

# **An Exploratory Study of Leadership in Co-offending**

by

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## **Abstract**

Previous research supports the position that more research is needed for understanding the dynamics of co-offending and the promise this will have for effective prevention, policing, rehabilitative and reintegration measures. Previous research also acknowledges that the majority of research has concentrated on youth co-offending. Adult co-offending does play a significant part in crime and requires further analysis.

This exploratory study begins by examining the incidence and importance companions play in criminal behavior and follows with several theoretical positions. Group delinquency is examined generally. Special attention is devoted to leadership in co-offending. Accordingly, leadership measures from the organizational and social-psychological fields are outlined and twenty empirical studies that measure leadership directly or those that attest measures of leadership are provided. Meta-analysis of these previous studies is conducted to determine what is “known” about leadership in co-offending.

Ultimately, it was discovered that studies examining leadership in co-offending are limited by definitional ambiguities in terms of defining co-offending and leadership. Many studies involve low base rates of either participants or case studies and the units of analysis are unclear as to whether those under study consist of dyads, triads or larger units of co-offenders. In addition, the extant literature has focused on specific crimes (i.e. robbery and sexual offences), participants have been largely under the age of 30 years and the methods of data gathering have been limited by focusing on only one of the offenders in the co-offending unit. The implications of these findings are discussed. In light of these findings, an additional statement as to the potential for future research on leadership in co-offending and recommendations to policy within the Correctional Service of Canada are offered.

## **Dedication**

It is an honor to dedicate this thesis to

My parents, Bernard and Cheryl Patenaude. Yes, I will always  
be your baby regardless of the letters that come after my name!

To grandma, who is truly an angel here on earth.

To my nephew Bryden. Even though you are only six years old you are  
an incredible inspiration,

and to

my best friend Dave,  
whose love and patience seems to border on the supernatural.

## **Acknowledgements**

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## Chapter I

### Introduction

Co-offending is an interesting phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult enough to make sense of an individual who commits an unthinkable criminal act and it becomes even more puzzling when two or more individuals work together to commit the same act. Media reports are abundant on the frequency of co-offending with newspaper headlines reporting, “tag-team rapist guilty as charged: Victim says verdict has restored her faith in the justice system” when two young males are convicted of raping several women in Surrey, British Columbia (Keating, 1998). “Cop-killer lesbians do time together: widow outraged that duo can continue their romance in jail” when two female lovers murder a Toronto police officer (Brown, 2000). “Two arrested in sniper case,” when a 42 year old male and his 17 year old step son are accused of shooting and killing 10 people and critically wounding three others in Washington, DC (Shrivastava, 2002). As horrendous as these crimes sound they are not isolated events. One must question what brought these persons together to commit such heinous acts, if these offences would have occurred at all if only one individual had acted on his or her own and how we can prevent further criminal acts from occurring.

The above media reports are recent; however co-offending itself is not a recent phenomenon. Breckinridge and Abbott (1912) and Shaw and McKay’s (1931a) research on juvenile delinquency had shown delinquent acts were more common in groups than they were alone. At the same time, these groups were noticeably different from what had often been regarded as gang activity. More recent research on group delinquency has also made the

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<sup>1</sup> Albert Reiss first coined the term “co-offending.” For the purpose of this thesis, his definitions will be applied. A co-offender is a person who commits a criminal offence with another and co-offending then is the actual act of committing an offence (Reiss, 1986). A greater discussion of the term co-offending can be found in chapter 2.

distinction that co-offending is not the same as gang activity (Canter & Alison, 2000; Carrington, 2002; Cheatwood, 1996; Clark, 1992; Conway, 1998; Hinman & Cook, 1999; Reiss, 1986, 1988; Reiss & Farrington, 1991; Sarnecki, 1990, 2001; Tontodonato, 1996; Tremblay, 1993; Warr, 1996, 2002).

Despite the historical recognition of co-offending and its differentiation between gangs, the literature is sparse, largely anecdotal (Hinman & Cook, 1999; McCluskey & Wardle, 2000; Reiss, 1986, 1988; Tremblay, 1993) and has mainly focused on juvenile co-offending (Carrington, 2002; Clark, 1992; Reiss, 1986, 1988; Sarnecki, 1990, 2001; Tremblay, 1993; Warr, 1996, 2002). Longitudinal studies that have researched adult co-offending have only included offenders up to the age of 30 years (Farrington, Lambert & West, 1997; Reiss & Farrington, 1991; Tontodonato, 1996) and although research has shown co-offending to decline with age (Reiss & Farrington, 1991; Sarnecki, 1990, 2001; Warr, 2002), co-offending is not exclusive to juveniles and remains a concern (see Conway & McCord, 2002; see also Donald & Wilson, 2000; Gabor, Baril, Cusson, Elie, Le Blanc & Normandeau, 1987; Goggin, Gendreau & Grey, 1998; Hinman & Cook, 1999; McCluskey & Wardle, 2000; Reiss, 1986, 1988; Reiss & Farrington, 1991; Tontodonato, 1996; Tremblay, 1993).

The study of co-offending has several practical applications. When a crime occurs, police search for clues at the crime scene that may identify the number of offenders present. However, the challenge to identify potential suspects is compounded if there are no witnesses and there is no forensic evidence left at the crime scene (Hinman & Cook, 1999). Hinman and Cook (1999) discuss the value of profiling multiple offenders as an investigative tool and how the knowledge gained through profiling will assist investigators in understanding the group dynamics thereby, increasing the possibility of solving and potentially preventing future offences. The understanding of co-offending can for instance, assist investigators during the interview stage as there is “generally a more dominant and a more compliant partner” (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995; as cited in Hinman & Cook, 1999, p. 325). Should the

investigator know which individual to focus the investigation on, the potential to hold all parties in the offence accountable may increase. In addition to understanding the interactional dynamics between co-offenders, Hinman & Cook (1999) further noted that the study of multiple offenders could add to our understanding of victimology, the violent event cycle, and the statistical and logistical analysis as to how many offenders are typical of a certain crime. Other researchers have also recognized the investigative practicality of understanding the group dynamics of co-offenders (see Canter & Alison, 2000; see also Carrington, 2002; Donald & Wilson, 2000; Jenkins, 1990; McCluskey & Wardle, 2000).

The importance of understanding group offenders is further illustrated by the previously noted example of the two snipers in Washington, DC (see Shrivastava, 2002). Prior to the arrest of the two snipers a total of six experts in the field of human behavior (a forensic psychiatrist, criminologist, RCMP serial crime expert, anthropologist, FBI profiler and social psychologist) were solicited for their professional expertise. Of the six experts named only one alluded to the possibility of there being more than one offender (see Cobb, 2002).

Once it is determined that multiple offenders are responsible for a crime our current legislation in Canada differentiates between parties in an offence. Legislation for secondary liability (those who counsel, aid, abet or attempt an offence with another), are found in Sections 21 through 24 of the *Criminal Code of Canada* (Watt & Fuerst, 1994). By definition the principal offender is the one who actually commits the offence whereas, the secondary offender is the person who furthers the offence. Determining whether there are two joint principal offenders is a matter of whether the secondary offender contributed to the *actus reus* in the crime independently or whether he, she or they played a supporting role(s) (Verdun-Jones, 1989). However, there are serious questions as to the *minimal* (italics added) conduct necessary when counseling, aiding, abetting and attempting turn into committing (Linden, Tourneau, Lemeline, Maingot & Frecker, 1985).

In addition to the complexities in distinguishing between offenders, the Canadian criminal courts have recognized that during judicial sentencing an aggravating factor to be considered involves group or gang activity (Manson, 2001). The aggravating factor of group crime is apparent in *R. v. Kennedy* (1999). In such, two males (a 19 and 15 year old) raped a 14-year-old female, “the court held that the need for deterrence was heightened when there was a group offence committed within an identifiable peer set... [as a result of this and other aggravating factors]... the one-year sentence for the nineteen year old offender was considered demonstrably unfit” (Manson, 2001, p.154).<sup>2</sup>

Researchers have also acknowledged the importance of both distinguishing between co-offenders and the value this will have for appropriate sentencing. In a longitudinal study, researchers Reiss and Farrington (1991) noted that the behavior of recruiters (principal offenders) and the behavior of the co-accused (secondary offenders) have important “theoretical and practical implications for theories of deterrence and incapacitation....[and].... must take into account the effect of sanctions on co-offenders and the effect on recruitment and replacement of offenders in the network” (p. 367-368). Accordingly, having such an understanding may provide the judiciary with additional sentencing options for the different types of offenders (Farrington, 1992) thereby, decreasing the possibility of future crimes from occurring when just and appropriate sanctions are imposed. However, as Linden and his colleagues (1985) noted, with our present practices there are no established methods to distinguish co-accused persons instead, the judicial attempt to differentiate between parties occurs in ad hoc manner.

Now supposing that one or more individuals in the co-offending relationship are sentenced to a period of incarceration there are further concerns that require consideration.

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<sup>2</sup> On appeal, Mr. Kennedy received two years less a day with a one-year period of probation to follow. The 15-year-old young offender (J.G.F) had originally received three months open custody concurrent to two years of probation. On appeal, J.D.F. received 12 months open custody followed with one year of probation (*R v. Kennedy*, 1999).

Current programming methods within the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), which are designed to reduce an offender's risk to re-offend often, involve co-participation in a classroom setting. Equally important, is that during an offender's incarceration he or she is often housed in the same cell with another offender and this method of co-habitation is further applied once he or she is released to reside in a Community-Based Residential Facility.<sup>3</sup> A recent policy within the Correctional Service of Canada recognizes the necessary function of separating co-convicted offenders (see Correctional Service of Canada, 2001b, p. 1-2). However, the co-offenders that are required by CSC policy to be co-located are only those, which are deemed as having committed a serious harm or death offence. A death offence is self-explanatory, on the other hand a serious harm offence as defined in the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act* is an offence in which the victim has received, "severe physical injury or severe psychological damage" (Department of Justice Canada, 2001, Part II, ¶15).<sup>4</sup> Although this measure of separating co-convicted offenders is unquestionably overdue, it fails to take into account other co-offenders who may not have committed a serious harm or death offence. For instance, co-offenders who have been convicted of armed robbery, fraud, vandalism, arson or even attempted murder where death and or serious harm is not determined may still be given the opportunity to continue their relationship while incarcerated and once released to the community. It is possible that this will not only enhance their already established co-offending relationship but place society at an even greater risk for future offending.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> A community-based residential facility is also known as a halfway house.

<sup>4</sup> Determining what constitutes as a serious harm offence can be found in the Correctional Service of Canada's Standard Operating Procedures under the Offender Intake Assessment and Correctional Planning: Standard Operating Practices (SOPs) 700-04 (Correctional Service of Canada, 2003a, p. 11-15).

<sup>5</sup> The policies surrounding co-convicted persons will again be explored in the final chapter of this thesis.

Research has also shown that an individual's associates strongly predict antisocial behavior and recidivism (Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996; Goggin, Gendreau & Gray, 1998; Mills, Kroner, & Forth, 2002). In addition, various theoretical perspectives contend that associating with deviant others increases the propensity to commit a criminal act (see Akers, 1998b; see also Burgess & Akers, 1966; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955, 1966; Glueck & Glueck, 1950, 1964a, 1964b; Moffitt, 1993; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974) and more so, increases the risk of committing a violent act (Conway, 1998; Conway & McCord, 2002; Tontodonato, 1996).

In light of the above noted concerns and as an alternative to merely separating co-offenders once incarcerated, opportunities exist if we begin to understand the dynamics of the co-offending relationship. At present, it is not known what influence a leader and/or a follower can have on other members of the institution, in rehabilitative programming or in the community. To date, research has shown that a difference in roles that offenders take does exist and these roles are observable (Amir, 1971; Best & Luckenbill, 1980; Blanchard, 1959; Brown, 1988; Cheatwood, 1996; Donald & Wilson, 2000; Einstadter, 1969; Hochstetler, 2001; Jenkins, 1990; McAndrew, 2000; Hinman & Cook, 1999; McCluskey & Wardle, 2000; Porter & Alison, 2001; Reiss, 1986, 1988; Reiss & Farrington, 1991).

### **Research Objectives**

It would appear that the above noted concerns necessitate a criminal justice response to distinguishing between a leader and a follower in a co-offending relationship and as a result, one must consider the contributions this distinction can make for effective prevention, policing, prosecuting, sentencing, rehabilitation, and reintegration measures. Keeping the above issues in perspective, this study has four objectives:

1. To outline the empirical literature on the importance and frequency of co-offenders in crime and to lay the theoretical foundation for such a study,

2. To summarize the research on leadership from the social psychological and organizational fields and to determine how leadership has and continues to be measured. Following such, to summarize the empirical research on leadership in co-offending and to determine how and whether researchers have effectively incorporated leadership research for studying co-offending,
3. To synthesize the literature on leadership in co-offending through meta-analysis in order to determine what is known and;
4. To determine the need for a model that examines the existence and nature of the leader-follower relationship. More specifically, the nature and extent of that relationship as it relates to crimes in terms of circumstances and events prior to, during and after their occurrence.

### **Thesis Outline**

In order to provide a basis for such a study, chapter 2 begins with defining co-offending and proceeds with a discussion for the inclusion of youth co-offending studies. Although it was this researcher's intent to concentrate on adult co-offending, several youth co-offending studies have been included.<sup>6</sup> Following such, the remainder of chapter 2 presents the empirical research on the prevalence and importance of co-offending for both youth and adult offenders with these empirical findings supporting the importance of associations in criminal behavior.

Chapter 3 outlines several theoretical positions that adhere to the importance of companions in crime. Each theoretical position offers support however, each theory is in opposition as to how companions influence criminal behavior and to what extent. Due to the exploratory nature of this thesis, no one theory is advocated rather, it is believed that each

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<sup>6</sup> Chapter 2 provides a more comprehensive explanation for the inclusion of youth studies.

theory provides its own explanatory power, which may differ, based on individual offenders and the social dynamics in the co-offending relationship.

Chapter 4 outlines the research methods employed for this study. The technique of meta-analysis was employed and the procedures for coding each of the studies are outlined. Due to research largely neglecting the topic of leadership in co-offending, the studies used in the meta-analysis also incorporate several co-offending studies that have *inferred* leadership behavior as opposed to studying leadership in co-offending directly.

In 2001, Wilson noted that one particular downfall of previous research using the meta-analytic technique is the lack of description of each independent study, as each study becomes obscured through the meta-analytic synthesis. Therefore, in an attempt to overcome this issue chapter 5 has provided the narrative descriptions of each of the studies included in the meta-analysis. However, prior to doing so chapter 5 begins with a discussion on defining and measuring leadership from the literature from the organizational and social psychological literature as a means to achieve the second research objective of this thesis. That is, to determine how leadership has and continues to be measured. Subsequently a discussion as to the research that has attempted to distinguish between a leader and follower in co-offending are summarized and are further divided by youth, incorporated youth and adult studies, adult male and adult female co-offending studies.

Chapter 6 discusses the findings from the meta-analysis focusing on the third research objective and lastly, chapter 7 concludes with a discussion of the findings, a proposal for future research on leadership in co-offending and recommendations for policy change within the Correctional Service of Canada.

## **Chapter II**

### **The Importance and Frequency of Associations in Crime**

This chapter examines the research on the importance and frequency of associations in crime, however, prior to doing so two issues warrant discussion. Namely, it is necessary to provide a definition of co-offending and secondly, to provide an explanation as to why youth studies have been incorporated throughout this thesis when the focus is intended for adult co-offending.

#### **Defining Co-offending**

As noted earlier, a co-offender was defined as a person who commits a criminal offence with another and co-offending was the actual act of committing the offence (as defined by Reiss, 1986, 1988; Reiss and Farrington, 1991). Defining co-offending in such a manner is by many definitions open to criticism as many imagine or assume gang offending to be included under this definition. Additionally, organizational and social psychologists would maintain that in order for co-offenders to be considered a group there are a number of fundamental qualities such as role structure, shared norms, the level of planning, a sense of cohesiveness and having common goals that are necessary before the term “group” can be properly applied (see McCluskey & Wardle, 2000 for a complete discussion).

Various authors have attempted definitions of co-offending and there is no consensus as to the best or most appropriate definition. The majority of authors do not attempt to define it at all and speak of co-offending as if it were synonymous with gang and group offending. Curry and Spergel (1988) distinguish between group delinquencies committed by juveniles “in relatively small peer groups that tend to be ephemeral... [and gang delinquency] ... in groups that are complexly organized... with established leadership and membership roles” (p. 382). Donald and Wilson (2000) in a study of ram raiding (group commercial burglary) noted

that there was a distinction between co-offending and ram raiding in that ram raiding is a well planned offence requiring both skill and expertise and is “by necessity committed by a group (p. 192).” Whereas co-offending, according to Donald and Wilson “can include instances in which two or more people commit a crime, but with no clear differentiation of the roles played by the co-offenders” (2000, p. 198). Other researchers would disagree with the above definitions. For instance, Porter and Alison (2001) in a study of group rapes found a distinction in roles between co-offenders with 37 out of 39 cases having an identifiable leader. Additionally, Hochstetler (2001) interviewed 50 male robbers and burglars who had committed these crimes with others and discovered that nearly all the participants identified one individual as being the most influential. McCluskey and Wardle’s (2000) study of convicted armed robbers also found a distinction in roles that offenders play during the course of the criminal event, which were identifiable based on the offender’s actions at the scene of the crime.

If we look to the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) they also use what could be argued as a very simplistic definition of co-offending. According to CSC, “co-convicted offenders... [are those who were]... parties in the commission of an offence resulting in death or serious harm, even though they may have been charged with different offences and received different sentences or have been prosecuted at different times” (Correctional Service of Canada, 2001b, p.1). This definition clearly speaks little as to the dynamics of the relationship and does not differentiate between gang offending, group offending or co-offending nor does this definition speak to the issues of planning, shared norms or common goals.

In order to by-pass the issue of defining co-offending as group delinquency or distinguishing between group and gang offending Warr (1996) reasoned that there is no agreed upon point at which a group becomes a gang or an all encompassing acceptance of the term group. Warr therefore chose to view “certain group features as variables as opposed to

definitional attributes... [and utilize the more]... liberal definition” employed by Reiss in 1986 (1996, p.14).

In short, there is no “correct” definition at this point in time and as Warr stated, “no sign of eminent closure” on the issue (1996, p.14). For our purpose, this writer is inclined towards Warr’s view of co-offending in which the elements of co-offending/group offending are treated as variables as opposed to definitional attributes. Consequently, Reiss’ (1986 and 1988) definition of co-offenders (meaning two or more offenders committing crime together) and the definition used by the Correctional Service of Canada will serve its purpose at this time.<sup>7</sup>

### **The Inclusion of Youth Studies**

Warr (1996) stated that “since the work of Shaw and McKay, the majority of research on delinquent groups consists of scattered, small scale studies, using non-probability samples and many of the contemporary assumptions about delinquent groups rest on only a single study or source of data” (p. 16). Further to this, studies have largely concentrated on juvenile co-offending leaving adult co-offending largely unaddressed and “no study has examined patterns of co-offending into adulthood” (Reiss, 1986, p.126). For the purpose of this thesis, the literature that has given attention to youth and/or the gang literature have been discussed only when they appear to be broadly relevant to our understanding of leadership in co-offending. It is important to note that this writer does not believe co-offending in adolescence is the same as co-offending in adulthood. Cohen (1955) recognized the potential pitfalls of making such assumptions and stated that, “if we assume that ‘crime is crime,’ that child and adult criminals are practitioners of the same trade, and if our assumptions are false then the road to error is wide and clear” (p. 25). It would be reasonable to assume that peer pressure is

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<sup>7</sup> The implications of conceptualizing “co-offending” will be addressed once again in chapter 7.

not as prevalent in adulthood as adolescence and perhaps, adult offenders are more motivated by money as adulthood brings additional responsibilities that are not present in adolescence. On the other hand, peer pressure is a matter of perception therefore, it is no less important in adulthood. As well, to assume adult offenders are motivated by money and young offenders are not is simply not realistic. Certainly, there are more responsibilities in adulthood however; the want (as opposed to need) for money can be viewed in the same light. Frankly, there is simply insufficient knowledge about adult co-offending at this time. Notwithstanding, co-offending is still a significant feature of adult offending (as will be seen in the forthcoming discussion) and there continues to be little knowledge about the interactional dynamics of adult co-offending and more specifically leadership in co-offending.

With the above points in mind, research has confirmed the importance that associations play in criminal behavior as far back as Breckinridge and Abbott's 1912 and Shaw and McKay's 1931 research. Both sets of authors were of the first to note that group delinquency occurs in groups of two or more persons that are not highly structured and which had often been regarded as gang delinquency. Shaw and McKay's research of juveniles before the Juvenile Court of Cook County in Chicago, Illinois (N=5480), revealed that 82% of the population studied committed offences in the company of others and over half of these persons committed offences with only 2-3 persons at one time.

Shaw and McKay (1931) further described the life of a delinquent known as Sidney Boltzman who the authors alleged was typical of the majority of boys found in the Juvenile Court of Cook County study. The biographical account of Sidney Boltzman revealed that his first delinquent act occurred at the age of seven for petty theft and over the course of Sidney's delinquent career he was arrested a total of 16 times on 13 different delinquent and criminal charges (Shaw and McKay, 1931). Sidney's delinquent career ended at the age of 16 when he received a 20-year prison sentence for armed robbery and attempted rape and Shaw and McKay noted that "all but two of his [Sidney's] delinquencies and crimes took place when he

was in the company of older offenders.... [and the patterns of delinquency were]..... handed down from the older to the younger members of the group” (1931, p. 204, 213).

Sidney’s first delinquent act was committed with an older boy in his neighborhood who had a history of delinquency and Sidney stated, “he [Joseph Kratz] knew so much about life and I liked him and so I made him my idol” (Shaw & McKay, 1931, p. 223). Prior to Sidney’s last offence, all the boys he had committed offences with had prior criminal records with the exception of the last. The last co-offender that had accompanied Sidney in the robbery and attempted rape had no criminal record. Shaw and McKay noted, that this final co-offender’s “complicity in the robbery and rape episode was due largely to the influence of Sidney” (1931, p. 220). The authors further stated that it is not possible to determine if membership in groups produce delinquency. However, it was probable that membership in such groups was an important contributory factor as many cases had shown that the boy’s contact with the delinquent group marked the beginning of his career in delinquency and his initial delinquencies were often identical with the traditions and practices of his group (Shaw & McKay, 1931). On the other hand, Shaw and McKay noted that some of these groups of boys were as separate individuals, “definitely inclined towards delinquency” (1931, p. 256).

Sidney’s parents had moved to three separate neighborhoods during his childhood and regardless of his new environment, Sidney would find the company of delinquents and assume their traditions of delinquency (Shaw and McKay, 1931). As the authors noted, Sidney merely adopted the criminal behavior of the group to which he belonged and this evidently became progressively more serious.

Subsequent research has also shown the importance and frequency of committing crimes with others. Amir (1971) gathered data from police case files of victims reports on rapes in Philadelphia occurring in 1958 and 1960. One thousand two hundred and ninety two offenders comprised the 646 cases and victim reports of forcible rape. Of the 1,292 offenders,

single offenders committed 370 (57%) rapes, two offenders committed 105 (16%) rapes and three or more offenders committed the remaining 171 (27%) rapes (Amir, 1971).

In 1971, Erikson compared 11 prior studies that relied on official records of group juvenile delinquency. Erikson found that the overall group delinquency rate from these earlier studies was 85%. Alternatively, Erikson's own study found co-offending to be more common than solo offending (65% versus 35% respectively) when using self-reports from 3 groups of 150 randomly selected juvenile offenders who were incarcerated, placed on probation or never apprehended (Erickson, 1971). Aultman (1980) revealed similar rates of group offending in his 1977 collection of data from a random sample of adjudicated male (n=203) and female (n=22) juvenile delinquents in the juvenile court of Montgomery County, Maryland. Aultman (1980) reported that approximately 52% of the female juvenile delinquents committed offences with two to three co-offenders while the male delinquents committed offences with two to three co-offenders at a slightly higher rate.

In a study of residential burglaries and robbery by juvenile offenders in Peoria, Illinois conducted by the Peoria Crime Reduction Council between 1971-1978, it was discovered that approximately half (151 of 306) involved co-offenders (Peoria Crime Reduction Council 1979; as cited in Reiss, 1986, 1988). In addition, of the 467 burglaries committed 16.9% of the juveniles committed offences alone, 19.5% always acted with an accomplice leaving the majority of offenders (63.6%) to offend alone and offend with others (Reiss, 1986).

In a longitudinal study known as the *Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development*, Reiss and Farrington (1991) studied the lives of 411 boys residing in London England. The boys were interviewed over the course of 5 times beginning at the age of 8 years until the age of 32. In utilizing the criminal records obtained by the London criminal record office, the researchers were able to determine the criminal convictions of the sample males and the convictions for 408 out of their 535 accomplices (Reiss and Farrington, 1991). Reiss and

Farrington (1991) found half of the offences by the sample males were committed alone (49%) leaving 51% of the offences to be committed with others.

Gabor, Baril, Cusson, Elie, LeBlanc, and Normandeau (1987) studied armed robbery occurring in Quebec, Canada. Ninety percent of these offences occurred within the large urban centers of Montreal and Quebec City. Police department files of both solved and unsolved armed robberies were gathered for 1980 in Montreal in addition to Quebec City for the years 1979 and 1980 (Gabor et al., 1987). Cases were considered solved if at least one suspect was charged and prosecuted which accounted for approximately 55% of all the cases however, Gabor and his colleagues reported that approximately three-quarters had been solved fully that is, “the number of offenders charged equaled or exceeded the suspects reported at the crime scene” (1987, p.129). The number of suspects involved in the armed robberies by victim and witness reports largely occurred with 2-3 offenders accounting for over 50% of all robberies (Gabor et al., 1987, see Table 19, p.38). By utilizing a largely qualitative approach, Gabor and his colleagues compiled information from the offender’s perspective before, during and after the offence by interviewing a sample of 39 offenders (with the majority incarcerated in federal and provincial institutions) in addition to, consulting police and corrections files for the offender’s criminal histories. In speaking with the offenders about associating with criminal peers and their motivations for committing the offence (beyond economic gain), the armed robbers reported that it was often their friends that proposed the robbery (Gabor et al., 1987). Some offenders were envious of their friends lifestyle, others reported wanting to prove themselves to their friends when challenged and one offender stated he felt that by not engaging in the robbery he could potentially be “devalued by his peers and excluded from the group” (Gabor et al., 1987, p. 67).

Additional research has also shown the prevalence and the importance of co-offending. In a study conducted by Cromwell, Marks, Olsen and Avery (1991), 30 active burglars (3 women and 27 men) between the ages of 16 and 43 were interviewed and observed over the

course of 16 months in Texas using a snowball sampling procedure. Police burglary detectives introduced the first three informants to the researchers and each informant was paid \$50 dollars for referring an active burglar and \$50 dollars for each interview session (Cromwell et al., 1991). According to Cromwell and colleagues, the criteria to be included in the study consisted of an individual who admitted committing a minimum of two burglaries per month. In addition, the participant must have satisfied two of the following requirements, “(a) had been convicted by the courts or labeled by the police as a burglar, (b) perceived and labeled self as a burglar, and (c) was perceived and labeled by peers as a burglar” (1991, p. 380).

These active burglars were interviewed alone and in the company of their “usual co-offenders” (Cromwell et al., 1991, p. 583). The purpose of the study was to determine how decision-making changed depending on whether the burglar was working alone or working with co-offenders. Once a semi-structured interview was completed with each burglar they were invited to rate burglary sites as to the sites vulnerability (Cromwell et al., 1991). For instance, a rating of zero meant, ““under the circumstances that are present now, I would not burglarize this residence’... [and a score of 10 meant]... ‘this is a very attractive and vulnerable target, I would definitely take steps to burglarize it now’” (Cromwell et al., 1991, p. 593). The burglary sites that were scored had either been previously burglarized by the participant and/or, they were sites that had been previously burglarized by others in the sample (Cromwell et al., 1991). Once complete the informants were then asked to rate these sites in the presence of their co-offenders. In doing so, it was discovered that group decisions were found to be more conservative than individual decisions and there was also trend towards cautious decision-making while in groups versus burglarizing alone (Cromwell et al., 1991). Although the burglars had reported feeling braver while in group situations and willing to take more risks, the data produced had shown contradictory results (Cromwell et al., 1991). As stated by Cromwell and colleagues (1991), there was evidence of a group

polarization effect. That is, when co-offenders were present the “effects of exchange of persuasive arguments as new reasons for caution are brought to the fore during group discussion” (p. 585). In essence, it was determined that “the group polarization effects appear[ed] to contribute to even more rational behavior on the part of burglars” (Cromwell et al., 1991, p. 586) as opposed to irrational/impulsive behavior. In addition, the informants working in groups reported engaging in burglary sprees (burglarizing numerous targets during a single time period) whereas, no solo burglar had reported engaging in burglary sprees (Cromwell et al., 1991). Thereby, suggesting to the researchers an increased incident rate when working in groups versus working alone (Cromwell et al., 1991).

The importance and prevalence of co-offending can also be seen in Tontodonato’s 1996 longitudinal study. Data for this longitudinal study was originally obtained from the Philadelphia Birth Cohort (1958) on those who resided in Philadelphia between the ages of 10 to 26 years. The study included official records as well as a sample of self-report interview data up to the age of 30 years and data was collapsed for comparison purposes with adults measured as those between the ages of 19 to 30 years of age with the remaining sample consisting of juveniles under the age of 19 (Tontodonato, 1996). The offenders were classified according to their frequency of offending and groups were subdivided as follows; the desisters were one time offenders, non-chronic recidivists committed 2-4 offences, and the chronic offenders committed five or more offences (Tontodonato, 1996). The adult male desisters committed their only reported offence with others in 33% (n=868) of the cases, the adult male recidivists engaged in mixed offending approximately 57% (n=868) of the time and the adult male chronic offenders were found to most often engage in a mix of offending (alone and with others) virtually 79% (n=373) of the time (Tontodonato, 1996, see Table 5a, p. 33). When considering youth and adult offending overall, Tontodonato reported that youth were more likely to have a co-offender than an adult (67% vs. 33% respectively) and index offences (e.g. robbery, burglary) were more likely to be committed by multiple offenders

resulting in a greater offence severity score on average than those of lone offenders (Tontodonato, 1996). In addition, the self-report data revealed that those with negative associations were more likely to admit to participating in violence than those without such associations (Tontodonato, 1996).

Two Canadian studies have provided stark contrast to the above frequency in co-offending. Meloff and Silverman (1992) examined official data collected by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada of youth charged with homicide through 1961 until 1983. Over this 22-year period, it was discovered that in “crime-based homicides” (e.g. where theft or sex was the primary crime goal), youths were more likely to have multiple offenders as perpetrators (Meloff and Silverman, 1992). However, 80% of the youth homicides in Canada involved one offender and one victim with the remaining involving co-offenders (Meloff and Silverman, 1992). The data for this study was compared to other studies undertaken of youth homicide in the United States (see Goetting, 1989; Rowley, Ewing, & Singer, 1987; Zimring, 1981, 1984; as cited in Meloff and Silverman, 1992). Meloff and Silverman reported that the likelihood of co-offenders being involved in a homicide “ranges from over four times as great to twice as great in the United States compared to Canada depending on the victim’s relationship to the perpetrator(s)” (1992, p. 22). The authors noted that these comparisons revealed much lower rates of co-offending than the United States and “for every category of social relationship [between victim and offender(s)] there is substantially more multiple offender perpetration in the United States than in Canada” (Meloff & Silverman, 1992, p. 29). Meloff and Silverman (1992) could not explain why this was occurring other than offering the possibility of drug-related events.

Also in contrast to other studies as to the frequency of co-offending, a Canadian study conducted by Carrington (2002) made use of data from the Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR-2). The UCR-2 data is entered by police personnel of police reported occurrences. Between the years studied 6 of 12 provinces and territories reported to the UCR-

2, which accounted for 41% of the crime known to police (Carrington, 2002). Data was gathered between 1992 through 1999 of alleged offenders ranging in age from 3 to 80+ years (Carrington, 2002). The results indicated that of the 2.9 million incidents studied, 44% of young offenders had identified accomplices and the group crime for adults consisted of 20% with only 7% in groups of three or more (Carrington, 2002). Overall, only 24% of the recorded 2.9 million criminal incidents involved two or more alleged offenders (Carrington, 2002, p. 282). Carrington noted that this Canadian data proved to be much lower than other estimates of group crime studies and offered several explanations as to why this may have occurred. Carrington stated that reporting to the UCR-2 is more stringent as only records of “chargeable” individuals as opposed to suspects or those who are thought to be involved in the crime are entered and reporting practices varied from one police jurisdiction to the next (Carrington, 2002). On the other hand, Carrington (2002) recognized that “prior studies have devoted attention to youth offending and still others have concentrated on robbery, theft and burglary where co-offending is at its largest” (2002, p.303).

In short, whether cross-sectional, longitudinal, by self-report or by official records of arrest co-offending does play a large part in crime from as far back as Breckinridge and Abbott’s 1912 and Shaw and McKay’s 1931 research to the present day. Clearly, the prevalence of co-offending in adolescence appears to be a common feature of crime whereas, adult co-offending is not nearly as frequent. Nonetheless, if we consider Carrington’s Canadian study using the adult figure of 20% for 2.9 million criminal incidents (and keeping in perspective that only 6 of the 12 Canadian provinces and territories were included in this figure), we are still presented with **580,000** criminal incidents. Undoubtedly, such a substantial figure of adult co-offending should be a cause for concern and such a figure should not be ignored.

## Chapter III

### Theoretical Foundations

There is no disputing that the influence of peers can have a significant and at times adverse impact on how one behaves and views the world. Just how much peers influence behavior, to what degree this influence has on past, present, and future behavior continues to be a topic of debate. Several theoretical perspectives differ as to how companions influence criminal behavior. Some theorists argue that delinquent behavior is already present (a predisposed delinquent) and that delinquents merely congregate to commit crime. Alternatively, some theorists claim that a person's delinquency is the result of adopting the skills and attitudes of an antisocial peer and still others contend that the mere presence of peers enhance the opportunity to commit a criminal act. Regardless of the theoretical stance one adopts, the affect peers have on delinquency has been central to various criminological theories and there is little disagreement that an individual's delinquency is related to his or her peers.

#### **Socialization**

In acknowledging the importance of peer relationships, Glueck and Glueck (1950) believed that an individual is already delinquent before coming into contact with delinquent peers. Therefore, the individual naturally gravitates towards persons whom they view as similar to themselves. In order to denote the occurrence of alike criminal persons gravitating towards each other Glueck and Glueck stated that "so far as delinquency is concerned then, birds of a feather flock together" (1950, p. 164). As a testament to this adage, Glueck and Glueck's (1964) research compared delinquent boys from non-delinquent boys and found 56% of the delinquent boys were involved in a gang. The authors maintained however, that gang membership was "not a principal case in *originating* (italics in original) delinquency"

(Glueck & Glueck, 1964, p. 15). As evidence of this assertion, the authors had noted that nine-tenths of the delinquent boys had shown signs of anti-social behavior before the age of 11 (1964, p. 290-291). Therefore, delinquent behavior is not learnt from other delinquents, rather it is “*non-delinquent* (italics in original) behavior that is learned” (Glueck & Glueck, 1964, p. 245). The Glueck’s also believed that at birth some children have a greater potential for delinquency and if they are, “unsocialized, untamed, and uninstructed, the child resorts to lying, slyness, subterfuge, anger, hatred, theft, aggression, attack, and other forms of asocial behavior” (1964, p. 245). Even though, 98.4% of the delinquents associated with delinquent peers whom were older than themselves, the authors hypothesized that associating with older delinquents was due to the group of boys searching for a father figure as they were disconnected from their own fathers and with “whom the boys, did not admire” (Glueck and Glueck, 1964, p. 26). Therefore, the role that delinquent peers play in delinquency according to the Glueck’s is “only significant for transforming boy delinquents into adult criminals” (1964, p.15).

### **Differential Association**

An opposing theory pertaining to the influence of associations was proposed by Edwin Sutherland known as *Differential Association*. Sutherland’s nine propositions to explaining criminal behavior were finalized in his 1947 text called *Principles of Criminology*. After Sutherland’s death, Donald R. Cressey (a major advocate of differential association), revised the theory in subsequent publications but left the nine propositions in their original form from the 1947 edition (Akers, 1998a). Sutherland believed that delinquency is learnt through one’s associations. The individual therefore does not come into a relationship already delinquent rather, the individual engages in an intimate relationship that provides the opportunity to acquire the “definitions” (criminal attitudes and behavior) that define delinquency as either being acceptable or unacceptable (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974).

According to Sutherland, intimate relationships are not restricted to peer associations rather; the individual can acquire contact with many different associations, which Sutherland defined as either primary or secondary influences (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). A primary influence is one in which an individual has the most contact with (i.e. family, peers) and secondary influences consist of persons with whom the individual has a lesser relationship (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). The importance and strength of the relationship is given credence by the relationship's frequency, duration, priority, and contact (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). If a person is "exposed first (priority), more frequently, for a longer time (duration), and with greater intensity (importance) to law violating definitions than to law abiding definitions, then they are more likely to deviate from the law"(Akers, 1994, p. 93). Therefore, the stronger the relationship the greater the potential for not only learning the techniques of criminal behavior (how it is accomplished) but also the definitions (reasons why it is committed) that favor criminal behavior (Williams & McShane, 1994).

According to Sutherland, simply being in the presence of someone who is delinquent does not imply that an individual automatically becomes delinquent. One can learn criminal values from non-criminal persons, which are largely transmitted verbally, and to a lesser extent communicated by gestures (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). For instance, if a child brings home stolen compact discs from a store and a mother tells the child that it is wrong to steal and then instructs the child to return the compact discs, the child is likely to acquire definitions that are unfavorable to criminal behavior. In the same scenario, if the mother tells the child that stealing is wrong but keeps some of the compact discs for her own enjoyment and then instructs the child to return the remaining items to the store but does not follow up on her instructions, this may provide the child with definitions favorable to criminal

behavior.<sup>8</sup> The definitions that are favorable to the law and those that are unfavorable to the law are according to Sutherland, competing forces and criminal behavior occurs when there are an *excess* (italics added) of criminal definitions in favor of violating the law (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974).

While an excess of criminal definitions are necessary to engage in criminal behavior, an individual must also possess the motives and drives (Akers, 1998a; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). According to Akers (who defends Sutherland's theory), drives are defined as "strong internal pushes to satisfy emotional or innate needs" (1998a, p. 235). According to Sutherland, criminal behavior is learnt from those who have already incorporated criminal values and while criminal behavior is expressed as need and values this does not provide a complete explanation (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). Sutherland uses the analogy that just as a thief works to obtain money so does a legitimate working class laborer and for this reason, attempting to understand their criminal behavior in this manner is "futile" because this does not differentiate between the two (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974, p. 77).

Sutherland provides an example of co-offending (although he did not use this term) in which two boys are caught committing a theft. Sutherland states,

A motion picture made several years ago showed two boys engaged in a minor theft; they ran when they were discovered; one boy had longer legs, escaped, and became a priest; the other had shorter legs, was caught committed to a reformatory, and became a gangster. In this comparison, the boy who became a criminal was differentiated from the one who did not become a criminal by the length of his legs. (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974, p. 73-74)

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<sup>8</sup> Sutherland used a similar story in his text *Principles of Criminology* however, the above story was told to this writer by a federal offender while I was employed as a Canadian Parole Officer. This federal offender was serving time for theft related offences and spoke as to his first actual childhood experience in crime. Ironically, this first criminal offence was also committed in the company of a childhood "friend." For the purpose of protecting this offender's identity his name with remain anonymous.

Sutherland argued that the length of the boy's legs should not be considered when attempting to understand their criminality because even though the difference in the length of their legs was important, it was only important for subsequent criminality (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). Additionally, it is not important to determine why persons have the associations they do because according to Sutherland it is quite simply due to the social organization of the community (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). Therefore, distinguishing which boy was more delinquent when committing the theft is not as simple as peers gravitating towards one another as the Gluecks' would have you believe. At first glance, it would be easy to presume that the one boy who was imprisoned and continued with a life of crime was the most delinquent and the boy who became a priest was the least delinquent. However this may not be the case, as it is possible that the boy who became a gangster received a *continuation of definitions* (italics added) favorable to crime from those whom he would be surrounded with during his period of incarceration. Furthermore, the boy who became a priest perhaps had later associations that did not favor criminal behavior. Sutherland believed to understand criminal behavior one would need to determine the boy's experiences and associations prior to the criminal behavior. In short, discovering the criminality or non-criminality of an individual is the result of understanding the prior life experiences of the individual in addition to, how that individual defines a criminal situation as being acceptable or unacceptable.

### **Social Learning**

Many have questioned Sutherland's theoretical position and the ambiguity of his "mechanisms of learning." As a result, Ronald Akers later reformulated Sutherland's differential association theory while expanding on the mechanisms of learning criminal behavior (Akers, 1998a, 1998b). Akers theory has been referred to as *Differential Reinforcement Theory* and *Social Learning Theory*. Akers theory is based on the principles of operant conditioning "which is concerned with the effect that an individual's behavior has on

the environment and, subsequently, the consequences of that effect on the individual” (Williams & McShane, 1994, p.204). The basic premise is that criminal behavior is modeled and differentially reinforced in interaction with those whom we associate.

Akers agreed with Sutherland that definitions are “moral components of social interaction that express whether something is right or wrong” (Williams & McShane, 1994, p. 208). However, Akers went further to define three types of definitions (beliefs and attitudes) which he termed as conventional, positive or neutralizing (Akers, 1998b). Conventional definitions are negative expressions towards criminal behavior whereas those that are positive or neutralizing make it easier for one to commit a criminal act (Akers, 1998b). Positive definitions make criminal behavior acceptable whereas neutralizing definitions occur when someone has to justify or rationalize their criminal behavior (Akers, 1998b). Additionally, Akers agreed with Sutherland that criminal behavior is learned behavior however, expanding on this idea, Akers added that the mechanisms of learning occur when an individual’s associations assist in maintaining criminal behavior by reinforcement or by punishment (1998b). Akers (1998a) stated,

Whether individuals will refrain from or initiate, continue committing or desist from criminal and deviant acts depends on the relative frequency, amount and probability of past, present, and anticipated rewards and punishments perceived to be attached to the behavior. (p. 66)

Criminal behavior then can be learned by imitation or by conditioning (direct and vicarious reinforcement) and all things can influence behavior (beyond primary and secondary associations), including the media which can serve as an instrument to learning anti-social behavior (Akers, 1998a). Therefore, an individual learns both the act of criminal behavior and the attitudes and beliefs that accompany it. This learned deviance is either strengthened (by reinforcement) or weakened (by punishment), and the continuation of deviant behavior is dependent on whether this deviant behavior was either rewarded or punished. Accordingly,

behavior that is not rewarded or punished will eventually become discarded (Bandura, 1977; Akers, 1998b).

Overall, the social learning approach to explaining criminal behavior has several interpersonal dimensions in which the choice to commit a criminal act is dependent on the past, present or anticipated rewards and/or punishment (Akers, 1998; Burgess & Akers, 1966). Whether a deviant act will be committed depends largely on the individual's learning history and the reinforcement contingencies in that situation. Although one may choose to engage with delinquent peers who are similar to themselves in terms of the criminal acts they commit, Akers proposed that more often, "deviant associations precede the onset of delinquent behavior" (Akers, 1994, p. 100). Whether deviant behavior is peer socialization or peer selection (as Glueck and Glueck argued), Akers argues that they are "not mutually exclusive, but are simply the social learning process operating at different times" (Akers, 1998b, p. 56).

### **Subcultural**

Yet another opposing theory that has been offered to explain the influence of associations are those who believe an individual engages in crime because of their involvement in subcultures that encourage crime. Cohen (1955) suggested that young males turn to crime because of status frustration. The individual emerges into a delinquent subculture that offers status, (by recognition and acceptance) which the individual believes is not offered in middle class society (Cohen, 1955). In a similar fashion, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) offer an explanation as to why an individual engages in delinquent behavior *across* subcultures. The author's contend that the availability of illegitimate opportunities (just as legitimate opportunities) are not available to everyone (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). In an illegitimate subculture, "more youngsters are *recruited* (italics added) than the criminal structure can possibly absorb"

(Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, p. 148). Consequently, there is less availability and opportunity to engage in illegitimate roles.

Thus, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) proposed three different forms of delinquent subcultures that emerge from society: the criminal, the conflict and the retreatist. The criminal subculture takes form older members socialize younger members (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). The criminal subculture is oriented towards economic gain with older members providing role models for the young and the “leaders... on the alert for skillful, cool-headed, reliable recruits” (Cohen, 1966, p.109). The skills to commit crime are acquired by the older members and crimes are committed to express solidarity within the group or as a show of the acquired skills promoting acceptance in the group (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960).

The second type of subculture Cloward and Ohlin (1960) termed the conflict subculture. In such, an individual is deprived both of conventional opportunities and criminal opportunities and as a result, there is more of need to survive than fulfilling the desire for social acceptance and advancement (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). According to Cloward and Ohlin it is for this reason that this subculture is more idiosyncratic and violent crimes are committed not based on skill but, “one’s willingness risk injury or death in the search for ‘rep’” (1960, p.175). Lastly, the third type of subculture that emerges is what Cloward & Ohlin term as the retreatist subculture. This subculture emerges when neither the criminal or conflict subcultures exist and where individuals engage in drug use and associate with other drug users, not for social status or for survival but for drug supply (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). Cloward and Ohlin refer to these individuals as “double failers” as they are unable to succeed in both legitimate and illegitimate society and thus have turned to drug use as a way of adapting (1960, p. 184).

According to Cloward and Ohlin, not only must the individual be supported to commit delinquent behavior but they must also have a conducive environment to acquire the skills and values in order to be a successful criminal. In other words, the success of an individual to

engage in criminal behavior depends not only on the availability of illegitimate roles but necessary role models and the willingness of these role models to transmit their knowledge and skill to another.

### **Two-path**

Clearly, the above theoretical perspectives differ as to how associates influence criminal behavior. There are multitudes of data that have both supported and challenged each theory and perhaps none of the above-mentioned theories can fully account for all criminal behavior. Within the past decade, there has been a trend towards integrating theories in hopes of a fuller understanding of criminal behavior. In 1993, Terrie Moffitt has offered one such theory. Moffitt makes reference to the above general theories (i.e. Shaw & McKay, 1942; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Sutherland & Cressey, 1978 as cited in Moffitt, 1993), as well as many others and proposes that these “general theories” offer “proximal mechanisms” about crime and delinquency and while she asserts that while they all may be correct, they may be better fitted for different types of offenders and apply at different life stages (1993, p. 28). Moffitt asserts that there are “two qualitatively distinct types of persons... [and]... each in need of its own distinct theoretical perspective” (1993, p.1). This two-path theory towards explaining criminal behavior purports to explain why persons begin criminal activity and why some persons persist into adulthood while others stop. Moffitt bases her theory on previous studies that have seen antisocial behavior peak at the age of 17 years but drop remarkably when one enters adulthood (see Blumstein & Cohen, 1987; see also Farrington, 1986 as cited in Moffitt, 1993). These two types of offenders Moffitt terms as the “life-course persistent offender” and the “adolescent-limited offender,” with each offender following a different path to delinquency.

According to Moffitt (1993), the life-course persistent offenders are a small group of individuals who persist in crime throughout their lives and have neuropsychological

deficiencies at birth. These neuropsychological developments can occur by poor pre-natal nutrition, drug and alcohol use during pregnancy or by abuse or neglect resulting in cognitive impairments (such as attention, language, learning, memory or reasoning) (Moffitt, 1993). The neuropsychological deficiencies that have occurred as the result of any of the above-mentioned reasons become further enhanced by the environment in which the child is raised (Moffitt, 1993). The environmental influences begin in the home by inconsistent discipline and difficulties within the parent child relationship as it is often found that the child is viewed by the parents as a difficult infant (Moffitt, 1993). The behaviorally difficult child often ends up poorly socialized as the parents are unable to cope effectively with the behavioral problems and eventually, the child's misbehavior becomes evidenced in school by academic failure, rejection by other pro-social peers and difficulties with his or her teachers (Moffitt, 1993). Moffitt notes that that the biological origins are not in themselves deterministic rather, it is the subsequent person-environment interactions and reactions to the personality trait that are of greater significance.

The second type of offender and believed to be the larger of the two, Moffitt (1993) terms as the adolescent-limited offender who displays temporary anti-social behavior and that which is not typically displayed until mid or late adolescence. According to Moffitt, "the adolescence-limited behavior is motivated by the gap between biological maturity and social maturity, it is learned from antisocial models who are easily mimicked, and it is sustained according to the reinforcement principals of learning theory" (1993, p. 16). As a result, the adolescent-limited offender looks at the life-course persistent offender who appears to have "mature status with its consequent power and privilege" in the adult world and mimics the lifestyle of the life-course persistent offender (Moffitt, 1993, p.18).

Moffitt (1993) explains the relationship and the interactions between the adolescent limited and life course persistent offender. Moffitt states that the life course persistent

offender would be willing to offend alone whereas the adolescent limited appears to require peer support in addition,

the phenomena of 'delinquent peer networks' and 'co-offending' during the adolescent period do not necessarily connote supportive friendships that are based on intimacy, trust and loyalty as is sometimes assumed. Social mimicry of delinquency can take place if experienced offenders actively educate new recruits. However, it can also take place if motivated learners merely observe antisocial models from afar. (1993, p. 20)

According to Moffitt, the relationship therefore may be a "symbiosis of mutual exploitation" (1993, p. 20). On the one hand the life-course persistent offenders become "role models or trainers for new recruits" (Reiss, 1986 as cited in Moffitt, 1993, p. 20) but at the same time the adolescent delinquent offender is searching for a needed role model during their period of transition from childhood to adulthood.

The path of delinquency into adulthood also varies between the two types of offenders. Moffitt (1993) asserts that leaving the delinquent lifestyle is possible for the adolescent limited offender due to years of previous pro-social behavior and they eventually come to see delinquent behavior in adulthood punishing as opposed to rewarding. However, returning to a pro-social lifestyle may not be immediate due to damaging consequences such as "a drug habit, an incarceration, interrupted education, or a teen pregnancy" which will require greater effort and present new challenges (1993, p. 23). Nevertheless, Moffitt asserts that three-fourths of the adolescent limited offenders are expected to cease all offending by their mid-twenties (Farrington, 1986; as cited in Moffitt, 1993). On the other hand, the life course persistent offender's potential to change is much more dismal. The life course persistent offender's ability to engage in a pro-social lifestyle becomes increasingly difficult as, "residential treatment programs provide a chance to learn from criminal peers, a new job furnishes the chance to steal, and new romance provides a partner for abuse" (Moffitt, 1993, p. 15). Therefore, Moffitt hypothesizes that in the adult criminal populace one would expect

to find more life-course persistent offenders as opposed to adolescent limited offenders (1993, p. 28).

According to Moffitt, the key to distinguishing between each offender is the “timing and duration of the course of antisocial involvement...[these are]...defining features in the natural histories of the two proposed types of offenders” (1993, p. 5). One then could expect that between co-offenders the individual with a long criminal record and early conduct problems in home or school would be distinguishable as the life course persistent offender whereas the adolescent-limited would have less criminal convictions and more over, a pro-social life history.

In short, although the above theoretical perspectives do not agree as to the nature of how someone becomes delinquent they do agree that companions can and do influence criminal behavior. The fact that these theoretical perspectives are so divergent substantiates the reality that the group nature of delinquency continues to be largely ambiguous. Clearly, it would be advantageous to determine whether one engages in delinquency because they are similarly criminal, whether attitudes and values are transmitted amongst peers, whether peers merely wish to gain status and acceptance amongst their peers or whether offenders “recruit” others to commit crime. Perhaps as Moffitt had noted all of these motivations for engaging in delinquency are correct and occur at different stages in the life course.

In 1986 Reiss noted that, “it should be abundantly clear that research on group offending not only is disproportionably concentrated on juveniles but that is it has focused almost exclusively on documenting how pervasive it is and on speculating on its role in the etiology of delinquency” (p. 156). The research confirms that co-offending plays a substantial part in crime. However, what continues to remain poorly understood is whether a leader and follower are discernible in a co-offending relationship. Reiss (1988) further underscored the value of understanding co-offending and the issue of leadership by stating that, “we need to know more about how *adults recruit* (italics added) their co-offenders and the extent to which

their co-offenders are dispersed rather than concentrated in time and space” (p. 165). With the abundance of theory and research, the frequency of co-offending and the importance of associations in criminal behavior should now be secondary concerns. Instead, understanding the roles offenders take in a co-offending relationship and how this can be measured is essential to understanding co-offending and will therefore, remain the sole focus of this research.

## Chapter IV

### Research Methods

This thesis incorporates several theoretical perspectives and the importance and prevalence of co-offending. In the remaining chapters, studies that have discussed the possibility of distinguishing between a leader and follower in a co-offending relationship will be outlined. The method of completing this review of the literature stems largely from a text entitled *Summing Up* written in 1984 by Light and Pillemer in which the authors outline steps towards synthesizing past and current research in a systematic way.

#### Meta-analysis

Meta analysis is a set of quantitative techniques for synthesizing and analyzing particular literature. The unit of analysis then is the individual study. The research method of meta-analysis involves gathering studies relevant to a particular issue and constructing at least “one indicator of the relationship under investigation from each of the studies” (Cook et al., 1992, p. 5). Essentially, meta-analysis involves moving from art to science by computing basic statistical analysis to more complex analysis when possible.

The meta-analytic technique was introduced into social science in the mid 1970's although it has been around much longer (Light & Pillemer, 1984). Meta-analysis in social science research and in particular the criminological research is in its infancy although gaining momentum. Previous meta-analyses from the criminological literature have studied for instance, treatment approaches to reduce recidivism with a male adult populace (see Dowden & Andrews, 2003), effectiveness of treatment for female offenders (see Dowden & Andrews, 1999), the effects of religious beliefs on recidivism (see Baier & Wright, 2001) and predictors of adult recidivism (see Gendreau, Goggin & Little, 1996). Meta-analysis is

therefore, a secondary research method used to summarize volumes of literature, which can resolve conflict between studies or conversely generate their own controversies.

In short, meta-analysis offers the promise of compiling several studies to determine what is working, to determine alternatives for study and to report divergent findings and offer possible explanations for their occurrence. Within all studies, no matter how extensive the research, limitations exist. Limitations may occur for instance, by the very nature of the study population or sample, time dimension, and settings regardless as to whether the research approach is qualitative, quantitative or a combination thereof. One should not expect a single study to provide all the answers. If “the practical value of social science research depends upon its ability to deliver useable knowledge about the causes of social problems and the effectiveness of policies and programs designated to alleviate them” (Cook et al., 1992, p. vii) then, meta-analyses offers a promising approach towards fulfilling such goals.

### **Study Identification**

As Cook and his colleagues stated, collecting data from the literature “can be viewed as analogous to survey sampling in primary research” (1992, p.10). The co-offending articles generated for this thesis (N=20) were obtained by an extensive literature search of studies published between January 1950 and September 2003 (the inclusion criteria and exclusion criteria will be discussed shortly). This process began with a search of the following databases: Criminal Justice Abstracts, Digital Dissertations, Ebsco, Humanities and Social Science Index, JSTOR, National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), PsychINFO, PsychARTICLES, SocioFile, and the Web of Science.<sup>9</sup> The following key words were used: co-offend, co-offender, co-offending, co offend, co offender, co offending, co-offend\*, co-offender\*, co-offending\*, group offending, group offenders, multiple offender, multiple

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix B for the dates of availability and description of each database.

offenders, leadership and crime. The electronic search was supplemented by Simon Fraser University (SFU – located in Burnaby, British Columbia) and the University College of the Fraser Valley's (UCFV - located in Abbotsford, British Columbia) electronic catalogue search. Again, the above key words were used. It is significant to note that the key words to conduct an accurate search must be written with precision in order to effectively arrive at the sources. For instance, in searching SFU's library catalogue with the term co-offend (hyphen included) no results will be produced nor will searching for co offend (hyphen excluded). However, co offend\* (no hyphen, a space between co and offend and an asterisk) will produce four sources. Co offenders\* (again no hyphen, space between co and offender with an asterisk) will produce three sources and if co offending\* is used, two sources will be displayed. There is no doubt that databases are excellent research tools however, databases entail specific search criteria as shown above<sup>10</sup>.

Once several articles were established, an ancestral search was conducted (viewing reference lists of pertinent articles). As a result of this ancestral search, additional articles were obtained to determine their relevance to the inclusion criteria. Additionally searches were conducted through the World Wide Web using Copernic (a metasearch engine), a search of literature on the Correctional Service of Canada and the Department of Justice Canada websites for applicable research reports and publications. Lastly, some references were merely arrived upon by spending countless hours in Simon Fraser University and the University College of the Fraser Valley libraries.

### **Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria**

In order for a study to be included or excluded in the meta-analysis, it must have met the following criteria.

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<sup>10</sup> This example is not just privy to SFU's catalogue search, similar results can be found by searching various electronic databases.

- (1) Directly explored leadership in co-offending or inferred measures of leadership in co-offending. Had the search been conducted on measures of leadership in co-offending without “inferred” measures of leadership the literature would have been extremely scarce. When leadership was not explored directly or inferred, the articles were eliminated as the topic area was of a different nature (i.e. network analysis, prevalence of co-offending etc.);
- (2) Received publication. An attempt was made to obtain a couple theses on co-offending however, these were unavailable through the interlibrary loan department at SFU and this writer is uncertain as to whether they would have been applicable for the current analysis therefore, they were excluded as a result;
- (3) Discussed the dynamics or the relationship between offenders. All studies regardless of the participant’s age or gender were included although; focus was devoted to adult co-offending;
- (4) Written in the english language. Two studies were excluded as they were written in japanese even though their titles were written in english. This writer is uncertain as to whether the interactional dynamics of leadership and followership were explored in these studies, and;
- (5) The study was beyond speculative or theoretical. Several studies were excluded as a result.

As indicated previously, Wilson (2001) had noted that one particular limitation of previous meta-analyses was the lack of description when studies are synthesized. As a result, the following chapter provides a detailed description of each study with a focus on measures of leadership in each of these studies. However, prior to doing so this writer outlines how researchers in the organizational and social psychological fields have attempted to define and measure leadership.

## Chapter V

### The Nature of Leadership in Co-offending

As seen in chapter 2 the prevalence and importance of co-offenders in crime is substantial and as chapter 3 has shown, several theoretical perspectives offer varying explanations as to how companions influence criminal behavior. Reiss (1986) noted that very little is known about co-offending generally and the information that is “known” about co-offending have been based on a handful of studies. Reiss’ point is well taken as this continues to hold true nearly two decades later.

If we accept that associations influence behavior then one must consider how this occurs and if a distinction between co-offenders does in fact exist. As previously noted, a fundamental aspect of co-offending is the issue of leadership and it is perhaps one of the most neglected topics in the criminological literature. Yet, as Gibb stated in 1968 “whenever two or more persons constitute a group, the relation of the leadership and followership soon becomes evident. It is equally evident, however, that this relationship does not necessarily take, persistently and continuously the same direction” (p. 210).

A central concern then is how one goes about identifying the leader in a co-offending relationship and whether the assignment of roles is intentional (formally discussed) or unintentional (occurring informally and implying a haphazard approach). Assuming that leadership does exist and whether or not the roles are intentional or unintentional, who takes the leadership position before, during and after the offence if according to Gibb (1968), the relationship does not consistently take the same direction? Researchers have attempted to distinguish between leaders and followers in co-offending with some taking a more direct line of inquiry than others.

The following literature has been divided into three subsections. The first section explores how researchers in the organizational and social psychological fields have attempted

to define leadership and more importantly how this can be measured. The second section identifies studies that have focused on co-offending beyond looking at its prevalence and where leadership is either implied or directly explored. This section has been further divided according to whether studies have concentrated on juvenile co-offending ( $\leq 19$  years of age), studies that have incorporated both youth and adult co-offending, research that has focused on adult male co-offending ( $\geq 19$  years of age) and lastly, the fourth section is devoted exclusively to adult female co-offending.

### **Defining and Measuring Leadership**

Even though there is an abundance of social psychological research and organizational research on leadership there is little agreement on the definition of leadership and how leadership should be measured. After reviewing the literature on leadership conducted between 1904-1947 and then again from 1948-1970, Stogdill (1974) stated that “there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept” (p. 7) and nearly three decades later, Porter and Alison (2001) noted, “it remains unclear precisely how influence is exerted over others” (p. 1).

Although intuitively we know what leadership means it holds different meanings for those attempting to define it like the words justice, rehabilitation or as stated earlier the term co-offending. Leadership has been regarded as a subjective and arbitrary term and as Yukl (2002) noted, “some definitions are more useful than others, but there is no single ‘correct’ definition” (p. 7). In addition, depending on the researcher “the purpose may be to identify leaders, to determine how they are selected, to discover what they do, to discover why they are effective, or to determine why they are necessary” (Yukl, 2002, p. 8).

In general, there have been five major approaches to leadership research: trait, behavior, power-influence, situational and finally integrative (Yukl, 2002). Each school of thought and

their basic assumptions will be outlined below as a detailed analysis of all such theories contained in each perspective is beyond the scope of this thesis.

### **Trait**

Gibb (1968) noted that it was post World War II that psychology truly began to define leadership. In the beginning the major research approach began with definitions of a leader and then moved to defining leaders as having either/or dichotomous traits (Gibb, 1968). This trait approach studied characteristics and attributes of leaders like physical traits (i.e. height, weight, appearance, age) personality traits (i.e. self-confidence, dominance, introversion versus extroversion, tolerance of stress, enthusiasm) and social characteristics (popularity, sociability, nurturance) (Bass & Stogdill, 1974). Overall, studies utilizing the trait approach had demonstrated contradictory findings depending both on the study population employed by the researchers and the situational aspects of the event studied (Gibb, 1968). Ultimately, studies attempting to measure leadership using the trait approach had failed to report conclusive results or to report the attributes that guaranteed the “success” of a leader (Gibb, 1968; Yukl, 2002). Stogdill’s (1974) review of the leadership literature had also shown that an individual does not solely become a leader because of traits alone and concluded that credit therefore must be given to the current situation and the relationship between the leader and follower. For the above reasons, the focus shifted to behaviors of the leader and leadership situations. Nevertheless, the trait approach to studying leadership remains to be important today as the role of traits continue to be seen as critical for effective leadership (see for instance Lord, DeVader, & Alliger, 1986) and questionnaires designed to measure traits to determine an individual’s attributes and their potential for leadership are still in use.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See for instance the Minnesota-Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) or the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator.

## **Behavior**

The behavior approach for the study of leadership focused on what leaders do and how they act largely through the eyes of followers. One such approach developed by Kurt Lewin (1939; as cited in Nelson & Quick 2000) identified types of leadership styles: autocratic and democratic. The autocratic leader displayed behaviors that were directive, strong and enforcing the rules, regulations and activities of the followers and the democratic leader's behavior had shown interactive and collaborative relations with followers (Nelson & Quick, 2000). Further to the study of leadership behaviors, Stogdill and Conns (1957) while working at Ohio State University (as cited in Gibb, 1968) had persons generate a list of attributes to describe their leaders from a variety of jobs. The results indicated that leaders displayed two major types of behavior: *initiating structure* and *consideration*. Initiating structure included acts such as organizing the work of the group and defining role responsibilities whereas consideration involved building respect, trust and camaraderie between leaders and followers (Bass & Stogdill, 1990). The leader then would essentially provide structure for his or her followers while cultivating a working relationship. This approach to the study of leadership behavior was similar to that of the earlier distinction between Kurt Lewin's autocratic and democratic styles of leadership. As a result of these findings, more research emerged with the notion that leaders must perform either high or low levels of the two independent measures; task behavior (initiating structure and autocratic leadership) or relationship behavior (consideration or democratic leadership). However, just how much task behavior or how much relationship behavior a leader must display in order to be a "successful leader" continues to be a topic of debate and what represents a successful leader also remains a topic of debate. Similar to the trait approach, universal behaviors could not be consistently identified but popular measures of leadership behavior continue to be used today.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See for instance, Stogdill, 1963's Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire-XII.

## **Power-influence**

Another major approach to studying leadership according to Yukl (2002) involved the study of power-influence. Researchers attempted to determine the amount of power a leader had and how this power was exercised. Nelson and Quick (2000) define power as “the ability to influence someone else...[and define influence as]...the process of affecting the thoughts, behavior and feelings of another person” (p. 352). Power then, is the extent to which the leader can change the thoughts, behavior and the feelings of his or her followers.

French and Raven (1959) defined the ability to influence another which includes a change “in behavior, opinions, attitudes, goals, needs, values and all other aspects of the persons’ psychological field” (p. 150-151). The leader displays one or more types of power in which he or she then exercises this type of power towards another, the follower. French and Raven (1959) categorized five different types of power (reward, coercive, legitimate, expert, and referent power). When the leader uses reward power, the follower complies in order to retain rewards that are controlled by the agent (French & Raven, 1959). So for instance, one offender may have a tangible item such as money that can be dispensed to the follower. This monetary incentive would give the leader reward power. With coercive power, the follower complies in order to avoid punishment by the leader (French & Raven, 1959). An example of such would be when one offender, the follower complies as the leader threatens isolation or rejection from him or herself individually or from a group. When the follower person complies because they believe the leader has the right to make a request and he or she has the obligation to comply, legitimate power is exercised (French & Raven, 1959). This type of power is exercised for instance when an older offender tells a younger offender what to do as the younger person does not believe they have the right to be directive. Expert power

according to French & Raven (1959) involves follower compliance due to the follower believing that the leader has knowledge about the best way in which something should be done. For instance, one offender may be quite skilled in the area of break and enter but less skilled in robbery. If the forthcoming offence is break and enter, the offender with the greater amount of experience may be seen as exercising expert power. Lastly, referent power exists when the follower admires the leader and wishes to gain the leader's approval (French & Raven, 1959). This is the leader's ability to essentially affect the follower's feelings of personal acceptance or self-esteem and since the follower wishes to be accepted, the leader is given referent power.

Two issues require emphasis. Namely, these bases of power are the consequence of perception regardless of whether or not they are real and secondly, these different types of power are interrelated (Diboye, Smith & Howell, 1994). Since the time of French and Raven, ecological power (where the agent has control over the physical environment and equipment) and information power (where the agent has access to vital information) have been added as additional sources of power (Yukl, 2002).

Yukl (2002) identifies 11 proactive (versus reactive) influence tactics that are believed to have influence on "subordinates, peers, and superiors in large organizations" (p.160). A few methods of influence tactics identified by Yukl (2002) include; rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, collaboration, exchange, pressure and coalition tactics.<sup>13</sup> There are conditions that favor each tactic and an explanation as to the agent /leader's objective in using the various influence tactics. Rational persuasion occurs by the agent when the use of logical argument or factual information is used to show the target person that something is feasible (Yukl, 2002). The use of inspirational appeals involves the agent

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<sup>13</sup> Additional types of influence behaviors identified by Yukl (2002) include; apprising, consultation, personal appeals, ingratiation, and legitimating tactics.

appealing to the values or ideals of the target person in order to gain commitment for the request and, the influence tactic of collaboration involves the agent providing relevant resources and assistance if the target person will comply (Yukl, 2002) According to Yukl (2002), exchange as an influence tactic involves either an implicit or an explicit offer to the target person. The exchange of benefits may be offered by the agent such as tangible (i.e. money) and intangible benefits (i.e. status). However, the offer to exchange benefits must be believed by the target person that the agent has the ability to fulfill their end of the deal (Yukl, 2002). Another type of influence behavior involves pressure tactics. Yukl (2002) stated that hard forms of pressure tactics involve “threats, warnings and assertive behavior such as repeated demands or frequent checking to see if the person has complied with a request (p. 163).” However, these harsher forms of influence tactics can often discredit or undermine the influence tactic and therefore, softer forms of pressure such as reminders that the target person promised to do something is largely used and more likely to gain compliance (Yukl, 2002). Lastly, coalition tactics involves the agent getting assistance from another person that the person likes or respects in order to gain the compliance of the target person (Yukl, 2002).

Yukl (2002) also noted reactive influence tactics as opposed to proactive tactics. Reactive influence tactics occur by the agent if the target person has either complied with the request or failed to do so (Yukl, 2002). For instance, giving praise after the desired behavior has been accomplished or coaching and showing how improvements can be made.

By defining power in relative rather than absolute terms Secord and Backman (1974) proposed all group members engage in behavior that is either perceived to be or is functionally related to the groups’ goals therefore, each individual has the opportunity to influence another and leadership therefore can be measured as *degrees of influence* (italics added).

The influence approach to the study of leadership continues to remain important today. As will be seen in the forthcoming literature on leadership in co-offending the power-influence has been duly noted in many studies.

### **Situational**

The fourth general study of leadership began incorporating situational aspects of leadership. Where the trait approach emphasized the individual and who they were, the behavior approach emphasized what they do, and the power-influence approach attempted to determine how power was exercised, the situational approach for the study of leadership emphasizes the importance of external factors of which the leader may have no control. Theorists began to see the situation as an important variable in determining whether one becomes a leader and how the leader may need to modify their behavior in order to retain their leadership position. Additionally, it was seen that leadership may pass from one individual in the group to another as the situation changes. Gibb noted,

leadership is always relative to the situation... the situation includes: (1) the structure of interpersonal relations within a group, (2) group or syntality characteristics such as those defined by the group dimensions..., (3) characteristics of the total culture in which the group exists and from which group members have been drawn, and (4) the physical conditions and the task with which the group is confronted (1968, p.246).

The issue of external events of which the leader has no control can in effect create a leader in one situation but “the leader in one situation is not necessarily the leader, even of the same group, in another, different situation” (Gibb, 1968, p. 248). In order to be a leader in the majority of situations then the leader would need to modify their roles in order to obtain the leadership position. So for instance, if one individual has committed several armed robberies and another has no or limited experience in armed robbery the person with the greater experience (i.e. greater criminal history) would be likely to lead. However, if the criminal

history is equal amongst associates and the offence is again armed robbery, the individual who wishes to continue in a leadership position may need to assume for instance influence tactics in order to maintain his or her position.

Several theories have developed in regards to taking the situation into consideration. For instance path-goal theory assumes that leaders adjust their style of leadership based on the needs of their followers and the environment in which they are in either by being directive, supportive, participative, or achievement-oriented and the leader adopts the behavior style depending on the situation in order to help followers achieve their goals (Nelson & Quick, 2000).<sup>14</sup>

### **Integrative**

The integrative approach for the study of leadership is similar to the earlier mention of Moffitt's two-path theory. Moffitt has attempted to integrate theories to provide a fuller understanding or explanation of criminal behavior. The social and organizational field takes a similar approach in that, researchers attempting to measure leadership have moved to including more than one type of leadership variable (i.e. trait, behavior, influence processes, and situational variables). However, as Yukl (2002) noted it is rare to find such a theory that incorporates all of the above variables and as Anderson (2002) noted each theory of leadership has limitations and "they are all based on interesting academic or valuable research trends and the philosophical beliefs of a particular decade or era" (p. 312).

In sum, various measures have been used to conceptualize leadership. The applications to the above schools of thought have focused on the person, the environment and the social and situational processes. While all schools of thought have added to the development

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<sup>14</sup> For additional theories on situational leadership see Hershey and Kenneth Blanchard "the situational leadership model" (Nelson & Quick, 2000, p. 401).

towards measuring leadership and attempts to define leadership, there continues to be no one universal method acceptable to all. In addition, it should be noted that no one school of thought is necessarily exclusive of the other.

### **Measuring and Attesting Measures of Leadership: The Empirical Data**

Although it would be beneficial to subdivide the below studies of co-offending by those who have concentrated on one of the above approaches to the study of leadership, the ability to do so is not as straightforward as one would hope. As will be seen, some authors have incorporated measures of leadership by using one, two or more methods. Additionally, several authors by-pass the issue of defining leadership entirely but suggest methods of measurement. The following literature has been divided by youth and adult studies, as there appears to be a general consensus of the accepted features of about co-offending.<sup>15</sup>

#### **Youth Studies**

In a study of the group processes' in gang rape Blanchard (1959) studied two groups of incarcerated juvenile offenders; one consisting of three members who were part of a five boy group rape and an another group consisting of four members who were part of a five boy group rape. Blanchard (1959) first interviewed the boys separately using Rorschach cards and each boy had provided an answer as to the meaning of each card. Blanchard then used the "Group Process Rorschach" which involved again giving the group of juvenile offenders the Rorschach Cards but now in their original co-offending group and requesting that they discuss its meaning. After the discussion, the boys were instructed to reach a unified single answer. The purpose of such was according to Blanchard, "an excellent opportunity to

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<sup>15</sup> These "accepted features" of co-offending will again be explored in chapter 6.

discover how the boys modify their original responses previously given in the original Rorschach in order to conform to the dynamics of the group” (1959, p. 259).

Blanchard concluded that in both groups there were “clearly defined leaders” both of which were first to have intercourse with the female victim (1959, p. 260). In addition, Blanchard stated that each leader had “clearly defined sadistic impulses...[and]...the leader is stimulated by the presence of the group, his feeling that he must perform for them, and in a sense, ‘exhibit himself’” (1959, p. 266). Accordingly, Blanchard stated that the leader appeared to be the “crucial figure in crystallizing and mobilizing the intent of the group... [and]... it seems very probable in both cases studied that the rape would have not taken place without the presence of the leader” (1959, p.260). It should be noted however, that although Blanchard claims to have determined the leader in the second group of boys the fifth member was tried in adult court.

The possibility of recruitment (leaders selecting followers to commit crime) was displayed in Sarnecki’s (1990) study of juvenile delinquents in Borlange, Sweden. The data for this 10-year longitudinal study was derived from the local police database of juveniles who were suspected of having committed an offence with at least one accomplice (Sarnecki, 1990). A total of 1403 juvenile delinquents were followed which were further broken down into four subgroups. The “principal population” consisted of 575 juveniles who were suspected by police to have committed at least one offence between the years of 1975-1977 (Sarnecki, 1990). This group was later followed in 1978-1980 and then again in 1981-1984. Another 86 individuals called the “extra population 1” consisted of juveniles whom were suspected of having committed an offence with the principal population (Sarnecki, 1990). A third group referred to as the “extra population 2” consisted of 173 juveniles who were suspected of committing offences with the principal population between the years of 1978-1980 (Sarnecki, 1990). Lastly, 569 suspected delinquents (according to the police recorded

delinquency) whom were defined as the “new population” included members who were studied between the years of 1982-1984 (Sarnecki, 1990, p. 38).

Sarnecki (1990) interviewed 29 juveniles from one particular group that appeared to be linked together and contained 64 members. Each juvenile was questioned as to their own delinquency and that of their friends. Each was provided a list of juvenile delinquent suspects and the majority of juveniles listed one individual “the most central and criminal individual in the gang” as being one of the interviewee’s three best friends (Sarnecki, 1990, p. 37).<sup>16</sup> The results further indicated that the most active offenders were also found to have a high rate of offences and actively recruited others into committing crime (Sarnecki, 1990). Sarnecki further noted that the younger members had learned from the older members to which he described as “central figures.” Sarnecki states that the effect of incapacitation on co-offending is;

dependent on the role played by the individual when he participates in offences with others. If he is only a passive participant it is probable that the crimes he participates in would have been committed with or without his participation... it can be seen in the Borlange material that the more active and experienced juvenile delinquents seek out such passive accomplices and might possibly refrain from committing offences unless they can find at least one partner. (1990, p. 47)

Sarnecki (1990) noted that giving special attention to these recruiters may not only reduce crime as they keep the network together but impede the process of delinquency from being handed down from one generation to the next. At the same time, Sarnecki (1990) also recognized that it is also possible that the leadership position may be taken over by another individual resulting in a continual recruitment process. Furthermore, although the juveniles

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<sup>16</sup> Sarnecki uses the term gang but states that “the use of the term gang is somewhat doubtful in this context” due to evidence of a loose connection amongst the networks of juveniles and these juvenile delinquents were significantly less violent (1990, p. 34)

were noted to enter and leave the gangs rapidly suggesting an instability in relationships, Sarnecki noted that the juveniles under study would, “commit offences together for a time and then cease, or start to commit offences together with others – occasionally returning later to their former companions” (1990, p. 39).

In the longitudinal study known as *The Cambridge Study In Delinquent Development* (as previously discussed in chapter 2), the authors identified a subset of persistent offenders which had shown a preference for offending with less experienced accomplices (Reiss and Farrington, 1991). Although the overall sample did not exhibit this pattern, Reiss and Farrington had identified 22 persistent offenders of the total sample males. These “persistent offenders” were deemed as such as they had committed over 10 offences with a large number of co-offenders (n=162) (Reiss & Farrington, 1991, p. 383-385). Of these 22 persistent offenders, six were identified as being “recruiters” as they displayed “a marked tendency to offend with less experienced offenders” (p. 385). Overall, sixty-nine of ninety co-offenders were considered to be less experienced delinquents (based on conviction records) (Reiss and Farrington, 1991). Unfortunately, it is unclear as to the exact ages of these identified recruiters as it was not specified.

Warr (1996) reanalyzed Martin Gold’s National Survey of Youth (NYS) originally conducted in 1967 on a US national probability sample of 847 adolescents between 13-16 years old. Twelve offence categories consisting of truancy, vandalism, fraud, theft, assault, threats, trespass, burglary, alcohol, drugs, group fight and auto theft were studied (Warr, 1996). Warr (1996) attempted using this data to ascertain the existence of an “instigator” and “joiner” in various offences. It is of importance to note that Warr uses the term “instigator” in replace of Reiss’s (1986, 1988) term “recruiter” as Warr states, “this later term denotes a high degree of role consistency from one group or event to the next” (1996, p.17). In addition, the term role consistency is treated as “an empirical rather than a definitional issue... [and]...instigation as a feature of events as well as persons” (Warr, 1996, p. 17).

Information that was originally gathered consisted of taking the last three offences committed and respondents were questioned if they were committed alone, if companions were present as well as the age, sex and closeness to each person in the group (Warr, 1996). Respondents were questioned as to ““who first suggested doing this?”” (one of the former offences listed) and respondents were coded as (a) respondent (b) another group member or, (c) all in agreement (Warr, 1996, p. 20). Although groups largely consisted of two to three members, the modal number of offences committed with each accomplice was one (Warr, 1996). Due to these findings, Warr stated that it was “rare to commit three or four offences with the same offender” which according to Warr is “dramatic testimony to the transitory character of most delinquent groups” (1996 p. 23-24). In speaking of specialization of offences, Warr noted that when offenders repeat an offence (i.e. shoplifting) it is not uncommon for them to repeat the same offence with the same companions. However, when there is a change in offence there is also a change in companions. Warr asks, “do offenders consistently assume the same the role of instigator or joiner over time, across different types of offences, and among different groups?” (1996, p. 30-31). Warr attempted to answer this by questioning whether respondents were (1) pure instigators (2) pure followers or (3) mixed offenders. The data revealed that 18% (n=112) were pure instigators, 31% were pure joiners (n=190) and 51% were mixed offenders (n=314). However, upon further analysis Warr noted,

the reason... that most pure instigators are ‘pure’ [is] solely because they have committed very few offenses, and the same is true for pure joiners. Among the pure instigators, 66% had committed only 1 of the 12 possible offences, and another 22% committed only 2. Similarly, more than half (53%) of the pure joiners had committed only a single offense and an additional 31% had committed only two. By contrast, more than four-fifths (82%) of mixed offenders had committed four or more offenses. (1996, p. 31)

Warr concluded that “instigators and joiners *are the same people* (italics in original)” (1996, p. 31). The fact that the juveniles were both instigators and joiners suggested according to Warr, that instigators do not have some stable trait rather, it is a situational phenomena, that “arises from the interaction of group and individual characteristics” (1996, p. 34).

Nevertheless, Warr found that in the majority of delinquent events, “the group does indeed contain a member who is identifiable as the instigator of the event....[who tends to be].... older, more experienced and emotionally close to other members” (Warr, 1996, p. 27, 33). Although it was noted that it was more common for instigators to be older, Warr stated that this may be significant as “age is magnified in adolescent culture” (1996, p. 27).

### **Integrated Adult and Youth Studies**

Recall from chapter 2 Amir’s 1971 study of rapes in Philadelphia occurring in 1958 and 1960 with data obtained from police case files of victim reports. A total of 1,292 offenders comprised the 646 cases and victim reports of forcible rape (Amir, 1971). Of the 1,292 offenders, 370 (57%) rapes were committed by single offenders (single rapes – SR), 105 (16%) were committed by two offenders (pair rapes - PR) in a given offence and the remaining 171 (27%) were committed by three or more offenders which Amir termed as group rapes (GR) (1971, see Table 65, p. 200).

Amir defined a leader and the issue of leadership as, “the occupant of that position in the group which has the greatest influence over group behavior. Leadership is defined as the process of influencing the action of other members in critical group situations” (1971, p. 195). In an attempt to discern who led and who followed in each group rape Amir, designated the leader as

- (1) who the victim in the interrogation indicated as the one who either attacked her and hit her first or the one who raped her first, or (2) whom the other members pointed to as the one who started it all by his suggestion or the one who commanded the action by

suggestion of place, organizing the order they took in raping the victim, and so on.

(1971, p. 199)

Amir (1971) discusses two basic behavior patterns of the leader; the “initiator act” and “magical seduction” borrowed from Redl (1942)

In the ‘initiator act’ the means are provided for satisfying repressed desires through supplying ideas, forbidden products and so on, to the other members. In ‘magical seduction’ acts, the forbidden acts are not only suggested but executed by the person who is ready to be the first one to give license to the inhibited behavior of others, to take the risk of internal and external (legal) guilt. (p.197)

Amir stated that the leadership function of magical seduction and initial action were “*significantly* (italics in original) associated, that is those who first attacked the victim were also the first to rape her. However, ‘magical seduction’ was found to be a more important role of the leader” (p. 344). Amir introduced an additional leadership function that of “‘commanding’ and organizing the situation.” Amir reported that in group rapes the “‘true leader’” was the one who preformed all three functions. However, if the three functions were not preformed by the same person, the one who first raped the victim was also likely to be the one who commanded the event” (1971, p. 344-345).

Amir (1971) noted some additional distinctions between leaders and followers namely, “only 6 percent of leaders in the pair rape and only 7 percent of group rape leaders were apprehended [Amir hypothesized that] the leader may have had the protection of his accomplices who did not ‘squeal on him’ or he may have been more astute in escaping detection” (p. 287). As well to determine age differences in leaders and followers Amir found there were little differences as peer groups were often in the same age range however, when Amir dichotomized the leaders and follower groups at age 30, “a *significant* (italics in original) association was found between the age of the offenders and leadership; 24 percent were under 30, while 84 percent were over 30” (p. 203). In addition, PR leaders as compared

to their partners had a significant previous arrest record for offences against the person or for sex offences other than rape but this was not the case of GR leaders vis-à-vis their followers. Leaders in the PR and the GR's were found to be "more violent" than the followers, and "the one to initiate the beatings... only the PR leader [as opposed to the GR leader] inflicted sexual humiliation upon the victim, and especially in the forms of fellatio, cunnilingus, or both" (Amir, 1971, p. 344). Amir (1971) also noted that PR's were more similar to SR's than they were to GR's, "thus it may be better to see PR's not as a form of group event but rather as a form of criminal 'partnership'" (p. 345).

Engaging in largely qualitative analysis Dietz (1983) studied felony homicides (homicides resulting from robbery, burglary, rape or other criminal activities) with a focus on the offender dyad as opposed to the victim offender dyad. Data was gathered from the Homicide Division of the Detroit Police Department and qualitative analysis was conducted through records by defendants, witnesses, and intended victims and in some cases victims (those who had not died immediately) (Dietz, 1983). Those homicide cases occurring in 1974 were studied in addition to summary records for homicides occurring between 1971 and 1977 (n=1456 records of homicides) (Dietz, 1983). All homicide cases were coded as to whether they were felony or non-felony cases. In addition, interviews were conducted with two male non-convicted killers (David and Ricardo) who were recommended by the homicide detectives as "prototypes of robbery and contract killers" (Dietz, 1983, p.38).

Dietz divides the homicides by robbery, sex-related homicides and execution style homicides (contract and revenge killing). In speaking of robbery homicides, Dietz claims that over half involved multiple offenders with the most common robbery group containing three to five members with some members having more power than others (1983, p. 49-54). Dietz further reported that a group of robbery offenders will often have one person that acts as the initiator, although anyone can make suggestions. In addition, offenders that initiate the robbery and lead in planning the discussions are "not necessarily the same ones who lead during the

homicide encounter” (Dietz, 1983, p. 53). According to Dietz (1983), some robbery groups plan the robbery in specific detail while others involve no planning, as planning in detail isn’t necessary because the actual commission of the offence is in itself an unpredictable event.

In speaking of David’s group (consisting of five to seven members) and who were involved in robberies, rapes and murders, the member Donald was considered the leader (Dietz, 1983, p.56). According to Dietz (1983),

Donald preferred to organize, give orders and remain in the background after the crime was initiated. He liked to get others to handle the more dangerous or mundane tasks... Donald was usually the driver, as he had access to a car. He supplied the weapons and had the final say on dividing the loot. (p.57)

Dietz reiterates David’s perception of Donald who stated that, “*Donald was the idea man. He’s smart. He talks good and he can manipulate people. Sometimes, like Donald had a lot of associations with drug people – he would meet someone and plan to rip them off*” (italics in original) (1983, p.55). According to Dietz, irregardless of the group, there are “individual and group motives that influence their behavior at the crime scene.... [and the].... groups that gravitate to murder appear to have both a leader or strong fraction that wants to kill and others who are not strongly resistant” (1983, p. 51, 74).

In comparison to robbery homicides, Dietz found the execution or contract killings are less likely to involve multiple offenders. However, when more than one person is involved the offence is more planned, tasks are delegated and the primary role is the shooter (Dietz, 1983, p. 77).

With regards to homicides involving a sexual offence Dietz reported that in groups where there is equal status amongst it’s members there are times one group member will attempt to dissuade another member from raping a victim however, “others will attempt to validate their responses of the others in the group by saying, ‘let’s rape her,’ or ‘we should kill them’ and proceed only if others support the suggestion (1983, p. 126-127).

In speaking of these three types of offences overall, Dietz stated that giving commands such as “‘stay by the door’... [are orders that]... do not necessarily reflect commands from leaders to followers” (1983, p.156). In some cases it is of “major importance” however, commanding someone into action such as shooting a victim can also be simply “a confirmation that someone in the group agrees with the shooter’s appraisal of the situation” (Dietz, 1983, p. 157). In addition asking questions such as “‘should I tie them up?’ can be an indication of deference to a leader with greater experience in such situations... [or it is]...also a way for a group member to share on deny responsibility” (1983, p. 157). Overall, Dietz stated that while there is some equality amongst homicide group members there also appears to be leaders and “much leadership is functional and distributed, but some is more charismatic” (1983, p. 197). Dietz (1983) reiterated that influence of group members can not be understated as an offender is more vulnerable to the suggestions of his group in context of the situation.

In 1996, Cheatwood reported findings on a study of multiple offender homicides occurring in Baltimore, Maryland during 1987, 1988 and 1989. Pre, during and post offence behavior was analyzed with sixty cases of multiple offender homicides compared to 42 single offender homicides occurring during the same time period (Cheatwood, 1996). Cheatwood defines a multiple offender homicide as,

single events within one continuous period of time in which one victim or more is killed by two or more offenders...more commonly, these cases involve two or more individuals in an interaction with the victim during which one of the offenders actually kills the victim, while the others are involved significantly enough to be charged with the homicide as well. (1996, p. 108)

In an attempt to reconstruct the events of the homicide event, Cheatwood used witness statements, offender statements, police, and court documentation as well as interviews with prosecutors when necessary. In speaking of multiple offender felony offences (those that involved a robbery, rape or burglary), 22 offences were felony related whereas 38 were not

(Cheatwood, 1996). In 25 of the 38 non-felony cases, Cheatwood stated that there was “a clearly stated prior intent by at least one of the participants to engage the victim in a violent confrontation, so that the final decision to use violence had been made before the actors entered the interaction” (1996, p. 118). Essentially, the primary actor has issue with the victim, who then, “seeks out others to support his or her return to confront the intended victim” (1996, p. 119). In only one case was there evidence that the associate accompanying the main offender attempted to dissuade the offender from killing the victim otherwise, they were verbally supporting and encouraging the victims death (Cheatwood, 1996).

When felony offences (involving robbery, rape or burglary) with multiple offenders were considered alone, an important point is that the felony was planned but the homicide was not suggesting that the offence took an unanticipated turn of events (Cheatwood, 1996). If there was no other felony, the offence became more planned and rational. Cheatwood noted, “while the decision to kill is made by one participant, the decision to secure more lethal weaponry, even if it is intended to secure cooperation, is obviously one on which the offender’s agree (1996, p.120). In the aftermath of the crimes committed Cheatwood stated that in several of the multiple offender cases there was at least one offender who recognized “the moral or practical problems with what ha[d] happened... [whereas]... many offenders seem to revel in retelling the event, attempting to enhance their status through replaying their role” (Cheatwood, 1996, p. 124).

In an attempt to understand why persons co-offend, McCarthy, Hagan and Lawrence (1998) conducted a two-wave panel on street youth in the cities of Toronto and Vancouver, Canada for multivariate models of street theft. Those in the study (N =376) were under the age of 25 years and did not have a permanent residence (McCarthy et al., 1998). Co-offending was reported to be a common occurrence by the respondents as each respondent completed both a self-report questionnaire and each were individually interviewed.

McCarthy and his colleagues (1998) discussed three ways that people can cooperate in a criminal enterprise. First, cooperation can occur when one individual uses their criminal capital or other attributes (i.e. age) to dominate their subordinates. Secondly, an inferior individual (one with limited capital) may engage in criminal activity in order to obtain the criminal capital of another. Lastly, individuals may co-act in the criminal event and act as equals as each recognizes the advantages of cooperation. The idea of collaborating according to the authors may be “less susceptible to the exploitation common to rigid superordinate-subordinate relationships. These advantages may make collaboration an especially influential process of criminal capitalization” (McCarthy et al., 1998, p. 163).

In order to answer what factors motivated a person to commit an offence by either requesting someone’s assistance or accepting an offer to do so, respondents were questioned as to how often others offered assistance and how frequently they offered criminal support to others (McCarthy et al., 1998). Creating a typology as to a person’s willingness to help others and receive help McCarthy et al., denoted the first approach as *individualistic*. In such, respondents infrequently offered or were offered criminal assistance. The second items in the typology consisted of what the authors referred to as “two distinct cooperative orientations: *recruiting and enlisting*” (1998, p. 166). According to McCarthy et al., respondents who use their criminal capital to make more tutelage-based overtures than the average youth, adopts a recruiting approach; however these youths receive fewer offers of assistance. In contrast enlisting respondents receive more invitations than the average youth but are less likely to offer help in criminal endeavors (McCarthy et al., 1998, p.166). Lastly, the *collaborative* approach refers to “a higher order of cooperation that involves a social flexibility reflected in both decision making and receiving more offers of assistance than average” (McCarthy et al., 1998, p.166).

The results of this study revealed that 50.5% of the respondents took an individualistic approach to crime, 19.4% engaged in an enlisting approach, 10.1% in a

recruiting approach, and finally 19.9% of the respondents engaged in collaborative relations that this, the respondent reported engaging in and receiving above average offers of assistance (McCarthy et al., 1998, p.168).

An important contribution from the literature by Porter and Alison (2001) involved distinguishing between leaders and followers in rape as a violent group behavior. Porter and Alison studied 39 rape cases involving 120 offenders by content analysis of archival data on published magazine articles. All 39 rapes had occurred between the years of 1968 and 1998 with all cases resulting in convictions. All but one case was analyzed with published magazine articles in which the journalists purportedly had access to the police reports and court transcripts of the case. Team size consisted of 2-6 members with offenders ranging in age from 14-45 years (Porter & Alison, 2001).

In an attempt to measure leadership Porter and Alison recorded “degrees of influence” on a continuum as opposed to looking at leadership as a “dichotomous trait” (2001, p. 475). In addition the authors divided the criminal event into pre, during and post offence behavior, with each of these stages involving elements of each offender’s involvement in decisions, actions and orders (Porter & Alison, 2001). Porter and Alison constructed two variables per crime stage in terms of each offender’s involvement. The decision element for instance, was scored as whether an offender decides to commit the crime of rape, if they decided on the target and if they decided how the body would be disposed (Porter & Alison, 2001). The results of this investigation revealed that individuals did score differently on the scales of influence implying that each offender used varying degrees of influence. In 37 out of 39 cases, one leader in each group of offenders could be identified (Porter & Alison, 2001). These 37 individuals obtained a significantly higher score than the other remaining group members. As a result, Porter and Alison declared the offender with the highest score a leader with the remaining group members designated as followers.

The highest of the three influence variables measured according to Porter and Alison (2001) were those pertaining to action, which involved disposing the victim, selecting the target and approaching the target. The authors stated that no individual gave another a direct verbal order as,

“giving orders is a more extreme influence strategy than action in that it is a definite, conscious attempt to influence another, whereas action does not necessarily carry this assumption. Furthermore, giving orders involves an overt command, increasing the role differentiation between leader and follower, implying absence of choice, and may be harder for an individual to ignore. Action however, involves less of a distinction between the leader and other group members because they will all subsequently act in the same way. There is no direct confrontation and more sense of choice to follow” (Porter & Alison, 2001, p. 493).

In the remaining two cases where a distinction between a leader and follower could not be identified it was believed that both offenders participated equally in the offence (Porter & Alison, 2001).

### **Adult Studies**

Einstadter (1969) conducted a study of 25 convicted career armed robbers on parole in California using official records and interviews. Each offender had a prior conviction of armed robbery in addition to the current conviction which was committed in the company of others. Einstadter (1969) reported that “among certain types of robbers specific role relationships do develop; however these always are assumed to be temporary by the robbery participants even though the association is of some duration” (1969, p. 67-68). He further noted, there is “little discernable evidence of distinctive leadership roles ... the group then is a partnership of equals, each with a voice; what leadership arises comes out of mutual recognition of the expertise of an individual member which serve the group’s goals” (1969, p.

72-73). When there is an assignment of roles it is based on the individual's skill as, "no single individual gives orders or assigns positions without group and individual consensus (Einstadter, 1969, p. 73). Einstadter stated, that role behavior is one of "guiding rather than directing" and although some members may become more "persuasive than others this is generally frowned upon" (1969, p. 72). The assignment of roles and the relationship between armed robbers is largely flexible.

Shover (1973) conducted a study on burglary using several research methods to arrive at this data. Forty-seven interviews were first conducted with men incarcerated in Illinois, and a questionnaire was constructed based on these interviews and administered to another 87 inmates (Shover, 1973). In addition, interviews were conducted with seven burglars or formal burglars in the community, one fence (person who buys stolen merchandise) and one associate of former bank burglars (Shover, 1973, p. 500-501).

Shover (1973) discusses the internal and external social organization of burglary. Internal social organization according to Shover consists of studying the group of burglars and their division of labor while the external social organization involves studying the social relationships between burglars and their additional symbiotic social relationships. In referring to the manpower that's "required" to be a "good burglar" Shover (1973) stated that not only does one rarely work alone but "the act requires two persons, frequently more" (p. 502). Two to three men will have a long period of committing burglaries together and when an additional manpower is needed they will be "selected on the basis of their trustworthiness, specialized competence, and availability at the time the score is being planned" (Shover, 1973, p. 503). When speaking of role differentiation between burglars Shover (1973) stated, Burglary crews, when working, usually function on a partnership basis. Such differentiation of authority as does exist is usually grounded in marked internal differences in age, criminal experience or skill. Rarely, however, is there a formally

designated leader. Tasks during scores are allocated on the basis of personal strengths and weaknesses, or personal preferences (p. 504).

Therefore, although it is rare to find a formally designated leader, there is evidence some role differentiation exists which is similar to Einstadter's 1969 study of armed robbers.

An important contribution to the literature comes from a study of ram raiding (group commercial burglary). Donald and Wilson (2000) studied 12 teams of ram raiders ranging from three to twelve members in five police areas of England. The authors were able to obtain the criminal histories of each offender by means of official conviction records, use of prosecution files containing police reports and offender statements in addition to interviewing the investigating police officers as well as four of the offenders (Donald & Wilson, 2000). Seventy offenders comprised the study and only one was considered a juvenile at the time of the offence thereby deeming it an "adult crime" (Donald & Wilson, 2000, p. 207).

Donald and Wilson (2000) divided the ram raiders into groupings of: leader/planner, drivers, extra, heavy, apprentice and handler. Two subgroups of particular interest were the leader/planner and the apprentice. The authors noted that the leader of the ram raid does not necessarily take part in the raids but coordinates them. In order to determine similarities and differences within the individual offenders the authors employed a multivariate method of data analysis known as Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis (MSA) and found that the offender who performs the role of the leader "mainly displays a high dishonesty violent theme in their previous convictions, or purely a high dishonesty theme... [additionally, a number of leaders had]... identical conviction profiles or very similar profile suggesting there was some degree of homogeneity amongst them" (2000, p. 222). The apprentice on the other hand, was viewed as an assistant to the leader and according to Donald and Wilson would "often share a close relationship either as a relative or long standing friend... [and]... many apprentices aspire to and often succeed in becoming ram raid leaders" (2000, p. 227). Donald and Wilson noted that although there was no formal training there was "evidence from the

interviews with offenders that this process occurs informally. For instance, leaders said that they might point to errors made by apprentices, and that they might also, later, teach them how to avoid such mistakes in the future” (2000, p. 227). In addition, when looking at the criminal convictions of leaders and apprentices, the authors noted that they tend to share similar criminal backgrounds although the identified leaders had tended to perform more serious crimes (Donald & Wilson, 2000, p. 232).

The results of this study further indicated that offenders were consistent in their actions during the offence, offenders showed similar characteristics through their offence history and there was evidence that “differentiating between offenders who are involved in the same offence is possible in relation to actions during the crime (the role they perform) and their characteristics (previous convictions)” (Donald & Wilson, 2000, p. 241). The authors go further to state that this ability to predict the offender’s previous offence history as well as their current role in the offence can assist investigators when ram raiding is committed (Donald & Wilson, 2000). In short, the authors reported that offenders appeared to be systematically assigned roles that were consistent with their previous offence history.

In addition to the assignment of roles, McCluskey and Wardle’s (2000) explored 17 armed robbers in teams of three or more and found evidence that roles were assigned to each member. The mode team size consisted of three members and all of the offenders in the study were serving time in a British institution and were serving sentences for armed robbery (McCluskey & Wardle, 2000). One member of each robbery team was interviewed in a semi-structured interview style with police records consulted for additional information. McCluskey and Wardle found that the assignment of roles was either made at the beginning when the individual was recruited for their skills or the role was provided to them once the team was established.

McCluskey and Wardle (2000) identified three primary roles amongst the group; the driver, the planner and the violent group member with the planner being identified more so as

having a leadership role. The planner was consulted on advice for planning and the commission of the offence and he was also the one who would obtain equipment that was not readily available to the group (i.e. body scanners versus stolen car or weaponry) (McCluskey & Wardle, 2000). Overall, McCluskey and Wardle found stability in roles amongst the armed robbery teams and stated the “consistency in role taking may be reflected in the criminal histories of the individual team members” (2000, p.267).

In order to identify how interactional dynamics between co-offenders modify the perception of criminal opportunities and decision making in crime Hochstetler (2001), interviewed 50 male robbers and burglars who had committed these crimes with others. Data was gathered from offenders in a semi-structured interview all of whom were on community supervision in Tennessee (34 participants were on parole while the remaining 16 participants were on probation) (Hochstetler, 2001). The group characteristics at the time of the current for the current convictions were as follows: 26 groups containing two participants, 15 containing three participants and the remaining 9 containing four to five participants (Hochstetler, 2001).

According to Hochstetler (2001), the participants described three styles of interaction occurring between them and their accomplices: incremental signaling, target convergence and establishing identity. Incremental signaling occurs when “small decisions and incremental actions made more or less intentionally and by multiple participants alter situations and perceptions until crime choice is attractive” (Hochstetler, 2001, p. 748). The incremental signaling begins with conversation or ambiguous statements, which then results in someone pointing out a specific crime or target, confidence is then built by using “optimistic conversation and criminal consent is often assumed” (Hochstetler, 2001 p. 750). Hochstetler reported how one of the offenders recalled an outspoken participant who influenced the group into action,

He wanted them how he wanted them, and he was the main one who hollered at people to get things done. He said, 'let's go do this!' And I tell you, he had a way of talking you into it. He had this way, 'oh come on pussy' and this and that and the other. There was one that was real dominant. It was almost like, how do I want to word this? It was almost manipulation as far as getting us to do something that we didn't want to. Like I'm not saying that any of us didn't want to do what we did; its like we are skeptical and he would manipulate us into going on into it. (2001, p. 750)

The second style of interaction Hochstetler (2001) termed target convergence. Accordingly, groups would emerge and recognition of an appealing target would occur resulting in gestures and with little verbal communication between offenders. Hochstetler found eight of the participants had reached their decision in this manner all of which had "extensive criminal experience and exposure to street life" (2001, p. 750). Lastly, Hochstetler (2001) stated that the third type of interactional dynamic occurring between offenders was establishing identity. A "participants knowledge of others in the group, whether gained in first-hand experience or by reputation, frames how a group sees its potential" (2001, p. 751). Therefore, confidence in their partners and the group's ability reinforces the group's criminal identity (Hochstetler, 2001).

Of particular interest, Hochstetler found that nearly all the participants identified one individual as being the most influential. "Nine interviewees identified themselves as leaders and several more viewed themselves as instigators in their last offence" with the participants citing their co-offenders age, toughness, confident demeanor and criminal reputations as sources of influence (Hochstetler, 2001, p. 753). The "partners' presumed and proven criminal abilities not only lead others to look toward criminal opportunity, but also define power relations in the group" (Hochstetler, 2001, p. 753). Additionally collecting and displaying weapons (guns, ski masks) would provide an impetus for criminal ideas and shape the behavior of others. Hochstetler stated,

Offenders who are the most hesitant or uninformed often become acutely aware of the influence of others and in the instant before they offend. When confronting a target they realize that their previous decisions and actions of co-offenders constrain their options. The most motivated offenders in a group often turn from subtle to overt means of influence in an attempt to overcome this late hesitation. (2001, p. 754)

These late offenders would engage in the criminal activity and fear reprisal (Hochstetler, 2001).

In concluding, Hochstetler noted that for many offenders the lifestyle of drug use and alcohol “made locating criminal opportunities effortless” (2001, p. 745) and 44 of the offenders reported being under the influence of intoxicants during their crime. In addition, Hochstetler stated that “many street offenders are so committed to street life that they can safely assume those around them are open to criminal proposals” (2001, p. 747). As such, having an understanding of the context or lifestyle in which these robbers and burglars lived was important in gaining context for their target selection and criminal choice (Hochstetler, 2001).

### **Adult Female Studies**

Historically and still today women are a small fraction of persons involved in crime. The incarceration rates of female offenders to male offenders in Canadian federal and provincial adult institutions are a testament to this reality. Motiuk, Boe and Nafekh (2002), reported that in the 1996 Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics Survey (a one day snapshot of Canada’s Adult Correctional Facilities) the total federal offender population was 13, 829 of this 13,619 (98%) were male offenders with only 210 (2%) female offenders. Although slightly greater the provincial and territorial incarceration rates in 1996 were 22, 018 of this 20, 537 (93%) were male offenders with only 1,494 (7%) female offenders (Motiuk et al., 2002, ¶

Distribution of Prison Population).<sup>17</sup> Clearly, with such a low number of female offenders under Canadian federal, provincial or territorial jurisdiction studies must rely on low base rates from which to draw conclusions.

In 1987, Faller completed a study of 40 female alleged sexual abusers with the inclusion of cases requiring that at least one of the child victims (n = 63) had been interviewed by the University of Michigan Interdisciplinary Project on Child Abuse and Neglect (IPCAN) between 1978 and 1987. All 63 children were found to have been sexually abused by IPCAN although there were an alleged 86 victims in total (Faller, 1987). In 10 cases only the victims were interviewed, in 6 cases the victim and female perpetrator was interviewed and in 18 cases the victim(s), male, female perpetrators and others (parents or relatives) were interviewed, and in the remaining 6 cases the victim, parents and relatives were interviewed (Faller, 1987, see Table 1, p. 265).

Faller (1987) reported that in 29 (72.5%) polyincestuous cases that the men were the dominant aggressor in the sexual abuse while woman largely played secondary roles.<sup>18</sup> In 24 of 29 cases in which the child victims recounted the sexual abuse, Faller stated “the child’s description of the sexual abuse suggested that men, rather than women, played a leadership role in the abuse. In three cases no determination could be made, and in two it appeared that the female perpetrator took the initiative” (1987, p. 266). Additionally, Faller stated that “when woman did confess to the perpetration of sexual activities, their statements were consistent with those of the victims, describing coercion from male perpetrators and lesser involvement in sexual activities when compared to the men” (1987, p. 266). Faller stated that caution is necessary when concluding about the leadership role of the male offender as in

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<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that these numbers do not include federal, provincial or territorial male or female offenders under community supervision.

<sup>18</sup> Polyincestuous cases are those containing sexual abuse within the family and where at least two perpetrators are involved.

approximately 75% (n=37) of the cases the female offender was the victim's mother, and it is plausible that children find it difficult to admit or accept that their mother was an exploiter as opposed to a nurturing female (Faller, 1987).

In exploring the demographic features of these 40 female offenders, Faller (1987) reported that three-fourths were between the ages of 20-30 years with a mean age of 26.1 whereas the male offender's mean age was 35.8. On average the female offender was 10 years younger than the male leading Faller to hypothesize that, "a possible explanation may be related to the leadership role of men in sexual abuse, at least that found in polyincestuous situations; that is, perhaps young women are more easily led or coerced into these behaviors than are older ones" (1987, p.269). In concluding Faller stated that female offenders are not characteristically the initiators in polyincestuous sexual abuse but are "persuaded, coerced, or otherwise drawn into sexual abuse by men... [this is]... another illustration of the unfortunate effects of male dominance" (1987, p.274).

Sommers and Baskin (1993) stated that the majority of studies on female co-offending have described women as taking secondary roles in a criminal offence (see Alder, 1985; see also Blom & van den Berg; 1989; Miller, 1986; Pettiway, 1987; Steffensmeier; 1983 as cited in Sommers & Baskin, 1993). The authors stated that there are three basic ways women have been described by the literature when they are involved in co-offending with a male counterpart. Namely, women have been described as "lookouts" for their men as they participate in crime, women take passive roles as "holders and/or users of illegally obtained property or drugs" or women are merely "brow wipers who stand by their men to offer support services" (Sommers & Baskin, 1993, ¶6 Other Situational Aspects of Robbery).

In their own study, Sommers & Baskin (1993), interviewed 65 women who were adjudicated (n= 23) or incarcerated (n=42) for violent street crime (robbery and assault) while excluding domestic violence situations. The sample of arrested female offenders was obtained by taking the New York City arraignment calendars between January and June

1990, accessing the complete court records and requesting the participants for interviews (Sommers & Baskin, 1993). The female offenders incarcerated for violent street crime were obtained from the New York State Department of Correctional Services for those who had committed a felony offence during 1990. The authors noted that the 63% of the robberies were committed with accomplices (with the remaining 37% committed alone). As well, of the robberies that had been committed with accomplices 60% (38) of those involved female co-offenders while only 25 (40%) involved male co-offenders (Sommers & Baskin, 1993, see Table 2, Other Situational Characteristics of Robbery and Assault Events). Sommers and Baskin found that the women reported that they were at times involved with males in criminal activities and these activities were at times “controlled by men... [however]... they did so most often as equal partners” (1993, ¶6 Other Situational Aspects of Robbery). In speaking of assaults, 37 women reported engaging in 69 assault events; 13 were committed with males whereas 30 were committed in the presence of females. Sommers and Baskin (1993) state, “although third parties were frequently present during an assault, the roles that they played were principally as antagonists... more often they participated in the verbal conflict” (¶5 Assault).

Overall, Sommers and Baskin (1993) concluded that their findings contradict the “established wisdom concerning women’s roles in the perpetration of robbery offences” (¶7 Other Situational Aspects of Robbery) but offer no explanation as to the roles (beyond mere involvement) that these female offenders had engaged in.

To determine the extent that women played in criminal events Alarid, Marquart, Burton, Cullen, and Cuvelier (1996), interviewed 104 adult female offenders ages 17-25 years old between July 1992 and September 1993. Each had been convicted of various felony offences and was serving time in a community-based residential facility (a 90-day court order boot camp program) (Alarid et al., 1996). Alarid and colleagues cited 19 studies occurring between 1970 and 1993 in which the roles that females played in an offence were discussed.

Overall, 11 of the studies denoted women as followers, seven denoted women as leaders and only one study showed mixed results (Alaird et al., 1996, see Table 1, p. 435). These studies cited by the authors differed from female juvenile to female adults and contained various offence types (i.e., violent, drug, gang, sex and general felony offenses). However, unlike the previous literature Alarid and colleagues ventured in that they did not restrict their inquiry to a single type of offence.

The interviews with the 104 female offenders averaged two hours and were conducted within two weeks of the offender's arrival to boot camp (Alaird et al., 1996). Alaird and colleagues gathered demographic information and police accounts for the current offense. This information was then validated through official facility records and only two cases were found to contain discrepancies. This population of offenders (N=104) was compared to the characteristics of a population of adult women to the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) in 1991 (N = 2,217). The major difference between the two groups of female offenders was their age as the mean age for the boot camp female offenders was 20 and the mean age in the TDC was 31 (Alarid et al., 1996).

In speaking of leadership roles Alarid and colleagues state "a primary role was defined as not only initiating the crime but also participating as a central figure in planning and committing crimes with others" (1996, p. 444). Although Alarid et al., do not define equal or secondary roles they state that in equal crime partnerships "these women typically felt they were 'one of the guys' and were equally capable at 'the job' ... [and in]...secondary crime roles, women held drug money, illegal weapons or waited in the car (p. 445). In order to determine the female offender's perceptions as to their role (either leader, follower or equal partnership) played in their current offence the woman were asked, "were you alone or with others during your offence....[and]....whose idea was it to become involved in the current offense (Alaird et al., 1996, p. 440, 441). Only 16 women (approximately 15%) had reported committing the crime alone whereas, the remaining female offenders (n = 88) reported

committing crime with others in offences such as drug dealing, robbery, larceny and burglary (Alarid et al., 1996). As for the second question, 34 women had reported that it was their idea which they had either told others of their idea or requested others to participate in their criminal endeavor (Alaird et al., 1996). In a further inquiry as to leader and follower roles each woman was questioned, “what actually happened, and what part did you play in the crime?” (Alaird et al., 1996, p.444). From this question, 14 women contended that they had a primary role in their current criminal offence, 30 reported an equal role and 44 reported taking secondary (follower) roles (Alaird et. al., 1996). Lastly, women were questioned as to their role in previous crimes, “in general, over the past year, were you a leader or a follower when you were with your friends?” (Alaird et al., 1996, p. 448). The majority of women (n = 59) perceived themselves as leaders, 35 reported being followers and 10 reported being both leaders and followers over the past year (Alaird et al, 1996, see Table 6, p. 449). Overall Alarid and colleagues noted “one of the distinguishing features of leaders was their assertiveness and their stronger self-concept. Leaders were sure of themselves and made their own decisions. The followers ‘went with the flow’ and drifted into the criminal lifestyle” (Matza, 1964 as cited in Alarid et al., 1996: 449). Another feature according to Alarid and her colleagues (1996) was that for those women who defined themselves as leaders, they took greater responsibility in seeing their own choices affecting the outcome of their lives whereas, followers generally took the stance that fate governed their lives.

In a study conducted by Syed and Williams (1996) the authors examined 19 cases of female sex offenders serving time as of July, 1995 within the Canadian federal prison population. Information was gathered by using hard copy files and the Offender Management System (OMS).<sup>19</sup> Syed and Williams (1996) reported that information regarding whether the

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<sup>19</sup> OMS was in operation in September, 1993 (Sinclair & Boe, 2002, p. 3) and is a data base that contains detailed case information on all federal offenders under supervision by the Correctional Service of Canada.

women had co-offenders was available in 18 out of the 19 cases and from these 18 cases, 90% (16) had co-offenders and only 10% (2) did not. It was further deduced that in 14 of the 16 cases the female offenders had committed their offense(s) with a male. The other two women were co-accused in a same incident however there was inadequate information in the files to be certain (Syed & Williams, 1996). In speaking of the relationships between the female offender and her male co-accused it was discovered that 11 women had committed offences only with their husband or common-law spouse, one with her ex-husband and her current common-law spouse, another with the offender's husband and a friend and lastly, one female offender was accompanied by four males. Syed and Williams then compared these cases of female co-offenders to a typology of sex offenders developed by Mathews, Matthews, and Speltz (1989). This typology created by Mathews and her colleagues distinguishes female sex offenders based on the offender's motivation to commit sexual offences. In reiterating the typology created by Mathews and her colleagues on male-coerced offenders Syed and Williams (1996) stated,

A male-coerced offender is influenced by a male to participate in sexual abuse. Male-coerced sex offenders fear their husbands and feel powerless in interpersonal relationships. They are commonly subjected to the threat of physical punishment by their partner (Literature review on female sex offenders, Typologies, ¶ 2-9).

Overall, four of nine offenders were classified as male-coerced. Syed and Williams describe the first female offender as being shy and under assertive, the second offender as a victim of spousal abuse and with low self-esteem, the third offender was described as "passive and easily manipulated and controlled" and the fourth abused alcohol and had a low self-esteem (1996, Literature review on female sex offenders, Typologies ¶ 6-9). The authors noted that it was "tempting to categorize all the female offenders who were involved in offences with males as male-coerced. However, a closer look at their cases reveals that such a categorization does not accurately reflect their motives or behavior" (Syed & Williams, 1996,

Findings Characteristics of Offenders, subsection Typologies/Male Coerced or Male-Accompanied ¶ 3). As a result, Syed and Williams (1996) refer to an earlier version by Mathews (1987) where a distinction was made between male-coerced and male-accompanied offenders. The distinction according to Syed and Williams is that “male-coerced offenders are reluctant to participate in abuse but fear punishment, whereas male-accompanied offenders usually participate more actively in sexual abuse” (Literature Review on Female Sex Offenders, Typologies, Male-Coerced/Male Accompanied, ¶ 2).

According to this earlier typology by Mathews’ in 1987, five of the female co-offenders fit the typology of male-accompanied (Syed & Williams, 1996). In speaking as to the characteristics of these female co-offenders, Syed and Williams reported that the first offender used violent force on her victims and there was no evidence of victimization by the co-accused. The second offender committed offences with both her ex-husband and common-law spouse and there was no evidence of being forced into engaging in the offence. The third offender was found to be the primary aggressor in the offence, which had been committed with two males as she had initiated the sexual assaults on the victim, threatened, mutilated and physically assaulted the victim. The fourth female offender committed the offence with four males and was described as being active and participating in the assaults. Finally, the fifth offender had initiated the sexual abuse on her own and later incorporated her husband into the sexual assaults (Syed & Williams, 1996).

Overall, of offenders who had co-offended Syed & Williams classified five as male-accompanied and four as male-coerced. The authors further noted that Mathews and colleagues’ 1989 typology does “not include female sex offenders who violently offend against a non-familial female and who take a role equal to and, at times, greater than, her male co-offenders” (Limitations and Contributions of the Study, Male-Coerced or Male accompanied ¶2) of which the authors believed there were two cases where the female offender would have clearly fit this classification.

In an exploratory study by Hoffman, Lavigne and Dickie (1998), the authors reviewed cases of 181 women serving Canadian federal sentences for homicide as of December 1996. As noted earlier the incarceration rates for female offenders is extremely low compared to males therefore, the data used for this study entailed the oldest life sentence dating back to 1936. The women under study were either incarcerated (n=91), on conditional release (n=86), deported (n=2), escaped from an institution or were unlawfully at large (n=2) (Hoffman et al., 1998). Once again, information was gathered primarily from the Offender Management System.

Hoffman and colleagues (1998) reported that co-accused persons were involved in approximately 40% of the cases and where there was only one co-accused, 47% of the time the co-accused was male. In the event where there was more than one co-accused involved it was most often one male and one female (Hoffman et al., 1998). In determining the relationship between the offender and her co-accused only 73 of the 181 cases could be determined using the Offender Management System. Hoffman and colleagues reported that in approximately 29% of the cases the co-accused was a friend or acquaintance of the offender, in 14% the co-accused was a friend with whom the offender had possible romantic ties, and in 13% of the cases the co-accused was the offender's spouse (marital or common-law, past or present, male or female), 13.5% were the offender's former or current boyfriend/girlfriend and in 9.5% of the cases, the co-accused was the offender's spouse/boyfriend.

A perpetrator was defined as the one who was responsible for killing the victim and Hoffman and colleague reported that the female offender was the perpetrator in 63.3%. Whereas, in 16.1% of the cases the co-accused was deemed the perpetrator of the offence and the female was charged for their role as a conspirator or accomplice and in 20.6% of the cases the offender and her co-accused were believed to be jointly responsible (where the female offender and her co-accused were convicted equally) (Hoffman et al., 1998, see Table 11, Details of the Homicide).

Hoffman and her colleagues (1998) utilized four types of typologies in which the homicide occurred; Theft/Robbery/Assault homicide, Spousal Homicide, Child Homicide and Defense Against (Sexual) Assault Homicide. Fifty cases were believed to have fit the homicide typology of theft/robbery/assault homicide (Hoffman et al., 1998). In these 50 cases, 72% involved a co-offender with the offender being deemed the instigator of the homicide 32% of the time (Hoffman et al., 1998). Forty-five cases were deemed spousal homicides in which 26% involved a co-accused, and the offender was deemed the instigator 73% of the time (Hoffman et al., 1998). Twenty-six cases were deemed a child homicide of which 19% contained a co-offender and approximately 85% of the time, the offender was deemed the instigator (Hoffman et al., 1998). Lastly, 10 cases were believed to be defense homicides in which 30% involved a co-offender and 80% of the time the offender was deemed the instigator (Hoffman et al., 1998, see Tables 24 and 25). Overall, when a co-accused was involved in committing the offence she was also determined as the one most responsible for the victim's death (Hoffman et al., 1998).

Nathan & Ward (2002) conducted an analysis of 12 female sex offenders who committed offences against minors under the age of 16. These women were under correctional system care in Victoria, Australia at the time of the study and had been referred to the Victorian Institute of Forensic Health (Forensicare) for forensic evaluation (Nathan & Ward, 2002). The participants were at least 19 to 34 years of age with a mean of 30 years and had been sentenced to a prison term or community order since 1996 (Nathan & Ward, 2002). Nathan and Ward (2002) drew their results from sentencing comments, a Structured Clinical Interview or a detailed clinical interview and the use of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI-2). Interviews were conducted by a primary researcher (n=10) and a research assistant assigned motives based on the case files and sentencing comments for all of the female offenders (Nathan & Ward, 2002). Eleven women completed the MMPI-

2, with only seven as valid (two were found to be invalid due to inconsistent responding and two “faking bad profiles” were generated) (Nathan & Ward, 2002).

Although some women reported several motives for engaging in the offence the authors noted that “fear and coercion, rejection, jealousy, revenge, deviant arousal, to please their co-offenders, and power and affection” as motivating factors to engage in the sexual offending (Nathan & Ward, 2002, p.13). The authors further noted that in nine of the 12 cases, a co-offender was involved, all co-offenders were male and in eight of these nine cases the female offender had sexual relationship with her co-offender (Nathan & Ward, 2002). There were two women who had co-offended with males who had themselves sexually abused the victims in a “self-initiating capacity” and those acting in concert with male co-offenders “five women aided and abetted their male co-offenders in vaginal, anal and oral sex” (Nathan & Ward, 2002, p.15). In speaking of force used on the victims Nathan & Ward reported that “three women in concert with co-offenders were themselves actively forceful, but had reported that the force applied did not directly provide sexual gratification (2002, p. 15). Four women had been reported being coerced and threatened with physical abuse if they failed to comply and seven women reported offending because they experienced “rejection, jealousy, or a desire to seek revenge against a partner” (Nathan & Ward, 2002, p.16). Two women had complied with their co-offenders and eventually these two women would later offend on their own (Nathan & Ward, 2002, p. 16). Nathan & Ward echoed the statement made earlier by Syed and Williams (1996) by stating “although it is tempting to consider all women who co-offend with male co-offenders as being coerced by their partners, a closer examination of the clinical evidence reveals that such a view does not accurately reflect their motives or behaviour” (2002, p.17).

Overall, Nathan and Ward concluded that of the nine woman who had co-offenders “only a minority were coerced into committing an offence” (2002, p. 17). As a result of this information, Nathan and Ward proposed a new subcategory to Mathew’s 1987 typology of

female sex offenders discussed earlier. This subcategory according to Nathan & Ward had fit the majority of cases in their own study and would therefore be called “*male-accompanied: the rejected/revengeful*” (italics in original) (2002, p.20). In concluding the authors noted that not all female sex offenders require coercion to participate in sexual offending as some female offenders engage in sexual offending due to “jealously, rage or revenge if they experience rejection within their primary relationship” (Nathan & Ward, 2002, p. 17-18). In addition, Nathan and Ward (2002) proposed that we need to begin viewing female offenders as perpetrators in offences not just as victims by their male counterparts.

### **Literature Summary**

In sum, from the organizational and social-psychological literature there have been several different approaches to defining and measuring leadership. Although the various schools of thought have been divided as trait, behavior, power-influence, and situational it should be again noted that not all the schools of thought are mutually exclusive of each other.

From the extant literature studies have been divided by youth, incorporated adult and youth, adult male and adult female co-offending. As will be seen in the forthcoming chapters while each study appears to be provide greater knowledge as to leadership in co-offending and co-offending generally, each is not without its limitations.

## **Chapter VI**

### **Results of the Meta-analysis**

An overwhelming amount of the empirical studies asserts that interviews with co-offenders need to occur and nearly all recommend future studies in co-offending. Interviews with co-offenders would appear to be the logical progression towards studying co-offending (this issue will be discussed again in chapter 7's proposal for future research). However, prior to engaging in interviews with co-offenders it is imperative that we first determine what we are measuring and the value this knowledge can have for personal in the fields of crime and criminology. Thereby approaching the study of co-offending through systematic analysis as opposed to approaching this issue in an ad hoc manner. As Light and Pillemer (1984) noted researchers must pause before action is taken, "what is known about the magnitude of the problem... does existing evidence suggest any promising new directions? These questions demand some way to formalize 'what we already know'" (p. 2-3).

#### **Sample Studies**

Overall, of the 20 independent studies included in the analysis journal articles accounted for 70% (n=14) of the sample, book or book chapters accounted for 20% (n=4), and 10% (n = 2) of the sample were published by the Correctional Service of Canada. As can be seen in the following table, of all the studies used in the meta-analysis the majority of studies 60% (n=12) have been completed in the United States and only 15% (n=3) were completed in Canada. Of the studies completed in Canada, two were female co-offending studies (see Hoffman et al., 1998; Syed & Williams, 1996) and one was focused on youth co-offending (see McCarthy, Hagan & Lawrence, 1998).

**Table 1: Empirical Studies by Country of Study**

<b>Country of Study</b>	<b>Number of Studies</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
United States	12	60%
Canada	3	15%
England	3	15%
Australia	1	5%
Sweden	1	5%
<i>Total</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>100%</i>

In addition to the majority of the sample being published in the United States as can be seen in Table 2, although the first study was published in 1959 and the last in 2001, the vast majority of studies (n = 9) were published from 1990 until 1999 with an additional five studies published between 2000 and 2001.

**Table 2: Empirical Studies and Their Dates of Publication**

<b>Year Published</b>	<b>Number of Studies</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1950-1959	1	5%
1960-1969	1	5%
1970-1979	2	10%
1980-1989	2	10%
1990-1999	9	45%
2000 – 2001	5	25%
<i>Total</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>100%</i>

In essence, 70% of the empirical studies used in the meta-analysis were published between 1990 and 2001.

For each of studies included in the meta-analysis the following information was recorded (see Appendix C). Column 1 displays the author or authors and their date of publication. Column 2 displays the date of data collection. Column 3 contains the sample size with

column's 4 and 5 reporting the sex and age of the sample. Column 7 displays the crime or crimes studied and column 8 displays the method(s) in which the data was collected.

Overall, the analyses were left with a few missing data. Information that was recorded as N/A has been denoted as missing or incomplete. For instance, Donald and Wilson stated that their data was collected "3 years in" (2000, p. 65) and Einstadter (1969) states that data was collected "over the previous 3 years" (1969, p. 74). Others such as Hochstetler (2001) did not specify the age of his sample at all and Syed and Williams' 1996 study specify only some ages of their sample but fail to consistently reveal each offender's age.

After the procedures for coding each study were complete with the integrated research review several questions were posed.

- (1) How do studies differ in those who reported leadership in co-offending versus those who reported co-offending as a partnership of equals? In other words, what are some possible explanations for previous studies varying in their findings?
- (2) For those reporting measures of leadership which school of thought takes precedence (trait, behavior, power-influence and/or situational leadership)?
- (3) For those who attest measures of leadership, where can leadership be identified: pre, during and/or post offence?

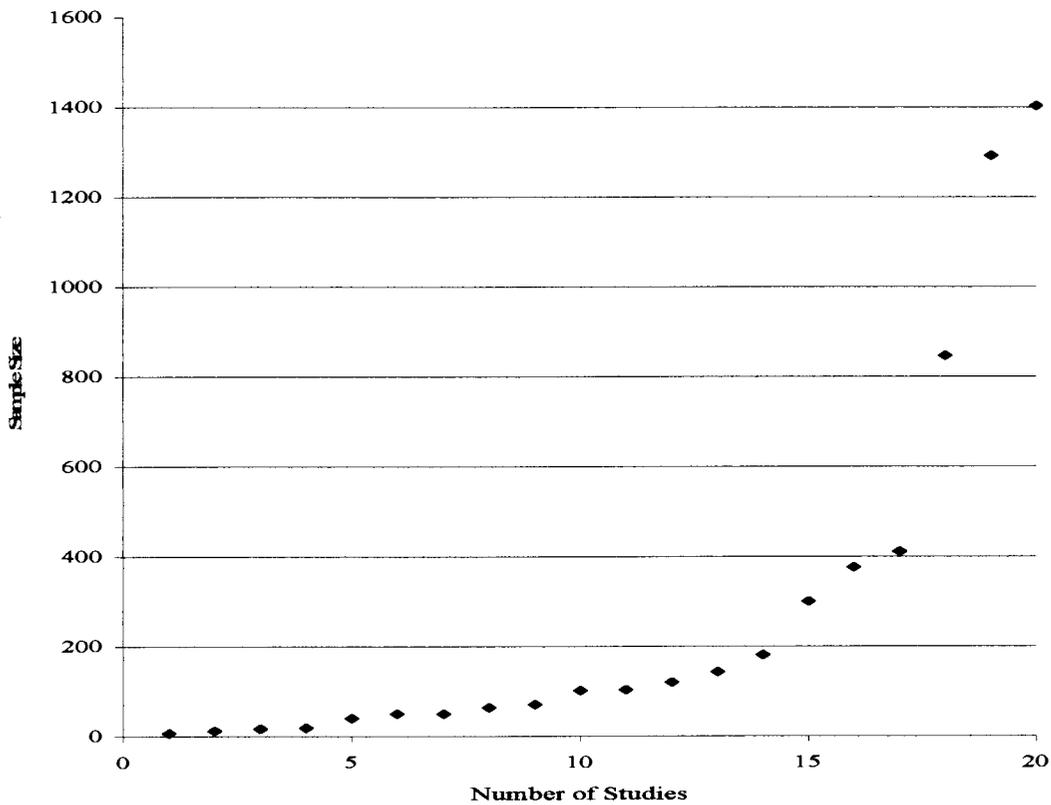
To determine differences between studies and similarities in their findings this writer questioned both the characteristics of each study's sample and how the data from each of these studies were gathered. In regards to the age of the participants, the majority of research participants were under the age of 30. When the sex of the participants is taken into account, it should be noted that researchers have largely studied males with females briefly mentioned as subset. The exceptions of course, are the studies included in current analysis where the focus has been directly on female co-offenders ( $n = 6$ ). Overall, the number of studies that employed youth, incorporated youth and adult, solely adult, and adult female co-offending can be seen in the following table.

**Table 3: Adult and Youth Data in the Empirical Studies**

<b>Participant Data</b>	<b>Number of Studies</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Youth	4	20%
Integrated Adult and Youth	5	25%
Adult Male	5	25%
Adult Female	6	30%
<i>Total</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>100%</i>

An additional feature from the empirical studies is each studies sample size. Most studies contain a small sample of participants. Nearly half (n=9) of these studies employ a sample of 70 or less cases studies or participants (see Appendix C, column 5 for exact data).

**Figure 1: Emprical Studies by Sample Size**



Further to this, as seen in Figure 1, 70% (n=14) of the studies employ a sample of less than 200 participants. These numbers can be misleading. When one further analyzes each study, it becomes evident that in some of the studies not all participants were necessarily found to co-offend. For instance, in the study conducted by Alaird and colleagues (1996), although 104 participants were noted, 16 of these women had committed their offences alone whereas, 88 had actually committed their offences in the company of another. In addition, Cheatwood's study (1996) encompassed a sample of 102 participants, sixty cases were multiple offender homicides and 42 were single offender homicides. This is also true of Amir's 1971 study in which 1,292 offenders comprised the 646 cases of forcible rape. However, 370 rapes were committed by single offenders, 105 by two offenders and the remaining 171 by three or more offenders. In Sarnecki's 1990 study, all participants were *suspected* of having committed an offence with another.

In regards to column 6 as to the types of crimes studied by the researchers, sexual offences and robbery/burglary offences are the most common crimes studied. Overall, six of the studies were concerned with rape or sexual offences, seven studied robbery and burglary, two studied homicide while the remaining studies varied in the type of crimes under study.

**Table 4: Crimes Studied From the Empirical Data**

<b>Crime Studied</b>	<b>Number of Studies</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Robbery/Burglary	7	35%
Sexual Offences	6	30%
Homicide	2	10%
Other	5	25%
<i>Total</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>100%</i>

Consequently, 65% of the studies were devoted to robbery/burglary or sexual offences.

Related to the issue of crime types studied, the method for data gathering also deserves attention. While interviews with offenders were completed in several studies, the interviews

often involved even lower base rates than the total sample and, interviews with the offenders **only** occurred with one member in the co-offending unit. This issue is one that can not be overlooked. As Warr stated in 1996, “data is rare where respondents report not only on their own behavior, but that of other group members as well” (p.19) and, as Hochstetler (2001) stated, “the perspective of a single actor cannot provide a full account of a group event” (p. 743). Many authors recognized that studying co-offending is incomplete when only one of the co-offenders is interviewed.<sup>20</sup>

An additional issue is evident in that some authors measure dyads, triads and larger group formations. Unfortunately, the majority of the studies fail to specify the exact number of offenders that comprise their co-offending units. For instance, Cheatwood (1996) uses multiple offenders not specifying how many are in each offending group, Shover (1973) uses the term “crews,” again not specifying as to how many offenders comprise a crew and Alaird and colleagues (1996) differentiate co-offending as either crimes committed alone or with others again, not specifying the exact number of co-offenders. In addition, some authors report the most common size of the offending group (see Dietz, 1983), the average size of the offending group (see Syed & Williams, 1996), the range of the offending group (see Donald & Wilson, 2000; see also Syed & Williams, 1996; Warr, 1996), and/or the most effective size of the offending group (see Einstadter, 1969). The implications of not specifying the exact number of co-offenders in any given co-offending relationship poses serious concerns. According to the organizational and social-psychological literature, the dynamics of any given relationship will change when two or more persons enter the equation. Within dyads, triads or larger groups, the communication and perceptions change amongst its members ultimately, affecting their roles. Therefore, determining whether leadership exists is also dependent on the number of persons in the co-offending relationship.

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<sup>20</sup> This issue will again be addressed in chapter 7 under proposal for future research.

Another defining feature of previous studies was the use of the terms leadership and co-offending. Only 5 of the 15 studies defined leadership. In the following table, the five studies that provide definitions of leadership are listed as well as, their definitions of leadership.

**Table 5: Studies that Define Leadership**

Studies	Definitions of Leadership
Alarid et. al (1996)	“A primary role was defined as not only initiating the crime but also participating as a central figure in planning and committing crimes with others” (p. 444).
Amir (1971)	Leader is defined in this study as the occupant of that position in the group which has the greatest influence over group behavior. <i>Leadership</i> is defined as the process of influencing the action of other members in critical group situations. The definitions are intentionally broad and do not include techniques of influence, nor do they specify who can be termed leader. We can speak then of ‘leadership influence,’ meaning that a variety of persons can execute leadership roles. (p.195)
Donald & Wilson (2000)	The leader is in overall charge of each offence. He arranges the group membership, decides the target premises, arranges the disposal of stolen property through a handler and distributes the gain from each offence, either as goods or money. The leader or planner will have the respect of the other offenders, but may not take part in every offence through he will co-ordinate the raids. (p.222)
McCluskey & Wardle (2000)	Leadership does not refer to a type of person, but to certain types of relationships in the groups. Leaders will by definition be the centre of interaction within the group, are commonly the most powerful person within the group and at the centre of the communication network. (p. 252-253)
Porter and Alison (2001)	“leadership, is not simply a trait that people do or do not possess but is something that many people display to differing degrees” (p. 494).

While many authors use the term leadership they fail to define its meaning (see Dietz, 1983; see also Blanchard, 1959; Faller, 1987; Hochstetler, 2001) and the remaining authors attest measures of leadership. In those studies that attest measures of leadership, many use similar types of words such as instigator or perpetrator (see Hoffman et al., 1998; see also Nathan & Ward, 2002; Warr, 1996), others use recruiters, persistent offenders (see Reiss & Farrington, 1991; see also Sarnecki, 1990), central figures or active vs. passive participants

(see Sarneki, 1990), initiator (see Nathan & Ward, 2002), or the primary offender (see Cheatwood, 1996). Studies also vary within their own work in terms of using co-offending, group and gang offending as if these terms were interchangeable. However, as previously noted in chapter 2, many researchers contend that these terms are not the same.

Lastly, although the majority of the studies in the meta-analysis appear to have collected their data within a few years of publication there appears to be one exception. That is, Warr's (1996) study of a national probability sample of archived data from 1967. Warr's 1996 study was also the only study that employed probability sampling while all remaining 19 studies employed non-probability sampling. Additionally, 18 studies were cross-sectional while only two were longitudinal (see Reiss & Farrington, 1991; see also Sarneki, 1990).

In regards to the second question posed as to what measures of leadership were the most common. In the discussion of solely youth studies by Blanchard (1959), he identified the leaders in the group rapes as being the first to have intercourse with the victim and the ability to modify the group's beliefs.<sup>21</sup> Sarneki (1990) viewed a leader as having a more experienced criminal history, often older than the follower and in essence "recruited" others into crime although however, he doesn't explicitly state how this recruitment occurs. In 1996, Warr recognized the importance of situational aspects involved in each criminal event with the "instigator" making suggestion of crime, being older, more experienced in crime and additionally emotionally close to those that follow (in the words of Stogdill & Conns, 1957 displaying consideration and in the words of Lewin, Lippitt & White, 1939 displaying democratic leadership). The studies that have incorporated a youth and an adult populace offer additional measures of leadership. For instance, Amir (1971) viewed the leader as displaying influence by action (the leader being the first to rape the victim) in addition to the leader making suggestions of place, organizing the events, age (84% of the leaders were over the age

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<sup>21</sup> See Appendix D for a list of the studies employed in the meta-analysis and whether the studies identified trait, behavior, power-influence or situational variables as measures of leadership.

of 30), previous arrest record and displaying more violent behavior. Dietz (1983) reported various findings. For instance, in terms of initiating ideas in robbery homicide, it is not necessarily the case that offenders are consistent leaders. That is, initiating an idea does not automatically presuppose that the same offender will lead at the homicide scene or plan the homicide. In essence, leadership is situational. In addition, giving verbal orders is not necessarily a leader requesting assistance of a follower. When leadership was more obvious in co-offending groups, Dietz (1983) found it to be functional, distributed, and at times charismatic. In 1991, Reiss and Farrington's longitudinal study identified a subset of offenders who appeared to be recruiting others into crime as their criminal records were greater than their co-offenders. In 1996, Cheatwood suggested that the leader seeks out a participant for support and the followers would offer verbal encouragement to kill the intended victim. Cheatwood also recognized that in many situations the crime took an unanticipated turn of events implying situational contingencies. McCarthy, Hagan and Lawrence (1998) had seen little leadership per se and found collaboration as opposed to subordinate-insubordinate relations. However, as the leadership literature noted in the beginning of chapter 4, collaboration is a form of influence from the school of thought on power-influence. The influence tactic of collaboration involves the leader providing relevant resources and assistance if the follower will comply. Although, as stated by McCarthy et al., (1998) collaboration is viewed as less susceptible to superordinate and subordinate relations and as Yukl (2002) stated when speaking about collaboration this "usually involves a joint effort to accomplish a task or objective (p.162)." Porter and Alison (2001) divided the criminal event into pre, during and post offence behavior, with each of these stages involving elements of each offender's involvement in decisions, actions and orders. Measuring leadership on degrees of influence, the highest three influence variables measured were those pertaining to actions, which involved approaching the target, selecting the target and disposing the victim.

Einstadter (1969) noted that there was recognition of expertise amongst the group, in that skills would assist in the role differentiation but generally, the roles were guiding rather than directing. Shover (1973) also found leadership to be rare nevertheless, when it did exist, it was often the result of differences in age, criminal experience or skill. In Donald and Wilson's (2000) study of ram raiding the authors found that the leader coordinates the events, has previous convictions and a theme of previous convictions (more serious and criminal backgrounds) suggesting homogeneity amongst leaders. Additionally, informal training occurred through reactive influence processes. McCluskey and Wardle (2000) stated that co-offenders would be recruited for their skills and Hochstetler (2001) noted age, toughness, confident demeanor, and ecological power (guns and ski masks) as sources of leadership.

A stark contrast exists when the discussion of leadership is focused solely on female co-offending. Research that has specifically discussed the roles females play in co-offending and the issue of leadership have provided interesting results. Studies are noticing women taking leadership roles in co-offending (again a note of caution is considered necessary, as there are few studies on female co-offending and with largely low base rates). At the risk of speculating, the supporting belief systems and the impact of gender may account for the notion that women were passive participants in the 1980's. On the other hand, societal views are still guilty of placing women in these stereotypical roles. As Jenkins (1990) noted, not only are police, prosecutors and writers guilty of seeing women as being manipulated by their dominant male counterparts but this stereotypical view has left, "a natural courtroom defense for the accused woman, precisely because it is likely to appeal to the prejudices and preconceptions of jurors" (p. 136). One decade later, evidence of these on-going prejudices was found in a study conducted by Hendree and Nicks (2000) on male and female crime. The authors interviewed 26 male and 44 female college students with each student reviewing scenarios that depicted an armed robbery and another scenario on a child's murder. The authors found that 98% of the subjects attributed the armed robbery to a man whereas an equal number attributed the child's

murder to a man and woman (Hendree & Nicks, 2000). When subjects were questioned as to their reasoning it was discovered that in attributing blame to each scenario respondents would ascribe violent acts committed by men as internal characteristics whereas criminal behavior by woman were due to situational factors (Hendree & Nicks, 2000).

Studies measuring leadership or attesting measures of leadership in the literature on female co-offending are not as nearly detailed as compared to male co-offending. When it comes to describing their participation in the offence in relation with their co-accused there is a modest amount of information. Faller (1987) hypothesized that age was a possible factor in men being the leader and noted that only two women took the “initiative” in sexual offending against the child victims. In addition, the victims suggested that men took the leadership role. The study completed by Sommers and Baskin (1993) offer no explanation as to roles played by co-offenders but only speak to the issue that approximately 63% of the robberies involved two females co-offenders therefore drawing the conclusion that women are not passive participants in crime to their male counterparts. Alaird et al., (1996), define the leader in terms of whether they initiated, planned and committed the offence and questioned the participants as to whether they viewed themselves as leaders, equal partners or followers. One issue however, is that Alaird and colleagues do not distinguish between initiating the offence, continuing to plan the offence and committing the offence. In other words, there is an assumption that initiating the offence would also entail planning and committing the offence. Syed and Williams (1996) determined that only four females could be considered male-coerced. These male-coerced offenders were described in file information as having low self esteem, feelings of inadequacy, and feelings of powerlessness, of being shy and unassertive. Whereas, those deemed to be male-accompanied (n=5) were described as being active in initiating sexual abuse, using violent force on the child victims or the information in case files simply did not suggest that the women were coerced into crime. Hoffman, Lavigne and Dickie (1998) depict the perpetrators of the homicides based on conviction. Whilst, the majority of women (approximately 63%)

were responsible for killing the victim, in approximately 16% of the cases the co-accused was the perpetrator and the female was charged as a conspirator or accomplice. Lastly, in approximately 20% of the cases the female offender and her co-accused were convicted equally. Nathan and Ward (2002) based their findings on motives expressed by the female offenders, sentencing comments and case files as well as results from an administered MMPI-2. As opposed to adhering to the platform of Mathews' 1987 typology of sex offenders Nathan and Ward suggested an additional subcategory to Mathew's typology referred to as the male-accompanied – rejected/revengeful. Two women were described as having offended in a self-initiating capacity and three were actively forceful. Thereby, the female offender's behavior or actions in the offence would entail taking the leadership position or at minimum would be equal to that of their co-accused.

As seen in the below table the majority of researchers identified leadership to be largely behavior oriented as 19 out of the 20 studies (95%) reported leadership as behavior. In some instances the behavior was by action for instance the leader was first to rape the victim as seen in Amir (1971) and Blanchard (1959) and in other instances the behavior was merely identified as taking the initiative in the offence (see Faller, 1987) or planning the offence (see McCluskey & Wardle (2000). Essentially, many behaviors or actions would designate one as a leader in the offence.

**Table 6: Measures of Leadership from the Empirical Studies**

<b>Measures of Leadership</b>	<b>Number of Studies</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Trait	7	35%
Behavior	19	95%
Power-influence	6	30%
Situational	7	35%

Lastly, to answer the third question as to where a leader can be identified (pre, during or post offence). There is also no consistency amongst studies as to which part of the offence that a leader can be identified and certainly not all speak to this issue, as the focus of their study did not permit such analysis. Nevertheless, in those that do speak to the issue, some contest that it is evident at the scene of the crime (McCluskey & Wardle, 2000). Other authors would argue that leadership exists prior to the offence as their criminal experience and skill are duly noted and yet others would suggest that leadership is displayed in all three stages pre, during and post offence (Amir, 1971; Porter & Alison, 2001).

### **The Accepted Features of Co-offending**

Weerman (2003) noted that very little is known about co-offending however, he goes further to describe eight characteristics. Namely, offending varies from solo offending to co-offending, co-offending varies between offence types (burglary and robbery at its largest), co-offending appears to a greater extent in adolescence as opposed to adulthood, and “*it is usually instigated by one of the co-offenders*” (italics in original) (2003, p. 399-400). The remaining characteristics cited by Weerman (2003) include; co-offending occurs in small offending groups (with dyads or triads being the most common), co-offenders are relatively homogenous (in age, gender and criminal experience) and “*co-offending takes place within changing constellations*” (italics in original) (Weerman, 2003, p. 400-401).

Several of these “known” characteristics warrant further discussion. In regards to offending varying between solo and co-offending, the current analysis suggests similar results. As well, co-offending does appear to be greatest in robbery/burglary offences. However, researchers have largely studied this crime type and as can be seen from the meta-analysis it would appear then, that co-offending also occurs largely in sexual offences. Clearly, it would be premature to make such an assessment as a large portion of studies has specifically concentrated on this crime type. In regards to co-offending occurring in

adolescence as opposed to adulthood, researchers have recognized a need for studies that research adult co-offending beyond the age of 30 years (see Farrington, Lambert & West, 1997; see also Reiss & Farrington, 1991; Tontodonato, 1996). As noted previously, the majority of empirical studies contain participants less than 30 years of age. Therefore, one could expect co-offending to be largely homogenous in age. Additionally, one would expect co-offending to be largely a male dominated activity as males clearly commit the majority of crime. The issue of criminal experience could certainly be debated as several authors make note that an offender's criminal experience is an added source of influence.

Lastly, discussing some of these accepted features of co-offending can be quite misleading as authors reiterate information based on a handful of studies (one may be hard pressed to find a study on co-offending that does not cite the work of Reiss and Farrington's 1991 study, Sarnecki's 1990, and Warr's 1996 study). While its true that only one individual can make the first suggestion of crime, using the term "instigation" implies per offence behavior and fails to take into account that an offender who instigates an offence does not necessarily lead during the offence or is for that matter a leader in the aftermath of the offence. If one wishes to determine leadership in co-offending, measures of leadership must take into account trait, behavior, power-influence variables and situational contingencies in all stages of the offence (pre, during and post).

## **Chapter VII**

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

At the beginning of this thesis, there were several stated practical applications for understanding co-offending and it was proposed that further understanding of co-offending could assist those in policing, the judiciary, and the eventual rehabilitation of offenders. As a result, there were several stated objectives at the beginning of this thesis.

1. To outline the empirical literature on the importance and frequency of co-offenders in crime and to lay the theoretical foundation for such a study;
2. To summarize the research on leadership from the social psychological and organizational fields and to determine how leadership has and continues to be measured. Following such, to summarize the empirical research on leadership in co-offending and to determine how and whether researchers have effectively incorporated leadership research for studying co-offending;
3. To synthesize the literature on leadership in co-offending through meta-analysis in order to determine what is known and;
4. To determine the need for a model that examines the existence and nature of the leader-follower relationship. More specifically, the nature and extent of that relationship as it relates to crimes in terms of circumstances and events prior to, during and after their occurrence.

The first and second objectives were met in chapters 2 and 3 in which it was determined that co-offending is an intrinsic part of crime and numerous theoretical perspectives offer various explanations for its occurrence. The third objective was discussed in chapter 5 and 6 but will again be addressed here and the fourth objective will be discussed in the following proposal for future research.

## **Summary of Findings**

Overall, the literature suggests that leadership in co-offending does exist and several studies have either directly explored or attested measures of leadership perhaps more so, unknowingly. As a result of the meta-analysis, it was discovered that studies examining leadership in co-offending are limited by definitional ambiguities in terms of defining co-offending and leadership. Many studies involve low base rates of either participants or case studies and the units of analysis are unclear as to whether those under study consist of dyads, triads or larger units of co-offenders. In addition, the extant literature has focused on specific crimes (i.e. robbery and sexual offences), participants have been largely under the age of 30 years and the methods of data gathering have been limited by focusing on only one of the offenders in the co-offending unit. Clearly future research is needed to determine the existence of leadership in co-offending and how this can be measured.

## **Proposal for Future Research**

There are two topics that require discussion namely, recommendations for future research regarding meta-analysis and recommendations for future research on leadership in co-offending. Prior to engaging in a discussion for future research, the limitations of the current study will be outlined as these limitations ultimately inform the need for future research.

With the exploratory nature of the current study, the analysis allowed for a relatively small sample size (N=20). Although this writer attempted to be as comprehensive as possible, little research examines leadership in co-offending. Therefore, the number of studies limits the results of the meta-analysis. Secondly, the nature of meta-analysis involves some subjectivity on behalf of the researcher, as the researcher determines which studies are to be included. In the present study, this writer was also the sole investigator and therefore the only person coding the studies. As a result, inter-rater reliability could not be achieved, as there was no assistance from another investigator. This limitation may have led to some studies being included in the analysis

while others may have been excluded. Pertaining to the inclusion and exclusion criteria in the current study, the current meta-analysis may have also been limited by not including unpublished studies. As stated in chapter 4, attempts were made to obtain several theses; these theses were unavailable through the Simon Fraser University interlibrary loan department. This issue brings to light another limitation of the current meta-analysis. What are considered good studies may be included with poor studies however; minimal attempt was made to eliminate the bad from the good. It was this writer's approach to include any discussion of leadership in co-offending as very few studies have been written in this area. It is hoped that regardless of the existing limitations, the current study expands our knowledge of leadership in co-offending and provides an impetus for future studies. While meta-analysis has been largely used when effect sizes can be measured, it was clearly not possible considering the above studies. However, coding the studies in such a manner does offer the ability to see what is known about leadership in co-offending and what is desirable for future research.

Although the present meta-analysis has shown that leadership does exist within co-offending relationships, additional research is necessary, despite these findings. This may include incorporating additional studies using the meta-analytic technique if possible and attempting to overcome the above limitations.

In regards to future research on leadership in co-offending, it should be first stated that this author is not suggesting that delinquent associations are the only cause to crime. Clearly, research has shown that there are multitudes of factors that influence criminal behavior (i.e. substance use, unemployment, attitudes etc.). However, the collective activity in crime warrants further explanation. The majority of studies that do directly address the question of leadership, which appears to be an important consequence of co-offending and can add understanding to its etiology, are grossly limited.

Interviewing all parties in the co-offending relationship (not just one), in order to fully understand the dynamics of the relationship (see Hochstetler 2001, see also McCluskey &

Wardle, 2000) is a necessary step. As Donald and Wilson (2000) noted there is clearly benefit to official records however, a great deal can be gained by interviewing each offender in the co-offending relationship.

Prior to doing so, future research must determine what is being measured. How do we define co-offending and how do we define leadership? Does leadership hold the same meaning as Reiss' (1986) term "recruiter" or Warr's (1996) term "instigator" or others who prefer to use "perpetrator?" Furthermore, does each term account for the dynamics in each stage of the criminal event (pre, during and post offence) or are we assuming that leadership only occurs once the relationship or crime begins? As previously noted, the social psychological and organizational literature clearly indicates that this is not the case. Rather, leadership occurs throughout the relationship and leadership may change prior to, during and after the offence. To understand the complexities of the group offence one must look at pre, during and post offence dynamics as Porter and Alison (2001) stated, "one needs to consider potential leadership or influential behavior during each chronological stage of the offence and see how influential behaviors evolve across the course of the offence" (p.2). Secondly, an additional consideration must be noted, Gibb stated in 1968, "care must be given to sociometric questioning as these questions can make a significant difference in the results" (p. 211). Therefore, questioning participants as to whom first suggested committing the offence is quite different from questioning participants as to their participation in **all** (emphasis added) stages of the criminal event.

As well as interviewing all offenders in the co-offending relationship, clearly more research in adult offending that goes beyond the age of 30 is needed. Thus, it is proposed that an interview schedule be completed that goes beyond simply questioning participants as to whom first suggested committing the offence and takes into account all stages of the offence. It is further proposed that interviews within the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) be completed and administered to all offenders in the co-offending relationship. Data triangulation can be achieved with in depth interviews, official data from police reports, court reports and additional

documents within the Correctional Service. Additional documents may include victim impact statements and community assessments (interviews with each offender's family, spouse, friends, and/or co-workers) which can also provide invaluable information. There is no doubt that there are several issues in collecting self-report data however, the information from the instrument schedule could be checked and cross-referenced to information obtained by files within CSC with any discrepancies noted. As evidenced from previous studies using the Offender Management System and hard copy files from CSC (see Hoffman et al., 1998) it would appear that the majority of questions may not be ascertained by this method alone. Face-to-face interviews would need to occur with each offender in the co-offending relationship in order to fully understand the dynamics of this relationship and with several questions encompassing the offenders' *perceptions* about his or her co-offender(s). An additional benefit of such a study is that it ensures that data is not limited to the offence of robbery or sexual offences per se. Rather; all offences that involve co-offenders could be included for study. In doing so, the variance between and within co-offenders based on the type of offence could be considered and such a study would not be limited by the gender of the participants.

Such an interview schedule would optimistically meet the needs of both decision-makers and clinicians. Thus, the interview schedule would not only represent the current literature but also expand our knowledge of co-offending. In doing so, it would encompass questions of interest from the standpoint of the courts, policing and corrections in addition to testing several theoretical positions in the field of academia.

### **Policy Recommendations**

Although the purpose of this research was not initially intended to recommend policy, it was informed by my personal experience as a community parole officer for the New Westminster Parole Office in New Westminster, British Columbia from 1999 until 2001. Due to this experience, the knowledge that was gained through my employment cannot be understated. The

research interest of co-offending was developed prior to my entry into the Correctional Service and as a result, I was given the opportunity to speak to several professionals in the field of crime and criminology on the topic of co-offending. In doing so, there were clearly identified problems in which CSC was “rehabilitating” co-offenders. This became unmistakably evident in 1999 when two female offenders murdered a Toronto police officer. At the beginning of this thesis (chapter 1, p.1), I spoke of this media case with the headline reporting, “Cop-killer lesbians do time together: widow outraged that duo can continue their romance in jail” (Brown, 2000). It was discovered that these female co-offenders were being housed in the same facility and they were believed to have been continuing their romance while incarcerated. The discovery of this information was learnt through victim notification, in which the deceased officer’s wife was informed of their living arrangements; she subsequently took this information to the media (Brown, 2000). CSC eventually changed their policy surrounding this identified “gap” (Correctional Service of Canada, 2001b, p. 1). However, I would argue that this “gap” still remains. As previously noted, co-offenders can still be housed in the same cell, range or institution if they do not meet the criteria for a death or serious harm offence (Correction Service of Canada, 2001a; 2001b), which can include a multitude of cases. Further to this, those affected by the policy, which was released on 2001/01/29, are “co-convicted offenders entering federal custody or transferred pursuant to the CCRA *after* (italics added) the date this policy change is implemented” (CSC, 2001b, p.2). Therefore, this policy precludes all those who had been co-convicted of a serious harm and or of a death offence prior to 2001/01/29. These persons are not affected by this policy and could in fact be sharing the same cell, be on the same range and in the same institutional facility.

Regardless of whether the co-offenders are male or female one must seriously consider the implications of such a policy. Just as gangs in an institution may pose security threats so too might co-offenders if not adequately understood and addressed. The stated goals of the Correctional Service of Canada are to protect society and assist offenders to become law-abiding

citizens. However, based on the literature as to the prevalence of co-offending and CSC's own research that recognizes that associates increase risk (see Gendreau, Little & Goggin, 1996), it would appear that neither goal is being met when co-offenders are able to continue their relationship institutionally and when on community supervision.<sup>22</sup>

### **Concluding Remarks**

In discussion with Dr. Douglas Cousineau concerning future research, it was noted that the ideal would be to observe co-offenders individually and together after incarceration to view the dynamics of the group interaction. In further discussion it was agreed that although this would be the "ideal" method of study there are clearly ethical issues in bringing co-offenders together (personal communication, September 10, 2003). Ironically, what is unethical in one field does not appear to be unethical in another as the Correctional Service of Canada appears to be doing just that. In fairness to CSC the Pacific region is over its rated capacity for housing offenders. On November 1, 2003 eight facilities in the Pacific Region were listed on the Correctional Service of Canada website. Information was available on seven of which, five were over their rated capacity and double bunking inmates (CSC, 2003b).<sup>23</sup> Therefore, housing offenders in the same facility may become a harsh reality. However, it is one thing to have co-offenders housed in the same facility, but it is completely another to have them on the same range or in the same cell.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that this policy also precludes co-offenders from being housed in the same community based residential facility.

<sup>23</sup> The most current information listed on CSC's website was for March 31, 1999. The facilities listed as double bunking include Kent (maximum security), Mastqui (medium security), Mission (medium security), Mountain (medium security) and the Regional Health Centre (multi-level) institutions. Those in which double bunking were not occurring included two minimum security institutions, Ferndale institution and Kwikwèxwelhp institution. No information was available for William Head Institution.

<sup>24</sup> Although not an area drawn into this thesis, the issue of co-offenders as family members presents additional concerns and clearly requires creative ways to handle such cases.

To the detriment of criminology, leadership amongst criminals has been largely ignored. At the risk of speculating, this is perhaps due to obstacles in accessing such a population and the measurability of variables. It would appear that integrating the knowledge from the organizational and social-psychological literature with our current knowledge of co-offending offers promise towards distinguishing between leaders and followers. If we are only able to differentiate between parties when a single offence occurs this is still of great value to those in the fields of crime and criminology.

## **Appendix A**

### **Simon Fraser University Ethics Approval**

# SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA  
CANADA V5A 1S6  
Telephone: 604-291-3447  
FAX: 604-268-6785

May 1, 2003

Ms. Lisette Patenaude  
Graduate Student  
School of Criminology  
Simon Fraser University

Dear Ms. Patenaude:

**Re: An Exploratory Study of Leadership  
in Co-Offending**

The above-titled ethics application has been granted approval by the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board, at its meeting on April 28, 2003 in accordance with Policy R 20.01, "Ethics Review of Research Involving Human Subjects".

Sincerely,

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director  
Office of Research Ethics

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For inclusion in thesis/dissertation/extended essays/research project report, as submitted to the university library in fulfillment of final requirements for graduation. Note: correct page number required.

**Appendix B**  
**Electronic Databases**

<b>Electronic Data Base</b>	<b>Date of Coverage</b>	<b>Description</b>
Criminal Justice Abstracts	1968-01-01- present	Covers crime trends, crime prevention and deterrence, juvenile delinquency, juvenile justice, police, courts, punishment and sentencing.
Digital Dissertations	1861-01-01 – present	The online version of Dissertation Abstracts from UMI. Contains more than 1.2 million citations. Dissertation coverage includes approximately 3,000 subject areas as well as Master's theses and some dissertations from Canadian and overseas institutions.
Ebsco	1984-01-01 – present	Full text for more than 1000 journals, with indexing and summaries for more than 3200 journals. Broad range of disciplines including political science, administration, biological sciences, education, history.
Humanities and Social Science Index	1983-02-01 – present	Cites articles from more than 350 English-language periodicals. Subjects include: Anthropology, Folklore, Law, Performing Arts, Psychology, Archaeology, Corrections, Geography, Linguistics, Philosophy, Public Welfare, Religion & Theology, Classical Studies, Minority Studies, Policy Sciences, Urban Studies, Communications, Journalism etc.
JSTOR	As early as the 1800's. The current calendar plus 2-5 years are excluded	Full text of scholarly journals mainly in the arts, humanities and social sciences Education, Anthropology, Political Science, History, Sociology, Statistics etc.
NCJRS	1971-01-01 – present	Contains citations with abstracts to both print and non-print information on all aspects of law enforcement, crime prevention and security, criminal justice and juvenile justice.
PsychARTICLES	1986-01-01 – present	Full text of all journals published by the American Psychological Association and the Canadian Psychological Association in addition to European psychology journals published by Hogrefe & Huber
PsychINFO	1887-01-01 – present	Citations with summaries to literature in the field of psychology and psychological aspects of related disciplines. Journal coverage includes international material for more than 1, 300 periodicals written in over 25 languages
SocioFile	1963-01-01 – present	Sociological aspects of twenty-nine broad topics including, anthropology, business, collective behaviour, gender studies, law and penology, social psychology, sociological theory, substance abuse, violence etc.

Web of Science	1985-01-01 – present	Includes three databases: Arts & Humanities Citation Index, Science Citation Index Expanded, and, Social Sciences Citation Index.
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Note: Simon Fraser University's contract with JSTOR does not permit access to the last 2-5 years.

Note: The above information was derived from Simon Fraser University Website Retrieved on November 09, 2003 from <http://www.sfu.ca>

## **Appendix C**

### **Study Data used in Meta-analysis**

(1) Study	(2) Year of Data	(3) Sample Size	(4) Sex	(5) Age	(6) Crime Studied	(7) Method of Data Gathering
Alarid et al. (1996)	1992-1993	104	Female	M-20	Drug, property and person	Interviews & Official Records
Amir (1971)	1958,1960	1,292	Male	N/A	Forcible Rape	Police Case Files of Victim Reports
Blanchard (1959)	N/A	7	Male	N/A (Youth)	Rape	Interviews, Individual & Group Rorschach
Cheatwood (1996)	1987-1989	102	N/A		Homicide	Case studies
Dietz (1983)	1971-1977	300	Male (207) Female (7)	<16 – 50	Felony Homicide	Interviews with 2 offenders, police reports
Donald and Wilson (2000)	N/A	70	Male	Mean 23	Commercial Burglary	Official records (prosecution files, police officer statements, interviews with four offenders
Einstadter (1969)	N/A	50	N/A	N/A	Armed Robbery	Interviews and data
Faller (1987)	1978-1987	40	Female	Mean 26	Sexual Abuse	Date from reports (victims and offenders)
Hochstetler (2001)	N/A	50	Male	N/A	Robbery and Burglary	Interviews with offenders on probation and parole

(1) Study	(2) Year of Data	(3) Sample Size	(4) Sex	(5) Age	(6) Crime Studied	(7) Method Gathering of Data Gathering
Hoffman, Lavigne and Dickie (1998)	1996	181	Females	Mean 31.2	Homicide	Secondary Data on Offender Management System
McCarthy, Hagan and Lawrence (1998)	N/A	376	N/A	< 25 years	Street Crime	Personal interviews with street youth
McCluskey and Wardle (2000)	N/A	17	N/A	N/A	Armed Robbery	Interviews with 1 offender from each 17 armed robbery teams using 5 WH interview technique and sociogram. Police records
Nathan and Ward (2000)	1996- 2000	12	Female	Mean 30	Sexual offences on minors	Sentencing comments from official data, clinical data personal interviews, MMPI-2
Porter and Alison (2001)	1968- 1998	120	Male (118) & Female (2)	14-45	Rape	Content analysis of archival data

(1) Study	(2) Year of Data	(3) Sample Size	(4) Sex	(5) Age	(6) Crime Studied	(7) Method of Data Gathering
Reiss and Farrington (1991)	1961- 1986	411	Male & Female	8-32	Robbery, theft, fraud, drug abuse	Questionnaires, personal interviews, criminal records
Samecki (1990)	1975- 1984	1403	N/A	<20	Suspected Criminal Offence	Interviews with 29 juveniles, police data
Shover (1973)	N/A	143	Male	Mean 24.6	Burglary	Interviews, questionnaire
Sommers and Baskin (1993)	1990	65	Female	N/A	Robbery and aggravated assault	Interviews, New York state correctional database
Syed and Williams (1996)	1996	19	Female	N/A	Sex offences	Secondary database and hard copy files through Correctional Service of Canada
Warr (1996)	1967	847	Male & Female	13-16	Fraud, theft, assault etc.	National probability of archived data

Note: Dietz (1983) data only available for 1974 (columns 4 and 5)

Note: Those fields containing N/A represent information that was unreported and/or incomplete

Note: Warr (1996) additional offences include, truancy, vandalism, threats, trespass  
burglary, alcohol, drugs, group fight, auto theft.

## **Appendix D**

### **Study Data and Measures of Leadership**

Study	Trait	Behavior	Power-Influence	Situational
Alarid et al.(1996)		x		
Amir (1971)	x	x	x	
Blanchard (1959)		x		x
Cheatwood (1996)		x		x
Dietz (1983)		x	x	x
Donald and Wilson (2000)		x	x	
Einstadter (1969)		x		
Faller (1987)	x	x		
Hochstetler ( 2001)	x	x	x	x
Hoffman, Lavigne & Dickie (1996)		x		
McCarthy, Hagan & Lawerance (1998)			x	
McCluskey & Wardle (2000)	x	x	x	
Nathan & Ward (2000)		x		
Porter and Alison (2001)		x	x	x
Reiss and Farrington (1991)		x		
Sarnecki (1990)	x	x		
Shover (1973)	x	x		x
Sommers and Baskin (1993)		x		
Syed & Williams (1996)		x		
Warr (1996)	x	x		x

## **Table of Statutes**

Department of Justice Canada. (2001). *Corrections and Conditional Release Act: Part II*

*Conditional release, detention and long-term supervision*. Retrieved January, 2003, from

<http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/c-44.6/37283.html>.

## Table of Cases

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