

**Demographic characteristics of victims and offenders of
stranger-perpetrated sexually motivated child abductions
using a motor vehicle: a study of resolved incidents in New
Zealand between 1987-2011.**

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Abstract

Cases of child abduction with subsequent sexual assault (henceforth: CASSA) are very rare in New Zealand. However, when a child is abducted and the perpetrator is a stranger to the victim, it can be difficult for police to decide where to look, and who to look for. Research pertaining to the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK) and Canada have identified victims as mainly White (Gallagher, Bradford, & Pease, 2008; Lord, Boudreaux & Lanning, 2001) or Caucasian descent (Boudreaux, Lord, & Dutra, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003); female; and between 13 and 16 years of age (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Gallagher et al, 2008). General offender characteristics include: average age of 27; White (Lord et al, 2001) or Caucasian descent (Boudreaux et al, 1999); unmarried; live alone or with their parents; have alcohol, drug or mental health issues; and are unemployed (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Hanfland, Keppel, & Weis, 1997).

Although there are International studies there is no research in New Zealand. Lack of information results in knowledge gaps as it is debateable whether knowledge from other jurisdictions is applicable to New Zealand cases. To address this knowledge gap this study examined data from resolved cases recorded and coded by the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit and the National Intelligence Application (NIA) database in New Zealand between 1987 and 2011.

Employing descriptive statistics, the study analyses 47 solved CASSA cases in New Zealand. The study assesses the victim incident reports; victim and offender demographics; offender modus operandi (MO); victim activity at time of contact with the offender; the distance travelled by the offender to the initial contact scene; and further variables. During the data analysis distinct victim and offender profiles emerged. In particular, patterns became apparent relating to (1) the age of offenders and the age of victims; (2) the increase in CASSA crime rates; (3) the time of day the victim was abducted; and (4) the distance between the offenders' home and initial contact scene.

Findings from this study showed similarities to the US, UK and Canada research. This included: victim age (i.e. 13-16 years old); victim gender (i.e. female); offender gender (i.e. male); offender ethnicity (i.e. Caucasian descent); distance from offenders home to initial contact scene (i.e. 0-5km radius); and time of the offence (i.e. weekday). There were also visible differences between International research and New Zealand such as the male victim age (i.e. 0-3 years old);

victim ethnicity (i.e. Indigenous Maori descent); offender age (i.e. 37-40 years old); and the number of sexual acts committed against a victim (i.e. mean of 3.7 acts per case). The study was not without limitations, including the inability to reference New Zealand literature and the research and literature primarily based on description. Furthermore, the small sample size of CASSA cases and the lack of available and/or reliable data also limited the study. These will be discussed in further detail, as well as how future research can enhance the knowledge of stranger CASSA cases in New Zealand.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a University or other Institution or higher learning.

Signed.....

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Chapter One: Introduction

Crimes against children, particularly CASSA cases, are of constant concern in the media and public discourse (Fetto, 2002; The Children's Society, 2007). Most data on CASSA derives from victimisation surveys carried out in the US, which have established that the rate of sexual abuse of children by strangers is very low (Finkelhor & Dzuiba-Leatherman, 1994; Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2005; Gallagher et al, 2008; Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999). For example, Finkelhor et al (2005) found that 4 children per 1000 had experienced a sexual assault by an adult stranger in the study year. Stranger child abduction is also rare (Finkelhor & Dzuiba-Leatherman, 1994; Gallagher et al, 2008) with an estimated 0.3 per 1000 children abducted by strangers. In saying that, a quantitative study in the UK by Newiss & Fairbrother (2004) found attempted abductions by strangers with sexual motivation had the largest increase across all types of abduction.

For the purpose of this study CASSA refers to child abduction with subsequent sexual assault with victims aged 16 years and younger. As advised by the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit (personal communication, February, 02, 2013), only CASSA cases using a motor vehicle are examined because they are the most common amongst CASSA offences. They are also the most threatening because the offender is able to remove the child from the contact scene very quickly. Use of a motor vehicle also reduces the police's ability to intervene given that the offender is highly mobile. Children under the age of 16 were studied as the offender modus operandi and dynamics change as the child gets older (Nethery, 2002a). As Holmes & Holme's (1996) findings indicate offenders also select children because the attraction is the fact that the victims are children. Additionally, offenders also prefer to commit crimes close to their home (Rengert, Piquero, & Jones, 1999). However, there are areas known as 'Buffer Zones' where an offender does not want to commit the crime due to the perceived risk associated with operating too close to home (Rossmo, 2000). Thus, CASSA offenders want to stick to areas that are familiar without too closely associating themselves to one small zone.

Although CASSA cases are generally a rare occurrence it is still of vital importance that victim, offender, and offence information is gathered and analysed. Increased knowledge means an improvement in prevention strategies, and awareness of potential victims and offenders so precautions can be put in place (Nethery, 2002a). However, there is limited amount of research

especially outside of the US (Best,1990; Boudreaux, Lord, Etter, 2000). Examination of International CASSA cases in the US, UK, and Canada has focussed primarily on six areas: victim characteristics, offender characteristics, victim experiences, offender modus operandi, incident circumstances, and reactions on the part of victims and others (Finkelhor&Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994; Finkelhor et al., 2005; Gallagher et al, 2008; Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999; Nethery, 2002a). However, research has stated that these studies have been hindered by issues such as the minimal analysis of the victim-offender relationship (Gallagher et al, 2008). This lack of knowledge has questioned the understanding and effectiveness of responses to stranger CASSA offences (Gallagher et al, 2008). New Zealand literature has not addressed the subject matter at all.

International research on CASSA has identified general demographic characteristics of victims and offenders. On average victims are between 13-16 years of age; female; and White (Gallagher et al, 2008; Lord et al, 2001) or Caucasian (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Offenders are on average 27years old; White (Gallagher et al, 2008) or Caucasian (Boudreaux et al, 2000); live alone or with their parents; unmarried; and unemployed (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Most offenders are also known to have a criminal record (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Erikson & Friendship, 2002); have problems with substance abuse (Dalley, 2000a; Hanfland et al, 1997); and have themselves been victims of sexual or physical abuse (Erikson & Friendship, 2002; Hanfland et al, 1997). Past research by Nethery (2002b) looked at the risk factors in stranger child sexual assault in Canada, including where the child (ages 0-12) first came into contact with the offender. The findings of the study showed children are more likely to come into contact with the offender in recreation facilities (e.g. swimming pools; shopping mall), or their homes and schools (Nethery, 2002b). US research by Boudreaux, Lord & Jarvis (2001) and Huttinger (1984) also found victims involved in unsupervised activities had a higher rate of victimisation (e.g. walking to and from locations). Geographical findings showed most offenders did not travel far from their residence to the point of initial contact with the victim. This is because most offenders like to exert as little energy as possible, and stay within an area that they are most familiar with, without straying too far (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Nethery, 2002a).

Although there were limited CASSA cases in New Zealand the purpose of this study is to produce a substantial body of knowledge. Additionally it seeks to establish victims' and offenders' demographic characteristics in order to enable construction of typical and specific offender and victim profiles. In order to complete the research, the study used information

gathered by the New Zealand Police and New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit at the time the incident was reported. This included a documented incident summary which was then converted into quantitative variables which allowed for statistical analysis. By analysing the separate variables it will help provide New Zealand with general information of this offence and those involved.

The existing literature on CASSA cases and offence characteristics is described more thoroughly in Chapter 2. This includes further information regarding the different variables studied in this research. The chapter also identifies and clarifies the varying definitions of a child or young persons, abduction and sexual assault in New Zealand and the definitions used Internationally. It is important to establish these definitions and any differences as findings from prior studies may be contradictory or inconsistent to what is found in this study. Researchers have used different terminology when referring to the ethnicity of both victim and offender (e.g. White or Caucasian descent) (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Gallagher et al, 2008; Lord et al, 2001). The researcher will continue to use the terms quoted in the studies throughout the literature review where relevant. Thereafter, this study will be using the term 'Caucasian descent' as identified by the National Intelligence Application (NIA) database.

In Chapter 3, the methodology and processes used in this study are outlined. It will describe the research design, data collection and data analysis processes used. Lastly, this chapter identifies the limitations of this study.

Following this, Chapter 4 contains the findings that were generated from the analysis of data, addressing a) CASSA victim profile, b) CASSA offender profile c) CASSA offence profile and d) correlating variables that may identify any trends of New Zealand CASSA offences.

Chapter 5 than discusses the results and how specific theories may explain the findings. It will also include the commonalities and disparities between New Zealand CASSA findings and International findings.

Finally, Chapter 6 provides a summary of the research, suggestions to reduce the rate of CASSA offences and victimisation, topics for further study and the need to produce more prevention strategies and policies.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Most of the research in this field originates in the UK, US, and Canada. Studies have addressed victim demographics; offender demographics; offender modus operandi; location of the crime; time of offence; distance from the offenders home to the initial contact scene; weapon use; and factors influencing the victim at the time of the offence. This chapter reviews the literature on the efficacy of victim and offender profiling in general and the literature on stranger perpetrated CASSA cases.

Victim and Offender Profiling

Victim profiling is the most important area for examination in all investigations, especially cases involving a stranger perpetrator (O'Toole, 1999; Turvey, 2011). Since the victim knows minimal about the offender the aspect readily available to investigators is the victim's physical description of the offender(s). Thus providing investigators information about what their perpetrator looks like (Turvey, 2011). Through examination of the victim it allows investigators to gain immediate knowledge about the victim's past and present lifestyle, which may identify potential suspects (Petherick, 2009). Victim profiling as part of Victimology, is the study of the victim(s) of a particular offender. It is defined as "the thorough study and analysis of victim characteristics" (Petherick & Turvey, 2008; Turvey, 2011). It is an assessment of victim characteristics that provides insight into how, where and why a particular victim was chosen.

Elements of victim profiling include physical traits, occupation, medical history, last activities before the crime, marital status, education, psychosexual history, personal lifestyle and demography, map of travel prior to offence, drug and alcohol history, friends and enemies, and court history (Holmes, 1989; Turvey, 2011).

In victim profiling, as much time and effort should be spent examining the victim's physical, personal, and behavioural characteristics as spent examining the offender (Petherick, 2009). This provides the investigators with an idea of who the offender targets (e.g. 13-16 year old females) and what potential victims may look like (e.g. height; hair colour; ethnicity) thus indicating who is more likely to be victimised (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). As much as possible should be known about the victim's marital status, the victim's daily routine activities and the victim's character.

Too often reports will simply state 'married' or 'single'. However, this is not adequate as researchers have stated that although relationships may appear stable, they actually may not be (Holmes & Holmes, 2009).

Knowing the victim's daily routine activities also identifies who they may have come into contact with, what activities the victim's involved in (e.g. recreational activity every weekday) or the route the victim travels each day (e.g. walking through a park on their way to school). It is particularly important in stranger offence cases as most offenders routinely frequent specific areas and often target victims who they come into regular contact with (Rossmo, 2000). Felson, 1986, (as cited in Cornish & Clarke, 1986) notes that daily routine activities provide the offender with the knowledge of different areas, what places are appropriate for certain activities, where to target the victim and where the victim frequents. This knowledge combined will help the offender succeed in committing the crime.

A victim's character is also important as this data tells investigators what type of person they are (e.g. friendly; well liked; reclusive) and any sudden changes in the victim's personality or lifestyle (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). As Holmes and Holmes (2009) have stated this should be queried as this "information can serve as an index of not only availability but also susceptibility" (p 292). Knowing the victim's occupation and educational level identifies the victim's network of relationships (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). Research has found that there are a number of people involved in business relationships with the victim, not only on a professional basis but also on a personal one (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). Examining who the victim regularly contacts can also provide a better understanding of the victim's personality, those who share common interests and past employment because there too has existed a network of friends, enemies or acquaintances (Holmes & Holmes, 2009).

Further, the location of the victim's residence may play an important role in the victimization process. Knowing the victim's residence helps provide a potential radius of where the offender may reside, given most offenders do not travel far from their residence (Nethery, 2002a).

Victim's residence also identifies population distribution which can increase investigators knowledge on the offender. Many crimes of a violent nature occur in lower class areas with high crime rates, thus providing areas where investigators should canvass (Holmes & Holmes, 2009).

Benefits of knowing the victim's medical history include knowing information on communicable diseases and corpse identification (Holmes, 1989). As Turvey (2012) has stated "medical and mental health specialists of every kind accept that what presents in a given case is a reflection of,

and can be affected by, past events of the victims” (p. 165). As a result, all of these aspects help provide information about the offender, the offender’s motive, and their modus operandi (Holmes, 1989).

One of the first and most high-profile cases of offender profiling was the attempt by Doctor Thomas Bond to find the identity of Jack the Ripper (Blau, 1994). Blau (1994) proposes that there are even examples of profiling in the criminal anthropology literature a century before Dr Bond. Thus, making clear that attempting to form some idea of the characteristics of an unknown offender by drawing upon psychological conceptualisations is probably as old as formal detection procedures (Canter, 2004).

The primary task of profiling is estimating the psychological and sociological characteristics of the offender in order to narrow down on a group of possible suspects (Canter, 2004). To profile an offender means to infer information about the offender from the crime he or she has committed (Canter, 2004; Canter, 2000; Douglas & Burgess, 1990; Geberth, 1996). For example, if a CASSA offence was committed in a secured apartment building during normal business hours, it can be inferred that the offender may be a resident and is either a shift worker, unemployed, or the offender has used his occupation to gain access to the building.

The offender profiling process generally involves seven steps; (1) evaluation of the criminal act itself; (2) comprehensive evaluation of the specifics of the crime scene(s); (3) comprehensive analysis of the victim; (4) evaluation of preliminary police reports; (5) evaluation of the medical examiners autopsy protocol; (6) development of profile with critical offender characteristics and; (7) investigative suggestions predicted on construction of the profile (Douglas & Burgess, 1986). The process is similar to that used by clinicians to make a diagnosis and treatment plan. By analysing the details of a crime, investigators can often identify important personality and behavioural characteristics of an offender. Certain crime scenes may reveal behavioural characteristics that give clues about an offender’s personality or lifestyle and allow investigators to predict future activity (Douglas & Burgess, 1990).

The practice of victim and offender profiling is not without criticism. While rooted in established practices of psychology and sociology, there is little empirical evidence suggesting that victim and offender profiles are applicable to reality, with instances of profiling failing to predict the nature of victim and offender (Wachtel, 2014). Profiling as an investigative tool is entirely intuitive based and merely an educated attempt to provide law enforcement agencies with detailed characteristics of an unknown individual who has committed a crime (Canter,

2000; Godwin, 2002). Crime scene characteristics are interpreted from an integrated examination of the established behavioural evidence of the offender and victimology (Turvey, 2011). Sound profiles depend on evidence. However, complete evidence is not always available, because not all crime scene characteristics may be established (Turvey, 2011). For example, the offender may take precautionary acts to reduce the risk of being caught (e.g. removing evidence from the crime scene). This can very easily prevent a meaningful profile from being formed (Turvey, 2011).

However, victim and offender profiling can help determine what type of suspect the police should search for, particularly for violent crimes like CASSA (Torres, Boccancini, & Miller, 2006). Investigators are able to gain a higher level of insight by understanding certain types of criminal behaviour and can help solve future crimes with similar characteristics (Miller, 2011). Thus, investigators can place more resources into specific areas considering they know more about these offences. This also has the potential to prevent crimes from occurring since the risk of being caught by Police increases. As Douglas and Burgess (1986) state “profiling...does not provide the identity of the offender, but it does indicate the type of person most likely to have committed a crime having certain unique characteristics” (p.4).

Definition of CASSA

The literature on CASSA largely agrees on its specific features and defines it as “the removal of a child from his or her home for an extended period of time primarily for purposes of ransom, sadistic, sexual assault or even murder (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis & Smith, 1990; Asdigian, Finkelhor, & Hotaling, 1995). The definitions of child or young persons, abduction by other persons, and sexual assault will be provided from the UK, US, Canada and New Zealand to identify any similarities or disparities between the definitions.

Child or Young Persons

Firstly, it is important to define the term ‘Child’ or ‘Young Persons’ in the UK, US, Canada and New Zealand. These definitions are important for the prosecution of the offender, and legal protection of the victim, as the law changes once a child, or young person, is over the age of 17. This is especially important for protection of older victims (13-16 years of age). Not only do

they have the highest victimisation rates but ‘consent’ is more easily argued given victims are older. Furthermore, protocols of police and investigation agencies regarding abducted children changes once they are older than 16 years of age (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Thus the need to clarify beyond reasonable doubt through legal definitions is crucial (Minister of Justice, 2013; New Zealand Legislation, 2014; Office of the Law Revision Counsel United States, 1947a; www.legislation.gov.uk/). The legal definition of children and young persons in the UK has been defined as “persons under the age of eighteen years” (www.legislation.gov.uk). U.S Criminal Code 1947 defines the term child as “any person who has not attained the age of 16 years” (Office of the Law Revision Counsel United States Code, 1947a). The Canada Consolidation Criminal Code identifies a young person as “a person 16 years of age or more but under the age of eighteen years” (p.172). It has also defined a child as “a person who is or appears to be under the age of eighteen years” (p. 192) (Minister of Justice, 2013). The New Zealand Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 define a child as a boy or girl under the age of 14 years old. A young person has been defined as “a boy or girl over the age of 14 years but under 17 years; but does not include any person who has been married or in a civil union” (New Zealand Legislation, 2014).

Abduction by Other Persons

UK, US, Canada, and New Zealand all share similar features in the legal definition of abduction. The UK Child Abduction Act 1984, Section 2 defines the offence of abduction of child by other persons as:

a person other than [the child’s mother, father or others covered in section 1] commits an offence if, without lawful authority or reasonable excuse, he takes or detains a child under the age of sixteen-

- (a) So as to remove him from the lawful control of any person having lawful control of the child; or
- (b) So as to keep him out of the lawful control of any person entitled to lawful control of the child (www.legislation.gov.uk).

Abduction by other persons in the U.S Criminal Code 1947 is defined as:

- (1) an episode in which a nonfamily perpetrator takes a child by the use of physical force or threat of bodily harm or detains the child for a substantial period of time (at least 1 hour) in an isolated place by the use of physical force or threat of bodily harm without lawful authority or parental permission, or
- (2) an episode in which a child younger than

15 or mentally incompetent, and without lawful authority or parental permission, is taken or detained or voluntarily accompanies a nonfamily perpetrator who conceals the child's whereabouts, demands ransom, or expresses the intention to keep the child permanently (Finkelhor, Hammer, & Sedlak 2002, p.2).

Canada's Consolidation Criminal Code 1985 that was last amended in 2013 states the abduction by other persons of a person under sixteen is:

280. (1) Everyone who, without lawful authority, takes or causes to be taken an unmarried person under the age of sixteen years out of the possession of and against the will of the parent or guardian of that person or of any other person who has the lawful care or charge of that person is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years (p.332) (Minister of Justice, 2013).

The New Zealand Child Abduction Act 1984 defines abduction by other persons of a person under the age of 16 as:

“someone who, with intent to deprive a parent or guardian or other person having the lawful care or charge of a young person of the possession of the young person, unlawfully takes or entices away or detains the young person” (New Zealand Legislation, 2005).

Sexual Assault

Legal definitions of sexual assault in the UK, US, Canada, and New Zealand also demonstrate similar characteristics. The UK Sexual Offences Act 2003, section 3 defines sexual assaults as:

“a person (A) commits an offence if-

- (a) he intentionally touches another person (B)
- (b) the touching is sexual, B does not consent to the touching, and
- (d) A does not reasonably believe that B consents” (www.legislation.gov.uk).

The U.S Criminal Code 1947 states sexual assault is any person who:

(1) commits a sexual act upon another person by-

- (a) threatening or placing that other person in fear;
- (b) causing bodily harm to that other person;
- (c) making a fraudulent representation that the sexual act serves a professional purpose; or
- (d) inducing a belief by any artifice, pretence, or concealment that the person is another person

(2) commits a sexual act upon another person when the person knows or reasonably should know that the other person is asleep, unconscious, or otherwise unaware that the sexual act is occurring; or

(3) commits a sexual act upon another person when the other person is incapable of consenting to the sexual act due to-

(a) impairment by any drug, intoxicant, or other similar substance, and that condition is known or reasonably should be known by the person; or

(b) a mental disease or defect, or physical disability, and that condition is known or reasonably should be known by the person

Is guilty of sexual assault and shall be punished as a court-martial may direct (Office of the Law Revision Counsel United States Code, 1947b).

Section 265 (1) of the Canada Consolidation Criminal Code 1985 has identified 'assault' as:

(1) a person commits an assault when

(a) without the consent of another person, he applies force intentionally to that other person, directly or indirectly;

(b) he attempts to threaten, by an act or a gesture, to apply force to another person, if he has, or causes that other person to believe on reasonable grounds that he has, present ability to effect his purpose; or

(c) while openly wearing or carrying a weapon or an imitation thereof, he accosts or impedes another person or begs (Minister of Justice, 2013).

It goes on to state that this definition applies to "all forms including sexual assault, sexual assault with a weapon, threats to a third party or causing bodily harm and aggravated sexual assault" (p.307) (Minister of Justice, 2013).

Sexual violation (including sexual assault) in the New Zealand Crimes Act 1961 section 128 is the

(1) act of a person who-

(a) rapes another person; or

(b) has unlawful sexual connection with another person.

(2) person A rapes person B if person A has sexual connection with person B, effected by the penetration of person B's genitalia by person A's penis,-

(a) without person B's consent to the connection; and

(b) without believing on reasonable grounds that person B consents to the connection

- (3) person A has unlawful sexual connection with person B if person A has sexual connection with person B
 - (a) without person B's consent to the connection; and
 - (b) without believing on reasonable grounds that person B consents to the connection
- (4) one person may be convicted of the sexual violation of another person at a time when they were married to each other (New Zealand Legislation, 2005).

All abduction definitions in each jurisdiction identify that the offender is a non-family member who detains the child against the will of the parent or guardian. Sexual assault definitions all identify that there is sexual connection with a person without the victim consenting. It is important to look at these definitions in order to identify differences, if any, among the jurisdictions. Significant differences in definitions can result in varying victimisation rates and offender incarceration rates. This would also mean that any information gathered in these countries is not transferrable to other countries. However, since the definitions are alike it can provide New Zealand Police and other investigation agencies with information and knowledge of these offences as the results of previous research can be used as reference.

CASSA Victim Profile

Victims of stranger CASSA are likely to be aged 13 to 16 years of age (Gallagher et al, 2008); are White (Gallagher et al, 2008; Lord et al, 2001) or Caucasian (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003) and are mostly female. Boudreaux et al (2000) found that sex offences against older school age children are mostly committed by non-family male offenders because the victims are more independent than younger children, are therefore less likely to be supervised and thus easier targets for abduction. Tedisco and Paludi (1996) also found that victims of CASSA had low self-confidence; are quiet; often unclean or unkept; are usually victims of previous physical and/or sexual abuse and parents are divorced or separated. However, Hanfland et al (1997) reported that most (66%) victims of stranger perpetrated abduction had a good relationship with their family.

Physical and Psychological Traits

Gender has proven to be a crucial variable in CASSA cases, often reflecting both offender motive and modus operandi (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Cloud, 1996; Crittenden, 1990; Finkelhor, 1997 as cited in Kaufman Kanter & Jasinski, 1997; Hanfland et al, 1997). More female than male children are abducted (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Finkelhor et al, 2002). Male abduction generally occurs in relation to other offences such as gang and drug violence which have dynamics that affect the motivation for the offence (Nethery, 2002a). Gender is one of the few variables readily available to the authorities at the onset of an investigation. Though, in general, female children are more at risk, very young victims (e.g. birth to age 3) were found to be more often male (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley and Ruscoe, 2003; Hanfland et al, 1997). When murder follows abduction, adolescent females, experienced the highest victimisation rate (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Hanfland et al, 1997).

Research has shown the importance of assessing the victimisation of children from a development perspective (Boudreaux et al, 1999). It is important as childhood offence patterns follow a “developmental victimology indicating that offence characteristics change as children age” (Finkelhor, 1997 as cited in Kaufman Kanter & Jasinski, 1997, p17-34). Studies on stranger perpetrated CASSA incidents have restricted surveys to certain age groups (Anderson, Kinsey, Loader, & Smith, 1994; Aye Muang, 1995; Mawby, 1979) or examined victims of all ages collectively (Crittenden, 1990; Hanfland et al, 1997). Age has also been shown to be a crucial variable in child victimisation cases, often reflecting both offender motive and methodology (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Cloud, 1996; Crittenden, 1990; Finkelhor 1997; Hanfland et al, 1997). Specific age groups allow different victimisation patterns to be revealed. Not only will a child’s age affect the level of violence of the offence, but also the likelihood of reporting or disclosing the crime to an authority figure (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Like gender, the victim’s age is also a variable available to authorities at the onset of an investigation. The higher rate of CASSA incidents among older children (13-16 years old) was attributed to the fact that this age group have more freedom, are less supervised, relationships and activities differ from victims who are younger, thus are more exposed to such crimes (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Gallagher et al, 2008). However, they are also limited in their ability to remove themselves from dangerous situations and are easier to control (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Children over 16 years of age are often more knowledgeable about dangerous situations and mode of transport generally changes given they are able to drive or have friends who drive (Nethery, 2002a).

Research suggests that ethnicity plays a role in the victimization of children. However, it has been argued that it may be a factor that simply reflects population distribution (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Boudreaux et al (1999) studied 550 cases of child abduction in the US obtained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1985-1995. Most victims were primarily Caucasian (72 percent) with fewer of the minority populations (e.g. African American minority) appearing as victims (28 percent) (Boudreaux et al, 1999). Victim ethnicity tends to vary by the victims age. Victims of Caucasian descent are generally older than the minority victims (Boudreaux et al, 1999). Boudreaux et al (1999) found minority victims were younger as offender's motives were generally emotional based in comparison to Caucasian victims who were often abducted for sexual purposes. Gallagher et al (2008) research on attempted and completed incidents of stranger-perpetrated child sexual abuse and abduction in the UK, found no significant differences in victimization rates by ethnicity.

Sexual Acts Committed Against Victim

The victim's gender and other physical characteristics are regarded as the offender's selection criteria (Boudreaux et al, 2000). A UK study by Gallagher et al (2008) found a much larger proportion of older children report indecent exposure by the perpetrator as the only sexual act committed. The research also found that girls were over represented in all sexual acts (indecent exposure; touching; multiple acts) except for one incident group (abduction) (Gallagher et al, 2008).

Distance from Victims Home to Initial Contact Scene

The location of the victim plays a vital role in determining where and when the offence takes place (Boudreaux et al, 2000; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). A US study by MacDonald (1961) found that 70% of victims lived within 3.2km of the offender's residence and 32.8% lived on the same block. In most cases, the offender routinely frequented the area where they abducted the child and 29% lived in the same neighbourhood (Nethery, 2002a; Rossmo, 2000). Hanfland et al (1997) research in the US also found most victims were abducted in areas close to the victim's home and moved to rural areas where the offence could take place. Nethery's (2002a) study in Canada found all of the children were contacted within 3km of their home and 83% were within 2km of their home. When comparing smaller populations to larger populations, the average

distance for both was no more than 1km. Research shows when the encounter site is known, there is a greater chance of the crime being solved (Rossmo, 2000). In cases where the initial contact scene was unknown, the chance of solving the crime was more than 40% below the mean average of total solved cases (Rossmo, 2000).

Victim Activity at Time of Contact with the Offender

There are situations that cause children to be more vulnerable to victimization. Boudreaux et al (2001) suggest that offenders generally select victims that hold some kind of significance to them. Crime is most often a result of victim and offender interactions due to daily routine activities. For example the victim may walk through a park on their way to school every day or wait outside their school for a parent to pick them up. Often it is the victim's vulnerability, coupled with ease of access that is apparent to offenders and serves to elevate their interest in children as desirable targets (Boudreaux et al, 2001). Huttinger (1984) found that the most common physical activities and settings related to abduction opportunities were as follows:

- (A) Walking alone to or from school (before and after normal school hours in particular)
- (B) Waiting for a school bus alone
- (C) Playing in a public area after hours or late in the evening, or playing unsupervised at any time
- (D) Exploring remote areas
- (E) Using enclosed, poorly lit stairways, corridors
- (F) Waiting in public parking areas after dark or in normal working hours
- (G) Walking unattended in a crowded mall or other public places
- (H) Children that attend inner city schools are significantly more likely to be victimised

Findings from Nethery's (2002a) study in Canada found the most common activity (57%) was victims being outside (e.g. walking home from the neighbour's house), but within close proximity to the victim's home. Twenty five percent of the victims were abducted on their way to and from school or from a friend's house or other public places (Forde, Kennedy & Silverman, 1990). Most children are often engaged in activities where society would assume a child is relatively safe (Nethery, 2002b), such as playing on the front lawn at home and in some cases offenders have knocked on the front door and abducted the victim (Nethery, 2002b). Since

children are most likely engaging in activities in or around the house it is common for children to be abducted from these locations (Nethery, 2002b). Most of the older victims (13-16 years old) were also engaged in what would be considered as relatively low risk activities. They were either travelling to school or a friend's house; working; or engaging in recreational activities (e.g. after school sport). However, Nethery (2002b) also found a quarter of young adult victims engage in high risk activities such as prostitution or hitchhiking, which increases the risk of being victimised.

Categories of Offenders

Little is known about the typical characteristics of CASSA offenders in New Zealand. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (1996) has, however, identified four categories of offenders.

1. Paedophiles- People in this category constitute the largest number of child abductors. Paedophiles often identify with children better than with an adult which is the reason why they are able to seduce/lure children. They understand the likes and dislikes of children and show a genuine concern for their well-being.
2. Profiteers- An individual who is a criminal exploiter who sells children to pornographers or adoption rings, mostly in the black-market industry.
3. Serial killers- Actions of these individuals are methodical and ritualised with power, dominance, and control as the most frequent motivator.
4. Childless Psychotics- Individuals tend to abduct children when they are unable to have children of their own or have lost a child and seek another to fill its place (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

CASSA Offender Profile

Perpetrators behaviour patterns are often dependent upon gender, motivation and their relationship to the victim (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Contrary to popular belief CASSA offenders are not aged perverts or dirty old men (Hanfland et al, 1997). Literature identifies an average offender as being around 27 years; white (Lord et al, 2001) or Caucasian (Boudreaux et al, 1999); a history of sexual, alcohol, drug or mental problems; live at home alone or with parents; unmarried and have a criminal history of sexual offences against children (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Hanfland et al, 1997).

Physical and Psychological Traits

Research regarding gender has found that abductors are mostly male (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Gallagher et al, 2008; Nethery, 2002a). Most incidents (52.5%) that involved a female as the main perpetrator also involved a male assailant, whereas only 6.6% of incidents involving a male as the main perpetrator also involved a female assailant. To elaborate, female offenders rarely abduct for sexual gratification, or profit, but more emotional satisfaction (Dalley, 2000b; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003).

The most common ages males commit criminal offences are between 18 to 24 years of age (Nethery, 2002a). However, when committing sexual offences the average age of an offender is slightly older. Boudreaux et al (1999), Erikson and Friendship (2002) and Hanfland et al (1997) found the average age of a CASSA offender was around 27 years of age. Findings also show that the offender's age did not vary much when it came to selecting different aged victims (Nethery, 2002a). However, ethnic minority offenders (e.g. African American) are usually younger than Caucasian offenders (Boudreaux et al, 1999).

Boudreaux et al (1999) found that Caucasian males were the most likely offenders (71%) and were also more likely to commit CASSA against victims with the same ethnic background (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Caucasian males abducted children from a variety of locations, whereas ethnic minority groups (e.g. African American) typically abducted in close proximity to the child's home (Boudreaux et al, 1999). Caucasian offenders were also more likely to abduct children for sexual gratification whereas minority groups were for emotion based purposes (e.g. unable to have children) (Boudreaux et al, 1999).

Researchers have found approximately 60% of CASSA offenders had prior arrests for violent crimes (Hanfland et al, 1997). Most offenders do not escalate their level of violence as they continued to offend. However offenders who commit sexual assaults seem to escalate the level of violence as each crime passes (Nethery, 2002a). Those that sexually assault their victim have a large number of previous sexual offences (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Erikson & Friendship, 2002). A London study by Erikson and Friendship (2002) found all sexually motivated offenders had a history of child abduction crimes, with the largest mean number of previous sexual offences.

Sexual Acts Committed Against Victim

The number, frequency and the variety of deviant sexual acts is said to be substantially higher than that represented in the current literature (Abel, Becker, Mittelman, Cunningham-Rathner, Rouleau, & Murphy, 1987). Gallagher et al (2008) UK study identified specific sexual acts in attempted or completed stranger child sexual assault (CSA) and abduction incidents. There was a diverse pattern in the distribution of sexual acts. However, they did find distinct groupings within these scenarios. The majority (90%) of incidents involved a single type of sexual act and 10% involved multiple types of sexual acts. Incidents of attempted or completed CSA and abduction involving one sexual act could be further divided into three groups: indecent exposure only (40.8%), touching only (attempted or completed CSA and abduction, 26%) and abduction only (attempted or completed CSA and abduction, 23%) (Gallagher et al, 2008). Among those that were abducted 10.2% reported that multiple types of sexual acts took place. This involved one or more of the following: being touched by a perpetrator, being touched themselves and the perpetrator indecently exposing himself (Gallagher et al, 2008).

Research on specific sexual acts and multiple sexual acts is limited. However, studies have stated that given offenders are driven to pursue their fantasies which may include domination, pain and humiliation as a focal point, it will often determine the extent of the assault (Hazelwood, Dietz, Warren, 1992).

Distance from Offenders Home to Initial Contact Scene

Factors such as distance and time impact upon the offender's choice of victims and abduction site (Dalley, & Ruscoe, 2003). Nethery (2002a) also refers to the concept of Distance Decay. This notion "addresses the idea of offenders operating in areas that are close to their home" (p. 18). Distance Decay occurs in every type of crime, however that distance is obviously affected by the type of crime committed (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1984; Nethery, 2002a). Although most studies have found offenders commit crimes close to their residence, there are areas that offenders do not target. These areas have been identified as buffer zones. Rossmo (2000) stated that buffer zones are "an area centred around the criminal's residence within which targets are viewed as less desirable because of the perceived risk associated with operating too close to home" (p. 256). Buffer zones exist because as the distance increases from the offender's home, so too does the availability of targets and most offenders feel they are less likely to be caught if a victim is selected a certain distance from the offender's home (Nethery, 2002a; Rossmo, 2000). This is balanced by the Least Effort Principle (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). This principle suggests that when multiple destinations of equal desirability are available, the closest and easier one will be chosen (Turvey, 2011). They commit criminal acts by choosing victims from more familiar places where the offender feels safe, does not have to travel far and where the offender's efforts are minimised (Boudreaux et al, 2000; Rengert et al, 1999).

It can be concluded that the majority of offenders travel shorter distances to commit crimes and stick to familiar areas without too closely associating themselves. Nethery (2002a) found the average distance from an offender's residence to point of initial contact is 2km. The mean for smaller populations was 12km and for a larger population was 4km indicating that offenders in smaller populations have to travel further to locate potential victims (Nethery, 2002a).

There is also indication of the importance of the initial contact scene if the abduction point is different to where the sexual assault took place. A 1990 study by the US Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention indicated that 2% of abduction cases ended in murder where children were transported over 20 feet or detained for more than an hour. However, this study did not address the relationship of time and distance as solvability cases (Sweet, 1990).

Offender Modus Operandi and Victim Offender Relationship

Studies in Canada and the US have identified that offenders often approach their victims using manipulative lures and strategies such as offering gifts, making threats and using weapons. This research has identified two types of offender modus operandi; the “blitz attack” and the “confidence/con attack” (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

The Blitz Attack- A stranger appears; child’s response resembles reactions to any other sudden, unexpected event: (a) the child’s shock interferes with any defensive action they may take (b) the shock of the stranger’s behaviour prevents them from seeing or remembering much of the incident, so they may have considerable difficulty recognising and identifying the individual later (c) they label the experience as an assault and themselves as survivors. This form of attack may or may not involve an assault with a weapon.

The Confidence/Con Attack- An elaborate plan is set up by the abductor. This form of assault is more psychological than it is a physical assault. Initially, the abductor has to gain confidence of the targeted child/youth. This trust is used to manipulate the victim into psychological and physical vulnerability. As time progresses, the victim then sees changes in the abductor’s behaviour from a nice friendly person to an aggressor. However, by the time this occurs, many of the child’s options to escape are eliminated. The key to this attack for the offender is to convince the victim that they are a part of this crime and therefore share the responsibility for the abuse (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

The New Zealand Police identifies a third offender modus operandi known as the “Surprise attack”.

Surprise Attack- This type of approach is used by offenders who lack motivation or confidence in their abilities to subdue victims through physical violence (blitz) or subterfuge (con). This includes all those offences where there is no significant verbal interaction with the victim prior to the assault (often a con) and where the level of force used against the victim is not sufficient to constitute a blitz. An offender may have pre-selected his victim through unobserved contact and knowledge of when the victim is alone. However, spur of the moment attacks may also be surprises, where an offender sees a victim and takes the opportunity there and then to grab and assault their victim. A surprise attack may consist of the offender lying in wait inside a building; waiting in/near the victim’s vehicle; waiting outdoors; sneaking up on the

victim/grabbing victim; entering the victim's house while they sleep; and threatening the victim with a weapon (New Zealand Police, 2012, pp 144-145)

Previous CASSA studies have focussed on the nature of CASSA with little analysis detailing victim-offender relationships (Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2000b; Snyder, 2000; Asdigian et al., 1995; Finkelhor, Hotaling & Sedlak, 1990; Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2000a). However, what has been noted is that the relationship between the offender and victim appears to change with the age of the child. Previous studies on the victim-offender relationship found that very young children, are more likely to be victimized by female strangers (73%) due to maternal desire; infants and toddlers were more likely to be victimized by family members (63%) due to emotion base motivation; pre-schoolers up to seven years of age were more likely to be victimized by family members (45%) and acquaintances (41%) due to emotion based and sexual motivations; elementary school children were more likely to be victimized by acquaintances (44%) and strangers (38%) due to sexual motivation; middle school and high school children were more likely to be victimized by acquaintances and strangers due to sexual motivation as well; and virtually all attempted abductions were carried out by strangers (Ankrom & Lent, 1995; Boudreaux et al, 1999; Finkelhor, Hotaling & Asdigian, 1995; Finkelhor et al, 1990). Generally CASSA offenders rely on their victim's fears, vulnerability and obedience to adult authority. CASSA offenders are characteristically habitual offenders that carry out their assault in a highly stereotypical MO (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

Offender Motivation

An offender's MO is often indicative of their motivation to commit the crime. A US study by Boudreaux et al (2000) found that stranger abductions took place for a variety of reasons including maternal desire, profit and retribution and also sexual gratification. However, although the motives may be different, victims tend not to be chosen at random (Asdigian et al, 1995; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Erikson & Friendship, 2002; Finkelhor et al, 2002; Finkelhor et al, 1990; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000a).

Motivational patterns differ according to victim and offender gender, age and ethnicity. The most common motive of child abduction which results in murder is sexual gratification (Asdigian et al, 1995; Boudreaux et al, 2000 in Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Boudreaux et al (1999) found offenders victimised children for sex (60%); followed by emotion (27%) and then profit

crimes (13%). The United States National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Run-away, and Throwaway Children (NISMAART) found that two thirds of non-family abductions involved sexual assault (Finkelhor et al, 1990). Boudreaux et al (2000) reported that 46% of victims in stranger abductions were sexually assaulted, with even less data being produced on the proportion of CASSA incidents. Thus most abductors are individuals driven to pursue their sexual fantasies (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Finkelhor et al, 2002). The offender will use a pretext to make the initial contact with the victim and then lure the victim to a preselected location that provides solitude and safety for the offender to act out the chosen fantasy (Hazelwood et al, 1992). Since children are easily lured they become easy targets for CASSA offenders. In contrast, Tedisco & Paludi (1996) reported that very few of abductors are motivated by sexual desire but they consider the act itself a violent way to achieve a sense of power (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Furthermore, literature indicates that only a small proportion of CSA incidents involve abduction. In an analysis of CSA incidents reported to the FBI National Incident- Based Reporting System an additional offence of abduction was recorded for only .85% of victims (Snyder, 2000).

Although profit offences are usually carried out by strangers and acquaintances rather than by family members, this is the least common motivation for CASSA offenders (Boudreaux et al, 1999). Victims that are abducted for profit are generally older school age males. This is due to the fact that as children grow older they begin to accumulate more valuable possessions, therefore are more vulnerable to profit motivated abductors (Boudreaux et al, 2001). Older school age male's abduction often occur in relation to other offences such as gang and drug violence, rather than for sexual gratification purposes (Nethery, 2002a).

CASSA Offence Profile

Initial Crime Location and Time of Offence

Boudreaux et al (2000) has identified that the initial crime location and the time of the offence may place certain constraints on the offender's actions. Research by Allard et al (1984) in Canada found CASSA offences mainly occurred on the weekends in the early hours of the morning. However most research has found that most offences took place outside, during the weekday and were usually during school hours when children were walking home from school or engaged in after school activities (Gallagher et al, 2008; Nethery, 2002a).

Weapon Use

Abductors often use the advantage of their physical strength over their victims or wield a gun or a knife. The levels of force used to restrain victims vary between abductors (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Younger offenders were more likely to use weapons as they usually need to do more to control their victims (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Older offenders usually use age, social position, economic power, authority and physical strength to make children comply (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996). Boudreaux et al (1999) found a weapon was mainly used depending on the size of the child and the availability of weapon depending on where the offence takes place (e.g. a hard object in the motor vehicle). Finkelhor et al (2002) study in the US found weapons were involved in abducting 40% of all stranger perpetrated abductions, with knives and guns the most frequently used. Weapon use was generally more evident in cases where children were killed (Boudreaux et al, 1999). Since CASSA abductors are highly skilled in the art of manipulation (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003) the need to use a weapon decreases. In order to be successful they must lower the children's inhibitions or make them afraid of the consequences if they do not comply (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003).

Vehicle Use

UK researchers have found that 98% of the cases where a vehicle was not used during the crime, the child was found within 50 metres of the footpath and all were found within 100 metres (Rossmo, 2000). Without the use of a vehicle to hide the child, the offender would not want to travel as far with the victim. Therefore the use of a vehicle in CASSA cases is important as it makes it easier to commit the crime (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman, D'Agostino, 1986). In cases where vehicles are involved, it is noted that more violent acts took place (Nethery, 2002a). When a vehicle is used it allows offenders to conceal the child and gives the perpetrator more time to plan a method (Nethery, 2002a). This ultimately decreases the chance of being identified as the perpetrator. Thus, it has been stated that it is important to quickly establish if a motor vehicle has been used in abduction cases as it will help narrow down the search field (Nethery, 2000a).

In sum, victim profiling is the most important area of examination in all investigations. It allows investigators to gain knowledge about the victim's past and present lifestyle. It assesses the

victim's characteristics that provide insight into how, where and why a particular victim is chosen. Elements of victim profiling include physical traits, occupation, medical history, last activities before the crime, marital status, education, psychosexual history, personal lifestyle and demography, map of travel prior to offence, drug and alcohol history, friends and enemies, and court history (Holmes, 1989; Turvey, 2011). Most studies found victims and offenders to have the same physical and psychological traits (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Gallagher et al, 2008; Hanfland et al, 1997; Lord et al, 2001).

Offender profiling is the estimation of characteristics of the offender in order to narrow down on a group of possible suspects (Canter, 2004). This requires inferring information about the offender from the crime they have committed (Canter, 2004; Canter, 2000; Douglas & Burgess, 1990; Geberth, 1999). Offender profiling generally involves seven steps; 1) evaluation of the criminal act itself; 2) comprehensive evaluation of the specifics of the crime scene(s); 3) comprehensive analysis of the victim; 4) evaluation of preliminary police reports; 5) evaluation of the medical examiner's autopsy protocol; 6) development of profile with critical offender characteristics and; 7) investigative suggestions predicted on construction of the profile (Douglas and Burgess, 1986).

Victim profiling and Offender profiling methods have been criticised for different reasons. There is little empirical evidence suggesting that victim and offender profiles are applicable to reality; profiling is entirely intuitive based and merely an educated attempt to provide law enforcement agencies with detailed characteristics of an unknown individual; and sound profiles depend on evidence and in some cases not all the evidence of a crime is available. However, it can help determine what type of suspect the investigators should search for and allows investigators to gain a higher level of insight into the crime by understanding different characteristics.

Offenders often seek to meet sexual fantasies and needs hence victim gender and other physical characteristics are regarded as part of the offender's selection criteria (Boudreaux et al, 2000). Through increased knowledge the FBI identified four categories of offenders: paedophiles, profiteers, serial killers and childless psychotics.

CASSA offences mainly occur in the week days, outside and during school hours (Gallagher et al, 2008; Nethery, 2002a). The most common physical activities and settings related to abduction were:

- Walking alone to and from school

- Waiting for a school bus alone
- Playing in a public area after hours or in the late evening, or playing unsupervised at any time
- Exploring remote areas
- Using enclosed, poorly lit stairways, corridors
- Waiting in public parking areas after dark or in normal working hours
- Walking unattended in a crowded mall or other public places
- Children that attend inner city schools are significantly more likely to be victimised ((Huttinger, 1984).

CASSA offenders often frequent the area where they abduct the victim which is often close to the victim's home. The distance and time impact the offender's choice of victims and abduction site (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Overall the majority of offenders travel shorter distances and stick to areas they are familiar with, without too closely associating themselves to a given area. Nethery (2002a) addresses the concept of Distance Decay where offenders operate in areas close to their home. Areas where offenders do not target are known as Buffer Zones. These areas are less desirable because of the perceived risk associated with operating too close to home (Rossmo,2000). CASSA cases involving a vehicle tend to result in more violence (Nethery, 2002a). A vehicle allows the offender to conceal the child and provide the offender with more time to plan a method (Nethery, 2002a).

Studies found two methods of approach used by abductors: Blitz Attack and Confidence/Con Attack (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Tedisco & Paludi, 1996). The New Zealand Police identified a third MO, the Surprise Attack (New Zealand Police, 2012). Stranger abduction motivations include maternal desire, profit and retribution and sexual gratification (Boudreaux et al, 1999). Female offenders and ethnic minorities rarely commit CASSA offences but are most commonly responsible for emotion-based offences.

Young offenders are more likely to use a weapon (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003) compared to older offenders who use age, social position, economic power, authority and physical strength to make children comply (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

Chapter Three: Methodology

Research Design

This is a quantitative study that used qualitative data collected by the New Zealand Police on solved CASSA cases and coded in the Criminal Profiling Unit database known as ViCLAS, and the National Intelligence Application (NIA). The study used secondary qualitative data, in the form of police reports collected by the police at the time the incident was reported. This information was rendered into quantitative variables by the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit which then allowed the researcher to statistically analyse the data.

As the study uses previous CASSA experiences as the basis of this research a Positivist approach will be used based on knowledge gained from 'positive' verification of observable experience (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). It has been noted that "as a philosophy, positivism is in accordance with the empiricist view that knowledge stems from human experience" (Colling, 2010, p.38). The researcher will remain independent of this study and will be limited to data collection and interpretation. This means there will be no interaction with the participants when carrying out this research. The research study will look at the information provided by New Zealand Police and the Criminal Profiling Unit and evaluate the data using the Positivist position of the three criteria named by Cohen and Crabtree (2006). These are: Validity, Reliability and Generalizability. Validity refers to the extent to which a measurement approach or procedure gives the correct answer allowing the research to measure and evaluate an objective reality. Reliability refers to the extent to which a measurement approach or procedure provides the same answer whenever it is carried out and Generalizability refers to the extent to which findings of a study can be applied more broadly outside of the study context (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

The qualitative data was compiled to determine a 'typical' offender and victim profile of CASSA cases in New Zealand employing methodologies suitable for phenomenological research as it refers to the description of knowledge through empirical observation of phenomena (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). There are three different schools of phenomenological research that are comprehensively used in social science research (Cohen & Omery, 1994). This study is based on phenomenology used in the natural sciences which is also valuable in terms of understanding a phenomenon (Englander, 2012). The research will use descriptive phenomenology guided by work of Husserl (Dowling, 2004). This school of phenomenology

aims to “obtain fundamental knowledge of phenomena” (Dowling, 2004; Maggs-Rapport, 2001). By analysing descriptions of knowledge gained from these offences the study approach is therefore positivist and thus aligned with the descriptive statistics (Dowling, 2004). Not only is it important to examine the phenomena as an individual subject but it is also important how the phenomenon is presented to an intersubjective community (Zahavi, 2001). By following Husserlian descriptive phenomenological research as a basis for the study both the data collection and data analysis need to follow descriptive phenomenology allowing for generalisations of a phenomena. For example, one could use the offender modus operandi (MO) to generalise this finding to include other people who have also had that specific experience. This will help arrange findings according to themes by identifying key issues and factors. Rather than deciding what to select and how to express the data, phenomenological research’s main role is to describe the information rather than explain. The information obtained will be unable to provide explanations as to why these particular victims are targeted or why these offenders are more commonly predisposed to committing these offences. Instead the purpose of this study is to provide a description that is developed from the data obtained and emphasise the importance of more research.

Since the issue needs to be researched further this study relies heavily on overseas literature and quantitative research approaches. Creswell (2009) states that quantitative approach’s objective is to test and verify, rather than develop theories. The researcher collects data to test and reflects on its confirmation or disconfirmation by the results. Although this method cannot provide a conclusive answer it can provide significant insight into this subject (Singh, 2007).

The study uses descriptive statistics, as these express the basic features of the data in the study. Due to the large amount of variables in the study, each descriptive statistic will help reduce the amount of data and put it into a simple summary by providing an accurate description of the population being studied (Mendenhall, Beaver, & Beaver, 2013; Ostle, 1963). Descriptive statistics simply describe what the data shows and presents the quantitative descriptions in a manageable form.

Unsolved cases were disregarded as there was no conclusive information about the offender. Further exclusion applied to cases that did not match the topic criteria. For example, attempted but unsuccessful abduction; victims who were 17 years and older; CASSA incidents that occurred in Australia; or involved multiple victims and multiple offenders; multiple victims and one offender and multiple offenders and one victim.

Data Collection

All CASSA cases ranging over a 24 year period were obtained from NIA and those cases coded in ViCLAS. For the purposes of ViCLAS, cases are classified as 'solved' when the identity of the offender is known to the police (the offender does not need to be charged with an offence). ViCLAS Data Entry Conventions Guide is used by staff at the New Zealand Police to ensure consistency in coding when a case is reported (New Zealand Police, 2012).

The qualitative data was provided by the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit. This included a Word document with the incident report summary of each individual case. Each report was one to two pages long in a narrative style of reporting. An Excel spreadsheet with different variables pertaining to each case was also provided. This included: incident daylight or darkness; incident year; incident date; victim age; victim gender; victim ethnicity; victim activity at time of initial contact with offender; factors influencing the victim at the time of offence; offender age; offender gender; offender ethnicity; factors influencing the offender at the time of offence; address at the time of the incident; address of the initial contact scene; indoor or outdoor location of offence; weapon; offender modus operandi and the sexual acts committed against the victim.

Before removing the data from the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit the distance between the offender's address and the initial contact scene was calculated by the researcher. The researcher used three different methods to calculate the distance between the offender's residence (Y) and the initial contact scene (Z). These were (1) Google Maps; (2) reading the incident report summary for identifying features and (3) geocoding. These methods were used because the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit uses the same methods (personal communication, July 23, 2013).

Google Maps was the first method used by the researcher. The two sites were entered into Google Maps which often identified several routes the offender may have travelled. The distance that was used in the study was the shortest in distance and the quickest in time. This was based on the Least Effort Principle where offenders want to exert as little energy as possible when committing crimes (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Forty one cases in the study had an exact location where the initial contact scene was.

The initial contact scene location was missing from six cases thus two alternative methods were used to calculate the distance between Y and Z. The distance travelled was calculated by

measuring the distance between the offenders residence to approximate locations identified in the incident report summary, e.g.

“On the 18th of May the victim went to the New Lynn shops” (ViCLAS ID NZ200801350) *or*

“On Thursday the 2nd of April 1998 the victim was at a Polynesian festival with her school...”

(ViCLAS ID NZ200801308).

Although these cases do not have exact addresses these statements easily allow streets to be identified, allowing the distance travelled by the offender to be calculated.

The final method used by the researcher is known as Geocoding. This is a process of finding associated geographic coordinates (often expressed as latitude and longitude) from other geographic data, such as street addresses or postal codes. In this study, postal codes were used. With these geographic coordinates the features can either be mapped into the Geographic Information Systems, or the coordinates can be embedded in to media via geotagging (New Zealand Police, 2012).

All personal information was then de-identified. Names were replaced with unique numbers (ViCLAS ID); and offender addresses were removed from the Excel spreadsheet and replaced with ‘distance travelled by the offender’. The victim’s address was not available to the researcher so the distance between the victim’s residence and initial point of contact could not be calculated. This was due to the sensitivity of the topic and to prevent any re-victimisation. Once this was completed there was no further contact with the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit or the New Zealand Police.

Nethery (2002a), Boudreaux et al (1999) and Erikson and Friendship (2002) found that sexual assault offenders increase the level of violence as they commit more crimes. Hence the study examined the number of sexual acts committed against a victim. It was also important to see if a relationship existed between the number of sexual acts committed and the age of the victim, and factors influencing the victim or the offender and the sexual acts committed against the victim. Pre-groupings by the police identified a total of 14 types of sexual acts. These were (1) vaginal intercourse; (2) anal intercourse; (3) fellatio; (4) cunnilingus; (5) digital penetration of vagina; (6) digital penetration of anus; (7) masturbation; (8) rubbing of genitals; (9) kissing/licking; (10)

fondling or grabbing; (11) sucking of genitals; (12) inanimate object insertion; (13) simulated intercourse and (14) victim participation as a result of blackmail.

Data Analysis

The initial sample of case files provided by the New Zealand Criminal Profiling Unit comprised of 87 solved cases from around New Zealand during the period of 1987-2011. However, as the research was only studying solved cases of completed child abduction and subsequent sexual assault a total of thirty cases were removed from the Excel spreadsheet. Twenty cases were not relevant for this study as they did not contain all of the components for this topic. For example: cases of attempted but unsuccessful abduction; cases of abduction with no sexual assault; victims who were 17 years and older and CASSA incidents that occurred in Australia. Ten more cases were excluded as these were multiple victims and multiple offender cases; or multiple victims and a single offender; or multiple offenders and a single victim.

Cases involving multiple victims and multiple offenders, or multiple victims and one offender, or multiple offenders and one victim were excluded as they are a different type of offence. Social-psychological theories suggest that these forms of CASSA cases may be bound in such processes as developing social identity, de-individuation, diffusion of responsibility (Krahe, 2001), peer pressure (Porter & Alison, 2005; Woodhams, Gillett, & Grant, 2007), the development of comradeship and camaraderie (Groth & Birnbaum, 1990; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1980) and has an element of excitement or adventure (Scully & Marolla, 1985). Furthermore, offender's motive, offender's MO and the offence characteristics differ as the presence of others provides social support in planning and committal of the offence (Porter & Alison, 2006). Therefore, 47 cases were analysed with a total of 47 victims and 47 offenders.

The study included and analysed variables individually to identify a general victim profile; offender profile and offence characteristics. This included: victim physical and psychological traits; offender physical and psychological traits; victim activity at time of contact with the offender; offender location; sexual acts committed against the victim; distance from the offender's residence to the initial contact scene; offender modus operandi and victim offender relationship; time and year of the offence; weapon use and vehicle use and crime scene.

The variables were then combined into sets of two in order to find any existing correlations between those variables. The study will begin by focussing on variable combinations previously

studied. These were: victim age and offender age; offender ethnicity and victim age; offender ethnicity and victim ethnicity; offender ethnicity and offender age; victim ethnicity and victim age; offender ethnicity and offender location; number of sexual acts committed and victim age; number of sexual acts committed and offender age. Further variable combinations were then analysed as it was evident when studying the individual variables that possible trends were emerging. Therefore it was important to determine if any correlations existed. These were: factors influencing the victim and victim age; factors influencing the offender and offender age; factors influencing the victim and the number of sexual acts committed; factors influencing the offender and the number of sexual acts committed; distance travelled by the offender and offender age and distance travelled by the offender and the incident year.

The ethnicity of the offender and the ethnicity of the victim were obtained from the National Intelligence Application database (NIA). Case files specified seven categories for victim ethnicity: Asian descent, Caucasian descent, Indian descent, Indigenous Maori descent, Mixed descent, Pacific Island descent and Unknown. Six categories for offender ethnicity were identified: Caucasian descent, Indian descent, Indigenous Maori descent, Middle Eastern descent, Mixed descent and Pacific Island descent.

There were nine different categories of activities identified in the case files that victims were involved in at the time of contact with the offender. These were: (1) waiting by themselves at the bus stop; (2) domestic activity (e.g. cleaning the house); (3) hitchhiking by themselves; (4) prostituting themselves; (5) recreational activity (e.g. playing at the park); (6) social network (e.g. Facebook); (7) visiting friends/relatives; (8) walking by themselves (e.g. to and from school) and (9) at work.

The category, "Factors Influencing the Offender" are those things that influence the offenders decision to commit the offence and what victim to target. For example, the offender becomes intoxicated and gropes a victim which may be something they would not do sober. This category is not about stigmatising any group on the basis of their lifestyle choice, be it sexual orientation or drug use. Additionally, "Factors Influencing the Victim" relate to victim vulnerability. By the case files reporting the victim was drunk is NOT victim-blaming, but rather stating the victim was in a more vulnerable situation and an easier target. Homosexuality is under "Factors Influencing the Offender" for those cases where the offender and victim are of the same gender. Again, this factor is NOT stigmatising the victim, nor blaming them. However, there are cases where the victim has gone to a public toilet that is known for homosexual encounters, consented

to a particular sex act but then been sodomised, which they did not consent to. As informed by the New Zealand Profiling Unit, homosexuality is rarely endorsed for victim factors. The victims sexual orientation is generally unknown to the offender and therefore not a factor. Even if the victim is homosexual (e.g. victim stated in interview) this is not endorsed as a factor because the offender may not have known it (personal communication September 8, 2014). This information was gathered and recorded by the New Zealand Police at the time of the incident. In this study seventeen victims and seventeen offenders were recorded as being influenced by factors at the time of the offence. Since the criminological literature attributes drug abuse, alcohol abuse, mental impairment and sexual deviance (e.g. prostitution; homosexuality; sexual fantasies) to CASSA offending and victimisation (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Hanfland et al, 1997) the study will include only these items.

Since there was a small time period, and limited cases, the years were split into five groups of three years. This will enable the researcher to identify any trends or patterns. The different time periods were: 1987-1999; 2000-2002; 2003-2005; 2006-2008; 2009-2011.

The location of the offender and their residence was firstly identified as being in the North Island or South Island. Cities and towns were identified and the percent of offenders in these areas in relation to the study population was calculated. Further analysis will be used to identify if cities or towns and the percent of offenders differ when calculated per capita.

Limitations

The research intends on providing useful findings regarding the demographic characteristics of victims and offenders of stranger perpetrated sexually motivated child abductions. However, given that this was the first extensive research on this topic in New Zealand there were limitations to the study.

Firstly, the research and the literature in this thesis are primarily based on description. Therefore the research is unable to answer questions regarding how, when and why the characteristics occurred. Although the study provides useful information it cannot determine causes, reasons, meanings or possibilities (Johnson, 1953). Furthermore, this method provides a relative recent picture; but considering these offences may continue to evolve and change these results may be obsolete. Additionally descriptive methods can find unclear information. When this occurs it is not justifiable to start making theoretical interpretations to make these appear more clear

(Dowling, 2004). However, given the limited research on this topic descriptive studies often provide the beginning into more rigorous studies (Grimes & Schulz, 2002).

The inability to reference or expand on any New Zealand literature conducted on this topic is a weakness in this research. Prior research in New Zealand would have provided a foundation for understanding the topic that is being studied. This meant that throughout this research International studies were referred to. Although there were overseas studies on this subject, relating this to the New Zealand population is difficult as it becomes speculation rather than conclusive evidence. Previous studies also employed a variety of sources to examine quantitative and qualitative features of different groups which, as a result, tends to offer findings for only specific groups. For example, Gallagher et al's (2008) study of attempted and completed incidents of sexual abuse and abduction on children from elementary and high school children may only yield results applicable for that group, therefore making it impossible to make generalised conclusions.

With 47 cases ranging over a 24 year period the sample size is relatively small. However, the aim of statistical testing is to uncover significant differences of variables being studied therefore sample size is crucial. This can be seen as a fundamental flaw as the larger the sample size the higher the chances are in finding significant and conclusive results (Cohen, 1960; MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang, Hong, 1999). It can also be argued that this is not a true representation of groups of people whose results can be transferred. If a sample size is small the findings may only be relevant for that specific group studied. A larger sample size allows the findings to provide a general indication, and better representation, of the entire population. It also reliably reflects the population mean limiting the influence of outliers, and produces results among variables that are significantly different (Patel, Doku, Tennakoon, 2003). Since this is the first research in New Zealand there is still going to be significant findings and correlations within this data as it will provide insight into the topic. As a result it can provide a platform for further research to determine if the findings are relevant for a larger population.

Moreover, the study lacked available and/or reliable data. In some case files information on specific variables was missing, for instance ethnicity; the location of the offender's residence and the location of the initial contact site. Although this only affected a small group of cases the primary issue with data missing is that it can be argued that the findings are incorrect or unreliable as results may differ if all of the data was available. Data identifying the victim's address at the time of the offence was unavailable. Given the sensitivity of this topic this

information was unable to be disclosed. This meant the researcher was unable to calculate the distance between the victim's residence and the initial contact scene. As previously mentioned, research has indicated that this information is vital when determining where and when an offence took place (Boudreaux et al, 2000; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). This is an obstacle in finding and reporting any reliable trends or meaningful relationships as studies have found offenders live within close proximity to victims, or frequent areas where the victim lives (MacDonald, 1961; Rossmo, 2000). Offender criminal history was also information unavailable due to confidentiality. Though the data showed the perpetrators had a previous record it did not specify the actual crime. If this information was provided it could have enabled the researcher to identify any offence trends. Research has suggested that offender crimes do escalate in violence with sex offenders more often criminally diverse than might be suggested by the specificity of the particular abduction crime (Beasley, Hayne, Beyer, Cramer, Bradley Berson, Muirhead, & Warren, 2009). Research suggests criminal records of CASSA offenders reflect a combination of violent, drug, and property crimes. However, CASSA offenders usually have prior arrests for assault, prior forcible sexual assaults, prior non forcible sexual offences and prior involvement in crimes that have involved kidnapping or abduction (Beasley et al, 2009). In addition, there have been varying results on the relationship between the victim and their family. Some research has identified that victims often come from divorced households (Tedisco&Paludi, 1996) whereas other research has stated that victims have a good relationship with their family (Hanfland et al, 1997). In this study this information was unavailable therefore the relationship between the child and their parents was not known. Including this information may add further insight into the profile of a typical CASSA victim. The inability to access all of the information means the researcher cannot draw any conclusions, nor can they confirm or deny previous research, thus instead can only hypothesise according to previous findings.

The data collected by the New Zealand Police is based solely on victim's memory of the incident. Therefore there is the potential for human-error given it relies on independent verification. In other words, the study is based on what other people have said. However, traumatic and violent events can often affect a person's memory, especially children. Given the intensity of the crime and the feelings experienced by the victim, it is common for victims to avoid triggers or reminders of the trauma (Nemeroff, Bremner, Foa, Mayberg, North & Stein, 2006). As a result, Nemeroff et al (2006) have stated that victim's memory can fail when recalling certain important aspects of the trauma. Avoidance or memory lapse is common in the aftermath of violent crime as it is a means of self-protection (Nemeroff et al, (2006). Findings

from different studies also support this information. For example, Belicki, Correy, Boucock, Cuddy, and Dunlop's (as cited in Contratto & Gutfreund, 1996) study of abused students report 55.4% of victims had disrupted memory; and Van Der Kolk & Fisler (1995) study found 42% of adults who were sexually assaulted when they were children had suffered significant or total amnesia. This can often be a result of dissociation by victims. Clinicians have stated that victim memory is not necessarily lost, but is for some time unavailable for retrieval. Many clinicians believe child sexual abuse is especially conducive to negative disturbances of memory such as dissociation or delayed memory (American Psychological Association, 2014). Again, this has been identified as a mechanism for victims to protect themselves. Thus, the victim's report of the incident can be unreliable as children are more vulnerable than adults to loss of conscious memory of the trauma (Bessel & Van der Kolk, 1989). Furthermore, Pizzarro (as cited in Lang, 2006) has stated that "negative evaluations" are capable of exerting a distorting effect on memory. Not only can victims forget something, but it is possible to remember something that never really happened. Victims can falsely associate what they have in their mind, rather than what actually happened thus independent reports can be unreliable (Ramirez et al, 2013). However, as the researcher did not want to cause any re-victimisation this was deemed an unavoidable factor in the data collection process.

Furthermore, the process of acquiring the data for this study could be seen as a limitation. Cases that were not applicable to the study were originally included. For example, it has been recognised that cases have been coded as 'abduction' when in fact the idea behind the offence was to steal a vehicle and after doing so the offender realises a toddler is in the back seat (personal communication July 15, 2013). This has therefore resulted in irrelevant cases being included in the original data set. With that being said, there may have been cases that were suitable for this study but were dismissed. Again, this may be a result of incorrect coding by those entering the information into the database, given the boundaries of some criminal offence definitions (abduction and kidnapping) are very vague (Finkelhor et al, 1990).

All of these factors can affect the overall results of this study, and make it difficult to make any generalisations and comparisons. Therefore it becomes crucial that researchers begin to build up clear and consistent definitions and findings of the variables and topic being studied in order to reduce the flaws and build up a coherent picture of both victims and offenders.

Chapter Four: Findings

Findings similar to International research results were confirmed for New Zealand CASSA cases in the following characteristics: victim age (13-16 years old); victim gender (female); offender gender (male); offender ethnicity (Caucasian descent); distance from offenders home to initial contact scene (0-5km); offender motivation (sexual gratification); and time of the offence (outdoors and during the weekdays). Findings also demonstrate differences from International studies. This includes male victim age (over 3 years old); victim ethnicity (Indigenous Maori descent) and offender age (over 27 years old). Some of the variables that were combined have identified significant correlations. For example, Caucasian descent offenders and Indian descent offenders were likely to victimise children aged 14 to 16 year olds and the number of sexual acts committed in an incident increases as the victim gets older.

CASSA Victim Profile

Physical and Psychological Traits

Girls experienced the highest rate of victimization. Of the 47 victims, 43 were female victims (91.5%) and 4 were male victims (8.5%). The rate of female victimisation was 10 times greater than male victimisation.

The overall rate of completed stranger CASSA cases was higher among older children aged 13 to 16years, rather than children 12 years or younger. There were 40 victims (85.1%) between the ages of 13 and 16, while only seven victims (14.9%) were below 12 years of age. The mean age of victims was 13.9 years old.

Of the 47 victims in this study 18 (38.3%) were recorded as being of Indigenous Maori descent. This was the ethnic group with the highest rate of victimisation. Following this there were 12 victims (25.5%) recorded as Caucasian descent. Four victims were recorded as being of Indian descent (8.5%). Asian descent (4.3%), Mixed descent (4.3%) and Pacific Island (4.3%) descent all had the same rates of victimisation. Seven (14.9%) of the victims ethnicities were not recorded in the police report.

There were 17 victims (36.2%) who were influenced by factor(s) at the time of the offence. Five victims were influenced by alcohol (10.6%); five were influenced by alcohol and drug abuse (10.6%); and another five females were victims as a result of self-prostitution (10.6%). One (2.1%) victim was found to have been influenced by drugs and another (2.1%) was influenced by alcohol abuse and mental impairment. The remaining 30 (63.8%) had no drugs, alcohol, mental impairment or sexually deviant behaviour recorded in the case file.

Victim Activity at Time of Contact with Offender

The most frequent activity by a victim at the time of contact with the offender was when they were walking alone (40.4%). This was followed by victims self-prostituting (10.6%); hitchhiking (6.4%); visiting friends/relatives (6.4%); waiting by themselves at the bus stop (6.4%); or via social network sites (i.e. Facebook) (6.4%). Thereafter, other victim activities included working (4.3%); recreational activity (i.e. after school sport) (4.3%); and domestic activity (e.g. cleaning the house) (4.3%).

CASSA Offender Profile

Physical and Psychological Traits

All of the offenders (n=47) in this study were male (100%).

The most predominant age of all offenders was between 37-40 years of age. They accounted for 19.1% (n=9) of the total sample, followed closely by 17-20 year olds (17%); 21-24 year olds (17%); and 33-36 year olds (12.8%). Both the 29-32 year olds and the 41-44 year olds equally accounted for 10.6% of the total sample population. The 45-48 year olds (6.4%) followed, and then the 25-28 year olds (4.3%). There were no offenders between the ages of 48-60. However, there was one case where the offender was between the ages of 61-64 (2.1%), which was the lowest percent of offender age overall. The overall mean age of the offenders was 32 years old.

There were 16 offenders whose ethnicity was recorded as Caucasian descent (34%). This was the highest recorded ethnicity within this sample. This was followed by 11 offenders identified as Pacific Island descent (23.4%); nine identified as Indigenous Maori descent (19.1%); and eight identified as Indian (17%) descent. There was a considerable drop with the remaining two

ethnicities; two were identified as a mixed descent (4.3%); and one as Middle Eastern descent (2.1%).

Although the data did not specify past offences, it did identify if offenders had a previous criminal record. All 47 offenders had previous records and were known to the police (100%).

There were 17 (36.2%) offenders out of 47 who were influenced by some factor(s). Seven were influenced by alcohol and drug abuse (14.9%); three offenders were influenced by alcohol abuse (6.4%); three by sexual fantasies (6.4%); and two by drug abuse (4.3%). Other factors were drug abuse and homosexuality (2.1%); and homosexuality (2.1%). Thirty (63.8%) had no drugs, alcohol, mental impairment or sexually deviant behaviour recorded in the case file.

Offender Location

The majority (n=39) of offenders live in the North Island: Auckland (n=31); Thames (n= 2); Hamilton (n=1); Kaitaia (n=1); Levin (n=1); Morrinsville (n=1); Tauranga (n=1) and Wellington (n=1). Five offenders reside in the South Island, four in Christchurch and one in Nelson. Three of the offender's locations were not recorded in the case file. Table 1 shows the different cities/towns of the offender's residence. It also illustrates the percent of all offenders within this study and the number of offenders per capita. The information in the table highlights that per capita, Kaitaia and Morrinsville have a higher number of offenders. In comparison, although most offenders reside in Auckland, per capita it is one of the lowest.

Table 1

City/Town of Offenders Residence and the Number of Offenders Per Capita

City/Town	Total Population	Offenders Residing In City/Town	Percent of all offenders	Offenders Per Capita
Auckland	1,415,500	31	66	0.002
Christchurch	341,469	4	8.5	0.001
Thames	25,938	2	4.3	0.007
Hamilton	203,400	1	2.1	0.0005
Kaitaia	4,887	1	2.1	0.02
Levin	19,431	1	2.1	0.005
Morrinsville	6,993	1	2.1	0.01
Nelson	46,437	1	2.1	0.002
Tauranga	123,500	1	2.1	0.0008
Wellington	389,700	1	2.1	0.0002
<i>Unknown</i>		3		

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100 because of Swedish rounding. *Source:* nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/

Distance from Offender Home to Initial Contact Scene

Case files were put into two groups according to the distance between offender home and initial contact scene: less than 15km and over 15km. Most cases had a distance less than 15km. By splitting the distances into 5km groups the researcher was able to determine that the distance travelled by offenders was within a 0-5km radius when targeting victims (36.2%). The >15km bracket had the second highest percent rate but there was no trend in this data as distances were spread over a very large scale (15.1km-196km). However, a surprising result was that the distance between the 10.1-15km ranges had a higher percent (17%) of case files in comparison

to the shorter distance of 5.1-10km (12.8%). As noted, three (6.4%) distances were unable to be calculated as it was not identified in the police case files.

Table 2

Distance from Offender Home and Initial Contact Scene across a 5km Range

Distance	%
0-15km (n=31)	66
>15km (n=13)	27.7
Unknown (n=3)	6.4
Distances less than 15km across a 5km range	
0-5km (n=17)	36.2
5.1-10km (n=6)	12.8
10.1-15 (n=8)	17
>15km (n=13)	27.7
Unknown (n=3)	6.4

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100 because of Swedish rounding.

Offender Modus Operandi and Victim Offender Relationship

The most common approach that was used when tracking a victim was the Confidence/Con attack. Of the 47 offenders in the study 85.1% (n=40) used this approach. The remaining seven offenders (14.9%) used the Surprise attack. No offenders used the Blitz attack.

There was no significant relationship between offender and victim as all of these offences were conducted by strangers. There were 41 cases where the offender had absolutely no prior contact with the victim (87.2%). Six cases (12.8%) involved some form of verbal exchange moments before the offender abducted and sexually assaulted the victim. Two of these cases involved the offender asking the victim for assistance/information (4.3%); one offender offered the victim a ride (2.1%); and three contacted the victim via social network sites (6.4%).

Sexual Acts Committed Against Victim

The specific acts that were recorded in the CASSA case files are shown in Table 3. There were a total of 173 sexual acts committed within the 47 cases. The majority of these cases (85.1%) comprised of multiple types of sexual acts and 14.9% involved a single sexual act. The mean number of sexual acts committed was 3.7 per case.

Table 3

Sexual Acts Committed in completed stranger CASSA Incidents

Total number of Sexual Acts committed	%
Sexual acts committed (n=173)	
Vaginal Intercourse	15
Anal Intercourse	4.6
Fellatio	9.2
Cunnilingus	4.6
Rubbing of genitals	1.2
Digital penetration of vagina	9.8
Digital penetration of anus	2.9
Masturbation	9.8
Fondling/grabbing	18.5
Kissing/licking	14.5
Sucking	4.6
Inanimate object insertion	1.2
Victim participation	2.3
Simulated sex	1.7

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100 because of Swedish rounding.

Table 4 demonstrates the seven cases (14.9%) where only one sexual act was committed. Of the 14 categories of sexual acts committed overall, there were only four sexual acts that were identified in single sexual act incidents. These were fondling/grabbing (42.9%); followed by vaginal intercourse (28.6%); masturbation (14.3%); and fellatio (14.3%).

Table 4

CASSA Incidents involving a Single Sexual Act

Incidents involving a single type of sexual act (n=7)	%
Vaginal Intercourse	28.6
Anal Intercourse	0
Fellatio	14.3
Cunnilingus	0
Rubbing of genitals	0
Digital penetration of vagina	0
Digital penetration of anus	0
Masturbation	14.3
Fondling/grabbing	42.9
Kissing/licking	0
Sucking	0
Inanimate object insertion	0
Victim participation	0
Simulated sex	0

Lastly, Table 5 portrays the incidents involving multiple sexual acts. This was by far the largest group, with 40 cases involving multiple types of sexual acts (85.1%).

Table 5

CASSA Incidents involving Multiple Sexual Acts

Cases of victims with acts committed against them (n=47)	100
Incidents involving multiple types of acts (n=40)	85.1
Cases with 2 sexual acts committed against victim	22.5
Cases with 3 sexual acts committed against victim	20
Cases with 4 sexual acts committed against victim	15
Cases with 5 sexual acts committed against victim	20
Cases with 6 sexual acts committed against victim	10
Cases with 7 sexual acts committed against victim	10
Cases with 8 sexual acts committed against victim	2.5

CASSA Offence ProfileTime and Year of Offence

Over half (n=26) of the studied case files occurred during the day (55.3%). There were 18 attacks that took place during darkness (38.3%), while the remaining three case reports did not specify (6.4%). Weekday incidents (n=30) were more than double (63.8%) the occurrence rate than weekend incidents. There were 11 incidents that occurred during the weekend (23.4%). The other six cases reported this variable as being unknown (12.8%). Forty three offences occurred outdoors (91.5%). Outdoor areas included parks, fields and streets or bushes. The remaining 4 took place indoors (8.5%). The cases files recorded two of the offenders snuck into the victim's residence and two other victims were working.

Overall the number of cases has increased noticeably since 1987. The years 1987-1991 had the fewest number of incidents (2.1%); 1992-1995 had 4 incidents (8.5%); 1996-1999 had 8 incidents (17%); 2000-2003 had 3 incidents (6.4%); 2004-2007 had 16 incidents (34%); and 2008-2011 had 15 incidents (31.9%).

Weapon use

In order to dominate and control the victim some offenders inflicted pain with the use of weapons. This was very uncommon and most cases (n=41) did not involve a weapon (87.2%). However, the six cases that used a weapon involved three offenders using a knife (6.4%); one offender using a firearm (2.1%); one offender bit his victim (2.1%); and the other punched his victim (2.1%).

Vehicle Use and Crime Scene

All of the offenders in the study (n=47) used a vehicle to commit the offence. The vehicles were used to abduct the victim and transport both victim and offender to the crime scene. Thirty eight (80.9%) of the offenders used the vehicle itself as the crime scene. Whereas, nine (19.1%) of the offenders committed the crime outside of the vehicle. Seven victims were assaulted on the bonnet or around the vehicle and two were transported in the vehicle and sexually assaulted in a field or park.

Correlating Variables

Victim Age and Offender Age

The offenders' ages ranged from 18-61 years old. The highest number of offenders was within the 37-40 year old age range, with the studied population having a mean age of 32 years old. The victim's age ranged from 3-16 years old, with a mean age of 13.2 years old. Victims 12 years and younger were victimised by young (35 or younger) offenders (57.1%), compared to old (35 and older) offenders (42.9%). However, of the 40 victims aged between 13-16 years of age all were victimised at equal rates by young offenders (50%) and older offenders (50%).

Offender Ethnicity and Victim Age

Victims aged 14-16 years old (n=37) were mostly victimised by Caucasian descent and Indian descent offenders (59.5%). In comparison to victims 13 and younger (n=10) who were mostly victimised by Indigenous Maori and Pacific Island offenders (70%).

Offender Ethnicity and Victim Ethnicity

Over half the Caucasian descent victims (58.3%) were victimised by their own ethnic group. All (n=4) of the Indian descent victims were victimised by their ethnic group (100%). There were no further significant correlations between offender ethnicity and victim ethnicity.

Offender Ethnicity and Offender Age

Of the 36 offenders who were recorded as either Caucasian descent; Indigenous Maori descent; or Pacific Island descent, 75% were between 30-46 years of age. Whereas the 11 offenders who identified themselves as either Indian descent, Middle Eastern descent, or Mixed descent 81.8% were between the ages of 20-23 years old. The oldest exception was a 61 year old Caucasian descent offender.

Victim Ethnicity and Victim Age

Over a quarter (27.8%) of Indigenous Maori descent victims were 12 years or younger. This ethnic group made up 71.4% of all incidents of that age group. The remaining 72.2% of Indigenous Maori descent victims were between 13 and 16 years of age. The majority (91.7%) of Caucasian descent victims were between the ages of 13 and 16 years old. The remaining ethnic groups (Pacific Island descent, Asian descent, Indian descent, Mixed descent) were predominantly between the ages of 13-16 years also.

Offender Ethnicity and Offender Location

There was no significant correlation between the offender's ethnicity and the offender's location.

Number Sexual Acts Committed and Victim Age

The number of sexual acts committed against the victim increased with older victims. Seventy percent of the victims aged 13 and below had three or less sexual acts committed against them at

each offence. Over half (54%) of the victims aged 14-16 years old had four or more sexual acts committed against them at each offence.

Number of Sexual Acts Committed and Offender Age

The age of the offender did not determine the number of sexual acts committed.

Factors Influencing Victim and Victim Age

The seventeen victims influenced by a factor(s) were all between 12 and 16 years old. Of this, 88.2% of victims influenced by either; alcohol, drugs, alcohol and drugs, or alcohol and a mental impairment were between the ages of 14 to 16 years of age. The four victims (75%) who were prostituting were all 16 years of age.

Factors Influencing Offender and Offender Age

Most of the offenders who were influenced by a factor(s) (n=17) were younger than 35 (76.5%). The four offenders who were older than 35 were influenced by either alcohol (n=1); alcohol and drugs (n=2); or homosexuality (n=1).

Factors Influencing Victim and Number of Sexual Acts Committed

The overall mean number of sexual acts committed against a victim influenced by one factor (n=11) was 3.4 acts per incident. The overall mean number of sexual acts committed against a victim influenced by more than one factor was 4.7 acts per incident.

Factors Influencing Offender and Number of Sexual Acts Committed

The eight offenders who were influenced by two factors (alcohol and drugs (n=7); drugs and homosexuality (n=1)) had a mean number of 3.9 sexual acts committed per incident. In

comparison the nine offenders influenced by one factor (alcohol (n=3); drugs (n=2); homosexuality (n=1); or sexual fantasies (n=3)) had a mean of 4.3 sexual acts per incident.

Distance Travelled by Offender and Offender Age

There was no significant correlation between the distance travelled by the offender and the offender's age.

Distance Travelled by Offender and Incident Year

The distance travelled by the offender in 1987-1992 was between 10-11 km. From 1994 to 2000 this distance decreased with most offenders travelling less than 5km. However, from the year 2000 the distance travelled by offenders has increased. The majority of offenders were travelling between 5-10km between 2004 and 2007, and even further between 2008 and 2011 with most offenders travelling 15km or more.

To summarize, findings from New Zealand CASSA cases show that Indigenous Maori descent females aged 13-16 years old had the highest rate of victimisation. Victims were usually not influenced by any factors at the time of the offence with CASSA attacks often occurring during the weekend while victims were walking alone. The majority of offenders were 37-40 year old Caucasian descent males with previous criminal records. Most resided in the North Island and all used a vehicle to commit the offence, with many using the vehicle itself as the crime scene. Offenders used the Con Attack approach and most drove less than 15km to the initial contact scene.

The older victims aged 13-16 years old were all victimised at equal rates by young and older offenders. Victims of this age range were mostly victimised by Caucasian descent and Indian descent offenders. Additionally these two ethnic groups often attacked those of the same ethnicity. The number of sexual acts committed against the victim was higher among older children. Furthermore, the distance travelled by the offender increased noticeably since the first offence recorded in 1987.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of this study was to provide a profile of victims and offenders in CASSA cases. To this end, the study examines victim, offender, and offence characteristics from a nationally representative sample of children illegally abducted and subsequently sexually assaulted by strangers. The data utilised consisted of cases reported for investigation and later solved by the New Zealand Police. Such cases are not necessarily typical of all child abductions, but rather highlight similarities for this specific type of offence. From the data analysis there were distinctive findings that appeared. This includes, but is not limited to, the patterns that appeared in victim and offender physical and psychological traits; the distances travelled by the offender when selecting victims; the number of sexual acts committed against the victim and the victim's age and the distance travelled by the offender and the incident year.

It is important to note that the findings indicate that CASSA by strangers do not occur often. As the study illustrates only 47 single victim and offender cases occurred in a 24 year period. Therefore the risk of children being abducted and sexually assaulted is minimal considering New Zealand has a population of 4.2million as of the March 2013 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). However, the findings do provide insight into important information. As there is the possibility of numerous correlations between different variables, the discussion will focus solely on the results that have identified significant relationships. The beginning of this section will provide a brief CASSA victim and offender profile in New Zealand. This will include the demographic characteristics of the offender and victim. This will be followed by details of the abduction and specific investigative facts. For example offender modus operandi and victim and offender relationship; victim activity at time of assault; time of day and year the incident occurred; and offender location. Following this the variables with significant correlations will be discussed and lastly the disparities between New Zealand and International findings will be identified.

CASSA Victim Profile in New Zealand

Most of the victims were female, confirming results from International studies (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Finkelhor et al, 2002; Reingold, 1998). Children between 13-16 years of age had an overall higher rate of victimisation than those younger (<12 years old). International research

found similar results when examining 0-17 year olds, with older middle age children at greater risk of being abducted for sexual purposes (Boudreaux et al, 1999; McKenna, 2006; Nethery, 2002). The rationale for this age group having the highest risk is due to the fact they have more freedom and less supervision, yet at the same time they are often easier to control so the offender is more likely to complete their goal (McKenna, 2006; Nethery, 2002). Additionally, young females are particularly vulnerable to abuse as they are still at risk in their developing social worlds, while often in a relatively powerless place in their family means they are still at risk of strangers and acquaintances having access to the home (Clark, Robinson, Crengle, Grant, Galbreath, Sykora, 2009).

New Zealand has a population with a diverse range of ethnicities. The study found ethnicity to have a disproportionate correlation to sexual abuse. Most victims of this study were of Indigenous Maori descent, similar to the findings of The Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences at the University of Auckland (2008). Indigenous Maori were sexually victimised twice more than any ethnic group in New Zealand. Demographic trends show that Indigenous Maori are the largest growing population in New Zealand and are disproportionately over represented in particular cities (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Areas where most of the study population were from (e.g. Auckland) have a more dense urban population of Indigenous Maori that is greater than anywhere else in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

This disproportionate statistic of Indigenous Maori descent victims can be further addressed through Social Policy. For David Gil, 1973, (as cited in Lavalette & Pratt, 2006) the main focal concern of Social Policy is the access to life-enhancing and life-sustaining resources. It is concerned with the actions and decisions of government that contribute to the wellbeing of the population and its individuals. This includes areas such as health, education, Indigenous people, employment services and child protection. However, as Titmuss (1974) has identified, social policy as conceived in this or any other way is not “necessarily beneficent or welfare-orientated in the sense of providing more welfare and more benefits for the poor, the so called working classes, old age pensioners, women, deprived children and other categories in the catalogue of social poverty” (p.141). Social Policy can in fact redistribute command over material and non-material resources from the poor to the rich; from one ethnic group to another ethnic group and so forth. Statistics have identified that poverty and education contributes to the higher rates of victimisation among young Indigenous Maori descent victims (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Poverty may have a bearing on vulnerability of youth as a higher proportion of Indigenous Maori youth live in deprived areas relative to the rest of New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand,

2013). As Drucker (1997) notes, evidence shows that poor families are more likely than those with more economic resources to be identified as maltreating children. In addition, young Indigenous Maori descent women are also less likely than Caucasian descent women to leave school with at least NCEA Level 2 causing greater unemployment rates than any other ethnicity in New Zealand. Lack of employment and education result in what Titmuss (1974) refers to as 'states of dependency'. This arises for the vast majority of the population whenever they are not in a position to 'earn life' for themselves and their families; they are then dependent on people. Furthermore, the Child Poverty Action Group (2011) states that ethnicity is not likely to be the operative factor but is in fact poverty, which disproportionately affects ethnic minorities. These factors may contribute to the increased risk of victimisation and the likelihood of a greater number of Indigenous Maori victims.

Inequality in New Zealand has a significant ethnic dimension with Indigenous Maori and Pacific peoples having younger population age structures compared to Caucasian, and are markedly poorer and less asset rich. This affects the social policies in terms of life chances, health, education and employment opportunities (Child Poverty Action Group, 2011). It has been recognised that early years of a child's life are the most critical for development (Gluckman & Hayne, 2011). It is therefore a concern that figures from OECD (2009) show New Zealand to be one of the lowest investors in early childhood, and have one of the worst outcomes for children (Grimmond, 2011). This only emphasises why Indigenous Maori are likely to live in poverty or have lower education rate therefore increasing the risk of victimisation by more being more accessible in society (UN Women, 2014). These results demonstrate that not only are the high rates of victimisation on this group avoidable but they are due to badly designed and inadequately considered policy (CAPG, 2011).

In addition, when a child does not report the incident the impact does not end there. Direct costs include maintaining a child welfare system to investigate and respond to these allegations, as well as the judicial, law enforcement, health and mental health systems (Sexual Abuse Centre, 2014). There are also indirect costs including those associated with juvenile and adult criminal activity, mental illness and substance abuse. This can also see a lack of productivity due to underemployment, cost of special education services and an increase use of health care systems (Sexual Abuse Centre, 2014). Ultimately due to the related costs to public entities such as health care, human services and educational systems, these offences impact not just the child and family, but society as a whole (Sexual Abuse Centre, 2014).

In order to reduce this number of Indigenous Maori being victimised there needs to be a focus on moving toward a child-centred approach to policy and legislation. The Child Poverty Action Group (2011) has also recommended New Zealand create a senior Cabinet position with responsibility for children and fund child-impact assessments of existing national and local policies. Greater programmes are also needed to reduce the amount of Indigenous Maori children leaving school early. This is ultimately the driving force behind poverty. By removing limitations to education and implementing programmes that allow children an equal opportunity may potentially reduce the number of those unemployed and living in poverty. Social policies designed to prevent sexual violence include sexual offender registration and electronic monitoring. There appears to be little information and evidence that these policies achieve their goals of preventing sex crimes and protecting children safety. Thus in order to reduce the rate of victimisation especially among those more vulnerable (e.g. Indigenous Maori descent females) society needs to be more proactive and provide young children with greater awareness and knowledge of abduction and sexual assault at an early age.

The most common activity victims were engaged in at the time of the offence was walking to and from locations by themselves (e.g. walking to and from school). This type of setting not only makes the victim vulnerable, but it is also a tempting opportunity that entices offenders into criminal action. Each offender searches for victims around personal activity nodes (e.g. home, school, entertainment areas and parks) and the paths among them. These paths that people take in their everyday activity are closely related to where people fall victim to crime (Felson & Clarke, 1998). This can be further explained by the Routine Activity Approach, which started as an explanation of predatory crimes (Felson & Clarke, 1998). It is assumed that for these crimes to occur there must be a convergence in time and space of three minimal elements: a likely offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian (Felson & Clarke, 1998). This specific approach focuses on the second and third element, and takes the likely offender as a given in crimes (Felson & Clarke, 1998). A guardian does not necessarily refer to a parent, but rather anybody whose presence or proximity would discourage a crime from happening (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Therefore, a house wife, a neighbour or a postman can all, simply by being present, serve as a guardian. When a guardian is absent, the target is subject to the risk of criminal attack and therefore children walking by themselves become especially vulnerable. Felson and Clarke (1998) also identify four elements that influence a victim's risk of criminal attack. Firstly, offenders will only be interested in victims that they value, for whatever reason. Therefore, given stranger abductions are mostly for the purposes of sexual assault, easily

accessible victims become more valuable for the offender. A further element of routine activity approach is inertia. This simply refers to the weight of the target (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Children are likely to be smaller more easily controlled and are also psychologically and physically weaker, therefore becoming an easier target for offenders (Hanfland et al, 1997; Nethery, 2002; Tedisco & Paludi, 1996). Visibility and access are the last elements that refer to the exposure of the victim to the offender and how easy or difficult it is to access the victim. For example, children who are walking by themselves are more visible than those children in a mall or crowd. Furthermore, they are also more easily accessible than those that are indoors, thus increasing the chance of victimisation. Victims who were prostituting at the time of abduction, the second most common activity, produce opportunities for further crimes to occur (Felson & Clarke, 1998). It sets in motion a variety of other problems. Those engaging in high risk activities immediately compromise their positions and may be impelled towards additional offences (Felson & Clarke, 1998).

CASSA Offender Profile in New Zealand

All of the offenders in this study were male. Furthermore, most of the offenders were of Caucasian descent, again confirming results from International studies (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Gallagher, Bradford & Pease, 2008). Given most victims in this study were female, the gender of offenders was assumed since they often target those of the opposite sex (Holmes & Holmes, 1996; Nethery, 2002).

Although the data did not specify previous crimes committed by the offender, it did identify that all perpetrators had a criminal record and were known to the New Zealand Police. Based on knowledge of offender's criminal history, it is theorized that much like International studies of offenders, those in this study also increased their level of violence over time (Nethery, 2002). Most petty crimes in New Zealand are committed by males between the ages of 17-24 years old (Statistics New Zealand, 2012b; Ministry of Justice, 2004). As Inspector Detective John Manning (2009) found, the average age at first rape conviction for New Zealand males was 24 years of age (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2009). As the offender ages, the crimes committed become more violent (Statistics New Zealand, 2012b; Ministry of Justice, 2004). This is indicated through the study results as the mean age of offenders was 32 years old. Research by the Ministry of Justice (2004) found that offenders between the ages of 30-39 were committing more violent crimes and sexual assault related offences, more often than any other

age group in New Zealand. The New Zealand prison population is also indicative of this statistic with the highest proportion of offenders within the 30-39 year old age group (New Zealand Statistics, 2012). The fact that the average offender isn't committing these offences until later in life shows a continued orientation towards criminal activities, along with an escalation of violence (Nethery, 2002; West, 1987).

The Rational Choice Perspective focuses upon the offender's decision making. Its main assumption is that offending is designed to benefit the offender in some way (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Offenders have goals and motives (e.g. sexual gratification) that they want to achieve when they commit a crime. At the beginning of an offender's criminal career these goals are often small (e.g. theft) and only have a few benefits and risks at a time. However, as an offender commits more crimes the motives and goals escalate with offenders believing the rewards of the offence outweigh the costs and risks that may occur after the crime (Akers, 1990). Furthermore, the constraints on thinking limit an offender's rationality (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Given the abduction of a child has a limited time (e.g. time between the child walking to school and the arrival to school; time the offender has without someone from the public noticing or without the child screaming), the amount of time the offender can give to the decision and by the quality of the information available, often means the offender rarely has a full picture of the various costs and benefits of the crime (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Using the available information (e.g. geographic knowledge of neighbourhood), resources (e.g. vehicle) and amount of time, the offender will choose a location that allows them to avoid negative consequences, such as being caught, while increasing the gratification of committing the crime and immediate pleasures of completing their goal (Felson & Clarke, 1998; Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 2002; Nethery, 2000).

Offender Modus Operandi and Victim Offender Relationship

One of the most important factors of this study was the relationship between the offender and the victim. In order to be included in this study the offender must not be related to the victim. Therefore, all of the offenders had to be a stranger. In sum, the victim could have brief previous contact with the offender, but the offender could not be a family relative (Nethery, 2002). The reason behind excluding familial abductions is because the offender modus operandi (MO) is likely to be very different from non-familial abduction and sexual assaults (Nethery, 2002). The most common MO in this study was the Confidence/Con attack, a type of attack that is more commonly used by strangers than familial members. This form of attack is more psychological

than it is physical, and involves manipulating and deceiving victims, thus in many CASSA cases weapons are not used. A common tactic of offenders in this study was to ask victims for directions, contact the victim via social networks, or ask if the victim needed help, thus manipulating them into psychological and physical vulnerability (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996). Technology has enabled adults to establish contact with children to develop relationships and to groom potential victims for subsequent meetings resulting in the sexual abuse of the child (Krone, 2005). Large numbers of children now use the internet with a US study finding 55% of young people between 12 and 17 years now using social networking sites (Lenhart & Madden, 2007). Social and situational contexts influence the strategies and the role of shared socio-cultural meanings in facilitating perpetration. The Confidence/Con attack relies heavily on the offender gaining the victims trust. Trust has often been viewed at the individual level reflecting concepts of sincerity, honesty and individual values. However, Misztal (1996) criticises this view for being “too simplistic in its lack of attention to social context” (p. 14). Luhmann (1979) argues that trust is both a psychological and institutional dimension. Positive micro-level contact with individuals (e.g. doctors) can contribute to more generalised social good (Clark & Quadara, 2010). Social Capital literature has been particularly interested in the way trust facilitates, and is an indicator of social cohesion (Putnam, 2001). The idea of social trust shifts understandings of sexual offending- how it occurs and the nature of its harm- from the individual, or even the interpersonal, to the social (Clark & Quadara, 2010). The outward disposition promoted by the offender often promotes a sense of safety, minimising the victim’s feelings of threat/danger, thus allowing the offender to isolate the victim and commit the offence.

Offender Location

The majority of the offenders in the study lived in Auckland. However, when analysed per capita, there was little difference between the number of offenders residing in a large or small city/town. It was assumed that more CASSA cases would occur in the larger cities as it would provide offenders with more anonymity than those that are smaller. Alternatively, fewer CASSA cases were expected in smaller cities/towns as it was assumed people would have a greater sense of belonging amongst those living in these areas. This can be further explained through social cohesion. This has been defined as a cohesive society working towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility (OECD, 2012). Thus, a stranger

abducting a child in a small city/town would be more noticeable than those living in larger cities where people are surrounded by strangers on a daily basis, therefore providing more opportunities for CASSA offences and for offenders to go unrecognised (Felson & Clarke, 1998).

CASSA Offence Profile

Time of Day and Weekday

The availability of a victim is a key factor in an offender having the opportunity to commit a crime. It was assumed most of the abductions and sexual assaults would take place during the day and on the weekend, given that most children have less supervision during that time. The pattern that emerged with the time of day and day of week, in this study, was that most abductions occurred in daylight and on weekdays. This was similar to International findings by Nethery (2002). Daylight attacks were expected since children are more readily available during this time of day (Nethery, 2002). As Boudreaux et al (2001) have stated, these particular crimes are often a result of victim and offender interactions due to daily routines. Therefore given the victims were below the age of 16 it was assumed they would be less likely to be out late at night. An unexpected finding was that most offences (n=30) occurred during the weekday. However, the Routine Activities Approach can explain this finding. Given children are more likely to have a routine throughout the weekdays (e.g. walking to and from school or participating in after school sports) it provides a perfect opportunity for offenders to understand a child's daily activities.

Weapon Use

Similar to International findings, a small group of offenders used a weapon during the attack (Finkelhor et al 2002). This minimal use of a weapon has been explained by the MO and motive of these specific offenders. CASSA offenders are very skilled when selecting victims. Rather than the use of a physical weapon, offenders use psychological techniques to intimidate victims (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Tedisco & Paludi, 1996). Supported by the principles of opportunity and crime and routine activity approach, the victims are targeted because they are in vulnerable positions and without the presence of a capable guardian. Therefore the need to use force is less

likely as weapons are primarily used to control and dominate the victim (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003).

Vehicle Use

All of the offenders in the study used a vehicle during the offence. This factor is crucial because the mobility of the offender and victim increases and can be moved without easy detection in comparison to someone abducting a victim without a vehicle (Nethery, 2002). This aspect of the offence can be explained by the crime pattern theory, a central component of environmental criminology (Felson, 1998). It considers how people and things involved in crime move about in space and time. Offenders that use a vehicle often have extensive knowledge of their neighbourhood and surroundings (Dern, Frond, Vick, & Witt, 2005). The theory has three main concepts: nodes, paths, and edges. As Felson and Clarke (1998) have stated, nodes, which is a term for transportation, refers to where people travel to and from. Given the offender has knowledge of the surroundings and easy mobility with the use of a vehicle, the opportunity to commit and complete a crime is increased. Each offender searches for victims around personal activity nodes (e.g. neighbourhood, local shops) and the paths among them (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Since the offenders are using vehicles it is more likely that they are going to locate victims in areas such as streets, pathways or parks further supporting why there are higher rates in victimisation of those who were walking by themselves. This is why crime pattern theory focuses on the geographical distribution of crime and the daily rhythm of activity (Felson & Clarke, 1998). For example, it generates crime maps linking crime to commuter flows, school children being let out or any other process that moves peoples among nodes and along paths. The third concept of crime pattern theory, edges, refers to the boundaries of areas where people live, work, shop or seek entertainment (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Most of the offenders in the study remained within the boundaries of their own local environment and committed the crime in these areas.

Correlating Variables

Victim Age and Offender Age

The results did not identify any correlation between victim age and offender age. This was surprising as it was assumed that younger offenders would assault younger victims given they

are closer in age, thus can relate more easily to one another making the victim more vulnerable to an attack. However, the younger offenders were dispersed relatively evenly throughout the study sample. In saying this, the majority of the victims were aged 13-16 years old. In addition, the most common age range in the study was 37-40 years old as previously mentioned. The entire age range, 13-39 years old, remains New Zealand's largest population group and account for 34% of New Zealand's population, thus more opportunities to commit crimes. As the principles of opportunity and crime have indicated, the increase in opportunities (e.g. more children aged 13-16 years old), play an important role in every offence (Felson & Clarke, 1998). With the majority of offenders being in the older population it is also indicative of New Zealand's ageing population that has a median age of approximately 37 years of age (Statistics New Zealand, 2012a). With the ageing population, it therefore suggests that there will be fewer assaults on younger victims (12 years or younger) and an increase in older victims (13-16 years old).

Offender Ethnicity and Victim Ethnicity

The study identified two ethnic groups that targeted victims of the same ethnicity. These were Caucasian descent offenders and Indian descent offenders. Over two thirds of New Zealand's population is of Caucasian descent, thus there is greater opportunity and availability of victims in this ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2012a). Furthermore, research has identified that committing an offence against victims from the same ethnic group provides offenders with the opportunity of anonymity within their own ethnic group (Nethery, 2000). Although crime opportunities can be highly specific, such as offenders victimising their own ethnic groups, it is not to say that this will always happen. Offenders do not necessarily consider these factors when making a decision about a crime, therefore it cannot be concluded that victims will only be attacked by those of their own ethnic group (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Findings from this study also support this as many offenders victimised children from other ethnic groups also.

Offender and Victim Ethnicity and Offender and Victim Age

Studies have shown that male offenders have a different view to the role and value of a woman in society (Cowburn, Lavis, & Walker, 2008). Previous life experiences suggest they have an altered view of the role and value of a woman (White Ribbon, 2013). For offenders the opportunity to take control of another person and their own life for a short time, provides the

offender with a sense of control and domination (Felson & Clarke, 1998; Erikson & Friendship, 2002; Hazelwood et al, 1992). This may be further explained through the Feminist Theory. The theory is one of the major contemporary sociological theories that analyses the status of women in society and aims to increase gender equality; remove gender stereotypes/differences and eliminate gender stratification (Anderson & Taylor, 2009; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Generally feminists suggest that there are high levels of sexual assault against women because of a patriarchal, rape-supportive culture, with the belief women are not equal to men (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002). Sexual assault, according to feminists is an act of violence; violence asserts power and men use this to dominate women. The notion of power as a “productive force provides insight into how the sexed body, in particular, is the primary target of techniques of disciplinary power” (Henderson, 2013, p. 229) . Feminist theory views this criminal offence as emerging from a social framework that emphasizes group conflict. Since men are predominately holders of wealth and power they engage in behaviours that maintain this control (Brownmiller, 1975).

Findings show that offenders of Indian descent and Caucasian descent usually target victims aged 14-16 years old. The cultural restraints in their ethnic minority group (Indian descent) and some Caucasian descent families in New Zealand mean that young men (20-23 years old) may struggle with sexual freedom and control of their individual agency (Cowburn, Lavis, & Walker, 2008). Therefore they choose this age group because they may feel more comfortable given they are closer to their own age, they would be less suspicious approaching victims of this age and socially they could be accepted more easily by this age group and seen in a possible romantic light. In comparison, the older offenders (Indigenous Maori descent, Pacific Island descent, Middle Eastern descent and Mixed descent) are more likely to have a history of sexual, alcohol and relationship problems (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003) and mostly choose younger victims who they can control and who may accept an approach from the offender because of their vulnerability and obedience to adult authority (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

Number of Sexual Acts Committed and Victim Age

Offenders choose victims that will fulfil their goals and motives that they want to achieve, as indicated by the Rational Choice Perspective (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Offenders rationalise their actions by choosing older victims because in their eyes they may believe the victim is of an age where this can be seen as more acceptable. The younger victims may have fewer sexual acts

committed against them as the offender may consider the act of abduction itself, a violent way to achieve a sense of power (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003; Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

Factors Influencing Victim or Offender and Sexual Acts Committed Against Victim

A further connection can be made between the number of sexual acts committed and the contributing factors within certain cases. The majority of cases that involved an influencing factor by either the victim (n=17) or the offender (n=17) involved multiple sexual acts being committed. Research has found that multiple sexual acts are evident when a person is victimised by a stranger, whereas single sexual acts are more evident in incidents where the offender is known to the victim (e.g. family, friend, previous partners) (Jones, Wynn, Kroeze, Dunnuck, & Rossman, 2004). This increase in violence in stranger perpetrated cases may be a result of the impediment (e.g. drugs, alcohol, sexual deviances) causing a heightened sense of power, confidence and constant mood swings (Bennett, 1997). Sexual assault offenders are thought to reflect “personal psychopathology” (Wright & West, 1981) where they are driven by their own tendencies, with the common objective of offenders being to humiliate, degrade and demonstrate dominance over children (De Wree, 2004; West, 1987). By committing multiple sexual acts on a child the offender shows full supremacy and authority over the child.

Factors Influencing Victim or Offender and Victim and Offender Age

Hanfland et al (1997) have stated that the majority of offenders who abduct and assault children have a history of sexual, alcohol, drug and mental problems. Furthermore, they often have a criminal record and engage in frequent criminal activity such as those in the studied group. In addition, influencing factors were mainly attributed to offenders and victims who were of a younger age. This has been related to the developmental change occurring and the willingness to experiment in activities at that particular age (Cimbalo&Novell, 1993). In comparison adults are of a legal age so have easier access to a range of substances. Bennett (1997) has also stated that the impairment of a substance or other factors can also provide a heightened sense of power which influences their decisions and therefore their actions (Bennett, 1997).

Distance Travelled by Offender and Incident Year

It was assumed the distance travelled by the offender would increase throughout each year because there has been an increase in motor vehicles on New Zealand roads and a greater ease of travel (e.g. motorway; bridges) (Ministry of Transport, 2014). A study conducted by Canter and Larkin (1993) propose the circle theory which suggests there may be two types of offenders, the commuter and the marauder. The commuter is believed to travel from his anchor point to a new area to commit his crime. When one imagines two circles, the commuter will travel from one circle, his residence, to the other circle to commit the crimes (Canter & Larkin, 1993). Whereas the marauder stays in one circle, with their residence in the middle and will travel within the circle to commit the crimes and then return to his home base (Canter & Larkin, 1993). The difference between the two is a marauder is believed to commit the crime closer to home, whereas the commuter will have no distinct connection between the places in which the crime occurs and the distance to the offender's home (Canter & Larkin, 1993). Overall, the results of this study show that most offenders fit the marauder model, as the majority travelled no more than 5km. An investigation by Detective Inspector John Manning (2009) on serial rapists also found that offenders fitted the marauder model in that they offended within the environment they were living (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2009). This also supports the Least Effort Principle which suggests when multiple destinations of equal desirability are available the closest and easier one will be chosen (Turvey, 2011). In saying that, the distances travelled each year continues to increase which indicates that there may be an increase in offenders fitting the commuter model. The distance travelled by the offender may be increasing as there are more opportunities in larger populations and also increase an offender's sense of anonymity (Nethery, 2002). Additionally, society generally has a more extensive geographical knowledge due to socialisations processes (e.g. worked different jobs, changed residents, family and friends living in different regions) (Dern et al, 2005). This could indicate that the Least Effort Principle may not be as reliable in recent years as offenders are willing to exert more energy than previously. However, this study had a very small sample size therefore one must be cautious in claiming these results confirm Canter and Larkins circle theory.

Disparities between New Zealand and International Research Findings

Analysis of New Zealand data shows the majority of knowledge about CASSA cases in the US, UK and Canada can be transferred to New Zealand cases. The exception is research on victim ethnicity, offender age and findings on young male victims.

Previous International findings identify White (Gallagher et al, 2008; Lord et al, 2001) or Caucasian descent (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003) females as the ethnicity with the highest rate of victimisation. In this New Zealand study Indigenous Maori descent victims were mainly victimised. Indigenous Maori descent is the largest ethnic minority group and the overall second largest ethnic group, after Caucasian descent, in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). This provides offenders with more opportunities to victimise Indigenous Maori descent females. Furthermore, they are at greater risk given they are more likely to leave school earlier than any ethnic group in New Zealand and have a higher unemployment rate (UN Women, 2014; Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

International literature identifies an average offender as roughly 27 years of age (Boudreaux et al, 1999; Erikson & Friendship, 2002; Hanfland et al, 1997). However, 25-28 year olds in this New Zealand study were less likely to offend with the mean age of a New Zealand offender being 32 years old. This may be a reflection of New Zealand's ageing population (Statistics New Zealand, 2012a), and the notion that as an offender's criminal career develops so too does the possibility of a more violent misdemeanour, including sexual assault, and abduction (Beasley et al, 2009).

Male victimisation in New Zealand was less than 10% , with the majority of male victims between the ages of 13-16, unlike findings of Boudreaux et al (1999), Dalley and Ruscoe (2003) and Hanfland et al (1997) who state younger victims aged birth to three were more likely to be male victims. An explanation of the older age of male victims in New Zealand could be that they are associated with crimes like gang and drug violence, which have consequently lead to other crimes (Nethery, 2002). There may also be a lack of disclosure and reporting by young victims and their families in New Zealand. Child Youth and Family has suggested

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Most of the focus of child abduction research and sexual assault conducted overseas has attempted to determine accurate incidence and prevalence rates. Even though the actual numbers of occurrences differ considerably, the characteristics and patterns of stranger CASSA incidents are extremely similar. Although the rate of abduction for sexual purposes is extremely low it has seen the largest increase across all types of abduction. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly important to increase public awareness and provide society and investigative agencies with more knowledge and understanding of this offence. The study identified that definitions in the different jurisdictions were similar to the New Zealand definitions. This enabled previous International findings and information to be used as a reference throughout this study.

Studies report offenders are usually socially inept; have a criminal history of violence and are more often younger than most people are aware of. Furthermore, researchers found that those who commit this offence are very skilled in manipulation and luring children. These lures include asking for assistance and soliciting the victim via social networks. This study reinforced these findings and techniques used by the offender.

It has been noted that age, gender and other physical and psychological traits are a major factor when selecting a victim. As expected, children cannot match the physical strength of an adult and are therefore easier to restrain. These traits heighten a victim's susceptibility making them an easier target and ultimately increasing the offender's motivation. In this study, all cases were motivated by sexual fantasies. This is further indicated by the excessive amount of sexual acts committed against the victim by the offender. This result further supports previous research findings that most abduction cases are sexually driven.

Due to the limited amount of International and National literature there is little information that addresses who, exactly, is being abducted and sexually assaulted and under what circumstances (Boudreaux et al, 2000). Although the actual number of occurrences in New Zealand differs considerably to the US, UK and Canada, the demographic characteristics and patterns of stranger abduction and sexual assault incidents are extremely similar. This is useful to New Zealand when understanding and providing insight into CASSA cases given there is more completed research carried out in other jurisdictions. The present study provides a substantial contribution to the understanding of New Zealand CASSA offences and provides predictors of those who are

more likely to be victimised and those who are more likely to offend, which is one of the main goals of victim and offender profiling. The sample was small yet diverse and provided sufficient data for analysis of different factors associated with this specific offence.

The findings presented in this study set the scene for additional research to be conducted into this field. This includes replicating the current research; looking at the trends of an offenders criminal history; difference between multiple victim and/or offender cases and single victim and offender cases; factors influencing solved and unresolved cases; comparison of small cities/town to larger cities/town around New Zealand; and interviewing offenders and/or victims.

The research project has provided a good foundation for assessing stranger perpetrator, sexually motivated assaults using a motor vehicle. Further research is needed to confirm or deny the findings of this study on the demographic characteristics of victims and perpetrators of this offence, but also to add to the body of research that has primarily been carried out in the US, UK and Canada. To do so a larger sample size would be recommended so these findings can be representative of a greater population. Given New Zealand is a small country with few cases pertaining to this subject more variables may be included, or broadening of the subject may be necessary, so that more cases are incorporated. This may include the victim's address at the time of the offence in order to provide information on the distance between the offender's residence and the victim's residence. By doing so it is hoped that this will reduce the gaps of knowledge and identify further trends and significant findings within New Zealand. This would provide New Zealand Police and other Investigative agencies with further knowledge of these offences and may lead to the provision of resources in areas that had previously had none.

Since all of the offenders had previous records there is the possibility of further research into trends of crimes committed by offenders in New Zealand. This may indicate that more serious crimes are being committed and also identify those who are more likely to commit the crime. Beasley, Hayne, Beyer, Cramer, Bradley Berson, Muirhead, and Warren (2009) go on further to say that identifying the different crimes and trends of crimes amongst these offenders can improve investigative procedures. Beasley et al (2009) have noted "the need to search for specificity within the broader array of crimes in criminal history databases which are available to local and federal investigators responsible for responding to these crimes in a quick and informed manner" (p.280). Having more specific knowledge in New Zealand may help identify common crimes or trends of these offenders and as a result provide specificity for New Zealand Investigative agencies, much like Beasley et al (2009) have suggested.

A further issue that may be worthy of further investigation is the difference between multiple victim and/or offender assaults and single victim and offender assaults. As mentioned previously these attacks often have a different MO, motive and offence characteristics that are different from those cases in this study (Porter & Alison, 2006). While researching this particular subject it was evident that there were further differences among these assaults that would be able to provide more useful information for law enforcement agencies.

This entire study was based on cases that were solved by the New Zealand Police. Therefore there is an opportunity for further research into the differences between these cases and the investigative measures of those that were unresolved. This may generate findings that are able to identify the differences between those that were solved and those cases that were not.

Research should be conducted on the differences between small cities/towns offences and larger cities/town offences. The current research has provided an overview of all cases in New Zealand, specifically Auckland, given most offences were committed there. However there is room to research further as the results indicate differences when analysed per capita. Thus there may be differences in offender and offense patterns in the differing areas in New Zealand.

Interviewing offenders and/or victims who have committed a non-familial abduction and sexual assault could provide useful insight into this offence. Palys (1997) and Nethery (2002) have indicated that a great deal of information may be obtained by more studies that include qualitative aspects into quantitative research. With the use of interviews the researcher may be able to obtain much more information other than the information recorded in the case files. Results show that offenders are more likely to abduct children in daylight in outdoor areas. A qualitative study would be able to determine why offenders take the risk of accessing victims in open areas that one would think pose a greater risk of being caught. Various questions could be asked to the victim also, especially ones regarding the case and the effects it has had on the victim. This would need to be dealt with extremely carefully given the possibility of re-victimisation.

The current research has set out to examine the demographic characteristics of victims and offenders of stranger perpetrated sexually motivated child abductions using a motor vehicle in New Zealand. The purpose of this study was to examine resolved case files in order to enable construction of a typical and specific offender and victim profile. It was evident from the limited amount of information on this subject, that research surrounding this topic was minimal. The studies that were performed were conducted in US, UK, or Canada, so it was unknown if results

were applicable to New Zealand. Given the lack of resources available, the current research replicated others so as to determine whether the findings from overseas were transferrable. As a result findings show that there were similarities among International findings and New Zealand findings including the victim age, victim gender, offender gender and the distance travelled by the offender. Disparities between International findings and New Zealand findings were also evident. This included the age of male victims, the ethnicity of victims and the age of an average offender.

The analysis of quantitative variables resulted in a clear profile of both victim and offender along with a number of different offence patterns. It was found that the majority of victims are female, with a mean age of 13.9 and were recorded as being of Indigenous Maori descent. Offenders were male, with a mean age of 32 and were recorded as being of Caucasian descent. Other offence patterns included the offender using a Confidence/Con attack to approach the victim; offenders travelled less than 5km from their residence to the initial contact scene; and often abducted the victim during the day and on a weekday.

It should be noted that ALL cases must be treated as critical. Common police practice is to allow a certain period of time to pass before categorising a child as abducted. This is mainly due to the fact that older children have a history of running away or lack constant communication with family (Dalley & Ruscoe, 2003). Given research has indicated that children aged 13-16 years were in fact at the highest risk and are more likely to be abducted by strangers than family members, there must be a sense of urgency as any other type of report. Essentially, all abducted incidents must be treated seriously and entered into the national police database immediately.

For most part, the reason why each case was coded as this offence was understandable and justifiable when following the legal definition of each offence. However, for some cases this was not. Analysis of the data did show that some crimes were coded for the more serious crimes (e.g. abduction) when it wasn't necessarily the intention of the offender. For example as previously stated, an offender attempted to steal a car and did not realise a child was in the back seat. Ultimately this would be deemed and defined as abduction however the goal of the offender was not the abduction itself. Thus, the files in this study needed to be carefully analysed to make sure every case was relevant to what the study wanted to achieve. In essence, to recover abducted children quickly and safely and to resolve more cases, the definitions and guidelines must be continually reviewed and all agencies must have a greater understanding of each.

Furthermore, the information gained from the 47 cases may not be as thorough or specifically correct which may be a consequence of a limited number of disclosures. Incidents that are not captured in police statistics because they are not reported are known as the 'dark figure of crime'. This is especially high among sexual assault and is less likely to be reported than any other type of violence against a person (Lievore, n.d). Acceptance and validation are crucial to the psychological survival of a victim (Ronken & Johnston, 2012). Disclosure can often exacerbate the effects of the abuse and too frequently, disbelief and blame results in re-victimisation and compound the already negative effects of the original abuse (Summit, 1983). Studies have found that only about half of the young victims disclosed the abuse to anyone (Finkelhor, 1991). Additionally, for every child who does report the offence to authorities, three to five cases are not being reported (Finkelhor, 1991). The Sexual Abuse Centre (2014) in New Zealand has also identified several reasons why children are unlikely to report the crime. This includes: children being unsure how to tell someone; unaware what abuse actually is; do not think people will believe them; are threatened by the offender; bribed so they do not tell anyone; convinced they are to blame for the abuse; fear of the repercussions and not knowing who to tell. This silence allows for this offence to continue and may result in the child remaining silent for many years. Thus, the study may only provide a small indication of the actual rate of victimisation in New Zealand. In order to increase disclosure of these offences the Sexual Abuse Centre (2014) has identified four steps to follow. This involves: 1) Listening to your child; 2) Being alert and noticing any possible changes in your child's behaviour; 3) Educating children on what is and isn't appropriate behaviour and; 4) Believing your child. Furthermore, parents need to be more open and accepting of discussing this subject as there are long term consequences including emotional and physical effects; engaging in sexual risk taking; drug abuse or taking part in criminal activity. However, if New Zealand families and society work toward accepting and dealing with disclosures correctly there may be an increase in rates of disclosure and therefore a reduction in offence rates through deterrence given victims are not afraid to report these incidents.

Since their introduction, social network sites have attracted millions of users. However, along with an increase in different sites has seen an increase in different cultures that emerge. Most sites support the pre-existing social networks of people, yet others help strangers connect based on social interests or activities (Boyd & Ellison, n.d). This caters to diverse audiences and allows for anonymity of sex offenders which enables the exposure of children to dangers and inappropriate material. This specific method of accessing children is one that will be extremely

difficult to control given there are more and more ways of accessing the internet (e.g. cell-phones; tablets). This research once again may not illustrate the actual number of victims who were approached online. However, to decrease the risk parents should restrict the content on their computer by installing specific software that stops children from accessing certain sites or monitors children's activity. It is also important to know what social network sites your child is on and who your child contacts online; check that children are aware of the dangers of talking to strangers; ensure your child does not post personal information and if your child tells you of suspicious activity to stop contact immediately (New Zealand Police, 2014). New Zealand Police established the Online Child Exploitation Across New Zealand (OCEANZ) unit to protect children from online child abuse. It coordinates international investigations into online paedophile networks; identifies child sexual offenders by monitoring social network sites; targets New Zealand child exploitation sites and gathers intelligence for sharing with other partners (New Zealand Police, n.d).

As explained by the Rational Choice Theory offenders often rationalise their behaviour and actions when committing a violent offence. To understand and possibly mitigate this behaviour there is a need for continued research into the effects of both retributive and restorative programmes. Ongoing information will indicate to the New Zealand Criminal Justice System what works best to deter offenders and help protect children and society. Since criminal behaviour often increase in violence, it is especially important to target young offenders before their criminal careers advance. There are both strengths and limitations to both methods and programmes. Firstly, greater punitive measures may result in a reduction in crime through deterrence. In saying that, more punitive measures may result in further unsocial behaviour and an increase and accustoming to illegal behaviour by the offender (Daly, 2001). Retributive measures have also been criticised for ignoring the victim in court processes, especially in violent offences, making the victim feel less important (Daly, 2001). In contrast restorative processes have seen many argue that it allows the offender to be let off with too light a sentence. However, this process allows the victim to take control and provides them with a 'voice' unlike retributive processes (Daly, 2001). Therefore, in order to combat these issues it would be ideal that both measures work in cohesion with every offence and provide both retributive consequences while also incorporating restorative elements.

Another aspect evident from many studies was that offenders come to know the victims routine activities. In order to stop this from occurring more parental monitoring is required. There needs to be full understanding that even though children may appear to be in a safe environment (e.g.

front lawn, playing on the street) this does not necessarily deter these offenders. Parental monitoring is a set of correlated parenting behaviours involving attention to and tracking of the child's whereabouts, activities and adaptations (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). Research on parenting practices has revealed parental monitoring to be relevant to the safety of young children (Peterson, Ewigman & Kivlahan, 1993) and the development of childhood antisocial behaviour (Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984) and substance use (Dishion & Loeber, 1985). Parental monitoring is a variable that has been proven as a protective factor that can serve as an intervention target and a further protective factor for children at risk (e.g. Indigenous Maori female; 13-16 year olds). Although children at this age often try to actively avoid parental supervision it is important parents continue to monitor their children, increase guardian presence as much as possible, change routine activities if manageable and be consciously aware of dangerous activity (Dishion, & McMahon, 1998).

It is evident more policies and attention needs to be placed on this offence in order to reduce the number of CASSA cases occurring and to help protect New Zealand children. The lack of resources and formal evaluation on sexual violence prevention makes it difficult to determine what programmes and policies are effective (Adari, 2006; Urbis Key Young, 2004).

Furthermore, given New Zealand is an extremely diverse country, ensuring diversity in these programmes is imperative in order to cater for all people such as the different ethnic groups and ages (Urbis Key Young, 2004). To begin, New Zealand needs to address the three commonly referenced levels of intervention within prevention frameworks. Firstly, the Primary prevention level which refers to stopping the problem before it occurs; the Secondary level refers to the immediate responses after the offence occurs to deal with the short term consequences of violence and the Tertiary level which seeks to minimise sexual violence in the long term (e.g. sex offender treatment interventions) (Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; Neame, 2003; Urbis Key Young, 2004). However, in order to design and deliver a successful prevention programme society needs to remove the stigma or 'taboo' associated with this offence, improve education of this offence, improve gender equality and increase research (Russell, 2008).

Overall, the study has identified themes and patterns of CASSA incidents and provides a summary of available information which could be used for further investigative research into this topic. The goal of the research was to bring more attention to these offences and those most commonly involved. The study serves to encourage other researchers to help in the compilation

of more accurate and reliable statistics so that there is more depth to the current findings, all of which are critical and beneficial to New Zealand children and society.

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Appendix 1: Research Agreement New Zealand Police



NZ Police Research and Evaluation Steering Committee

Comment on the proposal:

Demographic characteristics of victims and offenders of stranger-perpetrated sexually motivated child abductions using a motor vehicle: a study of resolved incidents in New Zealand between 1987-2011

Researcher: Ariana Grant

Thursday, 2 October 2014:

The Research and Evaluation Steering Committee (RESC) supports the contribution of New Zealand Police to the project subject to the following:

1. That a security clearance is obtained and a research agreement and deed of confidentiality are signed and returned to the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee prior to the commencement of the research.
2. That a draft thesis/report/paper is provided to the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee for comment 4 weeks prior to submission /completion and/or publication.
3. That a bound copy of the thesis/report is provided for the Police library along with an electronic copy in PDF format and a separate one page (maximum) PDF summarizing the research. The summary/abstract should be written so as to be suitable for a Police audience. These should be provided to the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee upon completion of the final thesis/report.
4. Taysha Paul of the Criminal Profiling Unit is your Police Liaison person. A condition of access to the data is that you nominate a university counsellor /psychologist to discuss aspects of the study on completion.

RESC members also made the following points:

- This proposal is very comprehensive, well written and meets all the requirements. The proposed data variables suggest the researcher will be examining some sordid behaviours which may be traumatic for her. The researcher's psychological safety should be protected and this should be raised with her and her supervisor.
- Although this is a small piece of work, it may at least assist our level of understanding of factors that may be present in and assist in investigations into and possibly prevention of child abductions, even though the number of crimes is small.

The proposal has the support of the CPU and the NIC. The CPU will provide the resource required.

If you would like to discuss the feedback or this response, please do not hesitate to contact me.




Julie Batchelor

RESC Coordinator | Planning and Performance Group | New Zealand Police


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