but have a social lifestyle. Additionally, these offenders are more likely to commit their crimes in a *risky* location and typically use *multiple forensic awareness strategies*, and dispose of the victim's body (i.e. conceal it).

Finally, the third pathway is similar to the first pathway in that these offenders are mainly concerned with removing DNA and *moving evidence*, as well as targeting a victim who is a *drug-loner*. However, these sexual murderers select a *completely safe* location, one in which an effort is made to minimize the risk and includes dumping the body at an outdoor deserted location. Additionally, they adopt a *sadistic* modus operandi. These individuals fully remove the victim's clothing, commit unusual acts, insert foreign objects

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into the victim's body cavities, take items from the victim, and engage in excessive violence.

As suggested by Beauregard and Martineau (2016), although the three pathways have been identified from sexual homicide of sex trade workers, they present different areas of focus by the offenders. For instance, in the first pathway, although the offender selects a *risky location* to get in contact with the victim, he makes sure to target a victim under the influence of drugs who is all by herself. The second pathway is similar, but instead of targeting a victim who is alone, the offender targets one who is more socially invested and although this may first appear as more risky, all of the offenders from this pathway use multiple forensic awareness strategies in order to avoid police detection. Finally, the third pathway is very different in that the offender chooses to employ a *sadistic* script instead of manipulation. These offenders are primarily concerned with ensuring no DNA evidence is left at the crime scene and making sure that the crime locations are low risk in terms of being interrupted or detected.

Aim of the Study

There has been little research on the sexual offenders of sex trade workers; however, a current gap in research remains on understanding who the offenders are that target marginalized victims more broadly. The current study will explore this gap through two distinct study aims. Salfati, James and Ferguson (2008) raised an important question related to the rationale behind the decision to specifically target sex trade workers. Do offenders target sex trade workers solely because of their occupation (i.e., based on a hatred toward sex trade workers), or is the murder of sex trade workers a crime of opportunity (i.e., the availability of vulnerable victims in an environment lacking protections)? We argue that the same questioning may be applied to marginalized victims in general. Therefore, our first study aim seeks to answer the question of whether marginalized individuals are attacked specifically because they are marginalized individuals or if is it because they are available and vulnerable. In other words, do marginalized individuals such as sex trade workers, homeless people, and heavy drug users represent a specific choice of victim for sex offenders or are they instead a victim of choice? Therefore, the current study will decipher the crime context and modus

operandi strategies that differ sexual offenders who target marginalized victims from those who target other victim types. Due to the high number of unsolved crimes, as well as the vulnerability and accessibility of the victims, we hypothesize that offenders who target marginalized victims will offend in a specific context and will use different crime strategies than those who sexually offend against other victim types.

Prior literature has assessed a number of different pathways amongst subtypes of sex offenders and their victim types; however, this has yet to be conducted with sex offenders who target marginalized victims. For example, Beauregard and Martineau (2016) have identified pathways taken by sexual murderers who target sex trade workers specifically. However, the study by Beauregard and Martineau (2016) as well as previous ones have only focused on sex trade workers, neglecting to consider other marginalized victims who are also at higher risk of victimization (i.e., homeless populations, severe drug users). Moreover, previous studies have focused on one type of sex offender (e.g., sexual murderers) overlooking the fact that some sex offenders may physically injure their victims while others kill them. Therefore, the second study aim is to examine the offending pathways of different types of sex offenders (i.e., non-homicidal sex offenders, violent non-homicidal sex offenders, homicidal sex offenders) who have targeted a variety of marginalized victims (e.g., sex trade workers, homeless individuals, and severe drug users). Specifically, the study focuses on the developmental factors present in the offenders' lives prior to adulthood, the criminal career, the context of the crime, as well as the modus operandi used during the crime. Similar to Beauregard and Martineau (2016), we hypothesize that several pathways will emerge.

Chapter 4.

Methodologies

Sample and Procedures

The study sample consists solely of adult males convicted of an indictable sexual offence in the province of Quebec, Canada, between April 1994 and June 2005. The participation rate was high as 93% of offenders (N = 624) consented to the completely voluntary research project. However, eight cases were excluded due to many missing values, resulting in a final sample size of 616 offenders.

For the purpose of the first study aim, only violent sex offenders were selected, as Beauregard and Martineau (2016) have found that violent non-homicidal sex offenders and sexual homicide offenders were more likely to target marginalized victims compared to non-homicidal sex offenders. Based on a sample of 229 violent sex offenders, the current study investigates differences between sexual crimes committed against marginalized (N = 73) and non-marginalized victims (N = 156).

For the purpose of understanding the pathways of sexual offenders who target marginalized victims, all offender types were selected to increase statistical power, as only those who targeted marginalized victims were chosen (N=213). This included non-homicidal sex offenders (N = 140), violent non-homicidal sex offenders (N = 58)[1] and sexual murderers (N = 15).

To facilitate data collection, all participants were incarcerated at one maximum-security facility operated by the Correctional Services of Canada. Offenders were incarcerated at this institution for an average of eight weeks, pending a transfer to a penitentiary that could best accommodate their level of risk and treatment needs. Data

was collected during a semi-structured interview with each participant using the Computerized Questionnaire for Sexual Aggressors (CQSA) (Proulx, St-Yves, & McKibben, 1994). This questionnaire includes information on different aspects of the offender's life and criminal activity such as correctional information; precrime, crime and postcrime factors; attitudes regarding the offence; apprehension; victimology; developmental factors; and psychiatric diagnostics. Researchers maintained response reliability by checking for and questioning inconsistencies. Offenders were required to consent to allow researchers the access to official documentation (i.e., police records, victim statements, and the institution case file), and when disagreement between self-report and official documentation occurred, official data was used.

Measures

Dependent variable: The first study aim has one dependent variable, type of victim (0=non-marginalized; 1=marginalized; see Table 4.1). The victim type was coded based on whether or not the victim was from a criminogenic environment, which helps to provide the conditions that produce crime or criminality. This includes an environment that does not possess sufficient resources to meet the basic needs (e.g., sleeping, eating, clothing, housing, security) for the victim or others the victim resides with, having a history of a dysfunctional lifestyle (e.g., physical, psychological, sexual abuse, prostitution), or where alcohol and/or drug use were present. Although current literature addresses violence towards sex trade workers exclusively (e.g., Church et al., 2001; Quinet, 2011; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Deering et al., 2014; Salfati et al., 2008), we take a different approach by combining sex trade workers, homeless individuals and severe drug users within our definition of a marginalized victim for three reasons. First, Brewer et al. (2006) addresses investigation challenges when identifying sex trade worker homicides, which include inaccurate recordings, as some victims may not be recognized as sex trade workers or because the bodies of sex trade workers are never found or identified due to decomposed remains. Second, as sex trade workers, homeless and severe drug users are rarely mutually exclusive categories; common lifestyle factors often persist including a lack of shelter, proximity to high crime areas, engagement in high risk behaviours, previous victimization, mental illness and substance

Table 4.1.   Coding and description of the variables (N=229)

	% (N)
Context of the Crime	
Offender is employed at time of the crime = 1 (yes)	40.2 (92)
Split from partner 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	12.7 (29)
Conjugal difficulties 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	21.4 (49)
Conflict with partner 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	14.0 (32)
Conflict with women 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	27.1 (62)
Alcohol use 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	65.1 (149)
Drug use 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	39.3 (90)
Porn use 48h prior to the crime= 1 (yes)	7.4 (17)
Deviant fantasies of victim 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	15.3 (35)
Deviant fantasies not with victim 48h prior to the crime = 1 (yes)	21.4 (49)
More than one perpetrator at crime scene = 1 (yes)	13.1 (30)
Probability of apprehension = 1 (high)	44.1 (101)
Victim was intoxicated during crime = 1 (yes)	24.0 (55)
Modus Operandi Variables	
Moment of the crime = 2 (at night only)	62.4 (143)
Relationship to offender = 2 (stranger)	34.1 (78)
Sex of victim = 1 (male)	12.2 (28)
Premeditation of crime = 1 (structured)	27.1 (62)
Crime length longer than 15 minutes = 1 (yes)	73.8 (169)
Crime length longer than 30 minutes = 1 (yes)	56.3 (129)
Victim was selected = 1 (yes)	24.5 (56)
Approach used to commit crime = 1 (coercive)	86.9 (199)
Weapon was used = 1 (yes)	52.4 (120)
Level of force = 1 (more than necessary)	84.7 (194)
Coercive reaction to victim resist = 1 (yes)	87.3 (200)
Nature of sexual acts committed = 1 (intrusive)	71.6 (164)
Victim was forced to commit sexual acts = 1 (yes)	40.6 (93)
Offender humiliated victim = 1 (yes)	42.8 (98)
Body visibility of victim = 1 (exposed)	23.1 (53)
Position of body = 1 (on back)	18.8 (43)
State of victim dress 1 = (completely naked)	19.7 (45)
Pre-mortem torture of victim = 1 (yes)	69.4 (159)
Semen found at crime scene = 1 (yes)	3.9 (9)
Objects left inside victim = 1 (yes)	65.9 (151)
Dependent Variable	
Type of victim = 1 (marginalized)	31.9 (73)

abuse (Quinet, 2011). Finally, Silbert and Pines (1982) found that some sex trade workers are evidently victimized on the street at a time that they are not soliciting. Therefore, limiting research to sex trade workers exclusively could provide a bias or incomplete picture of the attacks toward these vulnerable women.

Independent Variables for Study Aim 1: *Crime Context.* Considering the exploratory nature of this study, thirteen crime context variables are included, which depict events or decisions that occurred shortly before the offender engaged in the crime. Nine of the variables were dichotomously coded (0 = no; 1 = yes) and measure events that occurred within 48 hours prior to the crime. Four of them are related to conflict with women including (a) split from partner, (b) conjugal difficulties, (c) conflict with partner and (d) conflict with women. These variables were chosen to assess whether offenders rationalize their crimes through victim blaming and/or whether the crimes are committed in the heat of passion upon a dispute with another female. The five remaining measures include (e) alcohol use, (f) drug use, (g) pornography use, (h) deviant fantasies with the victim[2], and (i) deviant fantasies without the victim. Prior studies have assessed pre-crime factors 48 hours prior to the crime (e.g., Leclerc et al., 2009; Beauregard et al., 2008), as they are viewed as cognitive disinhibitors that favour sexual crimes (Proulx, McKibben & Lusignan, 1996). Additionally, three variables were dichotomously coded (0 = no; 1 = yes): (a) offender is employed, (b) high probability of apprehension[3], and (c) victim was intoxicated during the crime. Finally, we measure the number of perpetrators at the crime scene (0 = only one; 1 = more than one).

Modus Operandi. Twenty modus operandi variables reflecting the strategies that sex offenders use to successfully commit their crimes were considered. Two categorical variables, including the moment the crime was committed (0 = day; 1 = day and night; 2 = night), as well as the victim's relationship to the offender (0 = linked; 1 = known; 2 = stranger) were considered. Additionally, five dichotomous variables were chosen to represent specific decisions made by the offender before the crime commission, including (a) sex of the victim (0 = female; 1 = male), (b) premeditation of the crime[4] (0 = non-structured; 1 = structured), and (c) the victim was selected (0 = no; 1 = yes). In addition, two variables were chosen to assess the length of the crime, including (a) crime length was longer than 15 minutes (0 = no; 1 = yes) and (b) crime length was longer

than 30 minutes (0 = no; 1 = yes). The remaining 17 variables measure offender strategies during each phase of the crime commission process. The way in which the offender approached the victim (0 = non-coercive; 1 = coercive) is included as it provides a strong indication as to whether the offender will use violence throughout the crime (Balemba & Beauregard, 2012). Five variables measure coercion during the crime and were all dichotomously coded (0=no; 1=yes): (a) a weapon was used, (b) offender had a coercive reaction to victim reaction, (c) offender forced the victim to commit sexual acts, (d) offender humiliated the victim, and (e) the offender committed pre-mortem torture. Additionally, the level of force (0 = none; 1 = more than necessary) and sexual acts committed on the victim[5] (0 = non-intrusive; 1 = intrusive) to further differentiate violent means between offenders during the crime. The strategies used by the offender post crime commission are increasingly important, as some offenders will adapt their MO to take precautions to decrease their risk of apprehension (Beauregard & Martineau, 2012) or will adopt specific behaviors related to their deviant sexual fantasies. Two post crime strategies were dichotomously coded as (0=no; 1=yes): (a) leaving objects inside the victim's body, and (b) leaving semen at the crime scene. Originally, inflicting post-mortem torture on the victim, as well as body dismemberment, murdering the victim through strangulation or asphyxiation and having post-mortem sex with the victim were included to assess the severity of post-crime strategies between those targeting marginalized from non-marginalized victims; however, these variables were removed as they could only pertain to the sexual murderers within the sample. Finally, body visibility (0 = hidden; 1 = exposed), the positioning of the body (0= other; 1= on back) and the state of victim dress (0= partially naked; 1 = completely naked) were considered as they are additional clues to the offender's behavioural strategies including specific decision making (Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988).

Independent variables for Study Aim 2: *Pathways.* The offending process was comprised of four components: (1) developmental characteristics, (2) criminal career, (3) crime context, and (4) modus operandi (see Table 4.2). The offender's development was operationalized with eight dichotomous variables (0=no; 1= yes), assessing their occurrence prior to the age of 18. Four of the variables account for sexual trauma experienced in childhood, including (a) exposure to sexual violence, (b) exposure to incest, (c) exposure to rape and (d) victim of sexual contacts. The remaining four

Table 4.2.   Coding and description of the variables (N=213)

	% (N)
Developmental	
Exposed to sexual violence prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	14.6 (31)
Exposed to incest prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	10.3 (22)
Exposed to rape prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	0.9 (2)
Victim of sexual contacts prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	43.7 (93)
Porn magazine use prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	23.9 (51)
Porn movie use prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	18.8 (40)
Strip joint prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	16.0 (34)
Hire a prostitute prior to 18 = 1 (yes)	5.2 (11)
Criminal Career	
Total number of property offences (mean)	4.07 (7.98)
Total number of violent crimes (mean)	3.40 (6.60)
Total number of sexual crimes (mean)	4.20 (4.25)
Total number of non-sexual crimes (mean)	12.99 (16.43)
Total number of other crimes (mean)	5.52 (9.19)
Total of all crimes (mean)	17.20 (16.29)
Age at first offence (mean)	28.27 (11.36)
Crime Context	
Deviant fantasies with victim = 1 (yes)	26.8 (57)
Deviant fantasies without victim = 1 (yes)	19.2 (41)
Porn use 48h prior to crime = 1 (yes)	16.9 (36)
Drug use 48h prior to crime = 1 (yes)	33.8 (72)
Alcohol use 48h prior to crime = 1 (yes)	47.4 (101)
Modus Operandi	
Offender relationship= 1 (knew victim)	87.3 (186)
Offender approach = 1 (coercive)	45.5 (97)
Level of premeditation (mean)	0.94 (0.76)
Weapon used = 1 (yes)	18.3 (39)
Offender humiliated victim = 1 (yes)	27.7 (59)
Body visibility = 1 (exposed)	4.7 (10)
Pre-mortem torture = 1 (yes)	93.0 (198)
Post-mortem torture = 1 (yes)	93.4 (199)
Objects left in victim = 1 (yes)	93.4 (199)
Post-mortem sex = 1 (yes)	94.4 (201)

variables assess early sexual behaviours, including (a) consumption of pornographic magazines, (b) consumption of pornographic movies, (c) frequenting of strip club and (d) having sex with prostitutes.

The criminal career of the offender was operationalized with seven continuous variables. Six of the variables assess the total number of crimes committed by the offender in offence categories, including (a) property crimes, (b) violent crimes, (c) sexual crimes, (d) non-sexual crimes, (e) other crimes, and (f) all crimes. The final continuous variable assesses the age at first crime.

The context of the crime was operationalized with five dichotomous variables (0=no; 1=yes). The variables adhere to the actions taken by the offender momentarily before the index offence, including (a) deviant fantasies involving the victim, (b) deviant fantasies not involving the victim, (c) consumption of pornography, (d) drug use, and (e) alcohol use.

The modus operandi was operationalized with ten variables assessing the behaviours and decision-making made by the offender during the crime commission. Of the ten variables, nine are dichotomous (0=no; 1=yes) including, (a) offender knew the victim, (b) offender used a coercive approach, (c) weapon was used, (d) offender humiliated the victim, (e) victim's body was left exposed, (f) offender committed pre-mortem torture on the victim, (g) offender committed post-mortem torture on the victim, (h) objects were left inside the victim's body, and (i) the offender had post-mortem sex with the victim's body. In addition, the level of premeditation exhibited by the offender was assessed at three levels (0=none; 1=non-structured; 2=structured[3]).

Analytical Strategy

To answer the first study aim, we first assessed each crime context and modus operandi independent variable against the dependent variable at the bivariate level through a series of chi-square analyses. We chose only the significant predictors for multivariate analyses to increase statistical power with our relatively small sample size.

Second, logistic regression was used to assess the impact of all criminal strategy indicators on the choice of victim in cases of violent sexual assaults.

The logistic regression analysis was formulated as two hierarchical models, developed by the two variable categories (crime context; modus operandi). The first model includes the crime context predictors and the second model sequentially adds the modus operandi measures. This ordering was chosen through a timing sequence, as crime context factors typically occur before the modus operandi strategies, which occur during the crime commission process.

In order to prepare for logistic regression, I removed standardized residuals above 2 standard deviations and below -2 standard deviations. Having a more parsimonious model not only increased the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 and overall predicted percent, but variables became significant that were not in the original model. Additionally, there was no multicollinearity, as variables were tested both against each other and each against the dependent variable. Results indicate that all VIF's remained under 4.0 and Tolerance above .2.

In order to identify the pathways taken by sex offenders who target marginalized victims, the current study uses two analytical phases to facilitate in answering question two. The first analytical phase was to identify profiles for each component of the offending pathway. In order to achieve this, two-step cluster analysis was performed on the variables constituting each of the four components of the offending pathway. The second analytical phase identified the offending pathways of offenders who target marginalized victims. This was achieved through two-step cluster analysis on the clusters already identified for each component of the offending profile. The number of clusters was determined either theoretically at face value or empirically through the BIC and Ratio of Distance Measures. All analyses were conducted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 23.

Description of the Clustering Method. TwoStep Clustering is a scalable cluster analysis algorithm designed for very large data sets. This method is capable of handling both continuous and categorical variables and involves two procedural steps that occur simultaneously. In the first step, SPSS pre-clusters the records into many small sub-

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clusters. It scans the records one by one and decides if the current record should merge with the previously formed clusters or start a new cluster based on the distance criterion. In the second step, SPSS groups the data into sub- clusters. The cluster step takes sub-clusters resulting from the first step as input and then groups them into the desired number of clusters (SPSS Inc., 2001).

Chapter 5.

Results

To find the behavioural differences in offenders who target marginalized victims from other victim types, we start by examining the bivariate relationships between the type of victim and each of the crime context and modus operandi indicators. Table 5.1 shows that 19 variables differentiate the strategies used by offenders when targeting different victim types, including four crime context indicators emerged as significant or approaching significance. Thus, offenders that target marginalized victims are significantly more likely to use drugs within 48 hours prior to the crime and chose an intoxicated victim. Additionally, offenders who target marginalized victims are also more likely to watch pornography within 48 hours prior to the crime and involve more than one perpetrator at the crime, although found as only approaching significance.

Further, twelve modus operandi strategies have been found to differentiate victim type. Offenders who target marginalized victims are significantly more likely to commit their crimes at night and only at night, as well as have a coercive reaction to victim resistance, engage in pre-mortem, force the victim to commit sexual acts, humiliate the victim, and leave objects inside the victim's body. In addition, offenders who target marginalized victims are also more likely to perpetrate intrusive sexual acts, although this was found to only approach significance.

Conversely, offenders who target non-marginalized victims are significantly more likely to use a weapon and leave the victim's body exposed. Although only approaching significance, offenders who target non-marginalized victims are also more likely to select their victim, and abandon the victim lying on his or her back completely naked.

Table 5.1.   Bivariate associations between predictors and type of victim (N=229)

	Marginalized	Non-marginalized	X^2
	% (N)	% (N)	
Context of the Crime			
Offender is employed	34.2 (25)	42.9 (67)	-.08
Split from partner 48h prior	15.1 (11)	11.5 (18)	.05
Conjugal difficulties 48h prior	19.2 (14)	22.4 (35)	-.04
Conflict with partner 48h prior	11.0 (8)	15.4 (24)	-.06
Conflict with women 48h prior	23.3 (17)	28.8 (45)	-.06
Alcohol use 48h prior	64.4 (47)	65.4 (102)	-.01
Drug use 48h prior	50.7 (37)	34.0 (53)	.16*
Porn use 48h prior	12.3 (9)	5.1 (8)	.13†
Deviant fantasies of victim 48h prior	15.1 (11)	15.4 (24)	-.00
Deviant fantasies not victim 48h prior	16.4 (12)	23.7 (37)	-.08
More than one perpetrator at crime scene	19.2 (14)	10.3 (16)	.12†
High probability of apprehension	50.7 (37)	41.0 (64)	.09
Victim was intoxicated during crime	34.2 (25)	19.2 (30)	.16*
Modus Operandi Variables			
Moment of the crime (night only)	68.5 (50)	59.6 (93)	.20*
Victim was a stranger to offender	27.4 (20)	37.2 (58)	.14
Victim was male	11.0 (8)	12.8 (20)	-.03
Structured premeditation of crime	23.3 (17)	28.8 (45)	.10
Crime length longer than 15 minutes	75.3 (55)	73.1 (114)	.02
Crime length longer than 30 minutes	61.6 (45)	53.8 (84)	.07
Victim was selected	16.4 (12)	28.2 (44)	-.13†
Coercive approach used	89.0 (65)	85.9 (134)	.04
Weapon was used	41.1 (30)	57.7 (90)	-.16*
Level of force was more than necessary	90.4 (66)	82.1 (128)	.11
Coercive reaction to victim resist	97.3 (71)	82.7 (129)	.20**
Intrusive sexual acts committed	79.5 (58)	67.9 (106)	.12†
Victim was forced to commit sexual acts	56.2 (41)	33.3 (52)	.22***
Offender humiliated victim	61.6 (45)	34.0 (53)	.26***
Body of victim was left exposed	13.7 (10)	27.6 (43)	-.15*
Victim was left laying on back	12.3 (9)	21.8 (34)	-.11†
Victim was left completely naked	12.3 (9)	23.1 (36)	-.13†
Pre-mortem torture of victim	79.5 (58)	64.7 (101)	.15*
Semen found at crime scene	1.4 (1)	5.1 (8)	-.09
Objects left inside victim	80.8 (59)	59.0 (92)	.22***

†p < .10; *p < .05; **p < .01, ***p < .001

Next, we tested the relationship between type of victim and our independent variables at the multivariate level using logistic regression analyses (see Table 5.2). Model 1 examines only the effect of the crime context variables on the type of victim. The model was significant ($p < .000$) and the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 suggests that 15% of the explained variance of the log odds of the dependent variable can be accounted for by the independent variables. Finally, this model can predict the type of victim in 70.8% of cases. Results show that watching pornography at least 48 hours prior to the crime ($\beta = 1.36$, $p < .05$), having more than one perpetrator involved in the crime ($\beta = 1.13$, $p < .01$) and targeting an intoxicated victim ($\beta = .99$, $p < .01$) significantly increases the likelihood of targeting a marginalized victim. Additionally, using drugs at least 48 hours prior to the crime ($\beta = .62$, $p < .10$) marginally increases the likelihood of targeting a marginalized victim.

Model 2 incorporates the modus operandi strategies to predict the type of victim. Results show that this model was highly significant ($p < .000$) and explains more variance than the previous model (47 percent). Additionally, there is an improvement in the overall predicted percentage, which now allows for a correct type of victim prediction 81.7% of the time. Additionally, most crime context variables from model 1 remain unchanged, except offenders who used drugs within 48 hours prior to the crime now significantly increases the likelihood of targeting a marginalized victim ($\beta = .90$, $p < .05$). Results show that offenders who target marginalized victims are significantly more likely to force their victims to commit sexual acts ($\beta = 1.14$, $p < .05$) and humiliate the victim ($\beta = 1.45$, $p < .001$). However, offenders who target marginalized victims are significantly less likely to commit their crimes during the day ($\beta = -2.15$, $p < .01$), select their victim ($\beta = -1.65$, $p < .01$) and use a weapon during the crime ($\beta = -1.36$, $p < .001$).

Two-step cluster analysis of the developmental characteristics of the offenders identified three distinct profiles (see Table 5.3). The first profile is labeled *no problem* (56.3%; n = 120), since offenders in this profile report no problems throughout their development. The second profile, *victim,* accounts for 13.1% (N = 28) of sexual offenders. These offenders report high rates of being exposed to sexual violence, incest

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Table 5.2.   Logistic regression predicting type of victim (N=219)

	MODEL 1	MODEL 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)
Context of the Crime		
Drug use 48h prior to offence	.62(.32)†	.90 (.40)*
Porn use 48h prior to offence	1.35 (.53)*	1.88 (.71)**
More than one perpetrator at crime scene	1.13 (.42)**	1.52 (.52)**
Victim intoxicated at time of offence	.99 (.35)**	1.27 (.46)**
Modus Operandi		
Moment of the crime (day)		-2.14 (.74)**
Moment of the crime (both day & night)		-.66 (.52)
Victim is selected		-1.65 (.57)**
Weapon is used		-1.36 (.42)***
Intrusive sexual acts committed		.66 (.51)
Victim forced to commit sexual acts		1.14 (.47)*
Humiliation of victim		1.45 (.43)***
Body is left visible		-.82 (.73)
Victim was left laying on back		.64 (.77)
Victim is left completely naked		.38 (.65)
Constant	-1.76 (.26)***	-2.59 (.65)***
Nagelkerke pseudo R²	.15	.47
Overall % predicted	70.8%	81.7%

Coercive reaction from offender by victim resistance was removed because 100% of offenders who target marginalized victims had a coercive reaction to victim resistance.

Pre-mortem torture and leaving objects inside the victim were removed due to multicollinearity.

†p < .10; *p < .05; **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.3.   Developmental profiles

	No Problem (N = 120)	Victim (N = 28)	Sexual lifestyle (N = 65)
Exposed to sexual violence prior to 18	0% (0)	100% (28)	4.6% (3)
Exposed to incest prior to 18	0% (0)	78.6% (22)	0% (0)
Porn magazine prior to 18	0% (0)	3.6% (1)	76.9% (50)
Porn movie prior to 18	0% (0)	17.9% (5)	53.8% (35)
Strip joint prior to 18	0% (0)	17.9% (5)	44.6% (29)
Hire a prostitute prior to 18	0% (0)	7.1% (2)	13.8% (9)
Exposed to rape prior to 18	0% (0)	3.6% (1)	1.5% (1)
Victim of sexual contacts prior to 18	43.3% (52)	53.6% (15)	40.0% (26)

and rape, as well as victim of sexual contacts, all prior to the age of 18. The third profile, *deviant activities,* accounts for 30.5% (N = 65) of offenders and is characterized by offenders' participation in sexual commodities prior to the age of 18. This includes the use of pornographic magazines and videos, as well attending strip clubs and hiring prostitutes. Three developmental profiles were determined theoretically as the Autoclustering suggested 5 clusters, which did not make theoretical sense within its interpretation. A three-cluster solution was chosen as a four-cluster solution included two clusters that had no problem, and a two-cluster solution was too condensed and could not be interpreted.

Table 5.4 presents the findings of the Two-Step cluster analysis on the criminal career variables examined for the sexual offenders who target marginalized victims. The first profile, the *specialist offender*, comprises 85.9% (N = 183) of the sexual offenders, and is characterized by a greater number of prior convictions for sexual crimes specifically. Additionally, these offenders begin their criminal career at a later age (M = 29.62). The second profile, the *versatile offender*, comprises 14.1% (N = 30) of the offenders. Offenders fitting this profile commit high rates of a variety of crimes and additionally, begin their criminal career at a much earlier age (M = 20.03). A two-cluster solution was determined through Autoclustering, as it had a BIC of 775.467 with the largest BIC change of -329.570 and the largest Ratio of Distance Measure, which was 3.079

Table 5.5 presents the two identified crime context profiles. The *deviant sexual fantasies* profile accounts for 40.8% (N = 87) of the sex offenders who target marginalized victims. These offenders are characterized by having deviant sexual fantasies both with the victim and without the victim before the crime. In addition, they also report using pornography 48 hours prior to their crime. The second profile, *substance users*, accounts for 59.2% (N = 126) of offenders, and is characterized by the use of drugs and/or alcohol at least 48 hours prior to the crime. A two-cluster solution was determined through Autoclustering, as it had a BIC of 963.342 and the largest BIC change of -280.344 and the largest Ratio of Distance Measure, which was 1.629.

Table 5.4.   Criminal career profiles

	Specialist offender (N = 183)	Versatile offender (N = 30)
Total for property	2.35 (3.72)	14.57 (15.68)
Total for violent crimes	2.01 (2.65)	11.87 (13.71)
Total for sexual crimes	4.37 (4.46)	3.20 (2.43)
Total for non-sexual	7.49 (7.28)	46.57 (16.85)
Total for "other" crimes	3.13 (3.75)	20.13 (16.50)
Total for all crimes	11.86 (7.90)	49.77 (16.49)
Age at first crime	29.62 (11.62)	20.03 (3.78)

Table 5.5.   Crime context profiles

	Deviant sexual fantasies (N = 87)	Substance use (N = 126)
Deviant fantasies with the victim	65.5% (57)	0% (0)
Deviant fantasies excluding victim	47.1% (41)	0% (0)
Porn use 48h prior to the crime	41.4% (36)	0% (0)
Drug use 48h prior to the crime	25.3% (22)	39.7% (50)
Alcohol use 48h prior to the crime	40.2% (35)	52.4% (66)

The three modus operandi profiles identified through the Two-Step cluster analysis are presented in Table 5.6. The *sadistic* profile accounts for 50.7% (N = 108) of the offenders. This offender is characterized by premeditating his crime, covering up the victim's body, committing high levels of pre and post-mortem torture, leaving objects inside the victim's cavities and having post-mortem sex with the victim. The second profile, *angry*, accounts for 42.7% (N = 91) of the offenders, and is characterized by having known the victim prior to the crime, as well as using a coercive approach, humiliating the victim and participating in high levels of torturous behaviours throughout the crime. The third profile, *opportunistic*, accounts for 6.6% (N = 14) of the offenders. These offenders are the least forensically aware, as they do not premeditate the crime and tend to leave the victim's body exposed. Additionally, this offender does not commit any type of torture on the victim, and independently uses a weapon as their means of control and/or death. A three-cluster solution was determined through Autoclustering, as it had a BIC of 803.501 with a change of -306.947 and the highest Ratio of Distance Measure, which was 3.585.

Two-step cluster analysis was carried out combining the four cluster solutions above and three distinct pathways were identified (see Table 5.7). A three-cluster solution was chosen as it made the most theoretical sense. Offenders in the *coercive* pathway account for 30.5% (N = 65) of our sample of sex offenders who target marginalized victims. These offenders typically present either *no problem* (100%) or participate in *deviant activities* (46.2%) before the age of 18. Additionally, all offenders present a *specialist* criminal career (100%) consisting solely of sexual crimes. Finally, these offenders are typically *substance users* (52.3%) shortly before the crime and adopt either a *sadistic* (100%) or *violent/angry* (46.2%) modus operandi.

Table 5.6.   Modus operandi profiles

	Sadistic (N = 108)	Angry (N = 91)	Opportunistic (N = 14)
Offender knew victim	0% (0)	76.9% (70)	57.1% (8)
Coercive approach used	0% (0)	92.3% (84)	92.9% (13)
Level of premeditation	1.10 (.74)	.81 (.76)	.50 (.65)
Weapon used	0% (0)	33.0% (30)	64.2% (9)
Offender humiliated victim	0% (0)	63.7% (58)	7.1% (1)
Victims body left exposed	0% (0)	1.1% (1)	64.3% (9)
Pre-mortem torture	100% (108)	98.9% (90)	0% (0)
Post-mortem torture	100% (108)	100% (91)	0% (0)
Object left in victim	100% (108)	100% (91)	0% (0)
Post-mortem sex with victim	100% (108)	100% (91)	14.3% (2)

Table 5.7.   Pathways in the offending process of sexual offenders against marginalized victims

	Coercive (N = 65)	Explosive (N = 93)	Situational (N = 55)
Developmental	No problem (100%) Sexual lifestyle (46.2%)	Victim (30.1%)	Victim (72.7%) Sexual lifestyle (45.5%)
Criminal Career	Specialist (100%)	Specialist (67.7%) Versatile (32.3%)	Specialist (100%)
Crime Context	Substance use (52.3%)	Deviant fantasies (60.2%)	Substance use (100%)
Modus Operandi	Sadistic (100%) Angry (46.2%)	Angry (48.4%) Opportunistic (83.6%)	Opportunistic (16.4%)

Offenders in the *explosive* pathway account for 43.7% (N = 93) of the total sample. These offenders likely present a problem of being a *victim* (30.1%) of sexual violence in childhood, in which *deviant sexual fantasies* (60.2%) facilitate their criminal acts. Additionally, these offenders are typically *specialist* (67.7%) sexual offenders, but some may be *versatile* (32.3%) in their criminal career. Finally, these offenders embrace a *violent/angry* (48.4%) or *opportunistic* (83.6%) modus operandi.

Offenders in the *situational* pathway account for 25.8% (N = 55) of our sample. These offenders typically present a *victim* profile (72.7%) of childhood sexual trauma, but some could also be engaged in *deviant activities* (45.4%) throughout their development. In addition, all offenders present a *specialist* (100%) criminal career and engage in *substance use* (100%) prior to the crime. Finally, these offenders are most likely to use an *opportunistic* (16.4%) modus operandi.

Supplementary chi-square analysis was conducted to test the bivariate relationship between the pathways and the type of offender (p < .000; Cramers V: .34). Results indicate that the coercive pathway was comprised mostly of non-homicidal sex offenders (93.8%). Secondly, 47.3% of violent non-homicidal sex offenders were present in the situational pathway; however, a number of violent non-homicidal sex offenders were also in the explosive pathway (30.1%). Finally, the vast majority of sexual murderers of marginalized victims were in the situational pathway (18.2%), and surprisingly, there were no sexual murderers in the coercive pathway (see Appendix).

Chapter 6.

Discussion

Differences in the Behavioural Strategies of Sexual Offenders that Target Marginalized and Non-Marginalized Victims

As hypothesized, sex offenders who target marginalized victims use many different strategies during the crime than offenders who target non-marginalized victims. This is important as Beauregard and Martineau (2016) found very few modus operandi differences between sexual homicide offenders who target sex trade workers, from offenders who do not target sex trade workers. The reasoning for the current difference is the integration of both sexual homicide offenders and violent sex offenders together as well as incorporating other subtypes of marginalized victims, as opposed to sex trade workers exclusively.

Subsequently, Beauregard and Martineau (2016) found that sexual homicide offenders of sex trade workers are more likely to fully remove all of the victims clothing. When assessing the behavioral strategies used on marginalized victims, the current study found opposing results at the bivariate level. Fully removing all of the victims clothing and leaving the victim lying on her back variables evidently switched direction from the bivariate to multivariate level. The statistical reasoning for this is twofold. First, we found multiple interactions among the variables at the multivariate level by testing all variables in the logistic regression against each of the variables that switched. The variables found to interact with the body positioning was humiliating the victim and body visibility and the variables found to interact with the state of dress of the victim was the time of the crime, as well as humiliating the victim and leaving the victims body exposed. Additionally, the particular strategies were used almost exclusively by sexual murderers

(98%-100%) in our sample, resulting in a lack of statistical variance. This indicates why our findings differed from the study by Beauregard and Martineau (2016), as their sample was exclusively sexual homicide offenders.

It seems that offenders who target marginalized victims may be more easily able to rationalize degradation (i.e. chose intoxicated victims, force their victim to commit sexual acts, humiliate the victim) and violence (i.e. pre-mortem torture) toward the victim than those who target non-marginalized victims. Despite the level of violence that marginalized victims endure; the approach strategy of offenders who target marginalized victims is not any more coercive than offenders who do not target marginalized victims. The reason for this could be that these offenders have a legitimate reason to approach the victim, such as purchasing drugs or sexual services. However, these offenders are more likely to use coercion after an altercation has required the victim to resist. This finding supports Salfati et al. (2008) statement addressing that one of the most common reasons for a client to become violent is related to the quality of the service. This is exemplified in the current study, as the offender does not seem to use violence until something within the service does not go his way.

Sexual offenders, in conjunction with the greater society, have been able to rationalize violence toward marginalized populations more easily, as they are viewed as "unrapeable" and are deserving of the violence inflicted upon them (Williamson & Folaron, 2001). Although the motivation to use violence varies among offenders, the motivation to solicit sex trade workers varies as well. Monto (2004) indicates that clients of sex trade workers who were married were much more likely to report that they had less happy marriages than those who do not purchase prostitutes, which rationalizes their need to solicit prostitutes. However, the current study found no significant difference in offender's marital issues between offenders who sexually offend against marginalized and non-marginalized victims. As results were low for both victim types, this suggests that the motivation of offenders who target marginalized victims cannot be depicted by an unhappy marital relationship.

Subsequently, Beckham and Prohaska (2012) identify that client misogyny and client hatred of prostitutes are among the most common motivations towards sex trade

worker homicide. However, the current study found no significant difference between offenders who have a general hatred of women, impacting the type of victim choice. Additionally, having a problem with women in general remained very low for offenders targeting either victim type. Therefore, this indicates that the motivation of iconic offenders who have committed serial prostitute homicides do not possess the same motivation as the majority of offenders who target marginalized victims. For example, Gary Ridgeway targeted prostitutes along a stretch of highway in Washington, U.S.A. Upon a 22-year murder spree, Ridgeway eventually plead guilty to 48 counts of first-degree murder (Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007). Ridgeway evidently did not concur with women in general, as he was married to his third wife during the period in which he committed the majority of the murders, and admitted to having a hatred toward prostitutes, which was antecedent to his mother's odd child rearing strategies (Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007). As Ridgeway's animosity toward women in general motivated him to commit his crimes, this is evidently not typical of offenders who target marginalized victims.

The acts of violence used on the victim could additionally be in relation to the level of planning by the offender. The current study found that offenders who target marginalized victims are less likely to use a weapon at any point within the crime. This suggests that murder or victimization occurs within a manual manner and is therefore likely a result of impulsive aggression. This would suggest why these offenders are more likely to use coercive means after a dispute occurs and the victim resists, as they did not plan for an altercation to occur.

Results in the current study additionally indicate that offenders who target marginalized victims have been found to be more forensically aware than offenders who target non-marginalized victims. The current study found that offenders who target marginalized victims are less likely to leave the victim's body exposed, evidently making an effort to cover the victim's body, and are also more likely to commit their crimes at night. Similar findings within sex trade workers homicide cases exclusively were found. In comparison to other homicide offenders, those who target prostitutes were not only more likely to commit their crimes at night, but were also more likely to transport the victim's body, hide the victim's body, and leave the body outside (Salfati et al., 2008).

These suggestive strategies are causal to the high number of unsolved crimes of marginalized victims, as these strategies not only delay body retrieval, but also accelerate decomposition and erosion of evidence.

In addition, substance use has been linked to an increased risk for victimization among both homeless adolescents (Tyler et al., 2004) and sex trade workers (Salfati et al., 2008). Although prior research has focused extensively on the substance use of marginalized victims, Deering et al. (2014) indicates that research has not assessed drug or alcohol use by their violent perpetrators. Our study therefore adds to current literature by indicating that offenders who target marginalized victims are significantly more likely to use drugs shortly before the crime. This finding could be linked to the lifestyle of these offenders. Looking at the routine activities of Canadian sex offenders in the weeks preceding their sexual offence, Pedneault and Beauregard (2014) identified five lifestyle typologies. The *partyers'* lifestyle in particular was found to be centered on alcohol consumption and drug use. As these offenders were characterized by the long amount of time spent in bars and/or taverns each week, they are undoubtedly the most likely to associate with other drug users. Consequently, the *partyers'* had the highest rate of drug use both in general and before the crime specifically (Pedneault & Beauregard, 2014). This typology is sequentially linked very closely to the *festive* typology found by Blanchette, St-Yves and Proulx (2009), who were also characterized by the consumption of intoxicants in the hours prior to the crime, but more importantly were found to commonly select victims from a criminogenic environment.

As mentioned, prior research looks extensively at sex worker intoxication as a risk factor to violence (Deering et al., 2014; Salfati, 2009). Rates of drug use amongst prostitutes have been found to be exceedingly high, as Church et al. (2001) found 63% of the prostitutes in their study were regular drug users, and 93% of the total sample had used illegal drugs in the previous month. Similar rates were found by Ferguson (2002), as 74% of her sample admitted to using drugs on a regular basis. This would result in the current finding that marginalized victims are more likely to be intoxicated at the time of the crime; however, it has been found that higher levels of drug use by both the offender and victim could result in elevated violence levels.

High levels of drug use among marginalized victim's leads to an array of additional health problems, especially for injection users. Although prior studies have found that sex trade workers in particular tend to hide their occupation from health care workers and have poor medical attendance (Jeal & Salisbury, 2004), it is increasingly important for health care professionals to promote awareness of evidence-based care programs, such as Sexual Assault Referral Centers (Kennedy & White, 2015). The voluntary admission of an evidence-based program for victims of sexual assault will not only aid the victim in a physical and mental manner, but can additionally assist law enforcement personnel through the investigation. However, it is evident that investigations of sexual violence toward marginalized victims should not all be conducted in the same manner.

Pathways of Sex Offenders Who Target Marginalized Victims

Current findings suggest that congruent with sex offenders who target other specific victim types, sex offenders who target marginalized victims are also a heterogeneous type and follow a variety of offending pathways. Our results indicate that there are three pathways in the offending process of sex offenders who target marginalized victims: the *coercive* pathway, the *explosive* pathway and the *situational* pathway. For each of these three pathways, we will discuss the findings in light of prior literature, as well as rapist typologies and models of the offending process.

The Internal Logic of Offending Processes

The coercive pathway

Offenders following the *coercive* pathway typically did not endure any problems during development. However, this offender could have enjoyed sexual commodities consisting of pornography, attending strip joints and purchasing prostitutes. Bell et al. (2002) found that men who watch pornography more frequently or who started seeking prostitutes at a younger age are more likely to endorse power and control over prostitutes. Therefore, this is a plausible explanation as to why these offenders have a

preoccupation with prostitutes and chose them as their target. As mentioned, offenders within this pathway also report that they did not have a sexual problem or endure a traumatic event during their early development. Therefore, something occurring later in adulthood may have been responsible for initiating their criminality (i.e. a traumatic event, development of a personality disorder or mental illness), which explains why these offenders begin their crimes later in adulthood. However, not only do they present a short criminal career but it tends to be highly specialized, with a higher number of sexual crimes than other crime types. Furthermore, they typically use drugs and/or alcohol before the commission of their crimes. Incarcerated sexual offenders in general, have been found to have high rates of substance use and dependence relative to general population samples (e.g., 60% of sex offenders were substance-involved prior to or during their offence, Peugh & Belenko, 2001). Additionally, Abracen, Looman and Anderson (2000) found that incarcerated rapists were more likely to have alcohol problems than nonsexual violent offenders. More specifically, Ouimet et al. (2000) found a positive relationship between the use of alcohol and the level of force and the level of injury inflicted on the victim by offenders who target prostitutes, which may be in relation to the offender's violent modus operandi (as cited in Beauregard, Lussier & Proulx, 2005).

The *coercive* pathway was categorized by the violent modus operandi used by offenders in this pathway. This offender typically uses a con approach, which is consistent with that of manipulation, and sequentially beat and murder the victim during the facilitation of the crime (Beauregard & Martineau, 2016). Additionally, Proulx and Beauregard (2014) found that the sadistic extrafamilial sexual aggressors were characterized by having angry episodes, such as temper tantrums, rebelliousness and reckless behaviour, indicating why a number of offenders in the pathway of the current study have an angry modus operandi. Anger, as well as alcohol and drug intoxication are possible disinhibiting factors that increase the intensity of the offender's deviant sexual arousal (Proulx & Beauregard, 2014). In order to ensure that the crimes match their sadistic fantasies, these offenders carefully plan their offences. This is exemplified through the high level of premeditation and forensic awareness strategies used in the facilitation of their crime (i.e. covering the victims body). Finally, as high rates of coercion characterize their modus operandi, similar violent strategies were used amongst the

offenders in the sadistic pathway defined by both Proulx and Beauregard (2014) and Beauregard and Martineau (2016), which include humiliation, physical injury and death of the victim.

The explosive pathway

Offenders in the *explosive* pathway endured or witnessed sexual violence within their early developmental period. Marshall and Barbaree (1990) consider a problematic family environment (i.e. violence and sexual abuse) during childhood and adolescence to be a key determinant of the development of violent attitudes and behaviours, in which they reproduce later in life, especially when victimization is within the pre-pubertal period. Additionally, Hickey (2002) proposed a trauma-control model that specifies the predisposing (i.e. dysfunctional living environment, mental illness, biological impairments) and disinhibiting factors that may lead an individual to commit a sexual crime, including sexual murder. This model posits that traumatic events at a young age, such as psychological, physical or sexual victimization, may disrupt normal personal development and is a good indication as to why offenders in the *explosive* pathway admit to having deviant sexual fantasies shortly before the crime.

Arrigo and Purcell's (2001) model of the emergence of paraphilia's and sexual behaviours indicates that predisposing factors, including traumatic events, during development favour cognitive coping that takes the form of deviant sexual fantasies, which in turn leads to sexual rage. These fantasies or paraphilia's emerge from a cyclical process that comprises a variety of interactive elements, including disinhibiting factors such as pornography (as cited in Nicole & Proulx, 2007). This explains why the use of pornography in the hours leading up to the crime coincides with the deviant sexual fantasies profile. Over time, the fantasies become increasingly violent, which causes the intensity, duration and frequency of the paraphilic activities to increase and the need for more intense stimulation subsequently leading to more severe crimes.

The criminal career of offenders in the *explosive* pathway was found to either be versatile or specialized in sex offences. Beauregard and Martineau (2016) looked into the criminal careers of offenders who target marginalized victims and found that violent non-homicidal sex offenders and sexual murderers are more likely to target marginalized

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victims, and these offenders are known for their extensive criminal career which is characterized by diversity. Subsequently, Quinet (2011) has demonstrated that sexual homicide offenders of sex trade workers have a longer criminal career, and kill for longer periods; however, does not address their full criminal record. Therefore, the diversity found in this pathway adds to current literature on this offender specifically.

Offenders following the *explosive* pathway were characterized by their forthwith modus operandi. Following the angry or opportunistic profile, these offenders tend to employ violence toward their victims without delay through a coercive approach. Additionally, the behaviours of these offenders follow closely to that of an expressive murderer (Salfati, 2000). Particularly, these offenders tend to know their victim ahead of time and use a weapon in the facilitation of the crime. Moreover, although offenders who target sex trade workers tend to target strangers (Salfati et al., 2008), it is evident through this pathway that not all offenders who target marginalized victims target strangers. Finally, these offenders remain in the mid to lower spectrum of the premeditation scale, indicating that they may premeditate their crimes or may commit their crimes out of opportunity. Specifically, these offenders commonly humiliate their victim during the assault, which is consistent with an angry sexual homicide offender (Chene & Cusson, 2007). As these offenders commit their crimes spontaneously or out of a state of anger, they do not plan to murder their victims prior to the act and instead are motivated by power and portraying their masculinity. Therefore, an incident likely needs to occur during the facilitation of the crime, which provokes the offender and leads to an escalated level of rage and violence. For example, the offender will only murder the victim when he thinks she looked at him with disgust or distain (Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007), following victim resistance or upon an unsatisfied level of service (Horan & Beauregard, 2016; Salfati et al., 2008).

The situational pathway

Offenders following the *situational* pathway were characterized by having a problematic early development. Some offenders in this pathway were victims themselves at a young age. Following the life course theory by Sampson and Laub (1990), various traumatic life events increases one's risk of offending, particularly when the traumatic event takes place during childhood or adolescence. Additionally, combining both

developmental issues, Malamuth, Heavey and Linz (1993) proposed a dual-path predictive model of the sexual coercion of women. Particularly, the first path takes the form of sexual promiscuity and preoccupation, which arises from a pattern of behavioural precursors caused by an inadequate family environment (i.e. violence, sexual abuse). This hostile environment leads the child to socialize with delinquent peers, adopt antisocial behaviours and ultimately become a delinquent himself.

Offenders following the *situational* pathway have been found to consume drugs or alcohol in the hours leading up to the index offence. As prior literature has predominantly focused on the intoxication levels of the victim, very little research has focused on substance use by the offender. Horan and Beauregard (2016) addressed this gap and found that offenders who target marginalized victims tend to use drugs before the crime at significantly greater rates than offenders who target non-marginalized victims. This is consistent with the *partiers'* typology defined by Pedneault and Beauregard (2014), whose lifestyle is centered on alcohol consumption and drug use. Additionally, these offenders were characterized by the amount of time spend in bars and/or taverns and were undoubtedly the most likely to associate with other drug users.

Offenders following the *situational* pathway tend to be specialists in their crimes, committing higher rates of sexual violence and lower rates of all other crime types. This could be due to their preoccupation with sexual commodities and/or being a victim of sexual abuse or exposure at a young age. Although Jepersen, Lalumiere and Seto (2009) found higher prevalence of sexual abuse history among adult sex offenders than non-sex offenders, prior literature has not assessed the developmental issues within sex offenders who target marginalized victims specifically. Therefore, offenders in this pathway could possibly commit more sex offences due to their developmental trauma.

Offenders who follow the *situational* pathway have been characterized by committing their crimes out of opportunity. These offenders use a coercive approach and tend to know their victims beforehand. A plausible explanation for why they would target individuals they know is in relation to drug use, since these offenders were characterized to use substances in the hours before the crime. In addition, these offenders are likely to use a weapon in the facilitation of their crime. Although this is in opposition to the

opportunistic offender defined by Proulx and Beauregard (2014), Raphael and Shapiro (2004) found that weapon use tends to be higher in violent crimes against street prostitutes as opposed to indoor prostitutes. This decision, as well as others, indicates that the offender following the *situational* pathway is the most likely to be someone who associates himself frequently with marginalized individuals, if he is not one himself. As such, these offenders see life as a party, with little limitation (Blanchette, St-Yves & Proulx, 2007) and unsurprisingly do not premeditate their crimes. The careless modus operandi used by these offenders would evidently explain why this pathway includes the majority of violent offenders, including sexual murderers. The offenders who violently victimize or murder marginalized victims are possibly marginalized themselves and do so in a non-premeditated and spontaneous manner.

Sex Offender Type and Offender Pathways

Our findings showed that even when examining a specific type of victim of sexual crime – marginalized victims – different offending pathways were used by the sex offenders. Each offending pathway presents a specific focus, whether it is the offender characteristics or the context of the crime and the modus operandi, which is similar to what Beauregard and Martineau (2016) had found when investigating the sexual homicide of sex trade workers specifically. Although it is well-known that sex offenders represent a heterogeneous group, our study shows that even within a specific group of sex offenders, different pathways may lead an offender to sexually attack a certain group of victims (e.g., Proulx, Beauregard, Lussier, & Leclerc, 2014). However, contrary to the study by Beauregard & Martineau (2016), the current study included three different types of sex offenders: the non-homicidal sex offenders, the violent non-homicidal sex offenders, and the homicidal sex offenders. Interestingly, our findings revealed that certain types of sex offenders were more likely to present certain pathways to offend against marginalized victims. Almost all non-homicidal sex offenders were more likely to present a *coercive* pathway while the majority of sexual homicide offenders were more likely to present a *situational* pathway. This may appear as counterintuitive as not all sexual homicide offenders target marginalized victims with the intention of killing them. Our results show that in some cases, the killing is not premeditated and may occur due

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to the circumstances of the criminal event (e.g., unexpected victim resistance, loss of control due to intoxication).

On the other hand, the fact that most non-homicidal sex offenders present a coercive pathway is interesting. These sex offenders do not end up killing the victim, despite the high level of violence used during the crime. Similar to the sadistic sex offender identified by Proulx and Beauregard (2014), these offenders plan the crime carefully and are motivated by deviant sexual fantasies. Usually the level of violence exhibited in this type of sexual crime is often associated with a lethal outcome. However, it is possible that the fact that the victims did not die when facing an offender from the coercive pathway could indicate that they were prepared to react to this type of attack or that they presented with certain protective factors that allowed them to survive the attack. For example, Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2010) have shown that victims from a criminogenic background (e.g., sex trade workers, heavy drug users) were less likely to be killed during a sexual crime.

Chapter 7.

Conclusion

Addressing the current investigative challenges for cases involving marginalized victims, this study emphasizes the importance of focusing on the decision-making and behaviours made by offenders who target this type of victim, as they differ considerably from offenders who target other victim types. In addition, the current findings lead us to infer that the decisions and actions chosen by offenders are similar across marginalized groups. This is why we believe it is important not to limit ourselves to sex trade workers, but to look at marginalized victims more broadly. Our findings suggest that it may be beneficial to investigate individuals who not only commonly interact with the victim but also share similar lifestyle to that of marginalized individuals, including drug use.

The fact that marginalized individuals have been the target of violence is not new. These victims are not only the target of violence in general but specifically sexual violence and even homicidal violence. This study raises the question whether marginalized individuals such as sex trade workers, homeless people, and heavy drug users represent a specific choice of victim for sex offenders or they are instead a victim of choice? Our findings seem to indicate that the answer is both. Sex offenders targeting marginalized victims are not only more likely to kill them (see Beauregard & Martineau, 2016) but they also adopt crime strategies that differ from those sex offenders targeting non-marginalized victims. This means that the *type* of victim has an influence on the modus operandi strategies of these sex offenders. On the other hand, our findings also suggest that because of their lifestyle, marginalized individuals are at greater risk of victimization due to the fact that they often find themselves in vulnerable situations and are more easily accessible compared to non-marginalized victims. Unfortunately, without questioning specifically the offenders on their motivation to select these particular

victims, it is not possible to say with certainty whether marginalized victims represent only a choice of victim or are in fact a victim of choice.

Our investigation additionally analyzed the offending pathways of sexual offenders who target marginalized victims in terms of four important components: developmental characteristics, criminal career, crime context and modus operandi. Our analyses revealed three very distinct pathways: the *coercive* pathway, the *explosive* pathway and the *situational* pathway. Not only do these pathways follow prior literature coherently regarding other types of sex offenders, but offers new and further insight into this type of offender specifically. It appears evident that sex offenders who target marginalized victims are not a homogeneous group and have very diverse backgrounds and conduct their crimes differently. We believe that the identification of these pathways can be very useful in furthering our understanding of this type of crime. As an example, these different pathways suggest that sexual violence against marginalized victims is a very heterogeneous crime and that the different behaviors involved in each pathway could be linked to different motivations or even different offender characteristics (e.g., personality). The fact that the pathways identified include offender characteristics such as developmental factors, but more importantly criminal career information, may be very useful to the criminal investigation and offender profiling. It then becomes possible to link aspects of the crime and the crime scene to offender characteristics. However, in order to become even more useful for criminal investigation, future studies should look into the possibility of linking the three pathways to additional offender characteristics that can be useful to the police. Although developmental factors are important to understand the etiology of sex offending, it is of little use to the police in charge of investigating these crimes. Information such as the criminal career represents information that the police can use in their investigation in order to prioritize suspects. It would be important to consider additional offender characteristics that may be linked to crime scene behavior in different types of sexual crimes or with specific types of victims.

Limitations and Future Research

The study presents valuable findings, but a number of limitations must be acknowledged as well. The current study evidently assessed the strategic differences

between offenders who target marginalized or non-marginalized victims and not only found a number of behavioural differences between the offender's type of victim, but also that offenders who target marginalized victims are not a homogeneous group. However, the samples used are composed of incarcerated sexual offenders who had been both charged and convicted. Therefore, these results may only reflect the decision making of offenders who failed to avoid police detection. Additionally, prior literature suggests that offenders who target prostitutes often maintain high levels of forensic awareness and kill multiple people over a long period of time before they are caught. Therefore, this information is generalizable to those offenders who have been discovered and convicted. Also, misreporting of crime strategies, whether deliberately or due to a misconception of memory is possible. Although researchers were able to refer to official reports when obvious discrepancies in self-reporting occurred, official data could not verify all subjective decisions (i.e., deviant sexual fantasies).

Future research investigating the decision making of sex offenders who target marginalized from non-marginalized victims would benefit from the inclusion of a third offender type who target both victim types. This would evidently further our understanding of the motivation toward committing sexual attacks against the specific victim type. In addition, it is important to look into the background of the offenders to better understand the underlying reasons for the explosive anger that evidently occurs within the transaction. This is important as these offenders are not only reacting when something does not go their way, but they are also more likely to use many more torturous means of victimization both before and after the death of their victim.

Future research investigating the pathways of sex offender's that target marginalized victims would benefit from a further breakdown of the current pathways presented. For example, classifying the offenders by their specific victim type (i.e. prostitutes) and conducting pathway analyses on this group would give research and police investigators a clearer understanding as to who the offenders are who are harming specific victim types. Additionally, future research would benefit in addressing the reasons why these offenders commit some aspects of their crimes differently than that of the current sex offender typologies. As we found some strategic diversity in these

pathways that did not coincide with prior typologies or pathways, it would be of benefit to explore the reasons why this occurred.

Notes:

1. A violent non-homicidal sex offender is an offender who beat the victim almost until death; however, the victim survived and a non-homicidal sex offender used a level of violence that may have injured the victim; however, did not result in near-death.

2. It refers to mental imagery that is sexually arousing or erotic to the individual. They are socially unacceptable to the extent that the fantasy acts are illegal, non-consensual, or harmful. Additionally, they are often an antecedent to sexual murder (Chan, Beauregard, Myers, 2015).

3. Examples of high risks of apprehension were committing the crime on the outside, at the offender's place of residence, or in a location where witnesses could interfere.

4. Premeditation refers to the thought process of how the sexual assault will transpire prior to its commission. *Structured* premeditation occurs when the level of planning is elaborate and involves specific components such as the victim's identity, certain victim characteristics, the types of sexual acts to be performed etc. (Hewitt et al., 2012).

5. An *intrusive* sexual act had to include at least one act of at least partial penetration with fingers, penis and/or an object into the vaginal or anal cavities of the victim.

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Appendix.

Bivariate relationship between pathways and the type of offender

	Coercive Pathway % (N)	Explosive Pathway % (N)	Situational Pathway % (N)	X^2 (p)
Non-homicidal sex offender	93.8 (61)	64.5 (60)	34.5 (19)	.34***
Violent non-homicidal sex offender	6.2 (4)	30.1 (28)	47.3 (26)	.34***
Sexual murderer	0.0 (0)	5.4 (5)	18.2(10)	.34***

***p < .001