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The Use of Pornography During the Commission of Sexual Offenses

Ron Langevin
Suzanne Curnoe

Abstract: *The goal of this study was to examine the use of pornographic materials by sex offenders during the commission of their crimes. A sample of 561 sex offenders was examined. There were 181 offenders against children, 144 offenders against adults, 223 incest offenders, 8 exhibitionists, and 5 miscellaneous cases. All but four cases were men. A total of 96 (17%) offenders had used pornography at the time of their offenses. More offenders against children than against adults used pornography in the offenses. Of the users, 55% showed pornographic materials to their victims and 36% took pictures, mostly of child victims. Nine cases were involved in the distribution of pornography. Results showed that pornography plays only a minor role in the commission of sexual offenses, however the current findings raise a major concern that pornography use in the commission of sexual crimes primarily involved child victims.*

Keywords: *pornography; sex offense; pedophiles; sexual aggressives; incest offenders; female sex offender; Internet*

The purpose of the current study was to examine the use of pornography by sexual offenders during the commission of their crimes. The use of pornography by sexual offenders has been a much disputed topic (Condrón & Nutter, 1988; Duncan, 1990; Fisher & Barak, 1991; Fraser, 1986; Linz & Donnerstein, 1990; Mould, 1990; Nemes, 1993; Page, 1990; U.S. Attorney General's Commission, 1986; U.S. National Committee on Pornography and Obscenity, 1970; Voth, 1984), however there is little convincing evidence that pornography (defined here as materials focused on nudity or sexual acts and other materials that are intended primarily to be sexually arousing) has a major role to play in the commission of sexual offenses (cf., Fukui & Westmore, 1994). Research has tended to focus on exposure to pornography in general, and there has been little empirical attention in the psychiatric and psychological literature paid to the actual use or the production of pornography by sex offenders during the commission of their sexual crimes. Although there has been some agreement in empirical studies that sex

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offenders and community controls do not differ in exposure to pornography, studies in the past 10 to 15 years have examined whether some subgroups of sex offenders have had greater exposure to pornography than others, especially immediately prior to the crime, or at a critical stage of sexual development, namely, at puberty (cf., Abel, Mittleman, & Becker, 1985; Ford & Linney, 1995; Goldstein & Kant, 1973; Zgourides, Monto, & Harris, 1997). There has been little evidence of significant differences between sex offenders and control groups, however Carter, Prentky, Knight, Vanderveer, and Boucher (1987) hypothesized that the sex offenders may be more aroused by it than controls, as witnessed in phalometric studies.

USE OF PORNOGRAPHY BY SEX OFFENDERS IN THE COMMISSION OF THEIR CRIMES

Only a few studies have ascertained whether sex offenders used pornography during their sexual offenses. Langevin et al. (1988) examined lifetime use of pornography by 227 sex offenders (131 extrafamilial child abusers, 72 incest offenders, and 24 sexual aggressives) and 50 community controls. They found no group differences in regular use of pornography and that 10% or less of offenders could be considered regular users. Of interest to the current study, 15% of the offenders against children used erotic materials in the commission of their offenses. The authors provided no further details.

Becker and Stein (1991) examined 160 adolescent boys, the majority of whom had committed a sexual crime. They found that 89% of the sample reported using pornography. Twenty participants were asked whether they believed the sexually explicit materials had played any role in the commission of their crimes. Of these participants, 14 (70%) reported that it played no role. One participant was unsure, and five (25%) apparently considered pornography to play some role in the offense. The authors noted that none of the participants reported being exposed to child pornography, although the majority offended against children.

Carter et al. (1987) examined 38 rapists and 26 pedophilic offenders using a probabilistic procedure whereby it was uncertain if respondents actually answered questions concerning pornography. The pedophiles reported significantly greater use of pornography than rapists did prior to (62% vs. 27%) and during criminal offenses (42% vs. 19%).

Howitt (1995) examined the use of pornography among 11 pedophiles and found that use of explicit child pornography was uncommon, however a number of the men created their own pornography from innocuous sources, such as television advertisements. Only 2 of the 11 men (18%) had used pornography in the commission of their offense. It is interesting that two men wanted to take pictures of their victims but could not bring themselves to do it.

The available literature suggests four hypotheses: Pornography use at the time of the offense may serve at least the following purposes: (a) self-stimulation,

(b) grooming the victim, (c) later self-stimulation, and (d) monetary gain. Each factor will be considered in turn.

PORNOGRAPHY FOR SELF-STIMULATION

Empirical studies of sex offenders have focused mainly on this facet of pornography use. Results tend to indicate that only a minority of sex offenders use pornography for self-stimulation prior to a sex crime.

Marshall (1988) studied the retrospective recall of 89 sex offenders about their use of “very explicit erotic materials such as those depicting consenting sexual relations between a man and a woman, of a man forcing a woman to have sex, and between an adult male and a child” (p. 278). Use of soft-core materials such as *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, *Hustler*, and *Swank*, were specifically excluded from consideration. There were 23 rapists, 51 extrafamilial child molesters (33 offenders against girls and 18 offenders against boys), and 15 incest offenders in the study who had been seen in a sex offender clinic over a 6-year period. An additional 24 non-sex-offender volunteers were recruited and matched on age, intelligence, and socioeconomic class to the child molesters. Incest offenders reported less exposure to pornography during adolescence than the other four groups. When current use was examined, all sex offenders reported more use than controls, and the incest offenders used it most (83%). However, sex offender groups did not differ significantly from each other in current use. When asked about pornography as an instigator to their crimes, 13% of incest offenders, 36% of offenders against girls, 38% of offenders against boys, and 35% of rapists reported intentionally viewing erotic materials as part of their deliberate preoffense preparation. It is noteworthy that there was not a correspondence between type of crime and type of pornography exposure during adolescence, currently, or as preparation to the crime, that is, child molesters did not necessarily view child pornography before their crimes.

Goldstein and Kant (1973) examined lifetime exposure to erotica in 20 rapists, 20 offenders against boys, 20 offenders against girls, 37 androphiles, 13 transsexuals, 78 porn users, and 53 community controls. There were few group differences, however sex offenders reported less exposure to erotic materials in general than community controls. The majority saw nudity as depicted in *Playboy* or *Nudist Camp* magazines. One significant difference was that 30% of rapists had seen explicit sexual acts depicted in the pornography versus 2% of controls. The authors reported that rarely did exposure to the erotic materials lead to engaging in sexual activity. However, actual number of cases stating that pornography led them to offend was not reported.

Condron and Nutter (1988) examined 13 paraphilic patients (a mixture of exhibitionists, transvestites, fetishists, and sadists, among others), 16 non-incarcerated sex offenders (rapists, incest offenders, child molesters, exhibitionists, and others), 15 men treated for sexual dysfunction, and 18 men who were

members of a service club. There were no significant group differences in exposure to pornography or age of first exposure to pornography. Twenty-seven percent of the sex offenders and 8% of paraphilic groups reported that pornography led them to engage in unusual sexual acts. In a follow-up study of 51 non-incarcerated sex offenders and 51 members of a men's service club, these authors (Nutter & Kearns, 1993) found essentially the same results, with 84% of the sex offenders denying that sexually explicit materials led them to engage in their unusual sexual behavior.

PORNOGRAPHY TO GROOM THE VICTIMS

Lang and Frenzel (1988) examined 52 incest and 80 pedophilic offenders on how they lured children into their sexual crimes; a relatively rare type of study in the literature. They reported that, among other methods, 15% of incest and 10% of pedophilic offenders showed pornographic magazines or videos to the victims as part of the grooming process. The offenders showed heterosexual adult, not child, pornography. The most frequent method used to lure the children was "accidental touching" for 75% of incest and 56% of pedophilic offenders.

PORNOGRAPHY FOR LATER SELF-GRATIFICATION AND MONETARY GAIN

Of special concern are those cases wherein pornography is generated during the commission of a sexual offense. This again may be used for self-stimulation or grooming of the victim and for later masturbation, however it may be intended primarily to market for monetary purposes. Hunt and Baird (1990) reported on 12 members of a "sex ring" who took photographs of 10 boys and girls aged 3 to 5 years of age engaged in sexual activity with other children. The photos were used to intimidate and threaten the children. Substantial violence apparently was witnessed by the child victims, including the murders of other children. In a more extensive study of 55 sex rings, Belanger, Belcher, Bernhard, Birnbaum, Burgess, D'Agostino, et al. (1984) reported that in 34 (62%) of the rings, the children were shown adult pornography. In these rings, children were recruited for prostitution in 18 (38%) of 48 rings for which data was available, and in 21 (55%) of 38 rings, pornography was produced commercially. Violence and intimidation was also common among these sex rings. These studies suggest that pornography use may have rather sinister social implications in some cases so that even if only a minority of sex offenders use or generate pornography during their sex crimes, it is an important group to study.

In the current study the type of, use of, and production of pornography by various sex offender groups during the commission of their crimes were examined in a contemporary and in a historical sample.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Two sources of cases were used. The first contemporary sample of 124 cases (hereafter Sample 1) was collected over the past decade in the authors' private practice, and in every case, the offenders were asked about their use of pornography and its role in their sex offenses. Police reports/synopsis of charges were available in the majority of cases, and they were used in the interviews of the offenders.

To examine if trends in the use of pornography by sex offenders has changed in the past 30 years a second historical sample of 437 cases was drawn from a database of 2,125 sex offender cases collected from 1970 to 1991 at the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry (hereafter, Sample 2) by the first author. For the most part, the same referral sources continued to send their clients to our private practice, so the two samples have much in common. However, in Sample 2, data on use of pornography by the sex offenders was not reported in every case. Therefore, only cases were included where there was a police report or self-admission that clearly indicated pornography was used or was not used in the sex crimes.

In total for Samples 1 and 2, there were 561 sex offenders consisting of 181 sex offenders against children (79 against boys, 85 against girls, and 17 against boys and girls), 144 sexual aggressives against adults (10 against adult men, 130 against adult women, 4 against adult men and women), 223 incest offenders (27 against boys, 180 against girls, and 16 against boys and girls), 8 exhibitionists, 4 miscellaneous courtship disorders (combinations of exhibitionism, voyeurism, and toucheurism), and 1 fetishist. All but four cases were men. Of the four female sex offenders, two had offended against extrafamilial children, one against her own child, and one against an adult woman. Three women were from Sample 1 and one from Sample 2. There were too few women for separate statistical analysis, and they are only discussed anecdotally in the Results.

As expected, there were significant sex offender group differences in age ($F = 4.84, df = 11, 549, p < .000$) and education ($F = 2.21, df = 11, 539, p < .01$). Typical of these cases, there was considerable group overlap in mean age, however incest offenders and extrafamilial offenders against children tended to be older, and sexual aggressives against adult women and men with courtship disorders were younger. The offenders against girls had the least education of any group whereas sexual aggressives against adult men had the most. As expected, there were also group differences in marital status (examined as "single never been married" vs. "ever been married or lived common-law," Likelihood Ratio (LR) = 137.17, $df = 11, p < .000$). Incest offenders and exhibitionists had most often been married, and offenders against children had married least of any group. There were no significant group differences in admission date.

Samples 1 and 2 differed significantly in age and education. Sample 1 was older and better educated than Sample 2 (for Samples 1 and 2 respectively, mean

age 41.88 and 36.86, *SD* 13.54 and 12.60; $t = 3.85, p < .000$; mean public school education 11.00 and 10.36, *SD* 2.43 and 2.31, $t = 2.65, p < .008$). A total of 29.83% of the more recent Sample 1 versus 16.02% of the older Sample 2 had some university education ($LR = 11.04, df = 1, p < .001$), possibly reflecting general population trends in Canada to higher education. The groups did not differ significantly in marital status (single never married vs. other: $LR = .48, df = 1, p = 0.49$.) A total of 29.84% of Sample 1 and 33.10% of Sample 2 were single and had never had been married or lived common-law. There was no significant difference between the two samples in offender group membership ($LR = 15.46, df = 11, p = .16$). Year of admission did not correlate significantly with use of pornography in the crime ($r = -.05$). The main analyses in the current study were not affected by age, education, or marital status, so Samples 1 and 2 were therefore combined for further consideration of offender group use of pornography.

PROCEDURE

All cases were seen for forensic psychological assessment, and patients consented to the use of their data for research purposes. The cases were seen at all stages of the adjudication process. They were administered a range of psychological tests to examine personality and mental illness, sex history and preference, history of crime and violence, neuropsychological impairment, and other biological factors (cf., Langevin & Watson, 1996, for details). In the current report, the use and type of pornography in the sexual offenses were examined. It is always a concern in examining the criminal population whether the accused/offender is being candid. Our previous work (Langevin et al., 1988) indicated that there were no major correlations of MMPI social desirability, naive lying, or malingering with reported use of erotica. However, in the present study external sources of information were used in addition to self-report in evaluating the use of pornography in the actual crimes.

In Sample 1, every offender completed a background questionnaire that inquired, among other things, about the circumstances of the sexual offenses. The questions asked about the "alleged offenses," as some persons denied committing the offenses. They were asked again about the alleged offenses in interview, clearly noting that we wished to know what the alleged victims were saying they did in addition to what they said happened. The questionnaire asked:

- Was pornography allegedly used in the offense? If yes, type of pornography used?
1. adult heterosexual, 2. adult homosexual, 3. child, 4. sadistic, 5. other (specify), and 6. Don't know.

The offender was also asked:

- What is your exposure to erotica (sex magazines, films, and books)?
1. have never seen, 2. seen but not a regular user, 3. use frequently, 4. collector.

The type of erotica exposed to? Adult male, adult female, male child, female child; oral acts, vaginal intercourse, anal sex, sadistic, adult-child, and other (specify).

As part of the Clarke Sex History Questionnaire for Males (Langevin & Paitich, 2002; Langevin, Paitich, Russon, Handy, & Langevin, 1990), the participants were asked:

In the past year how many times have you used pornography (magazines, books, videos, or movies)?

In your entire life how many times have you used pornography (magazines, books, videos, or movies)?

How many times have you used pornography while masturbating? Response alternatives for each of the three questions were: (a) none or never, (b) only once, (c) 2 to 5, (d) 6 to 10, (e) 11 to 15, (f) 16 to 20, (g) 21 to 25, (h) 26 to 30, (i) 31 to 35, (j) 36 or more times.

Police and court records also were scrutinized for use of pornography in the offenses, and the offenders were questioned about these sources of data. Details about the type of pornography used was examined further in interview. For purposes of the current study, age, education, marital status, and offender group membership were examined in reference to pornography use. Other variables will be examined in a separate article.

In Sample 2, files were reviewed for any information about use of pornography in the crimes. If the offender admitted to use of pornography, the data were included. If there was police/court information about use or nonuse of pornography, the case was included. If there was no such information, the case was excluded. Note was made of type of pornography used in the offense and whether pictures were taken of the victim.

DATA ANALYSIS

All data were analyzed using SPSS Windows Version 10.0. Likelihood ratios were used for comparisons of group membership and *t* tests to compare user and nonuser groups on demographic variables.

RESULTS

PORNOGRAPHY USE DURING THE COMMISSION OF SEX CRIMES

Because of the time span of the data collection and the unevenness of earlier data collection, the old (Sample 2) and new (Sample 1) cases were compared for use of pornography in the commission of the offenses. A total of 70 (16.02%) of

TABLE 1
 USE OF PORNOGRAPHY DURING THE COMMISSION OF
 SEXUAL CRIMES BY SEX OFFENDER GROUP MEMBERSHIP

<i>Group</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Users n(%)</i>
Extrafamilial offenders against:		
Boys	79	25 (32)
Girls	85	16 (19)
Boys and girls	17	6 (35)
Incest offenders against:		
Boys	27	2 (7)
Girls	180	29 (16)
Boys and girls	16	6 (38)
Sexual aggressives against:		
Adult men	10	4 (40)
Adult women	130	7 (5)
Adult men and women	4	0 (0)
Exhibitionists	8	1 (13)
Misc. courtship disorders	4	0 (0)
Fetishist	1	0 (0)
Women ^a	4	1 (25)
Total	561	96 (17)

NOTE: a. Women appear twice: here and in their respective sex offender group.
 $LR = 42.20$, $df = 11$, $p = .000$.

the old 437 cases and 26 (20.97%) of the recent 124 cases had used pornography in the commission of their sex crimes; an overall total of 96 or 17.11% for the 561 cases. The difference between old and new samples was not statistically significant ($LR = 1.61$, $df = 1$, $p = .21$) and the two groups therefore were combined for further analysis. One of the four female offenders took pornographic pictures of her child victim, and three did not use pornography in their offenses.

There were significant offender group differences in use of pornography at the time of their sexual offenses (Table 1). The groups using pornography most during the commission of their crimes were the incest offenders against boys and girls (38%), the offenders against boys (32%), and the offenders against boys and girls (35%). The sexual aggressives against adult men also used it frequently (40%), however there were few cases in this subgroup, and this result should be considered with caution. When groups with 10 or fewer cases and the female offenders are removed, the results remain significant ($LR = 34.85$, $df = 6$, $p < .000$). When results are compared based on offenders against adults (exhibitionists, courtship disorders, all sexual aggressive groups, and fetishist) versus offenders against children (all extrafamilial offenders against children and incest

groups), there was a significant difference in that more offenders against children (84 of 404 cases or 20.79%) used pornography in their crimes than offenders against adults (12 of 157 cases or 7.64%, $LR = 15.69$, $df = 1$, $p < .000$). Among the offenders against children, incest offenders used pornography significantly less (37 of 223 cases or 16.59%) than extrafamilial offenders (47 of 181 cases or 25.97%, $LR = 5.31$, $df = 1$, $p < .02$).

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF PORNOGRAPHY USERS VERSUS NONUSERS IN THE CRIMES

The offenders who used pornography in their crimes did not differ overall in age, education, or marital status from the offenders who did not use it. The users averaged 39.85 years of age ($SD = 13.04$), and the nonusers averaged 37.57 years of age, ($SD = 12.93$, $t = 1.57$, $p > .05$). Users averaged 10.57 years of education ($SD = 2.73$), and nonusers 10.49 years ($SD = 2.27$, $t = 0.30$, $p > .05$). Of the users, 36% were single never married versus 32% of nonusers ($LR = .87$, $df = 1$, $p = .35$).

Attempts were made to examine for possible interaction effects of pornography use and sex offender group membership with age and education as dependent variables, however small cell sizes and significant group differences in variance left the results of such an analysis in doubt. Age, education, and marital status correlations with use of pornography at the time of the offense and with general use of pornography were all zero order (range $-.14$ to $.07$). Only the correlation of marital status with general use of pornography was statistically significant at $-.14$ ($p < .05$) but not clinically meaningful as the two variables share little variance in common (2%).

MOTIVE FOR PORNOGRAPHY USE IN SEX CRIMES

The 96 sex offenders who used pornography during the commission of their crimes were examined for how they employed the pornographic materials in the crimes. Motives were not always singular, and multiple purposes may have been served by the pornography in the crimes.

Self-stimulation prior to the offense. Of the ninety-six men, 12 used pornography as a prelude to the crime but not during the crime (Table 2). Eight offenders had child victims, and four had adult victims. Typically, videos or magazines were used; however in two cases, the men were watching strippers perform, and in both cases they sexually assaulted the strippers after the show. In one other case, the offender was stimulated by violent materials with sexual overtones, although not sexually explicit. He engaged in a violent sexual assault with a weapon on an adult woman. One offender stole pictures of his child victim. He was having violent sexual fantasies and had intentions of killing the child whose pictures he had stolen.

TABLE 2
HOW PORNOGRAPHY WAS USED IN THE SEX CRIMES

	n	%
Used to self-stimulate prior to sex crime	12	13
Showed pornography to victim	53	55
Took pictures of the victim	35	37

Note: Percentages do not add to 100% as some individuals are presented in more than one category.

Grooming the victims. The majority (53 cases or 55%) showed available pornographic materials to the child victims as part of the grooming process in the crime. Of these 53 offenders, 21 (40%) showed pornographic magazine pictures, 27 (51%) showed videos or movies, and 15 (28%) showed other still pictures. Of the offenders showing pornographic materials, 26 (49%) showed commercially available heterosexual adult pornography and 3 (6%) showed illegally available child pornography. Two showed pornography ambiguously labeled “girlie magazines,” and one showed sadistic pictures of dead animals. Six offenders showed pictures of their wives naked, and another six showed pictures of themselves naked or having sex with their wives or girlfriends. Three offenders showed pictures of themselves engaged in sex with other children. The one female sex offender, who had used pornography in her offense, took pictures of a child and herself nude.

Delayed gratification and monetary gain. A total of 35 (37%) of the 96 offenders took pictures of their victims. All but two of these offenders took pictures of children. In one of the two “adult” cases the female victim was 17 years of age. The majority (19 or 54%) of pictures of children were of them nude, however in three (9%) cases the offenders took pictures of themselves engaging in sex with the child victims. Nine of the 33 offenders photographing children were involved in the distribution of pornography, four of them via the Internet.

The offenders who showed pornography and those who took pictures were compared on age, education, marital status, and date of admission. Other groups employing pornography were too small for statistical analysis. There were no statistically significant differences.

GENERAL AVAILABILITY OF PORNOGRAPHY

The offenders were asked if they had pornography generally available prior to the crimes in question, regardless of whether it was used in the crime. Data were available on 262 cases, and there were significant group differences between sex

TABLE 3
GENERAL AVAILABILITY OF PORNOGRAPHY BY
SEX OFFENDER GROUP MEMBERSHIP

<i>Group</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Pornography Available N(%)</i>
Extrafamilial offenders against:		
Boys	42	23 (55)
Girls	45	22 (49)
Boys and girls	9	6 (67)
Incest offenders against:		
Boys	15	5 (33)
Girls	94	44 (47)
Boys and girls	6	4 (67)
Sexual aggressives against:		
Adult men	4	2 (50)
Adult women	41	15 (37)
Adult men and women	2	1 (50)
Exhibitionists	2	1 (50)
Misc. courtship disorders	2	1 (50)
Total	262	124 (47)

$LR = 6.42, df = 10, p = .78.$

offenders who used pornography in their crimes and those who did not (Table 3). Overall, 47% had pornography available, many more than used it in their offenses (17%). Of the men who used pornography in their crimes, 89% acknowledged having it available generally, compared to 30% for offenders who did not use it in their crimes ($LR = 81.57, df = 1, p < .000$). General availability of pornography and using it at the time of the sex crime correlated .53 ($p < .000$).

There were no significant offender subgroup differences in general availability of pornography. General availability ranged from a low of 33% for incest offenders against boys to a high use of 67% for extrafamilial offenders against boys and incest offenders against boys and girls. These results should be considered with caution because of some small numbers of cases in subgroups. No data were available for female sex offenders on general availability of pornography.

Samples 1 and 2 differed significantly in general availability of pornography ($LR = 47.97, df = 1, p < .000$). In Sample 1, 22.73% acknowledged having pornography available compared to 65.13% in Sample 2. Because of the difference in method of data collection for Samples 1 and 2, it is not possible to know if this is attributable to a change in general pornography use by sex offenders over the past several decades.

DISCUSSION

The results of the current study continue to support the findings of the literature that pornography plays only a minor role in sexual offenses, in terms of the number of offenders using it immediately prior to, or during, the offense at least. Of the 561 cases studied, only 17% had used pornographic materials in a way that was clearly connected to the sexual crimes in question. As may be expected, the offenders who used it in their crimes more often had it available in general than those who did not use it (89% for users vs. 30% for nonusers). These results suggest that the mere possession of pornography per se does not lead to the commission of a sexual crime, as 47% had it in their possession prior to their crimes, however only 17% used it for self-stimulation either immediately prior to the crime or during the crime. Results are comparable to other studies on the subject indicating that 15% to 42% used pornography during their crimes (e.g., Becker & Stein, 1991; Carter et al., 1987; Howitt, 1995; Langevin et al., 1988). The studies are consistent in that the majority used pornography with child victims. Carter et al. (1987) found that offenders against children use pornography more than offenders against adults (42% vs. 19%) also reflecting the results of the current study. Only the studies of sex rings (Belanger et al., 1984; Hunt & Baird, 1990) have examined picture taking of the victims during the commission of the sex crime. They reported a higher incidence of photographing the child victim than found in the current study (55% vs. 35%), and 55% of the rings produced the child pornography commercially compared to 9 of 33 cases (27%) in the current study. Perhaps more of the cases in the current study were apprehended before they could become involved in distribution, or perhaps more of them used the pornographic materials for later self-gratification.

There was no pattern of age, education, or marital status that differentiated offenders who used pornography in their crimes from those who did not. The data from a 30-year period were collected, and there does not appear to be a pattern of pornography use in crimes that is time related, although the recent availability of the Internet may change that in the foreseeable future (cf., Anonymous, 1999).

Having said the foregoing, there remains a great concern that the majority of offenders who used pornography in their crimes had used it in the course of sexually assaulting children. A total of 21% of offenders against children used pornography compared to 8% of those who sexually assaulted adults. It was perhaps the circumstances of the crimes that lead to such a finding. Typically, offenders who attack adults have victims who are relative strangers, and the act is forced in secluded settings. It seems that few victims would be amenable to being shown pictures of nudes or of sexual acts as part of their assault. Therefore, the majority who had used pornography in their crimes against adult females use it in a preparatory way as self-stimulation, or they have sexually assaulted strippers. Children, on the other hand, tend to be much more controllable, and they may be lured by

curiosity, or the offender may attempt to manipulate them by favors, alcohol, or threaten them into viewing pornography and then posing for the offender. Thus, of the 35 victims who were photographed, 33 were children. This may be an attempt to control the children, as in Hunt and Baird's (1990) or Belanger et al.'s (1984) studies, possessing the child in the form of a picture for later masturbation, or an attempt to market the materials for profit. Some of the offenders spent many hours viewing and/or modifying the pictures with drawings, and so on.

In the current study, the majority of offenders who used pornography employed heterosexual adult materials. Perhaps for some that was all that was available to them that led 33 of the men to generate their own child pornography. Perhaps the heterosexual adult pornography was intended mainly to arouse the children's curiosity. However, a number of the men clearly used the adult materials for a combination of self-stimulation and to groom and excite their victims. Another possible explanation is that these men were aroused by heterosexual adult pornography as well as by child pornography. Men who sexually assault children are a mixed group, some of whom are as attracted to adult women as to children. Others show courtship disorders (Freund, Scher, & Hucker, 1983) in which exhibitionism or voyeurism, for example, may be as stimulating to them as the body characteristics of children. It may be that the adult pornography complements the arousal experienced to the child, or the offender may have been using the child as a surrogate for the more desired adult woman. It was noteworthy that six men showed pictures of themselves either engaged in sex or in the nude, and three showed pictures of themselves engaged in sex with other children, suggesting exhibitionism as a motive in using pornography in the crime or perhaps validating the sexual interaction they intended with their current victims.

The current study indicates that 1 in 6 sex offenders from a general forensic clinical sample used pornography during the commission of a sexual offense, and this increased to 1 in 3 offenders when considering only extrafamilial offenses against children. It is a concern that one third of the offenders using pornography were taking pictures of children, and nine of these were for commercial exploitation. It is a further concern that the studies of sex rings (Belanger et al., 1984; Hunt & Baird, 1990) found that there was significant violence against the child victims. Further study of the sex offenders who use or generate pornography during the commission of their crimes may provide information on prevention of these crimes. Use of pornography by a sex offender in the crime should raise concern about associated clinical features such as violence and possible commercial exploitation of children in pornography, albeit the offenders against adult women were also violent. Therefore, the use of pornography by sex offenders should be ascertained in every case, preferably by independent sources of data, such as victim statements or police reports. Comparison of the historical and contemporary samples in the current study suggests that the use of pornography during sex crimes has changed little in the past 30 years. The use of pornography during sexual crimes should be studied more intensively because the current availability of

the Internet may increase the undetected use of pornographic materials and the exploitation of child and adult victims in the immediate and foreseeable future.

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