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PhD thesis

An exploratory model of MPR offence progression: the role of self-regulation and male peer support in duo rape offences

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An Exploratory Model of MPR Offence Progression: The Role of Self-Regulation and Male Peer Support in Duo Rape Offences

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for

Doctorate in Philosophy

th , 2015

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank God, my grandmother, Lucille Townsend and my parents, Paul and Shelia Lambine, without whose continuous support this PhD would not have been possible. I would also like to express my gratitude to my supervisory team, Dr. Miranda Horvath, Dr. Joanna Adler, and Dr. Jackie Gray. Your extensive guidance, knowledge, encouragement, and unwavering patience have been invaluable to me both personally and professionally. Last but certainly not least is my husband, Christopher Webster, who has been a constant source of support throughout this process including but not limited to late night ice cream trips, tissue provider, and all-around morale booster.

Abstract

Multiple perpetrator rape (MPR) has been the focus of relatively little empirical scrutiny, and the difficulty faced by the legal system in securing convictions (Horvath & Kelly, 2009). The primary aim of this thesis is to provide a meaningful exploration of interpersonal dynamics at work in MPR offences with a particular focus on those offences committed by two perpetrators (duos), the most commonly occurring type of MPR (DaSilva, Woodhams, & Harkins, 2012; Lambine, 2012). Better understanding has been sought here through the development of an exploratory offence progression model that attempts to synthesize two empirically supported offending theories: self-regulation and male peer support. Mixed methodological techniques were adopted, beginning with a quantitative study of police recorded MPR cases comparing duo, trio, and 4+ offending groups. This was followed by a qualitative study, focusing upon the possible role of male peer support in propagating atmospheres, dialogue, and behaviours conducive to misogyny and woman abuse, in a sample of sportsmen. Finally, incarcerated duo rapists were interviewed to gain perspective on the possibility of male peer support influencing their offending behaviours. Findings from thematic analyses of the qualitative studies suggest that interactions of certain all-male groups can result in an atmosphere of normalised misogyny that is an important contributor to individual acceptance of woman abuse, and in some cases, MPR in duo offending groups. The proposed model found some empirical support from study findings, and was elucidated and further refined in light of findings from each study, which are further elaborated in the context of reflexivity, limitations, and directions for the future.

Dissemination of Findings

Publications

Lambine, M., Horvath, M.A.H., Gray, J. & Adler, J.R. (In preparation). Crossing the
line: When banter becomes brutal.

Lambine, M. & Horvath, M. A. H. (Submitted). A Comparison of Duo versus Group
Multiple Perpetrator Rape Offences.

Lambine, M. (2013). Numbers matter: Characteristic differences between lone, duo,
and 3+ group rapes. In Horvath, M. A. H. & Woodhams, J. (2013). *Handbook
on the Study of Multiple Perpetrator Rape.* London, Routledge.

Lambine, M. (2012). [Review of the Book *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower: The Sexual
Victimization of College Women* by Bonnie S. Fisher, Leah Daigle, & Francis
Cullen] *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 18*, 375-376.

Conference Papers

Lambine, M., Horvath, M.A.H., Adler, J. & Gray, J.M. (2013). *Linking Sexual
Assault and Athletic Participation: The Influence of Male Peer Support.* Paper
presented at the European Association of Psychology and Law Conference,
Coventry. September 4-6.

Lambine, M. & Horvath, M.A.H. (2011). *Comparing Duo and Group Multiple
Perpetrator Rape Offences: Towards a New Offence Progression Model.*
Paper presented at the National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers
International Conference, September 28-30.

Lambine, M., Horvath, M.A.H., Gray, J. & Adler, J. (2011). *An integrated model of
self- regulation and male peer support in multiple perpetrator rape offences.*
Paper presented at the Sexual Violence Conference, Middlesex University,
London, 8th September.

Lambine, M. & Horvath, M.A.H. (2011). *A comparison of duo versus group multiple perpetrator rape offences.* Paper presented at the Division of Forensic Psychology Conference, Portsmouth, Hampshire, 22-24 June.

Lambine, M. & Horvath, M.A.H., Adler, J. & Gray, J. (2014). *"Fat Girl Rodeo": Male Peer Support and the normalisation of misogyny in sports.* Paper presented at the Conference on Sexual Aggression, Berlin, Germany, 21-23 November.

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Chapter 1: Overview

This thesis explores multiple perpetrator rape in a novel way by integrating two empirically supported sex offence paradigms (male peer support and self-regulation) into a single theoretical model of offence progression that encompasses interpersonal processes as well as individual offender factors. This will be applied not only to an incarcerated MPR offending population, but also to a group of sportsmen, in hopes of identifying the processes involved in group sexual activity as well as providing a framework from which duo MPR can be better understood.

Group and dyadic sexual offending present particular problems for law enforcement, treatment providers, and prosecutors alike. Not to mention the significant damage inflicted upon the victims; both physically and psychologically. The number of offenders involved, and the uncertainty surrounding the inner workings of MPR offences make these difficult to prosecute. It is for these reasons that researchers have, in recent years, turned their attentions to multiple offender rapes as crimes with specific and unique characteristics that demand specialist attention.

The overall aims of this investigation are as follows:

1. To develop an offence progression model based upon past empirical research that incorporates both Self-Regulation theory (SRT) and Male Peer Support (MPS) theories (DeKeseredy, 1988a) with the aim of explaining the individual and interpersonal factors inherent in MPR and how they might interact.

2. Using a quantitative approach, explore MPR in a sample of cases comparing offender groups of differing sizes in order to build upon past research and gain new insights into the effect group number might have on offence, offender, and victim characteristics.

3. Explore male peer support and homosocial group dynamics using a qualitative approach in a sample of non-offending sportsmen as well as a group of incarcerated duo MPR offenders.

4. Interview incarcerated duo MPR offenders in order to gain their perspective on the influence of self-regulation and male peer support on their offence progression

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 will provide an initial assessment of relevant literature chronicling the emergence of rape law reform, the problems inherent in researching and investigating multiple perpetrator rape, and what inquiry has been made thus far in understanding MPR as a distinctly different type of sexual offence.

Co-offending in general has been an area of interest for the better part of the past century, having been included in seminal works such as Blanchard (1959) and Amir (1971). The group dynamics of crime and delinquency will be discussed in chapter 2, along with the development of "Multiple Perpetrator Rape" for use as an umbrella term for all offences involving more than one offender.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 addresses the emergence of Male Peer Support (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995), as a theory of particular relevance for these phenomena. Male peer support theory, its development and intended use in this thesis in explaining the dynamics of duo MPR will be considered as well as the utility of the Self-Regulation Model (Ward, et al., 1995) in assessing individual abilities in such offences. These two theories are relied upon in order to integrate both individual and group behavioural processes in order to present a new model of the MPR offence process.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 concerns the need for mixed methods in investigating the applicability of MPS and SRM to MPR. The literature surrounding the use of mixed methods generally will be reviewed then applied specifically to the intended investigations in this thesis. Utilizing mixed methods will add depth and strength to the new model in development.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 describes the first study conducted, detailing the quantitative analyses of archival data of 1610 MPR cases recorded by a UK police service. The study addressed the following research questions/topics:

1. Provide a descriptive analysis of the offence, victim, and offender characteristics of MPR

2. Tests of possible between group differences for duo, trio, and 4+ MPR offending groups on the following dimensions

    a. Offender Characteristics (e.g. ethnicity, age)

    b. Victim Characteristics (e.g. vulnerabilities, number, age)

    c. Offence Characteristics (e.g. approach method, location, use of violence)

3. Consideration of whether group size may be reliably predicted from examining combinations of victim/offence characteristics

The study has been submitted for publication and is currently under review. The study served to highlight a gap in the literature and determine an area of focus for development in this thesis. Duos represented the most common type of MPR in the sample, and exhibited characteristics that distinguished them from offending groups consisting of 3+ offenders. It is from these conclusions that duos emerged as the main focus for the subsequent studies and model contributions/development. The model is

then re-presented, specifically highlighting ethnicity and age as important factors for consideration in MPR offences.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 describes the second study, which marked the true beginning of theory and model testing/modification. Homosocial sports team members were interviewed focusing on the influence of all-male group interactions on their attitudes toward and treatment of women, as informed by DeKeseredy and Kelly's (1997) study of male peer support in Canadian university students. The study reported here examines the following:

1. Does misogynist male peer support exist within groups of men in all-male sports teams?

2. How does any such support manifest itself in group dynamics and treatment of women?

3. Can social interaction in misogynist homosocial groups result in the abuse of women?

Findings from these interviews are examined and analyzed in accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2009) thematic analysis guidelines. The model is then re-considered in light of these findings with particular emphasis on alcohol as a ubiquitous and exacerbating factor.

Chapter 7

The final study is reported in chapter 7, and is intended to provide a further application of the model with incarcerated duo multiple perpetrator rape offenders. It is similar to the study reported in Chapter 6 in its procedure and interview protocol, but specific modifications were made to accommodate the position of participants and the prison setting in which they were interviewed. Major research questions included

1. What were the events leading up to the offence?

2. Had they been interacting with other men who were in support of misogynist or abusive attitudes or behaviours towards women?

3. What do they believe to be their reasons for offending?

Brief case histories for each participant will be presented in addition to individual characteristics and emergent topics from their interviews. A thematic analysis for the sample as a whole will then be presented, followed by a re-consideration of the model in light of those findings.

Chapter 8

In this chapter, the researcher has provided a reflexive account of the experience of conducting the studies. Personal feelings, biases, and difficulties are discussed in light of their perceived effects on conducting the research as well as strategies used to overcome them.

Chapter 9

Chapter 9 is an overall discussion of findings, exploration of future research possibilities, applications for practitioners and a final comment from the researcher.

The following chapter begins the thesis with an overview of rape research and MPR.

Chapter 2

Overview of Rape Research and MPR

The present chapter provides an overview of the relevant literature surrounding multiple perpetrator rape (MPR) (Horvath & Kelly, 2009). A number of researchers have highlighted distinct criminological differences between single perpetrator rape and MPR, resulting in it being considered as a separate an area of focus within the sexual offending literature (Amir, 1971; Chambers, et al., 2010; daSilva, Woodhams, & Harkins, 2013; Woodhams, Gillet & Grant, 2007; Gidycz & Koss, 1990; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Horvath & Kelly 2009; Reiss, 1988; Woodhams, 2004). This body of research encompasses not only MPR, but major developments in the empirical study and understanding of single perpetrator rape (SPR), as well as the legal reform of rape laws in England and Wales. This provides the foundation upon which recent MPR studies have been based, and from which the studies and concepts outlined in subsequent chapters will emerge.

First, an overview of the recent reforms to rape legislation and the scope of the serious sexual assault law in England and Wales will be presented, along with the current definition of rape from the Sexual Offences Act of 2003. The literature surrounding rape investigation and prosecution will then be reviewed in light of remaining problems faced by both victims and agencies in the criminal justice system.

The theoretical underpinnings and major findings in SPR research will also be presented and compared with those of MPR, marking the gradual development of ideas surrounding the commission of MPR and the generation of interest in further research. The limited extant theoretical explanations of MPR will then be discussed, and the implications of the present investigation for the future direction of research in this area will be explored.

2.1 Rape Law Reform in England and Wales

In the past 50 years, there have been some significant developments in the reformation of rape laws and the treatment of rape victims[1] in England and Wales (Horvath, Tong, & Williams, 2011). In the 1980s, the maximum sentence for rape extended from 7 years to the possibility of life imprisonment. Police revised their procedures to include more sensitivity to victims throughout the reporting process, more training in victim care, and an increased number of female forensic examiners. Sexual Assault Referral Centres (SARC) were also established to aid in gathering evidence and the care of rape victims. Marital rape was added to existing UK law in 1991 (*Regina v. R*), followed by male rape in 1994 (Criminal Justice Public Order Act, c. 33, (143)). The Sex Offences Review of 1999 was conducted to evaluate the prosecution of sex offences the current state of victim care. A number of recommendations and reports (Home Office, 2000; Home Office, 2002) were included in the passing of the Sexual Offences Act in 2003, which will now be considered.

In England and Wales, The Sexual Offences Act (2003, c. 42, (1)) defines rape as the penile penetration of the vagina, anus, or mouth of a non-consenting individual with no "reasonable belief" that the individual has consented. This definition is gender-specific in that only men can commit rape, which is in contrast to other countries such as Canada, where rape is a gender neutral offence (Loizidou, 1999; Rumney & Morgan-Taylor, 1997). Females may commit "Assault by Penetration," which is defined as the penetration of the vagina or anus with a part of the body or object, and is bound by the remaining qualifications of the rape definition (The Sexual

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[1] 'Victim' is used here and throughout this thesis as opposed to 'survivor,' because in many studies it is uncertain or unreported whether individuals were killed as a result of their assault.

Offences Act, 2003, c 42, (2)). They may also be charged as an accessory to rape through the joint enterprise statute.

In England and Wales, consent is defined as when an individual agrees "by choice and has the freedom and capacity to make that choice" (c 74). This definition has come under fire as being too concrete in its stipulations, considering the victim in isolation of their abilities for self-determination, which is dictated by a myriad of external variables such as sociocultural and socioeconomic factors (Cowen, 2007; Munro, 2008).

A sexual assault includes touching an individual in a sexual manner without their consent (c. 42, (3)). Again, the offender must have made an effort to determine consent, and have no reasonable belief that consent has been given (s. 74). There are also provisions within section 4 of this act for coerced sexual activity that includes penetration of the anus, vagina, and mouth of the victim as well as fellatio performed on the victim by the offender. The same consent qualifications as for the above offences apply for coercion.

Despite the development of procedural reforms and the provisions of the Sexual Offences Act, a review by the Home Office (2002) concluded that the Act did little to increase the number of successful prosecutions of sex offence cases, particularly for rape (Horvath, Tong, & Williams, 2011). As a result of this, the ability of British police forces to investigate rape, as opposed to other serious crimes, has led to consistent concern and criticism (Horvath & Brown, 2007). There remain a variety of problems in the investigation and prosecution of sexual offences cases. Victim dissatisfaction with their treatment in investigative procedures (Campbell, 2005; Martin & Powell, 1994; Ullman & Filipas, 2001), and levels of attrition (Kelly, Lovett, & Regan, 2005) are indicative of possible systemic flaws in the handling of

sex offences cases. Although the conviction rate is increasing, from 58% in

2007/2008 to 62.5% in 2011/2012, rape is still the lowest in comparison to other

crimes such as drug offences (91.6%) (Ministry of Justice, 2012). This discrepancy is

of significant and increasing interest to researchers exploring rape and sexual assault

(Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Kelly & Lovett, 2009).

2.2 Defining and Classifying Rape in Research

Despite the clear-cut definitions of law, some debates emerge within the

academic community in defining what constitutes rape and sexual assault (Cook,

Gidycz, Koss, & Murphy, 2011; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Sanday, 1990;

Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Koss (2005) reported, in a meta-analysis of current

rape research, that 'sexual assault' was often used synonymously with "rape" in many

empirical investigations. Such disparities can have very real consequences for

victims, both personally, and legally (Gidycz, Koss & Murphy, 2011; Muehlenhard,

Powch, Phelps, & Giusti, 1992). In using narrow conceptions of rape, the perspectives

and suffering of many victims are sometimes ignored, discounted, or misrepresented,

often highlighting/reinforcing the notion of a deeply embedded medico-legal

patriarchy (Cooke et al., 2011; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997, 2013).

Cooke et al. (2011) cites conceptions of 'rape' in the medico-legal professions

as being markedly narrower than those of the modern feminist, victims of sexual

violence, and many academics, to name just a few. Further, Cooke and colleagues

(2011) argued for the need not only for a standard definition of rape and the meaning

of 'non-consent', but the strategies employed to accomplish rape offences as well.

Many dominant feminist approaches utilise a broad definition of what is considered

'rape' (MacKinnon, 2005), while other studies rely upon the more restricted legal

statutes in place to differentiate rape from other sexual assaults (Franklin, 2004;

Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Despite the shortcomings of the current delineation of rape and sexual assault

law reforms, Cooke et al. (2011) suggests that the current laws surrounding rape and

sexual assault in England and Wales represent a "fair attempt" (p.424) to encompass

rape as a continuum instead of more singular behaviours. Although it is important to

acknowledge the development of new definitions from differing viewpoints, and the

detrimental effects of narrow definitions on victim experiences, the present

investigation will rely upon the definition put forward by the Sexual Offences Act

2003. As this thesis focuses explicitly on both non-offending male and offender-based

experiences and observations, a decision was made to rely upon pre-existing legal

statutes. It is not uncommon for researchers to utilise the definition of rape that is

well-known in the area in which they are conducting studies (Anderson, Cooper, &

Okamura, 1997; Muehlenhard et al., 1992), and given that the studies and model

focused exclusively on offence progression, behaviours, and phenomena, to the

exclusion of victim experiences, it was deemed appropriate to use the legal definition

as standard throughout the studies. After determining the manner in which rape would

be operationalised, it was then necessary to look at the ways in which the

understanding of rape has developed.

2.3 Developments in the Understanding of Rape

Empirical research regarding rape and other forms of sexual assault became

prevalent in the early 1970's, including landmark works by Amir (1971), Brownmiller

(1975), Clark and Lewis (1977), and Geis (1971). These early works not only brought

to attention the proliferation of rape in general, but group sex offences in particular as

among the most under-investigated significant criminal offence.

In the oft-cited *Patterns in Forcible Rape* (1971), Amir makes a compelling case for the necessity of understanding not only the perpetrators, but also the position of rape as a crime within societal structures. Notions of male/female sex roles and situational variables were explored in detail along with perspectives of offender motivation and characteristics. This landmark investigation sparked a flurry of interest in the study of rape and sex offences in general (e.g. Koss, et al., 1987; Koss, 2005; Krulewitz & Nash, 1979; Sanday, 1990).

Developing typological models were the first method used by researchers to explore the motivations behind those who commit rape. Groth (1979) developed a typology of the rapist, classifying offenders as anger, power, or sadistic. This classification was meant to indicate the underlying premise that rape is likely not a result of sexual desire by the offender, but stems from a need to express power, anger, and frustration through sexuality. A similarly psychodynamic typological system was later developed by Prentky, Cohen, and Seghorn (1985) to describe the way in which rapists use the offence as a means to relieve anger, feelings of helplessness, frustration, etc. Both models approached rape from the perspective of the offender and their motivations for the behaviours.

Taking a different approach, Canter (1995) developed a typology based upon the varying relationships between the offender and victim in addition to offence behaviours. From there, research has focused upon the effects of societal constructs and offenders' schematic constructions of sex and of the world at large (Hudson & McCormack, 1999; Ward, Bickley, Webster, Fisher, Beech, & Eldridge 2004; Ward, Louden, Hudson, & Marshall, 1995; Yates, 2009). Biological predispositions, cognitive distortions, past abuse, and familial history are examined within these

frameworks. Particularly within treatment and relapse prevention systems, understanding the rapist has taken a more holistic turn.

It is with this in mind that the present thesis will look at MPR offenders as individuals as well as members within a dyadic offending dynamic. A number of variables will be taken into account including ethnicity, education, socioeconomic status etc. and explored as to their possible contribution to facilitating the participation of an individual MPR offender. The nature of peer group interaction will also be explored with respect to these factors and how they affect group processes.

2.4 Comparing Group Dynamics of Offenders with Non-criminal Populations

Within the existing literature, there remains the notion that offenders involved in MPR offences are either deviant to begin with, or caught up in the group process. Porter and Alison (2005) found in a sample of 37 MPR offence leaders that combinations of decisions, action and orders were similar to those found in non-offending groups. The present investigation will endeavour to shed more light on this question through the study of a sample of sportsmen (See Chapter 6). Findings may have implications for risk assessment and possible treatment for MPR offender groups.

2.5 Additional Factors for Investigation

There are a number of other contributing factors reported in the literature that pertain to MPR and sexual assault in general that may be implicated in the development of the model in the present investigation. The effects of alcohol, subscription to rape myths, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity on MPR offence progression remain to be examined. These will be assessed both in a sample of sportsmen (Chapter 6) as well as an incarcerated MPR sample (Chapter 7).

Alcohol

It has been widely reported that those under the influence of alcohol are more likely to have a significant loss of inhibition and elevated levels of antisocial or undesirable behaviours (e.g. Dingwall, 2006; Leigh, 1987; Murdoch, Phil, & Ross, 1990). Although the role of alcohol in criminal offences generally is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to note an association found between alcohol/ drug consumption and sexual violence in the United States and Canada (Armstrong et al., 2006; Abbey, 2002; Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAulson, 1996; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000) as well as in the UK (see Abbey, Clinton-Sherrod, McAulson, Zawacki, & Buck, 2004; Testa & Parks, 1996 for reviews). Men who have engaged in sexual assaults have reported higher rates of alcohol consumption than those who have not committed offences (Koss & Dinero, 1988; Koss & Gaines, 1993). Further, those sexual offences involving alcohol consumption have been found more likely to take place between acquaintances in a public space such as a bar or nightclub (Abbey, et al., 1996). Alcohol was given particular attention as a variable in this thesis, and will be discussed in relation to the studies presented later.

Subscription to Rape Myths and Rape Culture

The term "rape culture" was introduced in the mid-1970's during the second wave feminist movement in order to describe a society in which "prevalent attitudes and practices normalize, excuse, tolerate, and even condone rape " (Nicoletti, Spencer-Thomas, & Bollinger, 2001, p. 143). Rape myths are embedded within this culture, defined by Burt (1980) as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about *rape*, *rape* victims, and rapists" (p. 217). They serve a purpose for both men and women. For men, rape myths excuse misogynist behaviours, even sexual assaults. For women, they can not only be used to excuse the perpetrator, but also to promote a

false sense of security providing a sense of personal assurance that they are safer than

they truly are (Jones, 2012). By blaming the victim, women can pinpoint certain

behaviours, modes of dress to avoid, thus (falsely) feeling they are more in control of

what happens when they do not engage in those behaviours or wear certain clothes.

Endorsement of these beliefs has been linked to future sexually assaultive behaviours

(Schwartz & Norgrady, 1996) and has been implicated in a number of MPR offences

within university sport teams (Benedict, 1988) and fraternities (Sanday, 1990).

Indeed, rape myths have been implicated in judge and jury decision-making both in

the UK and in the US (e.g. Burrowes, 2013; Whatley, 1996). Subscribing to these

beliefs can result in blaming the victim for their own attack and exonerating the

offender.

Socioeconomic Status

Although socioeconomic status is rarely mentioned explicitly in the MPR

literature, DeWree (2004) reported that group sex offenders are likely to have both

socioeconomic and educational difficulties. It may be that individuals involved in

MPR feel a sense of disenfranchisement from their school community as well as from

experiencing a lack of material wealth.

DeKeseredy, Schwartz, Fagen, and Hall (2006) found the consistent presence

of abuse-supportive male peer groups in separation/divorce sexual abuse cases in rural

Ohio. DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2002) also explored the proliferation of

victimization reported by individuals in public housing estates in urban areas within

male peer support contexts.

The idea of socioeconomic status as a factor in elevating the likelihood of

MPR participation will be explored within confines of a theoretical model and will be

discussed in light of available information, found both within the literature, and from

study findings from interviews of both sports players as well as convicted MPR offenders.

Ethnicity

In 2008/2009, the highest percentage of MPR offenders (32%) were classified by the Metropolitan Police as African-Caribbean, 24% were labelled "different ethnicity", 36% were unknown, and 8% were white (HM Government, 2010). Indeed, minorities are over-represented in much of the MPR literature (Bijleveld, et al., 2007; DeWree, 2004; Lambine & Horvath, under review; daSilva, Woodhams, & Harkins, 2012). The racial disparity that appears to exist amongst MPR offenders will be explored in more detail in chapter 5.

The above has provided an abbreviated introduction to both legal and empirical developments in the UK. Essential to this thesis is the understanding that there are separate classifications of sex offences and sex offenders. Recognition of different types of rape is essential in gaining a better understanding and hopefully more effective prevention and detection measures. It is through such developments that MPR has emerged as a recent topic not only for more explicit consideration in the literature, but the focus of particular attention in this PhD.

2.6 Narrowing the Focus: MPR

In early 2013, the first edited collection focusing explicitly on multiple perpetrator rape was published, in which Horvath and Woodhams (eds.) provided a "multidisciplinary response to an international problem" (p. 10). Indeed, MPR is a worldwide concern, and commission of these offences is the major criminological focus of this thesis[2].

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[2] Elements of this chapter have been published previously in Lambine (2013)

As briefly mentioned above, MPR has been developed as an umbrella term to encompass all rape committed by two or more perpetrators (Horvath & Kelly, 2009; Kelly, 2013). The need for an appropriate label for these offences stems from the use of often misleading or colloquial terms to describe them. For example, the term "gang rape" is used often in the popular media to describe an offence, and could easily be interpreted as involving a street gang, even if this is not the case. "MPR" aims to alleviate some of the confusion by requiring further description about the offence and its circumstances. In endeavouring to provide a literature review on MPR, there are a few seminal works upon which to focus (Amir, 1971; Blanchard, 1959; Sanday, 1990, Wright & West, 1981). This body of knowledge is slowly growing, and awareness of the prevalence and effects of MPR on individuals, offenders, and communities is becoming more well-known in the UK, as evidenced by the growing number of government papers (Beckett et al., 2013; Metropolitan Police Authority, 2009; Metropolitan Police Service, 2012) and programmes intended to tackle the problem in London and the surrounding areas (e.g. Growing Against Gangs and Violence, 2013). The following chronicles developments in MPR research that have led to its recent emergence as an area of academic, legal, and sociological interest. This interest is the impetus for this thesis, the findings of which will hopefully spur continued attention for MPR as an important area of focus.

MPR Prevalence

MPR is an internationally occurring sex offence, in both developed and undeveloped countries and in a variety of contexts (daSilva, Harkins, & Woodhams, 2013). Horvath and Kelly (2009) proposed 4 subtypes of MPR; *gang-affiliated* MPR, *'duo rape'*, *fraternal rape*, and *military fraternal rape*. *Gang rape* is used to refer to

MPR that occurs in the context of a formalised gang environment defined by Pitts (2008) as a

> *relatively durable, predominantly street-based group of young people who (1) see themselves (and are seen by others) as a discernible group, (2) engage in a range of criminal activity and violence, (3) identify with, or lay claim over, territory, (4) have some form of identifying structural feature, and (5) are in conflict with other similar gangs* (p.17).

MPR committed by 2 men is referred to as '*duo rape,*' and '*fraternal rape*' involves 3 or more offenders whose relationship with each other is variable. '*Military fraternal rape*' refers to MPR in wartime.

With regards to the prevalence of MPR in the UK, it is difficult to obtain an accurate figure due largely to underreporting, inconsistent police reporting methods, and methodological variation amongst researchers (Harkins & Dixon, 2011). Curran and Millie (2003) reported that in the London borough of Southwark, multiple perpetrators committed 19% of sexual offences. Although informative, studies like this serve to illuminate the extent of the problem in only a small geographical area and highlight that fact that, to date, there has been no representative study conducted in the UK specifically addressing the prevalence of MPR (Kelly, Lovett, & Regan, 2005). The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) includes a section on sexual assault, but does not differentiate between single and multiple perpetrator rape. As MPR research is a relatively new area of inquiry, it is hoped that recent and ongoing research (e.g. daSilva, Woodhams & Harkins, 2012; Lambine & Horvath, under review) including this thesis will continue to raise awareness of the need for some reliable estimates if not accurate MPR statistics.

MPR Offence Development

There are a few early works investigating group sex offence motivation and intra-group processes in MPR. Blanchard (1959) argued that group sexual offences by young people contain certain homosexual elements, a contention later echoed by Amir (1971) and Sanday (1990). These assertions are based upon the voyeuristic elements apparent in many cases of MPR. Offenders often take turns assaulting the victim, with the others looking on or acting to restrain the victim (Sanday, 1990), but on the whole it is difficult to ascertain the inner workings of an MPR offence (Groth & Birnbaum, 1990; Porter & Alison, 2005; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). It is rare that a group gets together and unanimously decides upon multiple perpetrator rape as an activity in which to engage (Groth & Birnbaum, 1990). Indeed, those investigating MPR cases face the problem of deducing who was present during an offence, who did what, even whether or not an offence occurred at all. It is through research that we might gain a clearer picture of MPR in order to provide a framework for investigation and prosecution.

In general, recent explanations stress the importance of power, dominance, and assertion of masculinity as the main motivators in MPR (Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2003; Bijleveld et al., 2007; DeWree, 2004; Franklin, 2004). Franklin (2004) reports that group rape of both women and perceived gay men can serve as a form of "cultural theatre," in which victims are props that are used to establish dominance, masculinity, and group bonding. It is "performance art, in that both females and gay men symbolize the non-masculine 'other'" (p. 26). Further to this, MPR can exert a means of social control; of ensuring that women are put "in their place" and that they stay there (Franklin, 2004), reminiscent of Sanday's (1990) psychoanalytic interpretation of the function of MPR, described later in this chapter.

Harkins and Dixon (2010) report a number of processes that are often cited in the literature about group behaviour that could possibly be present in an MPR offence; social comparison (Festinger, 1954), social dominance (Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004), conformity, obedience to authority, social corroboration, deindividuation (Festinger, Pepitone, Newcomb, 1952), and groupthink (Janis, 1972).

Perpetrator Number and Leadership

Within the domain of general group offending, it is likely that feelings of individual responsibility are diminished by following the orders of a leader, and failure to follow the designated leader can have severe social consequences for group members (i.e. ostracism, personal victimization) (Franklin, 2004; Groth & Birnbaum, 1990)[3]. This may also be exacerbated by already diminished self-regulation abilities (Baumeister & Heatherton, 1996). Groth and Birnbaum (1990) suggest that it is rare for groups to unanimously decide on committing a sex offence. Thus, there must be a leader or few members of the group who initiate the offence.

Blanchard (1959) and Amir (1971) both suggested the importance of a leader in many MPR cases. Indeed, they argued that some MPR offences might not even occur without an individual to lead it. The importance of a leader in MPR has been emphasized in a number of other empirical studies (Bijleveld et al., 2007; Franklin, 2004; Groth & Birnbaum, 1990, Porter & Alison, 2006). Porter and Alison (2005) found in a sample of violent gang offenders that duo offences were more likely to involve one older offender giving orders to the other. Further, those MPR offences in larger groups were likely to be facilitated by a leader who initializes the offending behaviour.

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[3] For more information on leadership in MPR, please see Porter (2013)

MPR leaders usually initialize offending through action rather than direct orders (Porter & Alison, 2005). Such actions would include beginning the abuse, approaching the victim, etc. Leaders have also been found to be more delinquent than their followers (Franklin, 2004) and exhibit more emotional difficulties ('t Hart-Kerkhoffs, Vermeiren, Jansen, & Doreleijers, 2010). Followers have been found to use excessive force throughout the offence and to have social deficits. These characteristics may be important for treatment providers and particularly relevant to the present investigation.

In MPR offences, there may not always be a clear leader (Bijleveld et al., 2007; Porter & Alison, 2001), but in those cases where a leader is identifiable, these individuals will likely have different intervention needs than other members of the group. Porter and Alison (2001) developed a composite measure to assess the level of influence an offender exerts on a group. This scale of influence was combined with the use of directives and forensic linguistics of offenders reported during an offence. Results provided support for the idea that levels of influence within an MPR offence can be captured and those offenders assessed can be treated accordingly. This has been successfully tested in a subsequent study by Woodhams, Cooke, Harkins, and daSilva (2012).

MPR Typology

Chambers, Horvath, and Kelly (2010) developed a typology of MPR offences based upon a qualitative model focusing upon offender behaviour during the offence. They were classified into four types; Violence, Criminality, Intimacy, and Sexuality. Offender behaviour classified within the "intimacy" type included social approach methods that may be seen in conventional and consensual sexual encounters (Chambers, et. al., 2010). After the rape, the offender(s) may continue attempts to

socialize with the victim, reasons for which could be varied (e.g. feelings of established power, fantasies of victim consent or sexual desire, hierarchical achievement in a gang).

Those individuals classified within the "violence" offending subtype were significantly lower in age than those in the other categories, and used violence as a means of competing with each other, the victim being an instrument with which they could display their hatred or perceived control of women (Chambers et al., 2010).

The average age of those classified in the "sexuality" type was approximately 21 and involved victims who were younger (below 18) (Chambers et al., 2010). It is in this group that an element of male camaraderie and elements of showing sexual prowess are present. Those MPR offences classified as "criminality" were distinguished by older offenders (mean age: 20) and characteristics analogous with classic rape stereotypes; elements of surprise by stranger offenders in secluded or dark places.

The typology of MPR suggested by Chambers et al. (2010) is analogous with those indicated in lone perpetrator rape research. That is, older perpetrators are more likely to be motivated by sexual desire or sexual inadequacies. Younger individuals were characterized by violence (mean age: 16). This indicates continuity in the underlying themes present in sexual offences in general. Those of violence and criminality were particularly salient to sexual offending regardless of whether or not it was an MPR offence.

The major limitation of such typologies and typological constructions of MPR as well as other offences is that there is no room for overlap and static in nature. An offender, due to a number of reasons (e.g. victim escapes, offender cannot perform sexually) may change "types" in the middle of an offence, or may vary from one

offence to another. The current investigation aims to provide an offence progression framework from which to consider MPR from each individual offender's perspective.

MPR Model Building

Harkins and Dixon (2010) have developed a multi-factorial model to describe the group processes that occur in MPR based upon the Bronfenbrenner's (1979) work with aetiological models to explain individual behaviour, and White and Kowalski's (1998) Proximal Confluence Model that integrates individual characteristics with group cohesiveness.

In their model, the individual, sociocultural, and situational context of the offence is paramount to understanding both the motivations of the group as well as those of the individual offender (Harkins & Dixon, 2010). They argue that all MPR offences can be understood through analysing these factors. Individual characteristics to be considered are the role of deviant sexual interest and the presence of leadership traits. Broader characteristics to be considered are subscription to rape culture, rape myths, and patriarchy. Finally, the model considers specific situational characteristics that may be conducive to MPR offences such as war, residential schools, and paedophile organizations.

The present investigation suggests a model similar only in its emphasis on individual characteristics and the effect of the group upon them. However, individual self-regulation abilities, a cumulative product of environmental and societal circumstances (Ward, Bickley, Fisher, Beech, & Eldridge, 2004), will be the focus of exploring individual offender characteristics. Further, the principles of Male Peer Support Theory (DeKeseredy, 1988b) will be applied in examining group behaviour in MPR offences (See chapter 3)

Age

Much of the general co-offending literature focuses on juvenile delinquency (Bijleveld et al., 2007; Porter & Alison, 2006). Further, it has been established that the average age for MPR offenders is likely to be lower than that of solo rapists (Amir, 1971; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2006; Reiss, 1988; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Walmsley & White, 1979). As a result of this, there has been some interest in focusing on age and why most MPR offences are committed by younger individuals (Bijleveld, et al., 2007).

The elevated susceptibility of young offenders to group processes that could facilitate or encourage their participation in MPR has been well established (e.g. Biljveld et al., 2007; Biljveld & Hendriks, 2003; McGloin & Piquero, 2009; Warr, 2002). Conway and McCord (2002) provide an explanation of violent juvenile group offending through social exchange mechanisms by which individuals who have no history of violence or offending behaviour can increase in these tendencies when exposed to a delinquent peer. Indeed, as individuals age, their co-offending behaviour decreases, which is consistent with general age-crime curve statistics (Piquero, Farrington, & Blumstein, 2007; Reiss & Farrington, 1991; Weerman, 2003).

Away from the yoke of familial influence and surrounded by peers in the same situation, the desire to be liked by others and to fit in may be elevated (Humphreys & Kahn, 2000; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Thus, the likelihood of male peer groups to provide negative social support would be heightened. Indeed, Bijleveld and Hendriks (2003) reported that sexual elements within juvenile group offending are often "coincidental," secondary to the need for the group to exercise power over the victim, exert male dominance, and develop relationship bonds. These needs can be seen in studies focusing upon sexual assaults

within fraternities and sport teams (Brown, Sumner, & Nocera, 2002; Crosset, Benedict & McDonald, 1995; Humphreys & Kahn, 2000; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Sanday, 1990). Sexual needs are secondary to the desire of individual be looked upon favourably by their peers.

This emphasis on age and the importance of the group in MPR offences is a particularly salient feature of the present investigation, in which an individual's relationship and interactions within same sex peer groups will be assessed within a university community in the second study of this thesis. Thus, it is also important to review the prevalence and nature of university sexual assault.

University-Based Sexual Assault in the United States and Canada

In examining age, the changing influence of peer groups, and sexual assault, university students have been widely sought in the literature for participant pools (e.g. Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006; Brown, Sumner, & Nocera, 2002; Humphreys & Kahn, 2000).

Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney (2006) explored the complexities of sexual assault as it relates to the college lifestyle and underlying circumstances, assumptions, and gender stratification that exist therein. A major theme of sexual assault on campus is the expectation of partying and alcohol consumption. The group dynamics studied within university-aged men are of particular interest in this PhD, as men of that age are more likely to commit MPR. University culture promotes these behaviours as "fun" and necessary for having a good time and "making the most" out of the college experience. Women in these settings are expected to accept subordination to men, who are often in control of the alcohol supply. This is a particularly salient feature amongst fraternity organisations (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Schwartz & Norgrady, 1996).

Fraternities. Sanday (1990) provided a psychoanalytic theory of MPR as it occurs on college campuses, particularly within all-male social fraternities in the United States. Fraternities are groups of students who band together for reasons of friendship, philanthropy, educational, or social goals (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). They are a widely accepted part of college life in the United States, each developing its own reputation and identity within the university population. On an institutional level, most universities condone the presence of fraternities and sororities[4] on and off campus. Within these pre-established institutions, Sanday (1990) argues that young men work through any residual sexual anxiety from adolescence. The fraternity provides protection from these anxieties in the unfamiliar college environment. In particular, initiation ceremonies to join such groups involve a heightened awareness of unresolved sexual identity. Alleviation comes in the form of opposition to women. With this, they attempt to rebuild a male-dominant, cohesive "brotherhood" in which the self is determined by the fraternity.

Sanday (1990) also highlights the possibility that fraternity MPR provides a venue in which young men can assert their heterosexual dominance, because of their intense fear and simultaneous fascination with homosexuality. The crimes perpetrated against the victim become symbolic of what the offenders want to do to each other. In summary, fraternity gang rape is a mask for feared homosexual desires. The MPR offence is a dramatic attempt to reassert heterosexuality, while at the same time exploring feelings of homosexuality, which has is likely to have been characterized by the group as abhorrent.

Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) argue that although there may be an element of homosexuality in certain instances of fraternity MPR, there is no empirical support

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[4] Although sororities are the female counterparts to fraternity groups, they are not mentioned in the literature as being widely implicated in negative behaviours in the same way as fraternities.

to substantiate this theory. Further, there is no tangible methodology with which the theory could be empirically tested. Sanday's (1990) assertion that college fraternities can be fertile breeding grounds for rape-supportive environments has however been substantiated (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Further, there has been some support for the elevated likelihood of rape myth acceptance for fraternity members (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Schafer & Nelson, 1993), but other studies (e.g. Schwartz & Norgrady, 1996) have indicated that this is not true of many such groups.

It is important to note that not all fraternities promote a rape-supportive sub-culture. Humphrey and Kahn (2000) found that some fraternities who have higher levels of aggression and support rape myths and misogynist attitudes towards women are more likely to engage in assaultive behaviours of women than others. Those "riskier" fraternities are readily identified by other students on campus, and are known to throw the most popular parties. Thus, students new to the university or who desire acceptance, friends, etc. are more motivated to go to such parties despite the known reputation of the group that is hosting. Boeringer, Shehan, and Akers (1991) suggest that the attitudes held by "risky" fraternities can influence men who are not members, given the right situation. That is, male non-members can adopt the aggressive views of the fraternity when they are in that atmosphere setting.

Although fraternities are lesser known in the UK in name and prevalence, there are equivalent male-only drinking societies, and clubs. From such groups, there is much to be learned about the processes that occur within that might contribute to aggressive attitudes towards women or sexually aggressive behaviour. Many of the same phenomena that have been reported to go on within fraternities have been seen in the behaviour of sports teams as well.

Athletes.

University athletics has also been implicated in exacerbating the possibility of sexual assault, including MPR. Crosset, Benedict, and McDonald (1995) found that athletes were overrepresented in rape accusations on 20 different college campuses in the US. Boeringer (1999) found more endorsement of rape-supportive stereotypes among all-male team and/or fraternity members than non-members. Further to this, there is some evidence to suggest that membership in American student fraternity associations and athletic teams is associated with more sexual aggression than non-affiliated undergraduates (Boeringer, 1999; Frinter & Rubinson, 1993; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss & Gaines, 1993; DeKeseredy, 1990). Koss and Gaines (1993) assessed a sample of 530 undergraduate men and 150 athletes on the association between campus group affiliation and sexual aggression levels. It was found that athletic participation and alcohol consumption were significant predictors of sexual aggression and participation in MPR (Koss & Gaines, 1993; Trebon, 2007).

The link between athletics and MPR has been fairly well established on campuses in the United States and Canada, and received considerable coverage in the media when concerning high-profile sportsmen (Benedict, 1998) but in the UK, there is little empirical research on this topic. Part of the present investigation will assess the attitudes and beliefs of a sample of sportsmen on dimensions of sexual assault such as gender beliefs, group norms, etc.

2.7 Addressing the Gap

Multiple perpetrator rape is useful in its delineation of differing types of offences involving more than one perpetrator. However, it is important not to use MPR as a means to discount the marked differences that are inherent in Horvath and

Kelly's (2009) further articulation of the subtype. These include *wartime-fraternal*, *fraternal*, *gang-affiliated*, and *duo*.

Duo MPR offences are defined as those committed by 2 individuals. Within MPR offences, duo rapes are the most commonly occurring, according to the only published studies delineating MPR by perpetrator number (daSilva, 2012, Lambine, 2013). Further, there are some significant differences between duos and larger groups of MPR offenders that could indicate a distinctive offence progression and social dynamic. Indeed, dyadic interaction in non-offending contexts has been highlighted in the literature as a markedly different form of social exchange than that occurring in larger groups (e.g. Davidson & Duberman, 1982; Simmel, 1902; Warr, 2002). While it is not the intention here to challenge the utility of MPR as an umbrella term, it is important to note that this thesis will be focusing largely upon duo MPR offences.

The concept of MPR has evolved from an apparently disparate group of empirical studies to a growing body of interrelated literature, grouped by a recently developed umbrella term. MPR fits into other models of individual offending, but these do not adequately address the nature of group offending specifically. In determining the foci of the present investigation, an integrated theoretical approach to MPR offence progression has been considered, taking into account existing theories of offending, and developing them as they might relate to group sexual offences specifically.

Chapter 3: Male Peer Support and Self-Regulation Theories:

Theoretical Underpinnings

The theoretical model proposed in this thesis is based upon two theories of offense progression; Male Peer Support (DeKeseredy, 1988b) and Self-Regulation (Ward & Hudson, 1998). Information extracted from these two theories in the literature has some prominent links to features associated with MPR including individual stress levels, group processes, alcohol abuse, and patriarchy. Elements of these two models, in addition to other significant variables found in the literature have been combined, resulting in the Modified Male Support and Self-Regulation Model that is examined in this PhD. General notions of offence progression will be now be explored, followed by the theoretical foundations of self-regulation and male peer support, This will then be followed by the proposed relationship that these might share with MPR.

3.1 Offence Progression Models

Offence progression refers to the development of an offence, from its inception in the mind, to its manifestation in behaviour, and psychological and behavioural reactions/states after its completion (Proulx, 2014). Research has shown that sexual offenders are a very heterogeneous group, with differing motivations and cognitive approaches to offending (Hudson, Ward, & McCormack, 1999). For example, an offender who actively and consciously plans an offence may present very differently to an individual with no conscious knowledge of their thought processes around offending. Somewhat differently however, offenders could have very similar offence planning strategies, but carry out the offence and experience completely different emotional and psychological reactions after the fact (Yates & Kingstom, 2005; Yates, 2009). Acknowledgment of the subtle nuances between

offences/offenders in addition to the more obvious differences in offender/offence characteristics is important in considering the practical utility of an offence progression model. The model must be specific enough to apply to a particular offence, but broad enough to encompass the population under examination (Proulx, 2014). Historically, models of sexual offence progression have adopted a "one size fits all" approach, but as our understanding of sexual offence motivators has developed, the need for more offender and offence specific perspectives has arisen (Ward, Bickley, Webster, Fisher, Beech, & Eldridge, 2004).

3.2 Self-Regulation: Theory and Model[5]

Historically, efforts to combat recidivism amongst sexual offenders have applied the Relapse Prevention Model (RPM) (Marlatt & Gordon, 1985), originally designed to treat substance dependence, to the sex offender population (Pithers, Kashima, Cumming, & Beale, 1988). RPM emphasizes skill deficits as being the major component to sexual offending and recidivism. Offenders are seen as motivated to avoid offending. However, this does not take into account non-conscious or inbuilt deficiencies in behaviour control, and those offenders who actively pursue a sex offence. Level of aggression, cognitive distortion, static risk, and psychopathy have all been implicated in rapist, paedophile, and mixed offender subtypes (Bickley & Beech, 2003; Craissati & Beech, 2004; Forth, Hart & Hare, 1990; Ward, Louden, Hudson, & Marshall, 1995). As a result, it has become apparent that RPM is too narrow in scope to encompass the diverse characteristics of the sexual offender population (Lambine, 2010; Ward et al., 1995; Bickley & Beech, 2002; Yates & Kingston, 2005).

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[5] Portions of this section have been previously published in Lambine (2010).

Self-regulation includes the internal and external states that facilitate the participation in goal-directed behaviours. It is associated with the inhibition or restriction of behaviour as well as its maintenance, creation, or enhancement (Ward & Hudson, 1998). Although it is not uncommon for self-regulation and self-control to be used interchangeably (i.e. McGloin & Shermer, 2009), they can be understood as separate, but inter-related processes. Self-control is considered to be a conscious process, whereas self-regulation is more homeostatic or innate (Kuhl & Fuhrmann, 1998; Muraven, Tice, & Baumeister, 1998). It is this lack of conscious control that is indicated in self-regulation theory.

The Self-Regulation Model outlines two general pathways to offence: approach and avoidance. Approach goals are intended to result in the achievement of a particular behaviour or state, at which point the approach individual is likely to experience positive memories and a sense of satisfaction with the behaviour (Ward et al., 2004). Conversely, avoidant goals are more concerned with the failure to successfully engage in a behaviour or experience. Such goals are more likely to lead to negative memories or sense of disappointment. These two categories are further divided into passive or active avoidance and automatic or explicit approach behaviours. These serve to indicate the presence, absence, or deviant utilization of self-regulatory strategies throughout offence processes.

Avoidant- passive Pathway. An avoidant-passive offender is similar to the offence pathway described in the original relapse- prevention model in that they lack the necessary coping skills to minimize the urge to reoffend (Ward & Hudson, 1998). These individuals may deny or suppress their sexual urges, but fail to employ effective strategies. Their avoidance is passive in a sense that they may not want to offend, but do nothing to prevent it.

Avoidant-active Pathway. In this offence pathway, the individual may desire to avoid offending, but employ inappropriate or self-defeating coping skills (e.g. substance use, reclusive behaviours, indulging in solitary deviant sexual fantasies). It is at this point, the individual it at high risk of losing control and of re-offending.

Approach-automatic Pathway. This pathway to offence is characterized by impulsivity coupled with a well-entrenched cognitive schema for sexual encounters. They do not avoid offending, but unconsciously work towards the offence, and lack the ability to effectively control their behaviour. These individuals rarely engage in offence planning, and offences are often situationally determined (e.g. a child may approach them).

Approach-explicit Pathway. The approach-explicit individual is characterized by intentional, planned, and controlled sexual offences. They have no difficulty regulating or changing their behaviours to facilitate the offence process and make no attempts to avoid it. This behaviour is based upon fixed and developmentally enforced sexual beliefs that support sexual aggression. They may justify offence behaviours based upon their own experiences with being sexually abused ("It happened to me, and I'm alright" or "I used to do this with my siblings all the time").

Yates and Kingston (2006) were able to allocate an offender pathway for 80 federally incarcerated offenders using pre-treatment assessment reports as well as Static-99 and Violence Risk Scale: Sex Offender Version (VRS-SO) scores. Results showed differential assignment depending upon offender type (rapist, child molester, mixed) as well as a relationship between elevated static risk in approach individuals, particularly approach explicit. Those in the approach-automatic category were found to be higher in dynamic risk.

The SRM could be useful in understanding the risk posed by those who participate in MPR. It has already been applied successfully to randomly selected MPR cases (Lambine, 2010), and implicated in general juvenile offending (Hanson, & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Newman & Wallace, 1993). Given the younger age of MPR offenders, and the likelihood of peer influence, SRM seemed like an interesting way in which to examine these offences. It was intended that the SRM could be integrated within the male peer support model to provide a holistic view of MPR specifically. SRM represents the individual level of ability a person brings with them that is affected, either in a positive or negative manner, by the group, where male peer support might take place. The following section provides an overview of the male peer support model and its development.

3.2 Male Peer Support Theory and its Development

Male Peer Support is defined as "attachments to male peers and the resources they provide which encourage and legitimate woman abuse" (Dekeseredy, 1990, p.130). Dekeseredy (1988a) found that men who abused women often associated with peer groups, which included other abusing individuals. The Male Peer Support Model was developed from a criminological approach to social support and incorporates variables such as, patriarchy, misogyny, and alcohol abuse in considering the complexities of male group interaction and sexual violence. In understanding the model, we must first turn our attention to its roots in social support.

Durkheim (1951) and Mead (1934) suggested that an individual's level of social support could have a profound effect on their behaviour. Social support was defined by Gottlieb (1983) as, "verbal or non-verbal information or advice, tangible aid, or action that is proffered by social intimates or inferred by their presence and has beneficial emotional or behavioural effects on the recipients" (p. 183). Indeed,

appraisals, context, identity salience, belief systems appear to all be shaped by support from social networks (Thoits, 1995). Past research has promoted social support as a provider of encouragement, validation, security, and motivation for individuals with regards to healthy living, aging, and coping with stress (Armstrong et al., 2005; Berkman & Syme, 1979; Gore, 1978).

Sutherland (1947), Kanin (1967), and Akers (1973) are some of the earliest researchers within sociology and social psychology to actively study the possibility of the negative consequences of social support (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In his 1967 study, Kanin examined "homosocial," or all male groups in university settings and the normalization of sexual abuse within dating relationships, concluding that individuals predisposed to sexual aggression or sexually aggressive ideation selectively seek out individuals who share their views and/or history. Such groups are referred to as "erotically oriented" or "hyper-erotic." Support for sexual aggression may not be explicit, but be implied through group emphasis on erotic goals or "conquests." Members may feel frustrated at their inability to achieve the exaggerated sexual claims of their peers and resort to more aggressive sexual tactics in order to meet the inflated expectations of the group. This frustration is referred to as reference-group-anchored sex drive (Kanin, 1967). This drive comes not from a true sexual urge, but from a feeling of inadequacy fostered by a hyper-erotic comparison group. Membership to this group is valued more highly than personal values about courtship and appropriate sexual behaviour.

Similarly, DeKeseredy (1988) utilized a criminological approach to Social Support Theory in exploring its relevance within abusive dating relationships and sexual assault on college campuses. Such relationships involved solo offenders that received rape-supportive peer support from other offending individuals with which he

was associated. This original model was called Male Peer Support Theory (Dekeseredy, 1990), which has been examined and supported in a number of subsequent investigations (DeKeseredy, Schwartz, Fagen, & Hall, 2006; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2002; 2005; Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012; Schwartz & Dekeseredy, 1997; Shwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, & Alvi, 2001; Sanday, 1990; Smith, 1991).

Fig. 1 Original Male Peer support Model (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2103, p.50)
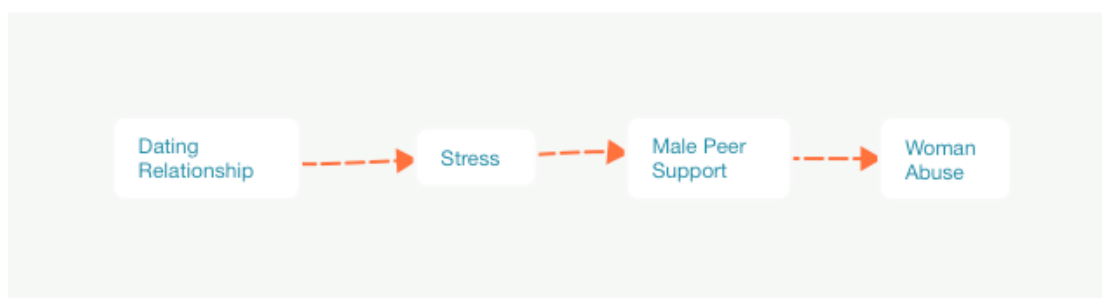
The original model above was designed to highlight the possible relationship between male peer support and the probability of domestic violence within the college/university setting. It was also suggested that this process is detrimental to the desire of some men to refrain from their continued abuse of a partner (Bowker, 1983; DeKeseredy, 1988a). DeKeseredy (1988b) proposed that the stress associated with the heterosexual dating relationship drives the male to seek support from same-sex peers. Men receive counsel/advice from these people concerning their relationships, which influence the stressed individual's future behaviour. Subsequent studies provided additional support for this theory, including those within divorced populations, the economically excluded, and those in rural areas (DeKeseredy, 1988b; DeKeseredy, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy 1997; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2002; DeKeseredy, Rogness, & Schwartz, 2004; DeKeseredy, Schwartz, Fagen, & Hall, 2006). Sexual assault in college and university environments were given particular attention due to

the prevalence of female victimization, the suggestible nature of the population age group, and the seeming ability of institutions to minimize, defend, or simply ignore perpetrators of sexual offences within their domain (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

DeKeseredy (1990) criticised his original model for being too focused on individual stress factors and less upon broader sociological variables at play. The model was expanded in 1993 to include four extra variables inherent to the male peer support process; membership in social groups, patriarchy, hypermasculinity, alcohol consumption, and the absence of deterrence (See figure 3.2 below). These will now be considered.

Fig. 2 Modified Male Peer Support Model (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 54)
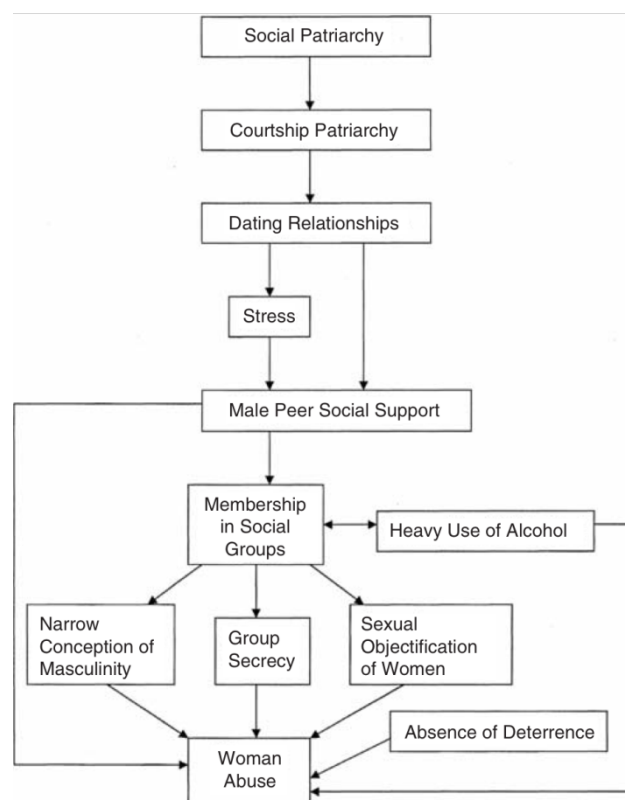
Social Group Membership

Inherent in the male peer support model is the importance of membership in a defined social group for men and its provision for a platform in which misogynist

male peer support can occur. Groups that are clearly defined or organizationally

sanctioned such as athletic teams, fraternity groups, or the police (Franklin, 2005)

may be more likely to engage in anti-women beliefs or behaviours as their all-male

(or mostly male) group is supported by an outside organizational force (e.g. a

university or league). As the group is given permission by a larger body to exist, the

men may also feel a sense that their activities would be met with approval as well. In

other words, formal groups bolster the likelihood for negative male peer support.

Some researchers have argued that the facilitation of group cohesion through

degrading or embarrassing rituals or initiations can have an impact on the level of

group norm acceptance and influence on subsequent behaviours/dialogues (Sanday,

1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Such behaviours generally occur while group

members are under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs, and can be antisocial and/or

personally damaging and can include various forms of woman abuse.

Patriarchy

There are a number of features embedded within the male peer support model

that can contribute to a climate ripe for misogyny and/or women abuse. The first is

that of patriarchy. Although the literature surrounding patriarchy is beyond the scope

of this PhD, there are two main types relied upon with regards to male peer support.

Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1993) ascribe to the division of patriarchy into "social

patriarchy" and "familial patriarchy." Social patriarchy refers to those belief systems

that are well entrenched in society that promote the advancement and acceptance of

the male perspective to the exclusion of the need and wants of women (Barret, 1980;

DeKeseredy, 1993; Eisenstein, 1980; Franklin, 2005; Ursel, 1986). This patriarchy

exists at such a macro-societal level and has done for such an extended period of time,

that it infiltrates every aspect of our current existence and is amplified when men are

together in a group in the absence of women. Familial patriarchy refers to that which

exists within the context of dating relationships. One might argue that familial

patriarchy could simply be a resulting subsection of social patriarchy, as the latter

encompasses all normative expectations of experience (Smith, 1990). In any case, the

inclusion of patriarchy within male peer support provides a societal context in which

male groups operate. Even before they meet and engage in negative peer support,

there is a pre-existing normative idea about men and masculinity.

Hypermasculinity

The idea of an exaggerated sense of masculinity is an important component of

the modified male peer support model (DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1997) and could

be included within or as a result of the patriarchy mentioned above. This suggests that

the exclusion of women promotes the exaggeration of traditionally male attributes

such as aggression and competition. Levant's (1994) description of the basic tenets of

hegemonic masculinity is cited, in which men

> *1. Avoid all things feminine 2. Severely restrict their emotions 3. Display*
>
> *aggression and toughness 4. Exhibit self-reliance 5. Strive for achievement*
>
> *and status 6. Exhibit non-relational attitudes towards sexual activity 7.*
>
> *Engage in homophobia.* (In DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997 p. 56).

Although the above represents a simplistic summary of a topic that has had

considerable empirical coverage (See for example Beesley & McGuire, 2009; Collier,

1998; Conell, 1987; Hearn, 2004; Newburn & Stanko, 1994), for the model, it

represents larger societal forces that make some groups more likely to abuse women,

both physically and verbally. This is particularly applicable for this thesis in that

multiple perpetrator rapes occur within the context of a group of 2 or more men. It

follows that a process by which woman abuse is legitimised and normalised for single perpetrators is likely to influence offences committed by groups of men as well.

Within this hypermasculinity, the MPS model relies heavily on misogyny as a phenomenon (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) report on the prevalence of victim blaming, the propagation of rape myths, and the sexual objectification of women in the media as supportive of male notions of superiority and anti-women viewpoints. These serve to normalise the denigration of women as valued members of society, even as human beings. To a group of men, already immersed within a patriarchal and hypermasculine culture, misogynistic views would be at the forefront of their general attitudes towards women and their place in the world. It is important to note, however, that misogyny in male groups varies to differing degrees depending upon the group and the socialisation of individual members.

Absence of Deterrence

The MMPS suggests that the absence of deterrence enables groups that propagate woman abuse to continue their behaviours and conversations (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997). Research has shown that punishment is not particularly effective in lessening crime occurrence or control (Siegel, 1993). However, the absence of punishment or consequences can encourage the behaviour to continue. Particularly within groups associated with a sanctioning outside body (i.e. university, sports league) there are more likely to be feelings of invincibility; that members are above reproach (Benedict, 1998; DeKeseredy & Schwartz 1997; Sanday, 1990).

Another consideration in looking at the MMPS is the cost-benefit analysis for men in groups (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997). Depending upon how valuable the group is to the individual, the perceived benefits of participating or compliance may

outweigh the consequences. The cognitive dissonance of the individual may be mediated by the benefits that group membership provides (i.e. friendship, protection, emotional support, belonging etc.).

If the benefits outweigh the consequences, or there are no perceived consequences at all, there are few outside forces to stop men from engaging in behaviours conducive to woman abuse.

Excessive Consumption of Alcohol

The MMPS model was originally developed with North American university students as its primary focus. It is common knowledge that alcohol is a large part of the social environment at universities, not only in North America, but in the UK as well (Craigs et al., 2012). It is often used as an excuse for a wide variety of embarrassing or inappropriate behaviours by peer groups of both men and women (Vander Ven, 2011). In particular, researchers have viewed the consumption of alcohol as a contributor to the peer group social processes of young men as well as its involvement in sexual assault dynamics (i.e. Barnes, Greenwood & Sommer, 1991; Lisak & Roth; 1988; Schwartz & Nogrady, 1996). Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) hypothesized that the combination of alcohol abuse and male peer support has a magnifying effect on the likelihood of woman abuse. In light of the proliferation of drinking culture in the UK (Measham & Brain, 2005), it is thought that this component of the model would be well suited to the British samples in the current investigation.

3.3 Critiques of Male Peer Support

Whilst considering the modified male peer support model and theory, surprisingly few critiques could be found. The model is ideally suited for application to MPR offences given its focus on group dynamics and masculinity. It became

important to explore this model within the context of MPR, but also to critique the male peer support model in a constructive manner. The following describes the available critical analyses of the model.

In 1993, DeKeseredy and Schwartz provided their own critique of the original male peer support model, citing its inability to capture the patriarchal culture surrounding male peer group interactions at a macro-level. This, they claimed was remedied by expanding the model to include social and dating patriarchies. This acknowledged the pre-existing forces that influence the individual before encountering the influences of the group, member of which are under if not similar, the same societal constraints.

In their study of self-control and fraternity affiliation, Franklin, Bouffard, and Pratt (2012) endorse male peer support as a "domain-specific" explanation rooted firmly in feminist structural theory. That is, the structure or domain in which all-male groups function is highly correlated with the likelihood of member engagement in rape-supportive ideologies. However, they argue that this model relies too heavily on such interpretations of behaviour and does not take into account individual self-control. The present investigation is intended to assess the contribution of both male peer support and self-regulation, which can be shown as an innate mechanism that encompasses self-control but is a less deliberate process.

Franklin (2005) applied male peer support as an appropriate way of explaining the resistance and misogyny women face within police culture. Although ideally suited to the topic, she argues that the model fails to consider the connection between the phenomenon of male peer support and the broader organizational context in which it functions. Indeed, when considering male groups embedded in a university or

organised sporting context, the culture of such institutions should be examined in their ability to exacerbate certain antisocial or dangerous behaviours.

In addition to the above critiques, the present author suggests that there appears to be an omission in the model in acknowledging whether and how individual behaviours may or may not be influenced by the group. Although much has been written about culture and the influence of wider society on men and masculinities, the model proposed in this thesis suggests that there is a convergence between individual and group; a sort of perceived understanding between the two, and a likely symbiotic relationship between individuals and the groups to which they belong. This understanding may be the result of pluralistic ignorance (Miller & McFarland, 1987) and conversely, the false consensus effect (Marks & Miller, 1987). In both cases, the individual is mischaracterising the perceptions of the other members of the group. Pluralistic ignorance refers to the perception that an individuals inner thoughts and views are different from those of the group, even though his or her behaviour is the same (Miller & McFarland, 1987). In this way, people could be opposing the group in their thoughts and feelings, but behaving as if they agree with what they perceive to be the group ethos. The false consensus effect refers to the egocentric notion that because one is engaging in thoughts and behaviours, then others must be too (Marks & Miller, 1987). Particularly in groups, there is an assumption of similarity in attitudes, which in turn can feed into continuing pluralistic ignorance. Failure to challenge the resulting cognitive dissonance can be exacerbated by perceived social pressures exerted on the individual by the group (See chapters 6 and 7 for further elaboration).

3.4 The Integration of SRM and MPS: The New Model

The aim of this thesis is to integrate the theories of SRM and MPS in a meaningful way, in order to better understand MPR and address certain elements of male peer support that appear to be lacking. The self-regulation and male peer support models are linked to bridge the reported disconnect between the pre-existing psychological abilities of the individual and the influence of male peers. Ward and Hudson's (1998) meta-theoretical framework, in addition to Kalmar and Sternberg's (1988) theory knitting perspective, were consulted in an effort to determine: 1. If this was possible with the existing theoretical models of self-regulation and male peer support, and 2. The utility of an integrated approach. These approaches to theory development were chosen as they have been successfully applied in theory generation for sexual crimes in particular (i.e. Ward & Hudson, 1998; Ward & Siegert, 2008).

Levels of Theory

Ward and Hudson (1998) highlighted three theoretical levels in their development of a pathways model of sexual offence progression. These levels classify theories based upon their "generality of focus…and the extent to which the relevant factors were anchored in either distal or proximal experiences" (p. 321). In other words, theories can be judged with this system based upon their level of topic specificity, in addition to variables resulting from past or recent experiences. In this respect, male peer support would represent proximal experiences that affect and/or are affected by an individual's predisposed level of self-regulation (distal).

Ward and Hudson (1998) describe these levels as Multifactorial (Level 1), Single Factor (Level II), and Micro Level (Level III). Level I (Multifactorial) theories involve the loose association between constructs to explain an event. These are comprehensive and encompass a wide array of components that can be implicated in a

phenomenon (e.g. Marshall & Barbaree, 1990). Level II (Single Factor) theories highlight single factors thought to be significantly influential on the commission of the behaviour under scrutiny (e.g. self-regulation deficits). Level III (Micro-level or offence process models) involve the "cognitive, behavioural, motivational, and social factors associated with the commission of a sexual offence" (Ward et al.,1995, p.321).These encompass specific processes and characteristics that very between cases.

The proposed integrated model in this thesis is composed of two level III descriptive offence progression models. Thus, it will be an amalgamation of more general level II concepts feeding into the very specific level III models at the centre of the offence progression. Specifically, Self-regulation and male peer support represent two more general level II concepts. In addition to the particular intricacies of each theory in isolation, the interaction between the individual and the group, and the effect each has on the other represents a level III offence-process occurrence. Essentially, this thesis will attempt to assess the utility of melding two high-level theoretical offence progression models in an attempt to apply them in a new way to provide a more thorough consideration of MPR.

Theory Knitting

Kalmar and Sternberg (1988) developed an approach to theory development, stipulating that this could be undertaken more effectively if competing or similar theoretical perspectives were integrated. In other words, taking the best parts of related theories and integrating them into one, more comprehensive perspective. This is in response to their critique of the "segregative approach" (p. 322), where individual theories of a phenomenon are competing with each other instead of working together to develop a stronger perspective.

In examining male peer support and self-regulation theories with intention of developing an integrated model for duo MPR, the process of theory knitting was relied upon as a possible way of conceptualizing and developing a model that has both explanatory power using established theoretical principles, but omitting areas that are less successful or have been heavily critiqued by others (Kalmar & Sternberg 1988; Ward, Polaschek, & Beech, 2006). This is in contrast with a more dichotomised approach, in which theories are pitted against each other in isolation in order to determine which is more effective. Theory knitting asserts that this system is flawed in its assumption of theoretical self-sufficiency. The theorist may become entrenched in his or her own perspectives and specific topics. Theory knitting is a well-specified (i.e. Ward & Hudson, 1998; Ward, Polaschek, & Beech, 2006; Ward & Siegert, 2008) and useful approach for this thesis as two strong theories are combined to produce an offence progression model that takes into account the strengths and weaknesses of each, all within the context of a new theoretical framework. Indeed, a theory knitting perspective has been was adopted successfully by Ward et al. (1995) integrating self-regulation theory with relapse prevention in developing offence chain for child molesters. For this thesis, self, regulation is intended to explain the individual process(es) for participating in a duo MPR that is lacking in MPS theory, and MPS is included to explain the social process(es) that occur when the individual is involved in sexual offending with another.

Figure 3. The Proposed Integrated Self-Regulation Male Peer Support Model of MPR
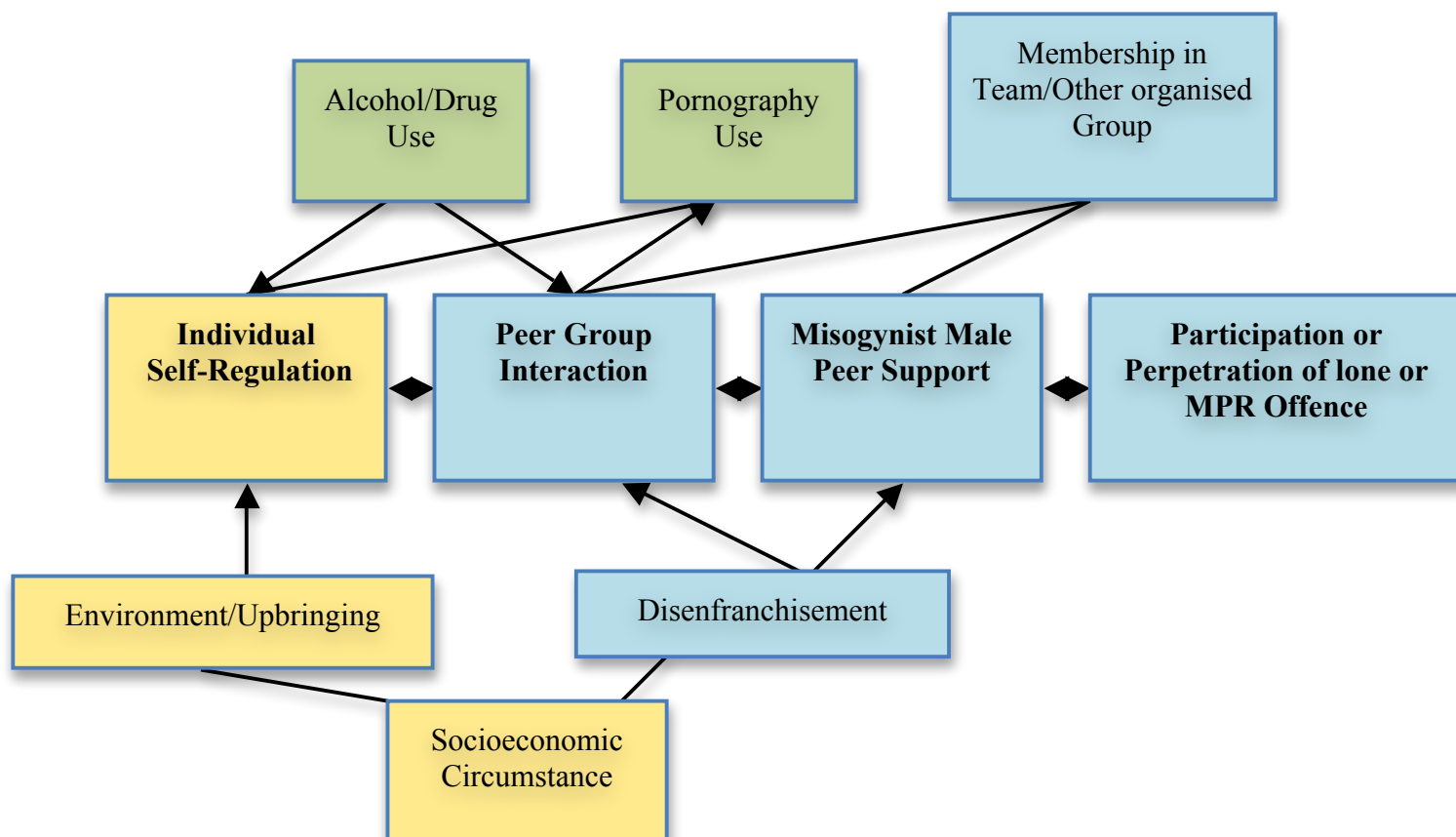
Above is the first incarnation of the integrated self-regulation male peer support model. The main pathway components are in the centre, and are connected by arrows indicating the possibility of inter-relation. In other words, and individual's level of self-regulation might affect their peer group interactions and vice versa. The items in yellow represent the self-regulation components of the model, and the items in blue indicate the male peer support offence progression components. The points in green are intended to show variables where the two theories overlap. Individuals have pre-existing levels of self-regulatory abilities that come into play when faced with a group interaction. These abilities are based upon other factors such as the environment in which they were brought up, how they were brought up, alcohol/drug use, pornography use, and life stressors. Individuals may also have pre-existing attitudes about women that are influenced by these, as well as previous exposure to

pornography. When in the group, the individual may experience more drug and alcohol use as well as group viewing of pornography, a direct lead-in to developing or enhancing pre-existing group and/or individual misogynist attitudes towards women.

The Utility of Integration

Self-regulation is an empirically supported theoretical perspective that is currently being used in sex offender treatment programs in the US, and serves to elaborate on the likely individual processes occurring within a group. Male peer support model concepts will be combined with these to make a theoretically integrated model of MPR that will examined in the subsequent studies, and will be of use in providing a better understanding of MPR. The proposed integration of the two theories will hopefully provide an enhanced understanding of MPR and is the basis of this thesis. The following chapter will provide an overview of the methodology used to apply these theories to MPR offences.

Chapter 4: Methodological Approach

The following chapter provides the overall methodology of the research in this PhD with particular focus on the need for a mixed methodological approach resulting from emergent research questions. An overview of the research methodology utilised in each study of this PhD will be provided as well as the utility of the separate studies in their contribution to the offence progression model. In exploring MPR, choosing the appropriate methodology was of particular concern given the sensitive nature of the subject matter. Great care was taken in selecting a methodological approach that was appropriate and realistic. In other words, an approach was needed that provided accurate and valuable information, while at the same time allowing for creative and flexible alternatives to obstacles inherent in sexual offending research. The psychological and, at times, physical well being of participants as well as those of the researcher was considered in conjunction with epistemological consistency and research objectives.

4.1 Using Mixed Methods

Much of the present investigation is exploratory, testing an a priori model developed from the integration of two empirically validated theories; male peer support and self-regulation. The aim is to test the model, while at the same time exploring male peer support, self-regulation, and duo MPR with grounded concepts generated from qualitative data. In attempting this, a mixed methods design was relied upon to provide the widest consideration and potential triangulation within a relatively under-researched topic. The first study in this thesis takes a quantitative approach to exploring the varying characteristics of MPR relative to the number of perpetrators involved, while providing important context for the following two studies, which rely on qualitative methods. The combination of studies to provide

support for the offence progression model is based largely upon the sports and offender studies of the investigation (chapters 6 & 7). Rich interview data are used in order to give a more holistic picture of MPR than has been presented in past research.

The utilization of mixed methods in research has been suggested and employed as a response to the debate between quantitative and qualitative supporters (Bryman, 1984; Johnson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Quantitative methods are often praised for their ability to operationalise and measure specific constructs, allow for inter/intra-group comparisons, and enhance model-building specifications (Haverkamp, Morrow, & Ponterotto, 2005; Jick, 1979). On the other hand, qualitative methods provide details of human experience including beliefs, behaviours, opinions etc. that many times cannot be captured using quantitative measures such as questionnaires (Plano Clark, Huddleston-Cases, Churchill, Green, & Garrett, 2008). Qualitative research also affords the researcher insights into complex human experiences and interactions in a "real world" context. To date, MPR dynamics and offence progression have yet to be explored in this way.

In deciding upon mixed methods approach, both triangulation and integration were implemented in considering the data. Triangulation is defined as "an epistemological claim concerning what more can be known about a phenomenon when the findings from data generated by two or more methods are brought together" (Moran-Ellis, Alexander, Cronin, Dickinson, Fielding, Sleney, & Thomas, 2006).

In this thesis, the quantitative study is intended to provide further understanding of MPR. MPR offences are examined in a more detached quantitative manner also to provide a foundation from which the more detailed qualitative studies (particularly the offender study) could build. In this thesis, it was not the intent to integrate the qualitative and quantitative studies to reach an explicit end, but use the

quantitative data to provide a foundation from which more definitive conclusions could be made about offence progression. This was done with the intention of further developing the model in light of findings from a large quantitative sample of offenders. It was then that interview schedules could be developed and considered with respect to these more macro-level and emotionally distant conclusions.

Integration was implemented, focusing upon the relationship between research methods and findings with the goal being to "know more" (Moran- Ellis et al., p.51). The two qualitative studies were analysed, compared and contrasted to gain insight into male peer support and considered in an integrative manner in order to frame conclusions about the nature of all-male groups and their suggested relationship to group offending in a variety of anti-social ways.

Using a qualitative approach in this thesis offers a novel insight into MPR where previous studies have only been able to provide a more detached quantitative perspective. While quantitative analysis of MPR tells us more about general offence characteristics, underlying emotional reactions of group members to group processes are largely absent (exceptions include Woodhams, Cooke, Harkins, & daSilva, 2012). Through collecting experiential information from individuals, preventative avenues might be more easily explored in order to bring about a heightened awareness and hopefully reduction in this sort of offending. The following chronicles the emergence of this need for mixed methods in this thesis beginning with the exploratory quantitative study. The development of the following studies will then be discussed.

Quantitative

Quantitative research methods provide a number of benefits including the following: (a) accurately operationalise and measure of a specific construct, (b) the capacity to conduct group comparisons, (c) the capacity to examine the strength of

association between variables of interest, and (d) the capacity for model specification and the testing of research hypotheses (Haverkamp et al., 2005). These benefits were exploited in study 1 of this thesis and aided in the development of ideas and theoretical formulations necessary for the bulk of the project.

In the nascent stages of this PhD, there developed an interest in the psychology of multiple perpetrator rape. Up to then, a small but growing body of empirical research had been conducted about the topic (See chapter 2 for MPR research overview), and it seemed prudent to conduct a preliminary investigation not only to add to this body of literature, but to explore the concept and possible areas of interest on which to focus subsequent studies. Further, an existing quantitative data set was available from which a wide variety of MPR characteristics could be analysed, providing a meaningful contribution to the existing literature in the field.

Study 1 considered offence, offender, and victim characteristics in a large sample (*n=1610*) recorded in a dataset provided by the police. These were analysed relative to the number of perpetrators in a group. Focusing upon perpetrator number was ultimately helpful in determining the unique focus of the PhD as certain characteristics varied as perpetrator number increased (See chapter 5).

It was after analysing the results of this study that the theoretical implications and true focus of the PhD emerged. The quantitative results from study 1 led to the need for further inquiry into ideas about how groups behave. In looking at the literature surrounding group behaviour and recent ideas about group rape, male peer support and self-regulation emerged as two perspectives that appeared most applicable to MPR. These theoretical approaches resulted in the addition of qualitative methods to the subsequent studies.

Qualitative

Qualitative methods were employed in the second and third studies not only to extract further information, but also to allow participants to explain what it is like to be involved in an all-male group. Participant pools consisted of sportsmen (See chapter 6) and incarcerated duo MPR offenders (See chapter 7). Relying upon quantitative methods alone results in a consideration of MPR from a much more detached perspective, which can limit the scope of researchers to draw conclusions about certain behaviours (Moghaddam, Walker, & Harre, 2003). This removal of phenomena from its "real world" context is referred to as "decontextualisation" (Viruel-Fuentes, 2007), and makes it more difficult to answer questions like the following. How do groups of men behave and interact in the absence of women? What is it like to witness or participate in a group rape? How do individuals get involved and how does the idea come about?

Quantified data has difficulty telling us how offenders interacted with their peers and co-offenders, how they came to participate in group behaviours, including their reasoning, their feelings about the victim(s), and their reflections after the fact. Through the use of qualitative methods, some conclusions may be made with regards to risk, the more extreme consequences of peer pressure, and a real sense of what the social dynamics are in a group sexual offence.

The concept of male peer support has not yet been explored within an incarcerated offender sample. This thesis is the first to do so whilst utilising similar interview protocols for offenders as well as a sample of sportsmen. This serves not only to shed light on male group dynamics in the wider community, but also to draw comparisons with individuals who have been convicted for engaging in illegal group sexual behaviour. Further, this could serve as a gauge perhaps for other studies in

developing qualitative interviewing methods with differing subtypes of incarcerated sex offenders. In these ways, qualitative methods and procedures are invaluable to this investigation, and are essential if we are to enhance our understanding of MPR.

4.2 Constructionism: Building up to MPR

A social constructionist approach to research operates generally on the principle that an individual's perception of reality is contingent upon the socially constructed environment within which they interact (Gergen, 1985, 1999; Owen, 1995). In its most extreme form, constructionism suggests that there is no social reality that exists outside of the mind of the individual and their interactions with their environment (Henry, 2009). That is, there is no objective and irrefutable reality. More moderate constructionists acknowledge the existence of some fundamental social reality, and that if most people recognise a reality, it can be real in its consequences for others (Cromby, 1999). We construct our own realities from unique points of view, but from our position in a wider society. In this way, individual abilities can be considered in light of the social reality in the environment from which they emerge.

Within forensic areas of inquiry, this perspective is of particular value in considering the differing pathways to criminal behaviour, which can be thought of as a product of environment and individual responses to that environment (Byrne, 1998; Kemshall, Marsland, & Boeck, 2006). Participants in the studies conducted for this thesis were expected to give their perspective on why they believe men in groups behave the way that they do, the dynamics, and how they relate to these behaviours. Although participants may not have disclosed the full extent of the behaviours in which they engage, it is their feelings, how they go about describing the group process, and how it affects them that are of interest in developing an understanding of the inner-workings of male peer support and MPR.

The manner and level to which an individual can regulate themselves within a group will be influential in their configuration of such relationships, and is the result of a variety of factors (e.g. upbringing, genetics etc) (Bijleveld et al., 2007; Cromby, 1999; McGloin & Shermer, 2009). Combinations of these factors as well as alcohol and drug use may also affect their ability to regulate behaviour. The manner in which men construct their understanding of personal relationships with individual group members, their placement within group activities, and the ways in which the all-male context dictates the perceptions of participants is of interest in this PhD because it may tell us more about how and why men might become involved in co-offending groups.

4.3 Semi-structured interviewing

In conducting both the sports and offender studies, the data were gathered through the use of individual semi-structured interviews. These are the most widely used method of qualitative data collecting (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Strauss, 1987; Willig, 2008), and adhere to a post-positivist position of inquiry (Ponterotto, 2005). In using this type of interview, it seems as if a post-positivist paradigm is being imposed on a topic that, as stated above is intended to be viewed within a social-constructionist frame and a discursive analytic process (Cromby, 1999). This potential conflict has not escaped notice.

Male peer support and MPR have been studied largely from a quantitative, post-positive perspective. As such, the abuse of women has been treated as an irrefutable social reality. This thesis suggests it might be useful in understanding the catalyst for offending in considering additional, constructionist factors. In other words, looking at an issue such as MPR from an alternative theoretical tradition may shed light on aspects of the offences that have not yet been explored, namely, offence

progression. Cromby, (1999) makes the case for social constructionist psychology to break away from an exclusive emphasis on language and discourse and to consider other issues at play within lived experiences. These include psychophysical elements (e.g. appearance), material resources, and societal forces (e.g. government, societal constructs). When focusing solely on discourse and language, these variables can be overlooked or omitted entirely. Within a topic as complex as MPR, it is impossible to provide support for the holistic model suggested without considering certain variables from a positivist perspective, while acknowledging the important role constructionist principles play in certain phenomena (e.g. the normalisation of domestic violence).

Male peer support and MPR are products of certain social interactions. These have within them numerous variables for consideration (i.e. alcohol, location, etc.). Thus, interview protocols intent on exploring group dynamics of these phenomena had to include known information from the literature surrounding them, but possess the flexibility in order that participants could have been able to elaborate on emergent variables (e.g. male conversation; rituals) as well.

A major criticism of qualitative research is the lack of theoretical transparency in the interview process (Diefenbach, 2008), and care was taken that the major interview questions and probes reflected the issues and topics embedded within male peer support theory and the male peer support model. There were a series of specific questions asked to all participants directly pertinent to the theory and model under investigation (See chapters 3 and 7).

An interview protocol was carefully developed for use with sportsmen participants using elements from DeKeseredy's male-female dating relationships questionnaire (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995). The same protocol was later used with incarcerated MPR sex offenders (with additional questions about their offences). This

was done for the purpose of comparing the two groups and gaining perspective from two different male populations (See appendices E and K for protocols).

4.4 Analytical Approach: Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) is used widely in qualitative research, and arguably provides a platform upon which other forms of analysis such as grounded theory and interpretive phenomenological analysis may be built (Holloway & Todres, 2003). However, this thesis will rely upon thematic analysis as a method within itself as demarcated by Braun and Clarke (2006). TA is essentially a method for reporting patterns in the data that often results in interpretation of varying characteristics of a particular event. Again, TA could be considered a post-positivist methodological choice, and, for this investigation, it is. As mentioned in the sections above, Discourse analysis (DA) is most associated with a constructionist perspective, in which the words used by the individual to 'construct' their reality are considered paramount to understanding the topic being studied (Ponterotto, 2005). IPA prioritises lived experience and the ways in which individuals make sense of their reality. Although either of these methods could have been used in analysing the interviews, the choice to use TA was both practical and theoretical.

Male peer support, male group dynamics, and (for this thesis) MPR, may be experienced or perceived differently by participants. MPR and its surrounding motivations and behaviours are highly subjective, embedded within certain socio-cultural and socioeconomic environments (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997). How individuals see themselves in such environments as well as their relative identities are an integral part in their interpretation of the sexual offence, and thematic analysis provides the flexibility to elicit and capture such information while adhering to a specific research agenda (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Offenders and sports participants

can tell us themselves what they did and thought from the perspective of their own place in time and society. In this way, a non-normative behaviour may become clearer to a wider range of individuals who might otherwise never gain such insights. What society perceives as evil or perverse (MPR) could be, in the perspective of the offender what is normative in the social milieu to which they are accustomed. Similarly but to a less extreme degree, making misogynist comments may not be indicative of an individual's true perceptions of women, but a product of fear at being excluded or shunned by the group. Although perceptions and contextual nuances by no means excuse many of the behaviours reported in the interviews, they do afford us the opportunity to look closely at the link between individual and social experience and what can be done to bring about change. The analyses of this data yielded rich and detailed information regarding events from those who actually experienced them through the development and hierarchical organisation of themes within the data, and resulting interpretations by the researcher.

Common themes running through interviews and across studies are of particular interest, as participant contexts differed greatly. Similarities between the samples were apparent and, in some cases surprising, especially given the disparate nature of the samples interviewed in both the offender and sports studies.

The interview topics for the sports study (see appendix E) was developed based upon the quantitative measures used by DeKeseredy and Kelly (1995) in their initial male peer support investigation. This was amended for the offenders study, with additional questions about their participation in an MPR offence. Although the structured questions were open-ended, they focused on specific aspects of male peer group phenomena (e.g. alcohol consumption, treatment of women) that were highlighted in the male peer support and MPR literature. In other words, there was a

pre-set agenda to the study, with scope for the reporting of additional themes and information. Having a more structured approach for these explorations made analysis more relatable to those quantitative studies that have gone before, and hopefully provide more concrete analysis of male peer group dynamics.

Semi-structured interviews and subsequent thematic analysis had a practical and ethical purpose as well. Participants were made aware of the types of subjects that would be covered in the interview, and great care was taken to ensure the interviewer was comfortable asking and discussing the information as well. Particularly with the incarcerated population, the resource, content, and time constraints placed on the interviews would have made it extremely difficult to administer an interview protocol tailored to an IPA or DA analysis.

The knowledge gathered about MPR, MPS, and SRM thus far has been quantitative. This thesis sought to add useful information that could inform not only further quantitative investigations, but also qualitative inquiry. In essence, the studies presented are walking a tightrope between two epistemological schools of thought about a topic that is both a social fact and a varied interpreted experience of reality.

In reporting the findings from a qualitative study it is necessary to be as rigorous as possible in describing exactly how the transcribing, coding, theme generation, and interpretation were carried out in order that that study and its findings might be thoroughly understood and replicated (Attride-Stirling, 2001). This is often done inadequately or not included at all (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Dixon-Woods, Agarwal, Jones, Young, et al., 2005; Willig, 2005). A partial Jeffersonian method was used in transcribing the data. Each interview was transcribed in full within a week of taking place, and given an initial read-through with audio before any coding began.

Thematic Analysis dictates that the researcher engages in open, annotative note-taking upon the initial reading of the transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This includes the recording of initial impressions, summaries, associations etc. The notes are then reviewed and codes generated. Upon reviewing the codes, the researcher then reflects on the relationships they have with one another to form clusters of concepts that are inter-linked. Labelled clusters or themes are then placed in a table along with super-ordinate themes and quotes from the transcripts that are representative of the link between sub and super-ordinate groups.

The above was completed for each transcript in the sport and offender studies of this thesis. The analytical process is described in more detail and with respect to individual study aims in chapters 6 and 7.

4.5 Summary

This PhD has relied upon a mixed methods approach. Study 1 required the use of quantitative methods due to the nature and type of data provided by the police. This was most useful in determining the trajectory and research questions that are the foci of the rest of this PhD. MPR offences differed based upon group size, highlighting the need for more work to be done on group dynamics within these offences. The subsequent sports and offender studies utilised a qualitative approach to the research design, relying upon constructionism as a framework from which to interpret participant responses in a thematic analysis. Although this school of thought and method of analysis seem to be contradicting, the ultimate goal was to provide a perspective of male peer support and self-regulation that is research and participant-driven in order to provide an enhanced understanding of MPR and male group dynamics.

The following chapter first reviews the existing literature surrounding MPR and perpetrator number details the initial study of this thesis. The process and method of the study will then be reported followed by the findings and how these furthered the development of the remaining qualitative investigations mentioned above.

Chapter 5: A Comparison of Duo, Trio, and 4+ Multiple Perpetrator Rape Offences

This chapter chronicles the first study in the thesis, intended to explore MPR both to provide a meaningful contribution to this relatively new area of study, but also to provide further evidence relating to findings already available[6]. The characteristics and behaviours of duo, trio, and 4+ offender rapes were compared and suggestions offered as to why these differences exist, based on what we currently know about general co-offending behaviours. Findings from this study served as a starting point from which the implications of group dynamics in MPR became an area of primary interest and the major focus for the remainder of the studies.

The major research questions/ topics addressed were the following:

 - Previous findings will be tested with the use of statistical analyses.

- Is perpetrator number significantly associated with variations in victim, offender, and offence characteristics?

- Can duo, trio, and 3+ groups be successfully predicted based upon these characteristics?

5.1 MPR versus Lone Offending

In the introductory chapter, a brief overview of MPR versus lone offending was provided, and a number of researchers have highlighted some general differences (Amir, 1971; Chambers, et al., 2010; daSilva, Woodhams, & Harkins, 2013; Woodhams, Gillet & Grant, 2007; Gidycz & Koss, 1990; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Horvath & Kelly 2009; Reiss, 1988; Woodhams, 2004). One of the highlighted differences is that lone rapists tend to be older (mid-late twenties or older), than MPR

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[6] It should be noted that much of this chapter has either been published elsewhere (Lambine, 2013) or is currently under review for publication (Lambine & Horvath, under review).

offenders (teens-early twenties) (Amir, 1971; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2006; Reiss, 1988; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Walmsley & White, 1979). Thus, age has regularly been a variable for inquiry within MPR.

Not only do younger individuals tend to offend in larger groups than older perpetrators, but also their motivations can be different as a product of maturity and the importance offenders place on the group interaction within the offence (Sussman, Pokhrel, Ashmore, & Brown, 2007). Indeed, Crosnoe and McNeely (2008) found that the developmental path for a young person can successfully be traced back to his or her peer group interactions, regardless of motivation for joining the group.

It has long been thought that the rewards of MPR for the perpetrators are generally social rather than sexual (Amir, 1971; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2006; Reiss, 1988; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Walmsley & White, 1979). Bijleveld and Hendriks (2003) suggest that the sexual elements within juvenile offending groups are "coincidental" to the more immediate need for the group to exert male dominance and/or overpower the victim. They also develop a deeper sense of identity and bond over the offence.

McGloin and Piquero (2009) found that violent offences involved larger numbers of offenders than non-violent crimes. The importance of power and dominance is a likely explanation for the increased hostility and violence that has been found to exist in MPR offences as opposed to those committed by a single suspect (Amir, 1971; DeWree, 2004; Gidycz & Koss, 1990; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Hilberman, 1976; Lees, 1996; Porter & Alison, 2006; Woodhams, 2004). Particularly with younger offenders, the presence of peers may increase the need to "show off" or surpass the other members in what they perceive to be sexual potency or prowess (Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2003; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997; Hauffe & Porter, 2009).

Within an MPR offence, participation in the group activity may result in cementing feelings of belonging and peer acceptance. In such an offence, the victim is viewed as an object, and is treated as such, which facilitates group cohesion and membership solidification (Biljeveld & Hendriks, 2003; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Lone offender assaults have been linked more with anger and sexual desire than with socially prescribed demands (Wright & West, 1981).

In larger groups, there is more likely to be a leader who also initiates the offending behaviour. Porter and Alison (2005) found in a sample of violent gang offenders that duo offences were more likely to involve one older offender giving orders to the other offender(s).

5.2 Offence Characteristics

Apart from general findings about group dynamics, age and motivation, there are a few other offence characteristics that differ as offender number increases. Victim resistance has been found to be more common in lone versus group assaults (Amir, 1971; Bijleveld, et al., 2007; Wright & West, 1981), which might indicate the level of fear experienced by victims or the idea that resistance is less successful with the presence of others to mitigate resistance success.

Solo offenders have been found to exhibit more deviant personality characteristics such as paedophilic tendencies and psychopathy than MPR offenders (Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2003; DeWree, 2004), and have been found to be more likely to have past sex offence convictions (Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2003). It was also reported that lone rapists were more likely to have been sexually abused than MPR offenders.

Lone offences are more likely to take place indoors, whereas MPR is more likely to be committed outdoors (Gidycz & Koss, 1990; Porter & Alison, 2005;

Wright & West, 1981), which has been linked to the sheer number of offenders and a dearth of meeting places in which antisocial behaviour can develop and escalate.

5.3 Recent Work

In analysing a sample of 336 rape cases in the UK, daSilva, Woodhams, & Harkins (2012) found a number of characteristics that varied relative to offending group size. This is the most recent in attempting to predict differences in MPR offences using group number. Included are comparisons of not only lone offences and MPR in general, but duo versus 3+ MPR offences. These recent findings largely support and build upon those reported above that only compared those offences of lone rapists and MPR in a more general sense. The following sections briefly outline the major findings of daSilva, Woodhams, and Harkins (2012).

Offender characteristics

Both victims and offenders in lone rapes were found to be significantly older than larger MPR offences, and duos were found to be significantly older than 3+ groups. This supports previous findings (Amir, 1971; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Warr, 2002), and emphasizes the importance of age in MPR offences as a whole. daSilva et al. (2012) also found that White European individuals were more likely to be involved in lone and duo offences, and African-Caribbean individuals were more likely to offend in 3+ groups.

Victim characteristics

MPR generally involves stranger-victims, with only one individual being assaulted (Amir, 1971; daSilva et al., 2012). These victims are also more likely to be stripped or instructed to do so by offenders (daSilva et al., 2012; Hauffe & Porter, 2009)

Offence characteristics

Offence duration was been found to be significantly longer in MPR cases than in lone rapes, and duo MPR offences were shorter in duration than 3+ groups (daSilva et al., 2012). MPR offences involving 3 or more perpetrators were more likely to use deception in their initial approach to the victim, whereas lone rapists used the element of surprise, a behaviour found in stereotypical rape scenarios (Stanko, 2009). Past findings show that lone sex offences are more likely to take place indoors (Gidycz & Koss, 1990; Porter & Alison, 2006; Wright & West, 1981), as were duo offences, whereas MPR by 3+ offender groups is more likely to be committed outdoors (Porter & Alison, 2006). These findings differ from daSilva et al. (2012), who found that lone offences were more likely to be committed outdoors than both duo and 3+ MPR groups. Although to a lesser extent than lone rapists, duos also were more likely to assault the victim outdoors. 3+ MPR groups more frequently assaulted the victim indoors. However, the sample analysed by daSilva et al. (2012) contained only stranger rapes, whereas many of the other studies included a mixture of acquaintance and stranger offences.

In sum, the most recent studies focusing specifically upon MPR offender group numbers of differing sizes found significant differences in comparable areas, particularly in offender and offence features. These have served to offer some interesting results supporting the delineation of MPR offences into subdivisions based upon offender number, and ascertaining variables that may be key for further study of these types of offences.

The study conducted in this thesis was exploratory in its aim to explore differences between MPR offences contingent upon group number. These included characteristics of both victim(s) and offenders as well as certain details of the offence

process (i.e. use of violence, weapon, type of victim approach). Significant differences contingent upon the number of offenders in the groups may have implications for treatment, risk assessment, and future research into these types of sexual offences. In other words, the exploration of offending group differences could indicate a need for specific treatment foci and differing levels of risk for individual group members. Analyses will serve to further delineate the distinctions made between group rape subgroups in MPR offences and compare them on a number of dimensions previously unexplored with respect to perpetrator number.

5.4 Method

Design

This study utilised a between groups design, with one independent variable (offending group size), having three levels (Duo, Trio, 4+). They were compared across offender, victim, and offence characteristics. These included demographics (i.e. age/ethnicity of victim; age/ethnicity of offender) as well as a number of offence behaviours and other elements (i.e. weapon presence; location of assault).

Sample

The sample consisted of 1610 MPR offences reported to a large urban police service in England over a three year period (2001-2003). This is the largest sample of MPR cases assembled in the empirical literature thus far. Information was extracted and compiled from the crime recording information system by their police staff for the purposes of analysis. This kind of data has been used in previous research (see for example Chambers, et al., 2010; Horvath & Kelly, 2009; Woodhams, et al., 2007) and provides a basis from which to direct future, more inclusive inquiry. Before providing the dataset to the researchers, cases were cleaned of identifying information and given a number for identification.

 Potential biases in the sample may arise if a particular type of offence was more rigorously reported and recorded, especially considering that rape is vastly underreported (Myhill & Allen, 2002; Walby & Allen, 2004). Indeed, scrutiny of the data revealed some numerical inconsistencies in reporting certain characteristics. For example there were a small number of cases indicating the presence of physical violence, but the subsequent variable, "type of violence" reported a contradictory figure. In this case, it was determined that a conservative estimate of the presence of violence would ensure an acceptable level of validity. Thus, the simple variable "presence of violence" was used, to the exclusion of "type." Another similar inconsistency was found between "weapon presence" (whether or not a weapon was used) and "weapon type" (type of weapon present). These were removed from the study in the interests of maintaining empirical reliability and validity.

Additionally, some concerns emerged about the 'victim vulnerabilities' variable. These were defined as cases in which the victim was under the influence of alcohol/drugs, was a prostitute, foreign visitor etc. The majority of the cases were missing this data, and those, which included vulnerabilities, did not take into account category overlap (i.e. a victim could be a prostitute while at the same time being under the influence of alcohol). Although those cases with vulnerability information were significantly different between offender groups, the manner in which the variable was recorded made it impossible to account for categorical overlap and subsequent confidence in conclusions made. As a result this variable has been deleted from the study.

The data used for the study had been analyzed previously for a different unpublished study, and certain pre-existing variables required new codes to be created to suit the demands of the present research questions. A coding dictionary (see

appendix A) was created in order to classify offence characteristics for analysis. At the outset, a new variable was created, differentiating each case as a duo, trio, or 4+ offending group.

When the data were first examined, there were numerous additional variables relating to each separate offender in an offence (e.g. ethnicity of offender 1, 2, 3, etc), many of which were incomplete. The data was further scrutinised to assess the information that was universally available for all cases. Variables such as ethnicity and age range were recoded to encompass the entire group of offenders/victims. Both victim and offender age ranges and ethnicity scales were re-coded in this manner to ensure clarity in analyses and continuity of findings. This resulted in a refined data set of 1610 MPR cases, each with 11 variables relevant to the present study (see table 1 below).

Table 1 Variables analysed

Variables	
Offender Age	Offender Ethnicity
Victim Age	Victim Ethnicity
Offender Approach Method	Victim Number
Offence Location	Approach Location
Use of Weapon	Use of Violence
Vehicle Use	

5.5 Results

An initial investigation into the characteristics of the sample as a whole yielded information about Multiple Perpetrator Rape cases in general. Figure 4 shows the distribution of offender number involved in each case analysed.

Figure 4. Number of Offenders Per Group and Frequency in Sample

Frequency in Sample
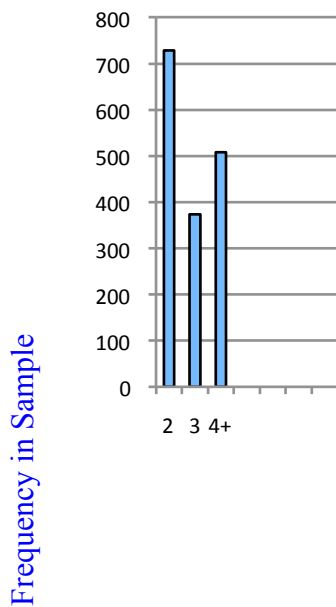
Number of Offenders in MPR Group

As the sample involved categorical data, a series of chi-square tests were conducted, resulting in the identification of some significant associations between different MPR offending groups on certain characteristics. For each variable, a table with percentage and n values is shown, with Pearson Chi Square significance levels ($p < .05$) presented in-text. Cases missing due to lack of information are also reported.

Effect size values (phi) were taken from Field's (2008) guidelines for *chi* square tests. These range from .1 (small), .3 (medium), and .5 (large). These will be discussed in further detail below in conjunction with descriptive findings about the sample as a whole.

Offender Characteristic Variables

Table 2 Offender Age Chi-Square

Offender Number (190) Missing Values)	Age Ranges of Suspects % (n)					
	0-10	11-17	18-30	31-50	51+	Total
Duo	.1 (2)	1 (16)	28.2 (400)	14 (199)	1.2 (17)	44.6 (634)
Trio	0 (0)	.5 (8)	14.3 (203)	8.8 (125)	.2 (4)	23.9 (340)
4+	0 (0)	.4 (7)	19.6 (278)	10.8 (154)	.4 (7)	31.4 (446)
Total	.1 (2)	2 (31)	62 (881)	33.7 (478)	1.9 (28)	1420

With regard to the ages of the offenders, the majority of involved offenders aged 18-30 (n= 881) or adults aged 31-50 (n= 478, 29.69%). There were more 51+ duo offenders than expected, and more trios aged 31-50. However, there were no significant differences found between the groups on age, $X^2(2)=9.17$ $p= .33$.

Table 3 Offender Ethnicity Chi-Square

Offender Number (521 Missing Values)	Offender Ethnicity % (n)					
	White	African Carib	Asian	East Asian	Mixed	Total
Duo	84 (468)	30 (166)	9 (51)	2 (12)	4 (21)	100 (552)
Trio	71 (263)	18 (66)	7 (25)	2 (8)	2 (7)	100 (369)
4+	69 (341)	21 (106)	7 (34)	1 (7)	2 (9)	100 (497)
Total	76 (1072)	24 (338)	8 (110)	2 (27)	3 (37)	1418

With respect to offender ethnicity, 521 cases were excluded from the analysis due to missing information. The resulting sample was comprised mostly of MPR offences committed by groups of African Caribbean (n = 587, 35.6%), or white individuals (n = 329, 20.43%). The remaining offences were committed by groups composed of mixed ethnicities as well as a small number of offences committed by Asian/East Asian offenders (n=146, 9.02%).

A chi-square test revealed significant differences between subgroups on ethnicity with a small effect size, X^2 (2)= 44.04, $p<$ .001. When examining the standardised residual values, the largest differences were found between duo's, who were more likely to be made up of white offenders, and 4+ groups, who were most likely to be of afro-Caribbean descent.

Although the differences were not significantly large, it is interesting to note that in this sample, it was expected that more duos were afro-Caribbean than were actually present. Also, 4+ groups were more likely to consist of mixed white and minority offenders than expected.

Victim Characteristic Variables

With regards to victim age, 40.7% of the sample was aged 18-30 (n = 1557) (see table 5.3). There were no significant differences found between groups on victim age, X^2 (2) = 2.03, p=.36.

Table 4 Victim Age Chi-Square

Offender Number (190 missing values)	Victim Age %(n) 11-17	18-30	Total
Duo	2.6 (17)	97.3 (703)	100 (722)
Trio	2.6 (10)	97.3 (361)	100 (371)
4+	1.4 (7)	98.6 (493)	100 (500)
Total	2.0 (34)	97.8 (1557)	1591

With regards to victim ethnicity, 66.59% of victims were white (n = 1072), and 20.99% were classified as Afro-Caribbean (n = 338). There were significant differences found between subgroups on victim ethnicity, X^2(2)= 14.22 $p<$ .05, with a small effect size (phi= .06). Trios were more likely to offend against white victims than expected, duos were more likely to offend against African Caribbean victims, and 4+ groups were more likely to offend against white victims than expected.

Table 5 Victim Ethnicity Chi-square

Offender Number (63 Missing Values)	Victim Ethnicity % (n)				
	White	African Carib	Asian	East Asian	Total
Duo	30.3 (468)	10.7 (166)	3.3 (51)	.8 (12)	45.1 (697)
Trio	17 (263)	4.3 (66)	1.6 (25)	.5 (8)	23.4 (362)
4+	22 (341)	6.9 (106)	2.2 (34)	.5 (7)	31.5 (488)
Total	69.3 (1072)	21.8 (338)	7.1 (110)	1.7 (27)	1547

Trios were more likely to offend against white victims than expected, and duos were more likely to offend against African Caribbean victims.

The majority of offences in the sample involved lone victims (92.4%, n = 1488) with the remaining 122 (7.57%) assaults involving more than one victim.

Table 6 Victim Number Chi-square

Offender Number (0 Missing Values)	Victim Number % (n)					
	1	2	3	4	5+	Total
Duo	42.8 (689)	2.4 (38)	.06 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	45.22 (728)
Trio	21.6 (348)	1.4 (22)	.2 (3)	.06 (1)	0 (0)	23.23 (374)
4+	28 (451)	3 (49)	.4 (7)	0 (0)	.06 (1)	31.55 (508)
Total	92.42 (1488)	6.8 (109)	.7 (11)	.06 (1)	.06 (1)	1610

Significant differences were found between duo and group offending subgroups on the number of victims assaulted, $X^2(2)= 22.67$, $p< .05$ (phi= .12), indicating that 4+ offending groups in particular were more likely to have 2 or more victims than were duos or trios.

Offence characteristic Variables

With regards to determining the method of offender approach; manipulation/conning, surprise, and blitz (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990) had

previously been used to classify the approach methods of the offenders in the cases in this sample. The conning/manipulation approach involves an offender deceiving the victim in order to facilitate the offence process. This may result in the victim unknowingly aiding the offender in the assault (e.g. being lured into an isolated area). The surprise approach method is analogous to what is referred to as the "prototypical" rape referred to by Amir (1971), in which the offender(s) attack when the victim(s) is least expecting it. Offenders using the blitz approach attack their victims using assaultive force that injures the victim and ensures submission.

Overall, the most likely method in this sample was conning/manipulation (n= 1038, 64.5%), followed by surprise (n=507, 31.5%). Significant differences were found between the groups on approach method, $X^2(2)=10.28$, $p<.05$, (phi= .08).

Table 7 Offender Approach Method Chi-square

Offender Number (61 Missing Values)	Offender Approach Method % (n)			
	Blitz	Surprise	Con	Total
Duo	.1 (2)	13.1 (203)	32 (496)	45.3 (701)
Trio	0 (0)	7.9 (122)	15 (233)	22.9 (355)
4+	.1 (2)	11.7 (182)	19.9 (309)	31.8 (493)
Total	.3 (4)	32.7 (507)	67 (1038)	1549

Trios and 4+ MPR groups were more likely to involve elements of surprise than duos, and duos were more likely to mislead or manipulate the victim than were trios or 4+ groups. As with victim age, these results should be considered with caution, as the size of the differences as indicated by the standardised residual scores, are small.

With regards to overall initial approach location, offenders overwhelmingly approached the victim(s) in a private dwelling (n= 1236, 76.77%). Significant differences were found, $X^2(2)=10.28$, $p< .05$, phi= .08 on this variables, with largest difference found within duos (Std. resid.= 3.3). Duos were significantly more likely to

approach the victim outdoors than was expected, whereas trios and 4+ groups were less likely than expected to approach the victim at such a location.

Table 8 Approach Location Chi-square

Offender Number (62 Missing Values)	Approach Location % (n)			
	Private Dwelling	Transport/ Public Place	Outdoors	Total
Duo	33.9 (525)	5.9 (92)	4.8 (75)	44.7 (692)
Trio	19.3 (298)	2.8 (44)	1.3 (20)	23.4 (362)
4+	26.7 (413)	3.9 (61)	1.3 (20)	31.9 (494)
Total	79.8 (1236)	12.7 (197)	7.4 (115)	1548

Most of the assaultive behaviour appears to have taken place either outdoors (46.95%, n = 756), or in a private dwelling (28.32%, n = 456). Significant differences were found between the groups, $X^2(2)=18.55$, $p< .05$, phi= .11. 4+ groups and duos were significantly more likely to offend on public transport than were trios and duos, and duos, were more likely to offend in a private dwelling than trios and 4+ groups.

Table 9 Offence Location Chi-square

Offender Number (40 Missing Values)	Offence Location % (n)				
	Private Dwelling	Public Transport	Outdoors	Public/Ot her Building	Total
Duo	15.2 (238)	2.7 (42)	20.6 (324)	6.8 (106)	45.2 (710)
Trio	6.3 (99)	1.5 (24)	11.8 (185)	3.5 (55)	23.1 (363)
4+	7.6 (119)	3.1 (49)	15.7 (247)	5.2 (82)	31.7 (497)
Total	29 (456)	7.3 (115)	48.2 (756)	15.5 (243)	1570

Physical violence was recorded in 365 cases (22.67%), with no assaultive behaviours reported in the remaining 1159 offences (71.98%). Of those cases where violence was used, there were significant differences found between offending groups.

Table 10 Use of Violence Chi-square

Offender Number (0 Missing Values)	Use of Violence % (n)			
	Yes	No	Verbal	Total
Duo	13.2 (212)	28.9 (465)	3.2 (51)	45.2 (728)
Trio	3.9 (63)	18.1 (291)	1.2 (20)	23.2 (374)
4+	5.6 (90)	25 (403)	.9 (15)	31.6 (508)
Total	22.7 (365)	71.9 (1159)	5.3 (86)	1610

Duos were significantly more likely to use physical violence against their victims than were trios and 4+ groups, $X^2(2)=45.88$, $p< .001$, phi= .17. 4+ Groups were significantly less likely to use physical violence than expected.

In a majority of cases, no weapon was used (90.1%, n = 1451). In those instances where a weapon was used it was most likely to involve a firearm or knife, $X^2(2)=11.58$, $p= .17$. It may be that this figure should be interpreted with caution, as weapon presence and weapon use were not explicitly delineated in the sample, and it is uncertain whether those cases in which a weapon was not reported are simply indicative of weapon presence, but not use. In those instances where a weapon reported, it was most likely to be a firearm or knife. No significant differences were found between offending groups.

Table 11 Weapon Type Chi Square

Offender Number (0 Missing Values)	Weapon Type % (n)					
	No Weapon	Firearm	Knife/Sharp Object	Blunt Instrument	Other	Total
Duo	40.6 (653)	.6 (9)	2.2 (36)	.1 (2)	1.7 (28)	45.2 (728)
Trio	20.7 (334)	.6 (9)	1.3 (21)	.2 (3)	.4 (7)	23.2 (374)
4+	28.8 (464)	3 (49)	.4 (7)	0 (0)	.06 (1)	31.55 (508)
Total	92.42 (1488)	6.8 (109)	.7 (11)	.06 (1)	.06 (1)	1610

With regards to transportation, most offences occurred without the use of a

vehicle (n = 1298, 80.6%), $X^2(2)=.38$, $p=.82$.

Table 12 Vehicle Used Chi-square

Offender Number (0 Missing Values)	Vehicle Used % (n)		
	No	Yes	Total
Duo	36.6 (590)	8.6 (138)	45.2 (728)
Trio	18.8 (303)	4 (71)	23.2 (374)
4+	25.2 (405)	6.4 (103)	31.6 (508)
Total	80.6 (1298)	19.4 (312)	1610

However, this may not be surprising given that public transport is readily available in

the large British city in which the offences occurred.

Binary Logistic Regression analysis

Following on from the crosstabs analysis, the 7 variables found to be

significantly associated with offender group size in the chi-square tests were

examined using a series of binary logistic regression analyses. In order to perform the

analysis, both the predictor and outcome variables needed to be ordinal. Thus, the

outcome variable (i.e. Offender Number) was collapsed into 4 sets as follows: Duo v.

4+, Duo v. Trio, Duo v. 4+, Trio v. 4+. The predictor variables were also

reconstructed relative to the result from the chi-square analysis (e.g. African-

Caribbean shows highest relationship to MPR, so African Caribbean was compared

with the rest of the ethnicities, which were collapsed into "other"). The tables

presented below report the breakdown of both outcome and predictor variables.

Predicting Duo vs. 3+ Offender Groups

A test of the full model against a constant only model was statistically significant (X^2

$(7) = 44.81$, $p = .000$), indicating that the predictors as a set reliably distinguished

between duo and offending groups, leading to a rejection of the null hypothesis that

there was no predictive association between the variables.

Table 13 Predictor Variables for Duo or 3+ Groups

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp (B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	Initial Approach (Con/ Other)	-.106	.139	.580	1	.446	.900	.686	1.181
	Approach Site (Dwelling/ Other)	-.428	.122	12.309	1	.000**	.652	.513	.828
	Offence Location (Dwelling/ Other)	.076	.062	1.497	1	.221	1.079	.955	1.220
Predictor Variables	Violence Use (Yes/ No)	.291	.126	5.307	1	.021*	1.338	1.044	1.713
	Victim Ethnicity (White/Other)	-.066	.063	1.083	1	.298	.937	.828	1.060
	Offender Ethnicity (Afro-Caribbean/ Other)	.298	.092	10.502	1	.001**	1.347	1.125	1.612
	Victim Number (1/ 2+)	.657	.235	7.824	1	.005**	1.929	1.217	3.058

Note: * = p< .05, ** = p< .01

Approach site, use of violence, group ethnicity, and victim number were able to

signiciantly predict whether or not the MPR offence was committed by a Duo as

opposed to a group of 3 or more. White offenders who approach a single victim in a

private dwelling and the use of violence in the offence were more likely to be duo

MPR offences than groups of 3 or more.

Despite these findings, Nagelkerke's R squared value was .06 indicating that

only 4% of the data were explained by the combination of factors in the model.

Predicting Duo or Trio Offender Groups. A test of the full model against a constant

only model was statistically significant (X^2 (7) = 24.19, p = .001), indicating that the

predictors as a set reliably distinguished between duo and trio offending groups,

leading to a rejection of the null hypothesis that there was no predictive association between the variables.

Table 14 Predictor Variables for Duo or Trio Groups

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Predictor Variables	**Initial Approach (Con/ Other)**	.026	.173	.023	1	.880	1.026	.731	1.442
	Approach Site (Dwelling/ Other)	-.459	.158	8.434	1	.004**	.632	.463	.861
	Offence Location (Dwelling/ Other)	.075	.076	.964	1	.326	1.078	.928	1.251
	Violence Use (Yes/ No)	.371	.149	6.237	1	.013*	1.449	1.083	1.939
	Victim Ethnicity (White/ Other)	-.071	.079	.809	1	.368	.932	.799	1.087
	Offender Ethnicity (Afro-Caribbean/ Other)	.162	.108	2.275	1	.131	1.176	.953	1.453
	Victim Number (1/ 2+)	.497	.281	3.141	1	.076	1.644	.949	2.849

Note: * = p< .05, ** = p< .01

As indicated above, approach site and use of violence were most significantly associated with differentiating between a duo and trio MPR offence. When examining the standard residual results of the chi-square analyses, it can be determined that duos are significantly more likely to approach victims in private dwellings as opposed to trios, who are more likely to approach outdoors. Duos are also more likely to use physical violence than are trios.

Despite these findings, Nagelkerke's R squared value was .04 indicating that only 4% of the data were explained by the combination of factors in the model.

Predicting Duo or 4+ Offender Groups. With duo versus 4+ offending groups, a

test of the full model against a constant only model was statistically significant (X^2 (7)

= 38.24, *p* = .000), indicating that the predictors as a set could also distinguish

between duo and 4+ offending groups, leading to a rejection of the null hypothesis

that there was no predictive association between the variables for these offending

groups.

Table 15 Predictor Variables for Duo and 4+ Groups

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Predictor Variables	**Approach Method (Con/ Other)**	-.229	.166	1.892	1	.169	.796	.574	1.102
	Approach Site (Dwelling/ Other)	-.395	.155	6.494	1	.011*	.674	.497	.913
	Offence Location (Dwelling/ Other)	.053	.077	.482	1	.488	1.055	.908	1.225
	Violence Use (Yes/ No)	.178	.152	1.372	1	.241	1.195	.887	1.611
	Victim Ethnicity (White/ Other)	-.062	.080	.608	1	.435	.940	.804	1.099
	Offender Ethnicity (Afro-Caribbean/ Other)	.395	.110	12.993	1	.000**	1.484	1.197	1.839
	Victim Number (1/ 2+)	.834	.272	9.399	1	.002**	2.303	1.351	3.926

Note: * = p< .05, ** = p< .01

As shown, approach site, group ethnicity, and victim number were the significant

predictors in this analysis. In referring to the standardised residuals for these

variables, duo's were significantly more likely to be composed of white offenders,

and 4+ groups were significantly more likely to be composed of African-Caribbean

individuals.

For this analysis, Nagelkerke's R squared value was .07 indicating that 7% of the data were explained by the combination of factors in the model.

Predicting Trio v. 4+ Groups. Trios and 4+ groups were also examined using binary logistic regression, but the model was non-significant (See Appendix B).

5.6 Discussion

The number of cases available for analyses represents the largest sample of MPR offences to appear in the literature thus far. In identifying those offence characteristics that vary with changing offender number, the present study has contributed to the growing body of literature and interest in multiple perpetrator rape as a serious and widespread sexual offence. A number of the results supported the existing literature about MPR as a whole, and significant differences found between duo, trio, and 4+ offences serve to broaden our knowledge of the potential for diversity among MPR offences. The chi-square tests conducted determined that duos, trios and 4+ groups can vary significantly based on 7 of the 11 variables assessed, and additional data should be analysed in future to determine whether the results could be generalised.

The effect sizes across the variables were found to be small, the largest of which was ethnicity (phi = .2). This could indicate that, although there are significant differences, those differences are only slight (Field, 2008; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). This could be the result of the questions asked of the data. Perhaps it is not offender group size that should be under examination, but another important characteristics such as age or ethnicity and/or their relationship to the other variables in the offence. Results (apart from location of offence) supported those of daSilva et al. (2012), in comparing lone, duo, and 3+ groups. Conclusions from this study also resulted in small effect sizes.

Despite diminutive effect sizes in the present study, there are a number of important and nuanced conclusions that can be taken away indicative of the possibility of differing social dynamics existing between duo's and larger groups. The following interprets some these findings and extrapolates on their implications.

Offenders

Most offenders ranged in age from 18 to 30, which is consistent with previous research regarding the average age of MPR offenders (Amir, 1971; Horvath & Kelly, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2006; Reiss, 1988; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Scully, 1990; Walmsley & White, 1979). Theoretical formulations offer some suggested explanations as to why this may be. These include male peer support (Swartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), fear of social exclusion (Hauffe & Porter, 2007), and assertion of masculine dominance (Sanday, 1990). These could reflect the notion of the young offender as being at a specific stage in development in which the importance of social belonging eclipses the consequences of participating in a sexual assault (Franklin, 2004). Although no significant differences were found between group size and age, it is worth noting that trios were the least-occurring offender group size in the sample. This is an interesting finding as it could indicate a differing social dynamic for the trio as a social entity that is separate from the way(s) in which duos and larger groups behave.

There are a number of ways in which group dynamics have been theorised (Forsyth, 2009). The idea that interpersonal interactions can differ based specifically upon the number of individuals within that interaction originated with the work of Simmel (1902), who suggested that, duo interactions differ significantly from trios and larger groups with regards to competition. His general theory centred on competition and the assumption that duos are evenly matched given that there is no

majority. The addition of another person makes equality more difficult, and the

interaction becomes a scenario of two against one. Incidentally, it was suggested that

the addition of more people changes the dynamic yet again, as there are more

individuals with whom to potentially become allied. Simmel's ideas have proliferated

mostly within sociology and business psychology (Burt, 2009), but the findings from

this study seem to support the idea that a trio could be engaging in a distinctly

different form of social interaction, making them stand out amongst the duos and

larger groups.

Other theories of group dynamics focus not upon group number, but the

purpose/composition of the group. An early example of this can be found in the work

of Cartwright and Zander (1960), who asserted that all groups naturally fall into either

planned or emergent categories. Planned groups are those that are organised for a

specific purpose by members or an overseeing body, and emergent groups are

spontaneous in their formation, with members naturally finding themselves together.

It has also been suggested that group dynamics should be examined in light of how

people naturally classify group to which they are members (Lickel, Hamilton,

Wieczorkowska, Lewis, Sherman, & Uhles, 2000). These include intimacy (familial)

groups, task-related groups (work), weak associative groups (temporary), and social

groupings. It has been argued that groups connected to a larger governing body (e.g.

sports team; organised street gang) differ in their level of allegiance and perceptions

of repercussions for disobedience than those formed emergent groups (e.g. Benedict,

1988; Forsyth, 2009).

There was no way of knowing the structure and purpose of the offending

groups in the present study, but it is important to consider that group composition and

general purpose could have an impact on offence, offender and victim characteristics,

and that the complexities of group dynamics should not be overlooked.

With regard to offender ethnicity, the results of this study were similar to

daSilva et al. (2012) when comparing duo and 3+ offender groups. Specifically, duos

were more likely to be White, and larger groups were significantly more likely to be

composed of Black/Afro-Caribbean individuals. This is supported with the largest

effect size of all the variables in the sample (phi= .2), but more inquiry will be

necessary to clarify the role that ethnicity might play in MPR. In endeavouring to

explain the association between ethnicity and offender group size, cultural viewpoints

on collective society and reliance on group dynamics as a way of functioning might

be a possible explanation (Easteal, 1994; Poynting, 2000). Individuals from

backgrounds emphasising reliance upon the group might have an elevated propensity

to seek out others for a variety of purposes, which could possibly include group sex,

consensual or otherwise (Easteal, 1994; Walker, Spohn, & Delone, 2011).

Although this suggests ethnicity is important, care should be taken in

considering results suggesting an over-representation of Afro-Caribbean offenders

within larger MPR groups so as not to create or reinforce pre-existing stereotypes.

The reported dominance of minority groups in arrested and incarcerated populations

for sex offences, indeed for all types of crime has been widely researched, and

debates have arisen as to the extent to which such racial disparity is the result of an

institutionally racist agenda (Blumstien, 1982; Jackson, 1997; Myers & Talarico,

1986; Wilbanks, 1987). As such, the presence of racial discrimination has been well

established, but the effect it has on judicial outcomes could be variable depending

upon region and the type of MPR committed (Jackson, 1997; Myers & Talrico, 1986)

as well as other variables (Blumstein, 1982). These issues are beyond the scope of this

discussion, and it should be emphasized that the prevalence of African Caribbean offenders in the sample used for this study must be considered with caution.

Victims

Porter and Alison (2006) found that the average victim number was one, across 223 MPR cases, regardless of perpetrator number. Hauffe and Porter (2009) reported similar findings in comparing MPR offences with lone rapes. Overall, the results in the present study provided additional support for these conclusions. Most MPR offences in the present sample had a single victim, but results showed overwhelmingly if the offence involved more than one victim, there were likely to be 4 or more perpetrators. An explanation for this may simply be that more people are needed to physically subdue and control more than one victim. Those MPR offences with more than two offenders had sufficient resources enabling them to successfully assault more than one victim.

Offence Characteristics

In considering the method of approach, all groups were likely to manipulate or mislead victims, followed by surprise. However, trios and 4+ groups were more likely to employ an element of surprise in approaching the victim. It might be that victim procurement or submission was perceived by larger groups to be easier to achieve through surprise. Surprise might be the most expedient way larger groups of men can approach a victim without arousing initial suspicion.

Result showed a significant difference between MPR subgroups on the location of initial victim approach. Although most offenders in all groups approached victims in private dwellings, both duos and 4+ groups were more likely than trios to approach outdoors, in a public building or on transportation. Again, this seems to

highlight the possibility that trios could represent a distinct social dynamic from duos and 4+ groups.

With regards to the commission of the offence, result indicated that most assaults took place outdoors or in a private dwelling. This is consistent with some previous research comparing lone and multiple perpetrator cases (Myhill & Allen, 2002; Porter & Alison, 2006). Duo and 4+ groups were more likely than trios to offend on transportation as well as in public buildings.

Physical violence was recorded in only 365 cases of the 1610 cases in this study. Further, duo offences were found to involve more physical violence than were trios and 4+ groups. This was surprising given that, in comparison to lone assaults, multiple perpetrator rapes have been found to involve more physical violence (Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2001; Wright & West, 1981). Although the present study did not compare lone versus group assaults, it was expected that violence would be more prevalent within such a large sample size, and that violence would increase with an increase in perpetrator number. It might be that victims were more aggressively defensive when faced with only 2 perpetrators, and more submissive when there were more offenders involved. Indeed, such an explanation is supported by Woodhams and Cooke (2012) in their exploration of victim resistance in MPR cases.

Binary Logistic Regression

Although the chi-square analyses revealed some significant differences between groups on a variety of factors in isolation, determining the power of those variables when considered together as a predictive model furthers these conclusions and reveals more about the manner in which differing MPR groups operate.

Results indicate that MPR group number can be predicted from the variables in the duo/trio, and duo/4+ binary regression models. This is an interesting finding in that it indicates a level of cohesion amongst certain characteristics in the MPR offences in the data set.

Approach site and use of violence were the most significant contributors in predicting duo or trio offender groups in this sample. Duos approached their victim(s) outdoors and used violence more than did trios, who were more likely to approach in a private dwelling without the use of violence.

Offender ethnicity, victim number, and approach site were the most significant predictors of duo and 4+ groups. 4+ group were more likely to be composed of minority offenders, offend against more than 1 victim, and approach the victim in a private dwelling, whereas, duos overwhelmingly offended against 1 victim, were white, and approached outdoors.

Although the model for trios and 4+ groups was non-significant, this designates duos as a distinctly difference type of MPR offence than those committed by groups of 3 or more.

Although 2 of the models were significant, their explanatory power was low. There are a number of reasons why this may be. It could simply be that this combination of variables is not the most reliable predictor of group number. For this study, only those variables found to be significant were used in the ordinal regression analysis. The use of significant variables in a regression can sometimes discount the cumulative influence of those found to be non-significant (Field, 2000; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). It is possible that some of the other non-significant variables may have a discrete effect on the fit of the model against the data. Given the complexities of MPR offence processes and characteristics, there are numerous other variables that

could have been included in the regression analysis but were absent from the data set (e.g. presence of a leader, sexual acts performed, group purpose, socioeconomic circumstances, geographical region, time of year, etc.). The inclusion of such variables might have made for more confident conclusions about the strength of a predictive model and the relationship between MPR and offender number.

According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) exogenous variables include those that are not systematically affected by changes in the other variables of the model, or by changes in the endogenous variables, which are changeable. In other words, exogenous variables are those that are unchanging relative to the model fitted to the data. Offender ethnicity is one such variable. Although the regression indicated there was no significant contribution made by offender ethnicity, the chi-square tests and previous research would indicate that it should have more impact than it did. It could be possible that the combination of variables examined in conjunction with offender ethnicity rendered it obsolete in predicting group number. Perhaps ethnicity is not as important when pitted against a group of endogenous variables, which are apt to change as a result of the others. Again, more information is needed regarding ethnicity and it's relationship with cultural beliefs and norms to make conclusions with confidence.

5.7 Considering the Proposed Model

The model of MPR offending proposed in this thesis is intended to indicate the progression of MPR offending as opposed to the present examination of offences in retrospect. In other words, this model is a much more generalised picture of the components likely to be involved in an MPR offence, and many of the variables in this study are less suited to the development of this universal model. However, there is evidence to suggest that duos could be considered to be distinctly different to larger

groups in certain offending characteristics. Given that duos are the most likely number of offenders present in MPR offences generally (Woodhams, Cooke, Harkins, & daSilva, 2012) as well as within this large sample, this is a significant finding for the model in leading to a consideration of the nature of male peer support in duos. If male peer support exists within duos, this maybe more leadership-based (Woodhams et al., & 2012). Further, the offenders might have been associating with larger peer groups influencing their decisions and attitudes prior to the offence. Although these possibilities could not be tested within the parameters of this study, considering male peer support in light of how different sized groups might experience it is useful in assessing the universality of the model. In light of this, the model has been amended (See figure 5) to simply "peer interaction" as opposed to "peer group interaction," as there may not always be a larger group at play within the male peer support phenomenon.[7]

In looking at the descriptive statistics for the sample ethnicity and age emerge as salient features of MPR offenders. Offenders in their late teens and early twenties as well as Afro-Caribbeans were amongst the most representative characteristics in the sample. As a result of this, age and ethnicity have now been added emphasized in bold. As exogenous variables, they are appropriate to the model as they are static to individuals who embark on an offence progression.

Despite the fact that a majority of offenders in the study were of minority status, particularly afro-Caribbean, it is crucial to note that ethnicity should not be taken in isolation of other factors such as environment and socioeconomic status. If data for those variables had been available, it is likely that they would be highly correlated with the results on ethnicity as indicated by past research (e.g Eastel, 1994;

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[7] Amendments to the original model will be shown in red in order to make clear differing contributions of each study to model development.

Poynting, 2000; Walker, Spohn & DeLone, 2011). These can be anything from migration-related poverty, lack of work opportunities, lack of parental involvement, disadvantages in education etc (Eastel, 1994). In other words, it is likely due to environmental and socioeconomic factors that resulted in the overrepresentation of minority offenders in this sample as opposed to simply blaming certain ethnic groups for the crimes in this study and crime in general.

Figure 5. Amended Integrated Self-Regulation Male Peer Support Model
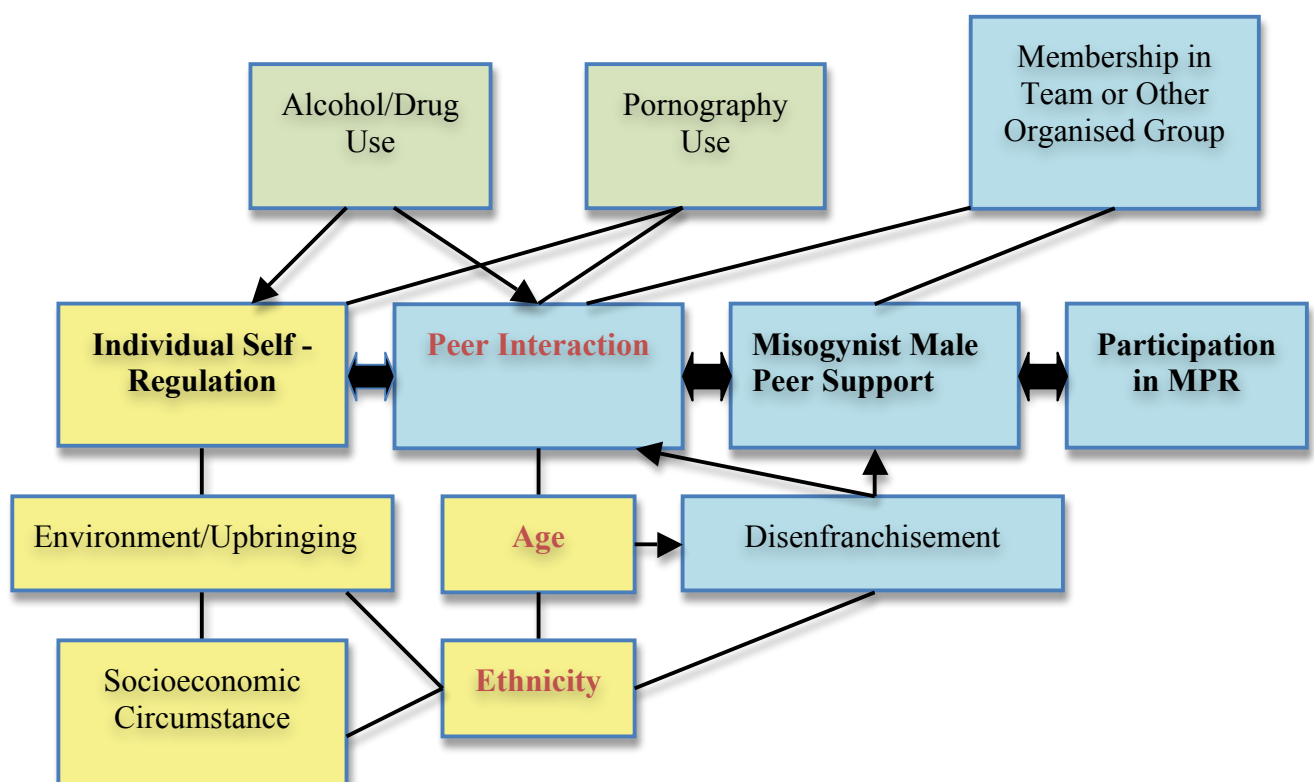
Note: Elements supported by findings are shown bolded and in red

5.8 Limitations and Future Inquiry

Missing or inconsistent data can cause significant decreases in statistical power (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2013). It should be noted that this data is the result of a multitude of police reports, all submitted by different officers. There are likely to be inconsistencies, omissions, and/or other aspects of human error before the data was

even available to researchers. Further, given the nature of the crimes that occurred, individuals giving the information may have omitted details of the offences, whether deliberately or unconsciously. Since this dataset was recorded, police forces in England and Wales have made significant changes in the investigation and recording of rape allegations, part of which has included improving the recording of all aspects of the victim, suspects and offences.

This data set has been used previously for other unpublished research, and was provided within an existing coding framework. The existing coding framework outlined over 100 variables that were more suited to the administrative tasks required by law enforcement. The use of variables in the sample for this study was contingent upon their importance in the MPR literature to date, as well as those which were the most completely and consistently included in the largest amount of cases. Despite this precaution, and rigorous recoding to make the data more manageable and clear, the use of this secondary date and its manipulation are the most significant limitations to this study. Had this been a primary data source there would have been less manipulation of the data and recoding, and the possibility of inaccuracies/errors would have been reduced.

Although certain aspects of database analyses posed some difficulties, a major asset to this investigation was the sheer number of cases available for analysis. The large sample size allowed for deletion of cases and redundant variables deemed incomplete or inappropriate for the purposes of the study, while still providing conclusions about multiple perpetrator rape and differences based upon group size. The present study afforded the opportunity to make meaningful and important contributions to the existing literature from a data set that had the added benefit of being the largest MPR sample to date.

In addition, the manner in which the variables were coded and identified may have resulted in such a low predictive model value. It might be useful in future to focus upon a primary data source, with a wider array of variables. These could be combined in strategic ways consistent with theoretical formulations and fitted into a structural equation model. In this way, theory and numerical data could be considered in light of the complex relationships likely to exist between and amongst the data. More researcher control over the consistency of variable collection, reporting, and recording could make conclusions like the above much stronger and more definitive.

Given the theoretical complexity and quantitative relationships between the variables in question, it might be beneficial to consider the use of structural equation modelling to show the possibility of causation, the level to which certain of these variables impact each other, and the layering of conceptual phenomena. SEM would have been inappropriate for this sample given the limitations discussed above. However, the analysis of another primary data set, gathered for this explicit purpose in could elicit some intriguing new information about the inner workings of the offences.

5.9 MPR Group Number: Guiding the Thesis

Despite its limitations, this study was paramount in guiding the trajectory of this thesis. As differences emerge as offender number rises, it follows that there are likely to be other factors within larger groups that make them behave differently and are in need of consideration. As such, more inquiry is needed, discerning not just the factual events that occurred, but the relationships between MPR offenders before, during, and after an offence. In exploring such relationships in conjunction with individual offender characteristics, a more holistic picture of MPR could emerge. After analysing the results of this study, an extensive examination of recent group

dynamics literature and possible theoretical explanations of MPR was undertaken. Eventual concentration on male peer support and self-regulation, in conjunction with previous MPR research areas, led to the following sports and offender studies.

Chapter 6

"Just Sport and Drinkin' and Women": Applying Male Peer Support to All-Male Groups as Reported by Sports Team Members

There has been debate as to the nature of the relationship between sports participation, fraternity[8] membership, and violence against women (e.g. Benedict, 1998; Humphreys & Kahn, 2000). Membership in all-male social clubs and sports teams has historically been implicated as a predictor of sexual violence (Benedict, 1998; DeKeseredy& Kelly, 1995; Humphreys & Kahn, 2000; Sanday, 1990). Indeed, the attention paid to high-profile sports figures in the media (e.g. BBC, 2013; BBC, 2014), and the number of reported sexual assault charges against them serve not only to highlight a possible relationship between the two, but also the idea that adolescent and young men may seek to live up to the example set before them by such individuals (Benedict, 1998; Trebon, 2008). The second study in this thesis focused upon men who were members of all male sports teams in the UK, and the possible relationship between membership in well-bonded all-male groups and engagement in misogynist discourse and sexually assaultive behaviours. The major research questions were as follows:

Does misogynist male peer support exist within groups of men in all male sports teams?

How does this support manifest itself in group dynamics and treatment of women?

What is the effect of this negative male peer support on the individual?

These questions were addressed through individual interview responses from sports players in the hopes of clarifying the association between sport teams and their

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[8] Fraternity- n. A male student society at a university or college (Fraternity, 2008).

collective treatment of women, as well as the impact of such experiences on individual attitudes and behaviours apart from the group.

6.1 Fraternity and Sports: Participation and Misogyny

Young women in their late teens and twenties have reported the highest rates of sexual victimization of any age group in the United States and Canada (Acierno, Resnick, Kilpatrick, Saunders, & Best, 1999; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss et al., 1987; Parrot, Cummings, Marchell, & Hofher, 1994; Rennison, 1999; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; U.S. Department of Justice, 2002), and similar rates are found in England and Wales (Myhill & Allen, 2002; Phipps & Smith, 2012). As a result, investigations into the effects of sport and male group dynamics have focused almost exclusively on university-aged students (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). This is particularly salient for the second study of this thesis as university aged individuals (late teens to early twenties) are the age group that has also been found most likely to be involved in MPR offences (Amir, 1971; daSilva, et al., 2012; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2006; Reiss, 1988; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Warr, 2002).

Male participation in sport and/or fraternity groups in American universities has been widely researched with regards to its association with violence against women; particularly sexual violence (e.g. DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Sanday, 1990). There is an ongoing debate around this relationship, and whether it is associated with the endorsement of rape-supportive ideation and/or behaviour (e.g. Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 1993; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Trebon, 2007).

Trebon (2007) suggested that the segregation of men within sport teams from women and wider social influences is a major factor in contributing to MPR

supportive atmospheres. Unfortunately, membership in some athletic teams is often accompanied by a certain prestige, resulting in player feelings of superiority above other students, and that their actions, whatever they might be, are beyond reproach (Benedict, 1998; DeKeseredy, 2013; McMahon, 2007; Trebon, 2007). The Steubenville rape case is one such example, in which 2 American football players were found guilty of raping a 16 year old girl, distributing photographic evidence to other team members, and boasting about the assault on social media (Oppel, 2013). Indeed, Melnick (1992) suggests that perceived expectations or overt encouragement of 'masculine' behaviours such as toughness, aggression, and sexist language and behaviours towards women can facilitate MPR offences by sport players.

DeKeseredy and Kelly (1995) initially found that college men who sexually abuse women are more likely to engage in patriarchal and/or abuse-supportive conversations about women. Further to this, there is some evidence to suggest that membership of American student fraternity associations and/or sports teams is associated with more sexual aggression than for non-affiliated undergraduates (Boeringer, 1999; DeKeseredy, 1990; Frinter & Rubinson, 1993; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Koss & Gaines, 1993). Fraternities in particular have been found more likely to attract people who endorse these types of idea, and that this can encourage propagation of "rape culture," (Buchwald et al., 1993; Herman, 1984; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). This refers to developing "a generic culture surrounding and promoting rape" (Boswell & Spade, 1996, p. 133) including anything from victim blaming (e.g. "she was asking for it"), dismissal of sexually coercive/assaultive behaviour (e.g. "boys will be boys"), or sexually explicit jokes (Sanday, 1990).

Trebon (2007) found that MPR offenders who were sportsmen were more likely to take part in contact competitive types of sports. Other researchers have reported that sex offences by sportsmen are more likely to occur after a game when players are celebrating a win or upset after a loss (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Rozee-Koker, & Polk, 1986). For example, a group of sportsmen, having just lost an important game, may be more likely to take out their frustration and anger in a sexual manner. Conversely, winning a game might spur the men on to see a sexual encounter as a reward for their athletic performance.

There is, however, some evidence to suggest that participation in fraternities or sports is not always related to sexual aggression, assault, or negativity towards women. In other words, only certain groups seem to engage in such behaviours. Boswell and Spade (1996) found in a sample of undergraduate students that some fraternities were considered by students to be "high risk" environments, where a sexual assault was more likely to take place. At parties and gatherings thrown by these groups, there was usually an unequal number of men and women, more gender segregation, and men were more degrading in their treatment and conversations about women. The negative behaviours/conversations were at least partly tolerated in exchange for alcohol and other accoutrements, which were under exclusive control of the fraternity.

Humphrey and Kahn (2000) studied not only risk in fraternities but also within sports teams, findings of which echoed those of Boswell and Spade (1996) indicating that those fraternities or sports teams that were seen by others as being "high risk" were more likely to engage in negative behaviours towards women than were those considered to be "low risk." Such findings highlight the possibility that individuals may be susceptible to negative male peer support to varying degrees.

As in America, sports teams are embedded and accepted within the culture of the United Kingdom as prevalent social groups[9]. Thus it was determined that all-male university sports teams would be the most well suited for testing the male peer support model in the UK, where fraternities are not part of university life. For this investigation, an initial study was developed to assess the presence of male peer support and its negative effect on behaviour within such teams. It was anticipated that misogynistic male peer support that is facilitated by membership in sports teams could result in an atmosphere conducive to negative dialogue about and behaviours against women.

6.2 Method

Design

A mixed method approach was intended for this study in order to part-replicate the work of DeKeseredy and Kelly (1995) (a quantitative element) as well as to provide a rich data source for obtaining qualitative data about perceptions of sport involvement and its contribution to rape-supportive environments and actions from the players' perspectives. After several iterations of amendments and attempts to obtain participants through volunteer sampling from several sources (both within the university setting and outside), it was determined that individual semi-structured interviews would yield the most data from the few participants who were available.

Design Limitations. There are number of reasons that participant recruitment might have been difficult. Chief among them was likely to be the subject matter. In the interest of transparency and ethical conduct, participants were made aware of the overarching topics inherent to the study. Whilst not being completely explicit, they

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[9] 54.7 percent of male 16-25 year olds participate in an organized sport at least once per week in the UK. This includes league sport as well as volunteer recreation (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2013).

were made aware that sports participation had been associated with violence against women and that the study was exploring those types of concepts. It is likely that many participants were opposed to associating themselves with the subject matter for fear of incrimination, or discomfort.

The gender of the researcher may have also played a role in the perceived ability to disclose information about a subject which, by the admission of certain participants, is seldom talked about amongst the men in the group, much less to a female researcher. There has also been found a level of secrecy amongst male sports teams, fraternities, and other gender-exclusive groups (Humphrey & Khan, 2000; Melnick, 1992; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Participants

Semi-Structured Individual Interview Participants. Upon realising that the initial design was unlikely to generate sufficiently high numbers of participants for the interview component of this study, participants were recruited in a more opportunistic way, via personal acquaintance/snowballing and a series of emails that targeted undergraduate psychology students. Ten individual interviews were conducted with participants ranging in age from 21 to 36 (M= 27.9) each of whom had regularly participated in a competitive sports team over the preceding year.

6.3 Ethical Issues

This study and its various amendments was approved by the Department of Psychology ethics committee in accordance with their code of ethical conduct for research students (Middlesex University, 2011) as well as the ethical principles then prevailing by the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2009).

The interview topics and probes were designed so as not to imply accusation or association of participants with sexual offences. Given the subject matter of the

study and the specific targeting of sports players, as much as possible was done to alleviate any projected problems.

Participants were given the choice of having a face-to- face interview or via Skype. If they preferred a Skype interview, they were given the option of having a video linked or an audio only conversation. The purpose of providing options was both a practical and ethical one. It was thought that participants might feel more comfortable speaking with the interviewer if they could not be seen, and some participants were not in close enough proximity to the interviewer to make a face-to face inquiry a practical reality.

Participants were asked about their attitudes towards sexual coercion, misogyny, the nature of their male relationships and camaraderie. The possibility of psychologically negative responses to the study were addressed in the consent form which also included information about counselling resources and assurance that all participants remained anonymous provided it is reasonable to assume they did not pose a threat to themselves or others.

Participants were not only informed of the possible negative effects of the research, but the benefits as well. On a personal level, it was hoped that the focus groups and interviews encouraged self-reflection on attitudes towards interpersonal relationships, both within their teams and outside them. Participants may have re-evaluated their attitudes towards women as well as their team members, which may in turn lead to self-improvement and personal growth.

A thorough debriefing took place at the conclusion of each interview and participants were given a debriefing sheet with particular emphasis on the limitations as well as benefits of male peer support and social support in general (see appendix F).

Participants were given pseudonyms was anonymised. All materials including transcripts and audio recordings were kept in a password-protected computer in the research office at Middlesex University. They will be destroyed after all PhD, conference presentation, and publication requirements have been met.

6.4 Qualitative Interviews

A semi-structured, open-ended interview protocol was used to elicit information from participants about their experiences of homosocial male groups as well as those sports teams in which they were playing or had played with in the past year (see appendix E). The interviews were intended to be constructionist in their approach, utilizing a short list of open-ended, semi-structured interview questions. Interview transcripts were analysed utilizing thematic analysis (TA) in order to capture the experiences from the participants' points of view and positions in society (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Questions revolved around topics such as peer activities and conversation about women as well as their perceptions of peer levels of influence and age.

Participants were made aware of the overall purpose of this PhD, and that they would be asked about potentially sensitive topics. Gaining the trust of participants to candidly disclose their experiences with misogyny, masculinity, and male relationships required a certain level of rapport between participant and researcher and at least some interest or approval with the aims of the study. Semi-structured interviewing allows for the easier building of this rapport (Padgett, 1998). Due to the ultimate "snowball" type of recruitment adopted, most participants were distant acquaintances of the interviewer or her supervisors, and were briefed via email as well as at the beginning of the interview as to their role in the study and what was expected of them.

In order to ascertain the nature of male interaction in homosocial groups, a variety of topics were brought up that needed more scope than that given by the initial interview questions alone. These were complex and sometimes not readily apparent to participants. They discussed unforeseen subject matter, overlooked or unknown to the researcher, who was limited only to reviewing available literature (Dearnley, 2005). For example, participants reported having a number of all-male peer groups that were utilised for differing purposes. Especially in this study, it was important that each interviewee was provided ample space to describe and elaborate on his experiences at his own pace, facilitating an environment of non-judgemental disclosure and trust.

As the interviews progressed, a number of themes emerged around the nature and characterization of homosocial male groups that not only are supported by past research, but also highlight some topics for future inquiry. Interviewees were also asked to give their opinions as to why negative male peer support occurs. The following situates these findings within the data through direct specific quotations from participants.

6.5 Findings

This section describes interview findings and interpretation utilising thematic analysis. Table 15 shows the breakdown of interview participants based on age, sport played and ethnicity.

Table 16 *Interview Participant Pseudonyms, Age, and Sport Played*

Pseudonym	Age	Sport Played	Ethnicity
Mark	28	Hockey	White British
Tom	27	Football	White British
Dave	27	Football	White British
Jim	26	Football	White British
Ben	27	Rugby	White British
Matt	21	Rugby	White British
George	36	Football	White British
Dan	25	Football	White British
Mike	34	Football	White British
Martin	32	Football	White British

Note- mean age for participants = 27.9. Although socioeconomic status was not discussed, participants were all currently employed professionals.

In the interviews, the men spoke of a culture in which they belonged and from which their perspective was founded. They reported items that built upon and/or intertwine with each other to propagate this culture reportedly inherent in many all-male groups.

Group Dynamics and Culture

In this thesis, group dynamics refers to "the actions, processes, and changes that occur in social groups" (Forsyth, 2009, p. 16). In considering this definition, an underlying culture emerged as a salient feature in the interviews, and served as a building block for the remaining themes in this analysis.[10] This culture was formed initially from a common interest and activity (the sport) and a common identity (being

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[10] Although the researcher is aware of the extensive and cross-disciplinary empirical literature surrounding culture, in this thesis, culture refers to the sociological concept of non-material culture, or those views, beliefs, and norms which shape a society (Williams, 1958).

male). Although this seems fairly innocuous on its own, it could be argued that the very nature of segregation based upon gender, coupled with organised activity can provide the building blocks for group expectations, norms, behaviours, and hierarchies to form (e.g. DeKeseredy & Schwartz 2013; Forsyth, 2009; Lewin, 1947).

According to Frascher and Kimmel (1998), men construct their sexuality through their understanding of gender identity. Participants not only reported that men in homosocial groups were more likely to speak and behave towards women more negatively, but highlighted a culture that exists among may male groups as a precursor to individual behaviour change based upon peer influence. The following sections describe aspects of this culture as it was related in the interviews, and how it might contribute to the treatment of women by all-male groups, both in action and conversation.

Perceptions of Group Interactions

Interviewees were first asked about the nature of their all-male interactions. Although they were recruited for their participation in all male sports teams, participants were asked to speak not only of those experiences, but also about other male groups to which they belong. These include work colleagues, close friends from home, and friends from university. Each group appeared to serve a specific function in its effect on the participant as well as the participant's perception of their role within the group. Mike, 34, stated,

> *Well the work one differs because I am in a managerial role, the football one*
>
> *differs because you're part of a team…it's…more of a laugh than anything*
>
> *else and socially going out…it depends which group of friends I'm with*
>
> *because they're all quite different (Ln. 19-22).*

In this excerpt, Mike indicates that different groups have differing purposes in his life. He also saw himself differently in the context of each group, suggesting that his behaviour might change as a result of the roles he plays (e.g. managerial versus casual football team). He also refers to his participation in this football team as a "more of a laugh than anything else" (Ln. 21) as opposed to his participation in a structured, university or league team.

In a similar vein, Dan, stated

I'd only make jokes about certain things around people I knew well enough to be assured that they'd know that what I was saying was just a joke…I'd say things around my school friends and my house mates which would be very different than people who I'd known for 6 months in a professional context I wouldn't say the same things when we were sat in the pub after work as I would sat in the pub after a football match (Ln. 315-321).

Every participant reported having at least two separate groups of friends that were generally work-related as well as within a sports team. Over half of participants also reported close connections with male friends from their childhood home. The idea that men place different groups of male-friends in differing contexts could be supportive of the idea that negative peer support or misogynist banter or dialogue only occurs within a specific type of setting with a certain type of group, or certain number of other men. This not only lends credence to the idea that certain men are more likely than others to provide negative male peer support, but that contextually, there are certain environments where this is more likely to occur. George said,

if you're in the wrong group of men then it's often just sport and drinkin' and women but just in a very sort of surface way (Ln. 153-154).

When asked what would happen if a group member turned to more serious topics of conversation, George explained,

> *...you become a bit of an oddity. If you're constantly bringing up I don't know, how people feel or poverty or politics or...world issues...or if you're talking about how you're feeling or if you're talking about what you'd like to get out of life...you're... pleased...that something's going really well...something that matters...it's met with disinterest often when it's just a group of men...quite often these big groups of men all meeting up together... it's within a particular context...(Ln. 158-172).*

For this participant, the ability to speak about personal or important issues within all-male groups is tempered by the contextual position of the group. George's perception of male groups is that there is an expectation of behaviour that dictates which topics of conversation are acceptable. This idea could be linked to the idea of "hypermasculinity," defined by the avoidance of all things feminine and the amplification of stereotypical masculine behaviours/topics (Levant, 1994). Topics construed as "feminine" might be those that are emotionally charged or of deeper importance than male stereotypes, which serve to assert dominance and power. Individuals who go against this convention are considered an "oddity," or are held at arms length away from the group.

Participants also reported that there were certain groups in which they are able to speak more freely about personal matters and emotional issues. Jim explains,

> *It's only that such a level of trust has been developed over the time that that we're able to be like that with each other...there are times when I've had groups of friends...that I haven't really felt able to open up... not because I don't fully trust them but because I don't think I know them quite so well or*

they haven't invested in me…I know it's really common for guys not to really

share that (emotional/personal issues) *with other guys until it gets to a real*

significant point (Ln. 35-44).[11]

It seems, for Jim, that trusting a peer is not enough to confide emotional or

personal information. The idea that someone must "invest" in him could mean they

have to share such information with him first. The need for trust and for a relationship

to get to a "significant point" indicates that Jim keeps a certain emotional distance

from male peers until something happens or he has spent enough time with them. He

still considers groups of men to whom he is unable to "open up" to be his "friends."

Indeed, there is research to suggest that boys in development and adolescents are less

emotionally intimate in same sex peer relationships (Lempers & Clark-Lempers,

1993; Oransky & Marecek, 2009; Rose & Rudolph, 2006). Such reticence towards

emotional topics and deeper communication could indicate a lack of confidence in

masculine as well as individual identity.

From these excerpts and others, it was apparent that, for these men, certain

groups is used for different purposes, and that the interactions of some are shallower

in their topics of focus than others. The men in this study have indicated that

developing close personal relationships with other men might be more difficult than

to simply interact with a larger, more shallowly connected sort of group.

Group Pressure and Behavioural Change

The impact of the all-male group within various environments on the

individual was apparent in all of the interviews. George elaborated on the

effect of being in an all-male sports environment.

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[11] Please see appendix G for transcription dictionary

I don't think that I the best part of me comes out…when I'm in that

situation. (a group of all-men) *If I feel like I'm having to fight within a*

hierarchy or within a pecking order then I think I….resort to some

pretty obnoxious tactics…I don't like myself as much when I'm

surrounded just by men I think it doesn't bring out the best in me (Ln.

41-49).

He seems to imply that the group not only affects the way he behaves but that he is

aware of this effect. He went on to say that as a result of this self-awareness, he no

longer desired the company of homosocial male group situations. It is worth noting

that George was the oldest of the ten participants. It is widely reported that, for most,

peer groups become less important with age, with group conformity peaking in

adolescence and declining with the onset of adulthood (Brown, 2004; Brown, Eicher,

& Petrie, 1986; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005).

Reports of behavioural change were not reserved only for sporting

environments. Male groups within the workplace were cited as well. Tom stated,

a friend of mine used to be very placid about women…Since he's gone

to work with a big group of guys…he has become cruder…that

language…often saying certain things that you think you never would

have said a few years back…now you'd find him more inclined to

being like 'oh have you seen her she's well hot like oh yeah I'd do

anything to fuck her'…whereas…that never would have come out

before (Ln. 67-80).

This and other statements like it within the interviews underscore the idea that certain

groups of men are highly influential to new members, which could motivate them to

behave in ways contrary to the ways they are usually perceived by others, perhaps

even against their personal values. This might also be indicative of a shift in values dependent upon the social mores of the group. Interviews also suggest that this is not limited to sport teams, but can be characteristics of other male groups. The above quote also illustrates the overlap between many excerpts in this analysis and a very real spectre of misogyny that reportedly exists for participants.

References to Masculinity and Misogyny

There were overt references to the importance of masculinity in interviewee responses and participants were asked directly about the propensity for all-male groups to engage in demeaning conversations about and/or behaviours towards women. These have been combined into one subtheme, because participants rarely spoke of masculinity without highlighting discriminatory aspects of male interactions, whether it be the notion of women as commodities to be traded for social mobility, overt dismissal or verbal abuse of women, or the boasting of sexual conquests to gain notice amongst other group members.

It has been suggested that the exclusion of women in the group, makes members are more aware of their identities as men (e.g. Connell, 1987; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013; Sanday, 1990). The need to show "bravado" or "masculine behaviour" in front of their peers was mentioned several times throughout the interviews. Jim said,

> *I think men view lads and laddishness I think as a sign of*
> *approval…guys like a lad who…can tell a joke, can make people*
> *laugh, and can get the girls in and…to seek the approval from a group*
> *of lads doing those things…you'll get applause and you'll make your*
> *way up the masculine chain of command if you can do all of that*
> *stuff…(Ln. 116-120)*

The idea of "laddishness" is interesting in its usage almost as a state of mind as well as a deeply ingrained cultural norm for this participant in his experiences within all-male groups. It is also implied that if you are a man and are unable to provide girls or make the others laugh, other members of the group will see you as less valuable. Indeed, the use of a "masculine chain of command" indicates that there is a competitive desire to please the group and to receive approval.

> *I think there's probably some sort of hierarchy or pecking order…with the guy who can get the girls somewhere near the top next to the guy who's really funny, next to the guy who can drink the most I think it's kind of a melting pot of… cultural kind of pillars (Ln. 123-126).*

It seems that for Jim, these characteristics are desirable among certain male groups in order for individuals to advance in the "chain of command." If you are unable to "get the girls in," be funny, or drink the most, it is insinuated that your masculinity or prowess within the group is lowered. These are spoken about as if they are commodities, to be traded in return for friendship or respect. This could be construed as a type of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 2001) the use of which fosters social promotion and group acceptance Indeed, this concept has been cited in a similar way amongst street gangs and fraternity members (Harding, 2014).

There is evidence to suggest that notions of autonomy and status are of elevated value in adolescent and young adult male peer groups more so than emotional or empathic support (Buhrmester, 1996; Jarvinen & Nicholls, 1996; Lempers & Clark-Lempers, 1993; Parker & Asher, 1993). This might contribute to a "narrow conception of masculinity," (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 64) included in the MMPSM, used to indicate a level of secrecy and

hypermasculine values. Such beliefs have been associated with violence

against women and have also been found within fraternities and violent street

gangs (Metropolitan Police Authority, 2009; Sanday, 1990; Ulloa, Dyson, &

Wynes, 2012). The notion of "cultural pillars" reinforces the idea that this is,

for this participant at least, a norm developed amongst the subculture

developed by the male peer groups he has encountered.

Incidentally, Jim was probed for further information about this "masculine

chain of command," resulting in a noteworthy behavioural change. He shifted in his

chair, paused, and wagged his finger at the interviewer in a chastising or warning

motion before elaborating. He was reticent to continue on the topic, but gave the

distinct impression of secrecy. It might be worth considering how his reaction might

have differed with a male interviewer.

Participants reported that the most demeaning conversations about women and

the stronger likelihood of drinking and "macho" types of behaviour occurred within a

pub or bar setting and often in the company of sports teammates or in an athletic

context. Jim continued,

> *we might meet in the pub…and one of my friends might have started kissing a*
>
> *girl in a bar…and gone back with her and we'd ask how things had gone and*
>
> *he might not use the most delicate language to characterise what*
>
> *happened…one of my friends he's (laughs) he's developed this new phrase*
>
> *where if he if he succeeds in a sexual pursuit…he'll say… "yeah I smashed it"*
>
> *which I don't suppose if any woman heard uh having said that about them*
>
> *would be too pleased (Ln. 93-101).*

Jim was slightly evasive in his careful wording of what sort of language might be

used ("not the most delicate language") and his laughter at his friend's success in a

"sexual pursuit" seemed to indicate a slight embarrassment that he would associate with someone who used such terms to describe a sexual encounter. Jim went on to talk about atmospheres like the pub, and the role of drinking in such conversations.

> *the pub often goes hand in hand with having played sport (laughs)…usually in the pub discussing things over a beer…after the weekend or the following weekend when Friday nights have passed uh and people have done their walk of shame…(Ln. 108-111).*

Usage of such phrases as "I smashed it" and "walk of shame" appear to underscore the idea of sexual achievements as conquests for certain men, and are described as being a part of the gradual development of the acceptance of rape culture (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Fisher et al., 2000; Kanin, 1967; Sanday, 1990). Referring to a woman or parts of her anatomy as "it" blatantly objectifies her and trivialises the sexual act. "Smashing it" also indicates a conquering of some sort. Further, referring to the return home after a night with a woman as the "walk of shame" is indicative that there is something to be ashamed of. It is almost as if these men would be praised by their peers for "smashing it," but ridiculed or made fun of when they do the "walk of shame." These conflicting messages may further fuel an atmosphere of hostility to women, either through frustration at being mocked, or by being unsuccessful sexually, thus being unable to say "I smashed it." When used by peers within a group whose membership is highly valued, such talk is more likely to be accepted and processed as the norm and might eventually lead not only negative group behaviours towards women, but individual ones as well.

Of further importance for this study is that the above trivialisation of sexual behaviour is an integral part of the Male Peer Support Model (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013). Denigrating sex as unimportant and inconsequential has been

associated not only with the establishment and maintenance of rape myth acceptance, but with the commission of MPR as well (Beckett, et al., 2013; Bogle, 2008; Burt, 1980; Sanday, 1990).

Banter

Also reported was the existence and necessity of "banter" in male encounters. This was mentioned by name in almost all interviews. "Banter" in this context was defined by Dave.

It's generally mocking one person or a group…one of the people that
you are talking to within your group…it's essentially taking the piss
out of them, mocking them subjects we're talking about it could be
anything really the way they dress the way they're acting their issues
with girls issues with…thing's they're doing at work could be anything
really… generally having a laugh (Ln. 41-46)

From this quote, echoed independently by most men in the remaining other interviews, it could be inferred that some groups of men at times not only engage in a kind of competitive display, but that this often involves thinly veiled insults as well as overtly antisocial behaviour. Dan described his experiences with banter in the following:

… it's almost become a way of glorifying…getting drunk doing
something stupid…whether it's being sick on the street or jumping on a
car when he's drunk…cling-filming the toilet seat or whatever…people
are just going "ah lad" or "what a lad" it's almost become like a
compliment now… you get facebook groups you get…the hashtag on
twitter..it's maybe a slightly more dangerous term…so someone may

> *chuck a stone at a car and then just go oh that's just*
>
> *banter…its…destruction of someone else's property (Ln. 214-228)*

The men seem to normalize the behaviour by labelling it "banter" and conveying approval by calling each other "lads." Dave reported a website called truelad.com, in which men recount their "lad" behaviour.

> *people are taking pictures of or recounting their stories of what*
>
> *they've done the night before…I saw one example a couple of days ago*
>
> *someone explaining a new game they've come up with that you play on*
>
> *a night out called 'fat girl rodeo' where you go up to a fat girl, put*
>
> *your arms around … and kind of lock your hands and you whisper in*
>
> *her ear something like "you're the fattest girl in this club" and then*
>
> *see how long you can hold on for until she manages to shake you off so*
>
> *people were saying "oh try this new game, you know fat girl rodeo.*
>
> *Great banter" (Ln. 258-265)*

This cruel "game" being lauded as "banter" appears not only to excuse but to praise the ability of participants to ridicule not only women, but those who do not meet with their notions of attractiveness. The woman is ridiculed while at the same time providing a form of entertainment for male onlookers, assessing the "skill" of a peer in "holding on." The name "rodeo" adds another dimension to the game, given that rodeos are generally associated with attempts to stay on a large, angry and bucking bull.

Although the above is a more extreme example of excused and normalised behaviour, the information that this account is available on a website for "lads" is alarming. In recent years, more attention has been given to "lad culture," propagated largely by magazines (Horvath, Hegarty, Tyler, &

Mansfield, 2012) or "lad's mags" and the general "sexualisation of popular culture" (i.e. Gill, 2007; Levy, 2005). The behaviours reported by Dan as well as others are seen as inspirational on this and similar websites. This propagation of woman abuse, both verbal and physical could prove dangerous, particularly for certain younger men with a more competitive and hierarchical bent. With mainstream acceptance, it could be possible that individuals might come to accept exploitative sexist behaviours that might lead to abuse, or at the very least the idea of women as the other and the need for men to maintain solidarity.

While Dan recognises the danger that is inherent in excusing overtly destructive behaviours, he still reported going on the website and others like it that normalise and propagate collective male acceptance.

Challenges and/or Rituals

Participants reported that amongst groups of men, it is common for there to be certain rituals or challenges set out to members to test their manliness and secure or maintain a position in the perceived hierarchy. Again, these actions could be construed as another form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2001; Harding, 2014) and are often used within urban street gangs, fraternities, and sports teams. Participants reported that challenges or rituals are generally centred on personal humiliation and discomfort or that of others, including women. Although not explicitly stated, participants spoke of tasks in groups that were well-established and ritualistic (e.g. sport initiations) in addition to more spontaneous and implicit (e.g. smashing a window on a night out to impress friends) behaviours they perceived were necessary to gain group acceptance or approval.

Ben described a few sport-related challenges within a rugby team.

> *...new players would often have to do initiation challenges... I drank a*
> *pint of beer through a fish through a dead fish which was pretty*
> *gross... usually there's nudity involved but male nudity… slightly….*
> *homoerotic kind of challenges like licking cream off one of the other*
> *player's nipples it can often be quite…sexual (Laughs) (Ln. 120-126)*

The mention of homoerotic rituals and the predominance of male nudity underscores those notions suggested in the literature (Franklin 2004; Allen, 2004; Sanday, 1990) that certain "more masculine" men subject others they perceive as weaker or beneath them to degrading challenges that, to the outside seem homoerotic. These serve the purpose of binding them to the group through embarrassment. This embarrassment and fear of being labelled a "fag" or "homo," motivates members to try even harder to prove their masculinity to the group. In other words, they commit a "gay" act as instructed, resulting in embarrassment, which leads them to want more interaction with the group so they can regain their status or image as a man (Franklin, 2004).

The notion of challenges that one would "have to do" to prove oneself was supported in some other of the interviews as a characteristics of certain groups of men. This echoes, to a certain extent, initiations set forth by criminal gangs as well (Beckett, et al. 2013; Nuwer, 1999). The idea that certain conditions must be met to allow admittance or acceptance appears to add a dimension of exclusivity to the group. Not just anyone can get in; only those worthy or "man" enough to complete certain tasks will be allowed. Although the above excerpt mentioned a relatively tame challenge by comparison, some

groups and street gangs require tasks that can, unfortunately include being "sexed in" (Tyler, Hoyt, & Whitbeck, 1998). That is, group members must complete a certain sexual act before being admitted or accepted by the rest of the men. This act could include group sex with other men, sexual assault, or other sexual conquests (Beckett et al. 2013; Miller, 1998; Tyler et al., 1998). Participants were asked what might lead a group to require initiation practices. Tom explained,

> …it's not just everybody's equal. People that are really established in that group maybe have been there right from the beginning and you have other people who have been friends for less amount of time with that group and so there is sort of this weird sort of social standing and I think if you are on the fringes it could be that you would and the core of your group then decide to go and do something like that (woman abuse)…some men may be like well this is how I'm going to become fully accepted in this group if I'm part of this very serious act… (ln. 327-334)

Tom emphasises the power of membership longevity, releasing older members from the perceived pressure to become accepted through implicit or explicit initiation activities.

Alcohol

The ubiquitous presence of alcohol has been emphasised as a defining characteristic of English and other European cultures (Measham & Brain, 2005; Measham & Ostergaard, 2009). For this sample, alcohol seems to be the undercurrent from which many other interactions flow. Alcohol was reported to be present at just about every social event surrounding their sport of choice

as well as most other social events, whether they are all male or mixed. The role of alcohol in violent or other antisocial activities has long been flagged as an important variable to keep in mind when considering antisocial behaviour, particularly amongst male athletes (Nelson & Wechsler, 2001, O'Brien & Lyons, 2000).

Early on in the interviews, participants would casually mention the presence of alcohol in their all-male interactions, citing "out for a few drinks," "down to the pub" etc. Upon being asked to clarify a previous statement about the "sorts of things guys do" (Ln 23), Dave stated

> *obviously guys like drinking um I think I think alcohol makes everyone a bit more happy everyone is a bit more social so I guess it's just that it makes sense its a good meeting place like a pub is always a good social meeting place for people to meet I guess they're the main reasons (Ln 28-31)*

This excerpt links alcohol not only with socialising generally, but with what men in particular like to do. To this participant, it is "obvious" that men like to drink, which is indicative of how deeply embedded he is likely to be in a culture that normalises the consistent use of alcohol in its interactions and experiences.

Participants reported that alcohol played a major part in the nature of the activities and personal interactions of the group. Matt was asked his opinion about the role of alcohol within sports teams as well as other all male groups.

> *Massive absolutely massive huge amount I'd say… cause it all starts off people are pretty normal… and then… as the night progresses…*

> *people are so drunk I'd say 90% of the actions is more about people*
>
> *being on alcohol and people being so drunk… they can do whatever*
>
> *really… yeah massive (Ln. 197-200)*

The proliferation of substance use in male groups is well-documented (e.g. DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013; Horvath & Brown, 2007; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Sanday, 1990). Another participant not only reported the effects of alcohol, but emphasized how, without realising it, group behaviours can escalate.

> *I'd be out with the team of guys at the end of the night they'd had a few*
>
> *drinks you know do things they normally wouldn't do such as*
>
> *swimming in the sea in Blackpool you know at midnight which is quite*
>
> *a dangerous thing that I don't think they would normally do…it's*
>
> *freezing cold even under the influence of alcohol but I don't think*
>
> *they'd normally do it had they not had their team colleagues around*
>
> *them…it can start off as a small suggestion someone jokes 'let's all go*
>
> *in the sea'…it gets bigger…the more people start talking about it and*
>
> *before you know it one of them's taking his shirt off next thing another*
>
> *guy's done the same they're all runnin (sic) off in the sea that can*
>
> *happen whereas I don't think it would happen if it were if it were just a*
>
> *couple of guys three or four goin (sic) out for a drink together (Mark,*
>
> *Ln. 212-223)*

The above excerpt is interesting in that it not only mentions alcohol and its ability to enable individuals to do unpleasant, dangerous behaviours but the distinct presence of peer influence and the mimicking of behaviour that has been reported in the delinquency literature (i.e. Dishion, McCord, &, Poulin,

1999; Warr & Stafford, 2006). In addition, the notion of activities happening "before you know it" suggests a lack of insight into the dynamics of the group, fuelled by alcohol. Individuals who lack introspective abilities would be further impaired after drinking alcohol in addition to being surrounded by their peers.

Despite participant indications of the importance of alcohol for homosocial male groups generally, there were reports of certain groups abusing alcohol more and differently than others. In the following excerpt, Martin contrasts two different groups of friends and their attitude(s) towards drinking and drugs.

> *they're much more…wanting to…go out and get really drunk…I mean… going out and getting drunk is quite good fun but I think they approach it from a different mindset…sort of like 'lets go get smashed' …for me its more like lets go and have a good time and if we get drunk along the way well that's cool…but taken to a different extreme…they're also uh more likely to do drugs I think (Martin, Ln 81-87)*

From Martin's perspective, some of his male friends go out with the intent to "get smashed," whereas he reports being more relaxed about alcohol. The idea of male groups having an alcoholic goal or benchmark (i.e. the state of being "smashed") could be indicative of how they gauge a good or successful night out. The reliance on alcohol could serve to underscore the perceived expectations men have on how they are supposed to interact with each other. Intoxication could be used as a means of masking social interaction with close friends or acquaintances, the highlighting of which may not be considered

"manly." Further, alcohol could be used as a means of relaxing in a stressful environment that places pressure on men to behave according to the demands of the group's culture. Perhaps for some men, "getting smashed" is the only way they can release their emotions without ridicule from their peers. If everyone is impaired, they might be unable to remember the exact depth of their emotional connection, thus ensuring the continuation of sober bravado, but can still release their emotions amongst each other in a largely non-judgemental way. In other words, alcohol may just be a cloak for deeper emotional connections amongst male groups.

In any case, participant perspectives seem to underscore the idea that prolific use of alcohol serves to facilitate and at times, excuse antisocial behaviours of certain groups, which is consistent with past research, including that on MPR (Boeringer, 1999; Frinter & Rubinson, 1993; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Koss & Gaines, 1993) and MPS (DeKeseredy, 1990). Its role in lowering inhibitions cannot be emphasized enough in examining male peer group dynamics and the dynamics of sexual assault.

Additional factors

Age

Sampson and Laub (1993) found that as men mature, they undergo a shift from predominantly peer-related activity to the assumption of mature responsibilities such as family and career. Age was reported as a significant factor in the interviews. Martin described the importance of age and maturity in contrasting a group of his older friends with a group of younger colleagues.

> *the group of friends that... are a little bit younger than me…they're*
>
> *much more still young free and single…so wanting to go party a lot*

more drink a lot more have slightly different priorities in life to

me…my uni couply (sic) *friends are my age so early*

*thirties…(*referring to the younger group) *group I've got now…mid to*

late twenties… I'd say they're at a different stage in their mentality… I

would say are a little less mature

(Ln. 65-75)

This was echoed by a number of participants in describing other groups of

friends or past membership in other sports teams. The majority of the sample

was approaching 30 and were mostly settled in their employment as well as

having significant, long-term partners. Thus, they were not only able to give

perspectives on their current membership in male groups, but past experiences

as well. These past encounters were more likely to involve more social

interactions in all-male situations and the universally reported use of alcohol.

Distancing, Othering, Normalisation and Minimisation

Much effort was made by participants in differentiating themselves

from those types of men engaging in negative male peer support. Mike

reported his experience in changing rooms after having played a football

match.

…there'll be some plonker next to you that will be like (puts on low,

slow voice) 'yeah I went out with my mates…took this bird back and

fucked her'…like all the unnecessary detail…I wouldn't ever associate

myself with those kind of guys… my friends we don't talk like that and

we find it generally unpleasant when to be around people who do…if

there are anybody who comes…into our social circle who does behave

like that then they don't last very long (Ln. 65-72).

His need to use a vocal impression of how the "plonker" sounded is interesting in that it serves not only to separate himself from the behaviour, but to sound slow and unintelligent, which also illustrates his contention that he is not like the man in the changing room and that there is a certain type of individual who is more likely to engage in these conversations. This participant reported a number of similar instances and asserted his own distance from such behaviour several times throughout the interview.

This apparent need for distancing was in contrast to the large body of experiences he claimed to have had with misogynist behaviours and discussions. This was sometimes paired with a conflicting admission of the behaviour as well.

> *yeah I'm not going to pretend that I wouldn't have joined in all of*
>
> *these jokes and said a lot of these things um but you know I I know*
>
> *very very few men who don't (Dan, Ln. 309-311)*

Such contradictions, distancing, and othering occurred in a number of interviews and underscored the notion that there seem to be a distinct basis from which men judge certain interactions and certain groups.

The idea of women as the "other" was readily apparent in participant reports of male peer support within groups to which they were members as well as their reported observations of male groups. It could be argued that, by virtue of the fact that the group is made up only of men, women are automatically viewed as the other group. A few participants actually acknowledged their participation in negative behaviours, but situated them within the context of a normalised and accepted framework. Tom said,

> *I'm not gonna ever sit here and say oh I've never talked about women*
>
> *in degrading ways because I'd be a liar if I said that…if any man told*
>
> *you that then he'd probably be lying (Ln 132-134).*

The notion that all men engage in this type of dialogue makes Tom's own behaviours more acceptable and "normal." In this way, he can maintain his own self-concept by being upfront about his participation but tempered by the fact that he previously maintained that he was different from other men. On a societal level, this could speak to the entrenchment of misogyny in the wider culture and acceptance of "laddishness."

Sport

The link between sport and negative male peer support which leads to misogynist or rude dialogue to or about women appears to be strong in the participants' experiences in this study. All 10 participants endorsed the notion that groups with only male members are more likely to talk about women in a negative way, and that sports teams facilitated this dynamic. About this, Dave said,

> *I guess in sporting situations it is more natural* (to speak more rudely
>
> about women) *because it is generally…gonna be all male all the*
>
> *time… you're in a male-only sport… so the surroundings…there's a*
>
> *macho side to it as well so it…naturally fits together… probably more*
>
> *so in the sport but it happens in all of them* (all-male groups) *I'd say*
>
> *(Ln. 102-106)*

All of those interviewed endorsed sporting groups as particularly likely to speak about women in a demeaning manner.

Some participants, such as Mike, spoke openly about the role of sport and negativity towards women:

blokes…who are aggressive and talk horrible shit…blokes full of bravado…those sorts of guys you know that you get quite often in sports because it fits their physique it fits their personality it fits their mentality (Ln. 57-61).

Mike is speaking from a more stereotypical perspective about sportsmen. Namely, that sport attracts men with certain physical and mental characteristics and that it is these types of men who promote the link between misogyny and sport. It could be argued that this type of perspective is skewed towards certain types of sports known for aggression and competition such as ice hockey, football, rugby, and American football (Celozzi, Kazelskis, & Gutsch, 1981; Trebon, 2007). Indeed, these sports have often been the subject of university studies linking sports participation and sexual assault (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Humphrey & Kahn, 2002; Melenick, 1992; Trebon, 2007). There is a mingling of ideas as to whether certain sports attract certain types of men or the environment created by sports participation encourages misogyny.

Matt explained a situation in which men in a group explicitly make women out to ostensibly be the 'other' in social settings.

…on sports socials…it's all male grouped together and you have certain rules like they're not allowed to talk to women before we get to the final club so in a whole bar route beforehand um the rule is you're not allowed to speak to girls or communicate with girls it's all just we're the boys….we get a fresher talking to a girls and we'd like be you know you aren't supposed to do that sort of thing grab him and drag him away…(Ln. 63-68).

Matt relates this blatant incident of shunning females as a requirement on a rugby social. In addition to being an explicitly stated ritual/initiation requirement for the team, as discussed earlier, this fosters solidarity of the group or, in this case, the team. There seems to be a dynamic of alternating protection/punishment in the dragging away of members speaking to women. On one hand, they are dragged away as a punishment for breaking the rules, but on the other, it is as if the woman is seen as a threat to the solidarity of the group. Other members are protecting one of their own from the influences of a woman, who can only detract from the masculine feel of the social. The man who is chastised for interacting with her might see his position in the group as threatened and engages in the demeaning behaviour in order to regain a send of self-worth that is provided by group membership. These types of interactions could also be included in rituals and challenges, but many sport-related "events" were reportedly more structured and expectations were well entrenched, particularly in well-established teams.

In his time playing rugby, Matt also experienced some other ways in which women were targeted through singing.

> *singing songs and things…there's some random song Alouette you just sing…usually they select out some some girl…a bar staff or something and …sing 'gentille alouette' …just things like that sort of aimed at girls (Ln. 69-74)*

 "Alouette" is a French song, the first line of which translates to "Lark. Nice lark. I will pluck you!" (LaFort, 1981). Although it did not appear that Matt knew the meaning of the words in the song, it is still interesting to note the connotations that may have made this the choice song to be sung in a bar to a

woman by a group of men. This particular participant also reported that he believes rugby players were more likely to be rude to women than were men who played other sports. Although this was not explored in the study, it is of note that the processes involved in the recruitment and bonding of certain sports teams may be a factor in subsequent verbal and physical treatment of women.

There were only 2 rugby players in the sample but both reported a difference between rugby and other sports in their group interactions. Ben related his perceptions of the class and behavioural differences he believes exists between rugby and football.

> *I've mostly been around most sort of middle class groups... I look at it as almost rugby versus a football thing in my mind I...split that up into a middle class sport rugby and a more working class sport football (Ln 101-106)*

Hargreaves (1986) supports the notion of football as more of a working class sport, particularly in the northern parts of England, whereas rugby is more middle-class orientated, and generally associated with the southern UK. Ben mentioned class a few times throughout the interview, and was insistent about delineating the differences between team interactions of the two sports.

> *rugby teams tend to be about doing things together as groups of guys… more about challenging each other…doing embarrassing things to each other… but as guys whereas football teams…tend to be more about um meeting girls…I think they're more prone to getting in fights…and be more violent (Ln. 106-112)*

This and quotes like it provide support for the notion that, from Ben's perspective, certain sports or sporting groups are more prone to antisocial or negative behaviours (Trebon, 2007). This is similar to the research about high and low "risk" fraternities (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Humphreys & Kahn, 2002).

Participants who spoke of the negative effects of all-male gatherings or groups were then asked what they thought distinguished groups that demeaned women and those that did not. Their explanations tended to focus upon individual characteristics that make the individual able to avoid engaging in the negative behaviours.

> *…they've obviously got a strong sense of their own self-worth by…they've obviously been brought up to respect certain core values…they know the difference between right and wrong…for them to stand up to their peers would take a lot of courage… that obviously had been instilled in them in a young age so maybe it does go back to how you're brought up at home…being respected and treated fairly and listened to…taught from a young age…'don't do that. That's wrong' (Ln 172-179)* – Mike

Mike espoused a developmental standpoint, that "core values" and feelings "self-worth" are beneficial in being able to avoid the influence of the group. George said,

> *…you know some people that just quietly happy and quietly sort of satisfied with themselves…they can they don't need to feel like um they're at the top of anything (Ln 65-67)*

He refers to the hierarchy that was reported to exist within all-male groups (See previous). Those who feel they have nothing to prove are "satisfied with

themselves." Thus, perhaps it is those individuals who possess certain insecurities that are more likely to engage in shows of bravado and negativity not only towards women, but towards other men.

6.6 Discussion

Analysing these responses revealed the likely existence of a complex and, for these participants, rarely considered social structure amongst men in groups that is deserving of much more scrutiny. In considering the interviews, the original research questions were reviewed and were answered in light of overall researcher impressions. Below is a brief summary of the findings in their ability to sufficiently answer each research question.

1. Does misogynist male peer support exist within groups of men in all male sports teams?

This question was intended first to explore the idea of male peer groups as they exist in the absence of women. Responses indicated that for this sample, male peer support does exist and that this support, on the surface, serves a largely positive function for participants. However, when probed for further information about the types of behaviours and dialogues resulting from these interactions, participants were able to relate a large number of negative results from associating in exclusively male surroundings. There was a distinct atmosphere of anxiety reported by the men for some group members concerning their status in the group hierarchy. This hierarchy was based around principles rooted in machismo type posturing. These ranged from capacity to drink, sexual prowess, humorous mockery, and ability to perform ritualistic or implied initiation challenges designed to test their manliness.

These findings were gathered from participants who were chosen based upon their status as sportsmen. However, most participants did not implicate sport as an

influential factor until asked explicitly. Once asked about the role of sport in fostering atmospheres conducive to the ill treatment of women, they began to speak about sport in general being influential, but not necessarily to blame for the negative peer support. It appears that sports might simply offer a venue or opportunity for like-minded individuals, and that it might be the simple absence of women that is the driving force, supporting the findings of DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2013).

Although alcohol emerged as a ubiquitous activity amongst male groups in interview responses regardless of explicit questioning, alcohol was included as a topic of interest in the semi-structured interview schedule (see appendix E) due to its prevalence amongst male sportsmen as well as the association of alcohol with sexual assault in the literature (i.e. Finch & Munro, 2007; Koss & Gaines, 1993)

2. How does this support manifest itself in group dynamics and treatment of women?

This question resulted in what is the most important finding to take from this study; that men in homosocial groups are more likely to talk about women in a negative manner than when in mixed company. Participants reported overall that sports teams provide a group in which competition, masculinity, and alcohol consumption can often contribute to negative behaviours/conversations towards women, but also antisocial behaviours in general towards other men in the group and wider community as well. This type of interaction is not reserved solely for sports team interactions, but was reported to be more actively encouraged within the context of sport. Also, certain sports are associated with more negative behaviours and conversations than others.

Participants spoke from the perspective of a distinct social structure to which they and other men belong when involved in homosocial situations, many of which are provided by membership in sports teams. It became apparent that, in speaking about

the interactions between members of all male groups, participants were talking about how masculinity is asserted. The observations and interpretations of male group interactions by the men in this sample served to underscore the idea that the ways in which men might interact with each other can provide fertile ground for antisocial and misogynist behaviours and dialogue. Sport was reported to provide a vehicle by which this could occur, but was not absolutely necessary.

3. What is the effect of this negative peer support on the individual? In looking at male peer support and its effects on the individual, it seemed that the interviewees did enjoy their interactions with the male groups to which they belonged. They received positive support, feelings of belonging, and general recreation from all-male groups, whether or not they were sport related.

However, participants related other experiences that were decidedly negative. The effect of negative peer support seemed to elicit substantial anxiety centred on the desire and/or need for acceptance/approval from the group. This anxiety resulted in an elevated likelihood to participate in dialogues and/or activities that were reportedly contrary or exaggerated to that in which they engage in a mixed-gender group or when on their own. These included misogynistic type behaviours/dialogues. Alcohol was an important part of these interactions, the pressure to drink copious amounts being a reportedly essential part of participants' conception of male group culture. In addition, alcohol likely served to alleviate anxiety and cognitive dissonance experienced by participants when faced with the perceived demands of the groups.

Self-regulation was not explicitly examined in this study. It was intended that self-regulation be directly applied to the offender population in chapter 7 as the protocol for assessment was developed specifically for the sex offenders. However, in

looking at the interviews for this study, it is likely that group dynamics had an effect on individual self-regulation, and some speculation can be made about its effect. Participants reported that certain groups of men were more likely to act in negative or hostile ways than others. This could be the result of individuals with similar self-regulatory levels being attracted to one another, providing tacit support for poor behavioural and cognitive regulation. On the other hand, the anxiety and stress resulting from perceived group norms and culture could result in a diminishing or a complete breakdown in self-regulation in an individual as suggested by Ward et al. (1995). Yates and Kingston (2005) heavily emphasised the effect of stressful situations and converging negative life events such as intimate partner break-ups, familial troubles etc, on the self-regulatory capacities of convicted sex offenders. The effect of male peer support on already weakened self-regulation as a result of life circumstance could result in an individual wanting to escape their situation by cleaving more strongly to the male group, thus making membership even more important.

Although the principles of self-regulation were apparent in these interviews, it is important to note that the men in this study were not convicted sex offenders, and were not assessed using the SRM protocol. However, diminished self-regulation may have played a part in their decisions to engage with group norms and behaviours, both positive and negative.

It was not the intent of this study to put to rest the debate about sport and sexual assault, but to provide a basis and sample population from which male peer support could be examined within a ready-made and exclusively male group context. It appears that not only are men in groups more likely to speak about women in a negative manner, but that some male groups are structured in such a way as to

encourage a competition of sorts that can involve demeaning behaviours and dialogue. The pressure placed on groups members to assert themselves in a hierarchy and as men occurs simultaneously, not only to the detriment of their behaviour, but also, their sense of control over their own sense of what is acceptable and what is not in wider society.

Figure 6. Amended Integrated Self-Regulation Male Peer Support Model
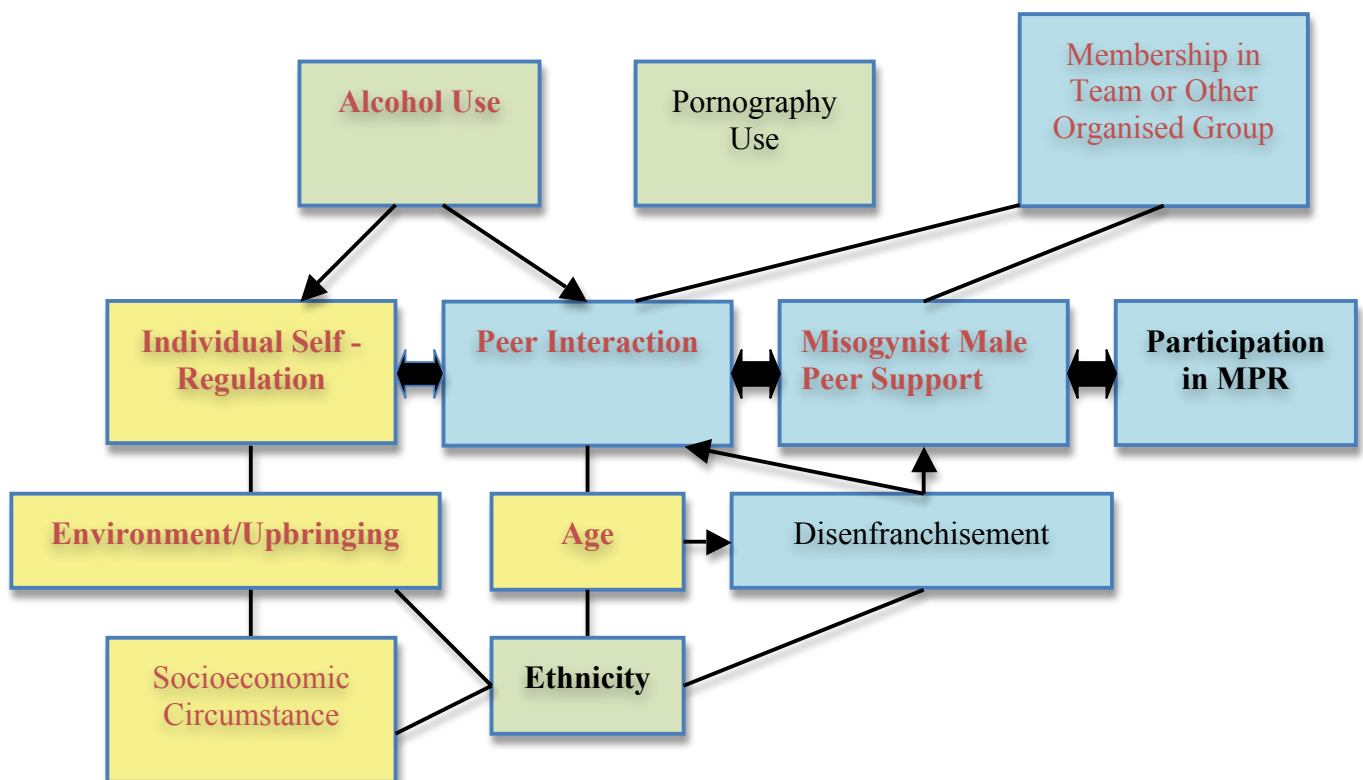
Note: Elements supported by findings are shown in red, and those shown to have strong support are bolded.

In considering the findings of study 2, the model was amended to further emphasise the role of alcohol in all-male interactions, as this is not only highlighted in the literature (Boeringer, 1999; DeKeseredy, 1990; Frinter & Rubinson, 1993; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Koss & Gaines, 1993), but was omnipresent in the interviews of this sample. It seems that, for these men, their interactions are always conducted within the context of a ready supply of alcohol, and

they are often pressured into drinking more than they would ordinarily if not in that context. Theoretically, the presence of alcohol has been found to affect an individuals' ability to self-regulate behaviour (Ward & Hudson, 1998a), and findings from these participants serve to underscore its importance in male interactions and male peer support.

Participants also spoke about the importance of upbringing, environment, and age both in their choice of male group to which they belong as well as their abilities to mitigate the effects of negative support by reportedly refusing to associate with individuals who engage in activities/behaviours that are inconsistent with their own self-identity and concept of right and wrong. Most participants spoke of their experiences with the benefit of hindsight and reported age as have a part to play in the level of influence groups have.

Membership in an organised group or sports team was emphasised as an exacerbating factor in the interviews, although participants were careful to point out that negative male peer support can be found in less organised, non-sport related contexts. However, it does seem that sport provides an organised venue from which male peer groups are organised and encouraged.

Although pornography use was suggested as being a part of the original model, it was omitted from the interview protocol. Given the lack of participants available and some substantial reticence about the subject matter in recruiting attempts, it was decided that inquiries about personal or group pornography would serve largely to make interviewees uncomfortable, and that this risk was not ethically viable. It is still included in the model as a component that has empirical support in its likely detrimental effect on the treatment of women both by individuals and by men in

groups (e.g Ferguson & Hartley, 2009; Malamuth, 1985). However, it has been detached, as this component was not explored in the present investigation.

Limitations and Future Directions

As previously described, this study was beset by participant recruitment problems from the beginning, making it difficult to maintain methodological consistency. However, the resulting interviews provide insights into the association between not only sport and sexual assault, but also general homosocial male groups and the types of behaviours/dialogue that might promote an atmosphere conducive to violence against women.

The study has some inherent limitations, not least of which is the likelihood of social desirability and research demand characteristics. All ten participants seemed motivated to assure the interviewer that they were not to be classed as the types that would engage in demeaning conversations or behaviours with or about women. This hindered the likelihood of full and detailed disclosures of specific examples and personal anecdotes. However, some of the interviewees did exhibit some physical displays of discomfort such as shifting in their chair, and laughing nervously when a question was asked. The interviewer took such opportunities to reassure the participant that they were under no obligation to answer any question and that taking part was completely voluntary. Once interviewed, participants were debriefed. Again, none reported feeling distressed at having participated.

The themes presented and the supporting quotes represent a tiny portion of the information gathered from these interviews. Each theme could have been deconstructed further and be given its own chapter, but the scope of the thesis, method of analysis and research questions under examination dictated the level to which themes were scrutinised. Leaning on perspectives from differing disciplines

such as women's studies or sociology, even anthropology would provide a parallel understanding of this phenomenon.

It is evident that negative male peer support is present at times in certain homosocial male groups. This is in direct support of past research indicating that certain groups are more likely to offend than others. This study not only supported the theory, but alluded to a number of other phenomena present amongst male peers such as emotional reticence and antisocial banter (Warr & Stafford, 2006). This study also served as a springboard for the following study, the focus of which was incarcerated MPR offenders.

Chapter 7: Applying Male Peer Support and Self-Regulation to Incarcerated Duo Multiple Perpetrator Rape (MPR) Offenders

The primary focus of this chapter is the third and final study in this PhD, in which convicted, incarcerated MPR offenders were interviewed. A variety of practical challenges were present that resulted in a partial methodological reworking of the original research plan for this thesis. It was originally intended that the Self-Regulation Model for convicted sex offenders (Ward, Louden, Hudson, & Marshall, 1995; Ward, Bickley, Webster, Fisher, Beech, & Eldridge, 2004) be combined with Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) Modified Model of Male Peer Support in an effort to explore the group dynamics present in MPR. There has yet to be an offence-specific consideration of these models, and this study was intended to represent an integration of individual levels of self-regulation with the group dynamics of male peer support. However, due to the restraints placed upon access to prisoners, time, and ethical constraints imposed by the prison system, it proved impossible to assess offenders using the measures necessary to determine their self-regulatory abilities. Despite this setback, findings relating to MPR and SRM theory will lead to a better understanding of MPR from psychological and legal perspectives. The resulting data, when integrated with findings from study 2 provided support for a modification of the proposed MPR model of offending as well as insight into the nature of male group dynamics generally. The sections below chronicle this research and the intention to assess the integrated model with incarcerated MPR offenders.

7.1 Male Peer Support

Male peer support has been identified previously[12] as a major focus of this investigation, both the nature of and level to which male peer support influences male group behaviour and individual behaviour towards women in a negative manner. This theory has been explored within the realms of general "woman abuse," and domestic violence (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2103; DeKeseredy, Schwartz, Fagen & Hall, 2006; Kanin, 1967; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) but not explicitly within an offender-based MPR participant group. As with study 2 of this PhD, modifications were necessary to account for practical barriers that arose in attempting to conduct this research. Presented below, are the intended materials and methodology for the study. These are followed by the necessary amendments made whilst conducting the research.

7.2 Self-Regulation

As mentioned previously[13], self-regulation is a term used in this investigation to refer to the innate ability of the individual to respond to both internal and external stimuli with behaviours directed at achieving either avoiding or facilitating a behavioural goal or outcome (Baumeister & Heatherton, 1996). The Self-Regulation model has been used successfully in allocating rapist, paedophile, and mixed sexual offenders into categories indicative of their individual offence patterns, triggers, and treatment needs (Bickley & Beech, 2002; Lambine, 2010; Yates & Kingston, 2006). Although these studies may have included MPR offenders, none specifically addressed them as a separate group and the possibility that they might have specific self-regulatory issues is deserving of further examination. One of the main criticisms of MPS theory is that it focuses mainly upon the group processes and influence on the

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[12] See Chapter 4 for more information
[13] See Chapter 4 for more information

individual. This is to the exclusion of pre-existing individual self-control and regulation. The addition of SRM to male peer support was also intended to bridge the gap between individual and group behaviour. In accordance with the proposed integrated model, it was hoped that self-regulation could be combined with male peer support in order to provide a more inclusive and holistic perspective on how the individual offender becomes embedded in an MPR offence.

This study explored the following research questions for the duo MPR offender participants:

1. What was the nature of participants' homosocial peer group interactions?

2. Did offender-participant male peer groups support misogynist or abusive attitudes or behaviours towards women?

3. Do these offenders believe the influence of male peers contributed to their participation in the offence?

4. What were the events leading up to and after the offence?

7.3 Method

Offender Participants and Offences

Upon receiving ethical approval from the departmental ethics committee, an application was made to the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) via the Integrated Research Application System (IRAS). This is a nationwide system for acquiring approval for research in health and social care/community care research in the UK. This includes research conducted with vulnerable populations such as children, the infirm, and incarcerated individuals. With a few clarifications, approval for the study was secured, and NOMS was able to provide a list of 16 prisons that were likely to house the largest amount of MPR offenders. Only one prison was able to assist the research, and six offenders initially agreed to participate. However, after

having consented and participated in the interview, one individual requested that his data be deleted, resulting in five participants for this study. Prison staff reported that all had been exposed to the sex offender treatment programme to some degree, but were unable to disclose how much any one participant had engaged with the programme or when. The men ranged in age from 18 to 20 at the time of the interview, and were aged 17-19 at the time of their offences, which was consistent with past research on MPR offender age (Amir, 1971; Hauffe & Porter, 2009; Porter & Alison, 2006; Reiss, 1988; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Walmsley & White, 1979).

Table 17 Offender-Participant Demographics and Basic Offence Information

Pseudonym	Age (at interview)	Ethnicity	Number of Co-Defendants	Denies Offence
Adam	20	White	1	Yes
Bob	19	White	1	Yes
Paul	19	Afro-Caribbean	1	Yes
Chris	18	White	1	No
Henry	18	White	1 (Co-defendant of Chris	No

All of the offences involved one victim, and one co-offender. This is consistent with previous findings that MPR offences are likely to be committed largely by duos (daSilva, Harkins, & Woodhams, 2013; Lambine & Horvath, under review) and by those in early to late adulthood (e.g. daSilva, Harkins, & Woodhams, 2013; Lambine, 2013)

Materials

The semi-structured interview protocol used in study 2 (Chapter 6) was amended to reflect the incarcerated status of participants and in compliance with prison guidelines (see appendix K).

Procedure

The six participants were interviewed over a 3-day period. Interviews were conducted in a room often used to administer SOTP to the offenders, and organised by staff in such a way that they correlated with their general daily schedules. All interviews were digitally recorded for later transcription, and participants were assured multiple times that their participation was entirely voluntary.

Prison staff were unwilling to provide access to offender records, so SRM protocol assessment of participants was not possible. At the conclusion of each interview, prison staff briefed the researcher with basic demographic and descriptive information about each offence and offender. This information was insufficient to ascertain levels of self-regulation with confidence in accordance with the SRM.

7.4 Ethical Considerations

In working with incarcerated offenders, it was important to consider a number of ethical considerations in ensuring the both the physical and emotional well being of the male offenders as well as the female researcher conducting the interviews (Please see chapter 8 for a reflexive account of researcher experiences). Care was taken to ensure the scheduled questions were as non-confrontational as possible, and that participants recruited were fully aware of what would occur before the interviews commenced. They were given the information sheet and consent form before the researcher arrived. These were then revisited with each participant before the interview commenced to ensure full understanding of the voluntary nature of the

study. The limits of confidentiality were reviewed, and participants were assured at various points during the interview that they could withdraw at any time.

Before arriving at the prison, the researcher was thoroughly briefed by both PhD supervisors with extensive experience conducting research in prisons as to the possible negative effects of interacting with offenders in this environment, both physically and mentally. Further to this, supervisors were available to provide support remotely while the study was being conducted in another part of the England. Once the interviews were completed, supervisors as well as the prison staff debriefed the researcher.

7.5 Findings

The findings from this study are presented in two parts. Each participant interview was analysed, utilising the information provided about their offence, how they presented in the interview, and the themes that emerged for them as individual participants. Some of these themes will overlap with the next section, where the interviews are considered as a group, with major themes and subthemes presented that were universally discussed.

Individual Participant Information

Participant 1- "Adam"

Available Demographic and Offence Information

Adam is a 20-year-old Caucasian man who participated in a duo MPR offence when he was 17. At the time of the offence, he had been involved in heavy drug usage ("cocaine, amphetamine, weed, anything I could get my hands on," Ln 20) as well as drug-dealing with his co-defendant (aged 21). The victim was the co-defendant's younger sister (age not given), with whom Adam had met previously. The victim was raped vaginally with a wine bottle after which both boys took turns raping her

vaginally. Adam was arrested for rape 2 days later. Both he and his co-defendant were convicted based upon DNA and other physical evidence.

Interview Presentation/Behaviours

Adam presented as initially nervous and shy, but gave good eye contact and appeared to relax once the interview began. Despite reports of "severe literacy problems," he was well-spoken and seemed to understand and respond to questions in a clear and consistent manner.

Major Themes

Denial

The major theme that emerged from the interview was Adam's categorical denial of his participation in the rape, insisting that it was consensual.

> *basically we was all drunk and then permission got put across so I was double checking and everything like that…and then…I think it was 2 days after the old bill came to and arrested me for rape (Ln 85-87)*

When asked to elaborate how permission was "put across" he responded

> *obviously I wasn't gonna do nothing with a woman unless unless they comfortable with it… if they weren't comfortable I wouldn't do it. Normally I'd sit there and let the girl come on to me…(Ln 89-91)*

He was unable to describe how he knew that the victim consented, giving a number of vague statements similar to the above. His assertion of what would "normally" happen indicates that this was not a commonplace situation for him. The presence of an older co-defendant and being intoxicated might have elevated the risk of Adam's offending. Further, the status of the victim as the co-defendant's younger sister may have given the encounter a particular familiarity. Although no information is available about the co-defendant from Adam's case file, he reported that, at the time of the

offence, his co-defendant had been engaging in a sexual relationship with a 14-year-old girl. If this is true, it may be that this older, more deviant peer was a significant influence in Adam's offence progression. It is common for there to be a leader, particularly in duo MPR offences (Porter & Alison, 2005), and that this leader is more delinquent or deviant than the follower(s) ('t Hart-Kerkhoffs, Vermeiren, Jansen, & Doreleijers, 2010). Despite limited access to Adam's offence files, the available information indicates this type of leadership may have been present.

False Allegations

Adam repeatedly indicated the propensity of women to "scream rape"

my mate he got found not guilty on it because they found texts on his phone of the girl telling would you like to come round for another one another shag and he came round and kept sleeping with her and she was sleeping with another 4 or 5 people she didn't want her dad to know and her dad found out she slept with him and she didn't want her dad knowing she was a slag and that so she screamed rape. Most women in the UK are doing it now, there are loads of people getting arrested for it now and sometimes it is the people that have done it get away with it (Ln 148-155)

There are a number of issues apparent in this excerpt, the first of which is Adam's endorsement of a widespread rape myth. The notion of women "crying rape" has dangerous implications for victims seeking justice and offenders being wrongly acquitted (Burt, 1980; Burt, 1998; Malamuth & Check, 1985). If Adam is to be believed, the acquittal of an individual on the basis of text messages is worrying as well. Legally, text messages do not meet the criteria from which consent is ascertained (Sexual Offences Act, 2003). Although this is no more than speculation of a second-hand account, the above statement in addition to others in the interview

indicates a significant amount of rape myth acceptance and endorsement. The following excerpt indicates not only this acceptance, but also speaks of domestic violence as commonplace.

> *these days you go to a party you sleep with someone the next day they're like "oh shit I've slept with him I've got a chap if he finds out he's gonna batter me"...so they scream rape"...so then the chap don't blame the woman he blames the other lad and that other lad is innocent (ln. 154-148)*

In this excerpt, Adam is speaking in generalities about women lying about being unfaithful for fear of physical abuse, or "battering." "Screaming rape" is a way in which they might avoid this. Interestingly, Adam speaks about this accused "mate" as if he were the only victim in the scenario. Indeed, if a woman falsely accused a man of rape, the man would certainly be the wronged party. However, false allegations make up less than 5% of reported rapes in the UK (Crown Prosecution Service, 2013) and are largely encountered in the same proportions as false allegations of other types of crimes (Burt, 1998). Adam not only appears to endorse rape myths, but at least tacitly accepts the commonplace occurrence of domestic violence in relationships.

At the time of his offence, Adam reported having a reputation amongst people in the community for assault, drunkenness, drink driving, theft of motor vehicles, burglaries, shoplifting, and dealing drugs. He cited that having this "reputation" was what he needed to "be a man" (ln. 102). This may be indicative of the environment in which Adam was functioning at the time, and the values propagated by the individuals with which he associating. He reported heavy drug and alcohol use with "neighbourhood lads" coupled with his occupation as a drug dealer.

In one of his final comments, Adam describes the behaviour of men who rape.

don't know like there's some sickos out there who (change voice to do

Impression) *'make me look like a dickhead so fuck you and carry on pin you*

down' but I don't see it as that if they don't' want to do it then they don't

wanna do it (Ln. 199-201)

This seems like an attempt to distance himself from the behaviour(s) of, what could

be interpreted as a "stereotypical" rape scenario; a victim being "pinned down" and

raped by force as a result of angering the offender, or making them "feel like a

dickhead." He counters this impression by imparting his own view. "If they don't

want to do it, they don't want to do it" is likely supposed to mean that he accepts a

refusal of sex at face value. However, he does not give any indication of his own

hypothetical reaction(s) to female refusal whether explicitly stated or implicitly

indicated.

Adam's interview was illustrative of a number of themes, the most apparent

one being that of denial. He denies that his participation in the offence constitutes

rape, and cites the proliferation of women "screaming rape" as a reason for his

conviction and incarceration. His support of this rape myth, the likely influence of an

older peer within the offence as well as in drug taking and dealing behaviours, and his

narrow conception of masculinity are consistent with elements of the male peer

support model and are indicative of his likely mindset at the time of the offence.

Participant 2 – "Bob"

Available Demographic and Offence Information

Bob is a 19-year-old Caucasian man who participated in a duo MPR offence

when he was 16. His co-defendant was an 18-year-old acquaintance, with whom he

still corresponds in prison and is "close". The victim was the underage younger sister

(exact age unknown) of a mutual friend, who was absent during the offence. After

drinking and smoking marijuana, they took turns raping the victim vaginally in the home of Bob's co-defendant. Both were convicted on the basis of witness testimony and DNA evidence. Bob denies the offence was rape.

Interview Presentation/Behaviours

Bob was tall and imposing in appearance. He has been diagnosed with Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder, but presented as very calm and relaxed throughout the majority of the interview. Bob was soft-spoken, with a deep and resonating voice. He became slightly agitated in tone when asked about the specifics of his offence, insisting, "it didn't happen" (Ln. 197) and refused to comment further on his involvement.

Major Themes

Change in Behaviour

One of the themes to emerge from Bob's interview was that of a very distinct shift in behaviours occurring as a direct result of a change in male friendship groups. He reported a change in social group when he started college. Bob said that he started doing more antisocial things with these friends such as

> *…goin' out eggin' if we're just doin' random stealin' people's bikes just depends on what we're doin' like drivin' motorbikes down the road smokin' weed outside someone's front garden they get annoyed about that (Ln 42-44)*

Although he claimed that he did not begin to realise it at the time, he reported that his mother noticed a change and told him

> *you're not being Bob anymore I want the old Bob back you're being nasty (Ln. 112)*

Bob reflected not only on how the group affected his behaviours, but his change in manner of dress and speech as well.

> *when I was a skater I used to wear like skinny jeans, dockers Etnies, Panda,*
>
> *and all of a sudden I went into Airmax, Prada, Armani and that kind of stuff*
>
> *expensive stuff and I wasn't really a flashy you know…I'd rather just be*
>
> *myself and comfortable in what I was wearing (Ln 120-123)*

It seems as if Bob was trying to be something he wasn't with this new group of friends in order to fit in, or get respect. This is consistent with research regarding juvenile male peer groups, delinquency, and behavioural change (Haynie & Osgood, 2005; McGloin & Stickle, 2011). This is supportive of the notion that it may not be a meeting of like-minded antisocial individuals, but rather a shift in beliefs and/or values as a result of group influence. Seeing these individuals on a structured and regular basis (for Bob, it was college) might have helped to promote their importance in his mind as a group to which he would like to be a part.

Domestic Violence

Bob elaborated also on his experiences with domestic violence and how he thought it affected his attitudes.

> *when you're young you think it's okay you think that's the way forward know*
>
> *what I mean you think oh he's doin' it so should I, but you have to have a*
>
> *mind of your own these days and it's not right it's not right to get drunk and*
>
> *then take it out on kids your brothers your sisters your mother. It's not right*
>
> *(Ln 191-294)*

While not necessarily about peer support, Bob took care to emphasise the normalisation and almost encouragement he felt growing up in the presence of abuse against women. "These days" could indicate a value shift as a result of his incarceration for rape, or the experience and perspective that comes with age and hindsight.

Bob endorsed a number of dimensions inherent in male peer support theory, including notions of normalisation of domestic violence and evidence of personal and behavioural changes as a direct result of a shift in peer associations. His responses indicate that, at the time of the offence, he was heavily under the influence of this antisocial group, and was likely very suggestible given the lengths to which he was willing to go to fit in and be accepted.

Participant 3 – "Paul"

Available Demographic and Offence Information

Paul is an Afro-Caribbean man aged 19 who participated in a duo MPR offence when he was 17. At the time of the offence, he was a well-known gang member, as were several other members of his family. His co-defendant was a 19-year-old friend visiting from the United States, who was instrumental in procuring the victim, a "friend" via text messaging. The co-defendant had previously been active in the gang before moving. The victim met up with Paul and the co-defendant, where she was raped vaginally and orally, whilst being threatened by Paul's dog, a black Staffordshire terrier, which was set upon her during the course of the offence. Both were convicted on the basis of DNA evidence and physical evidence. Paul claims the victim "knew what was going to happen" and indicated the sex was consensual.

Interview Presentation/Behaviours

Before conducting the interview, prison staff reported that, although not formally diagnosed, Paul was given to "paranoia" and had been diagnosed with Generalised Anxiety Disorder. Although dimensions of this were apparent within the content of the interview, Paul slouched pronouncedly in his chair throughout the interview, and seemed indifferent to the interview topics and probes. He seemed very arrogant, and was quick to inform the interviewer of his status as a high-level gang

member, citing his past home ownership and past possession of large amounts of money as a result of his "position." There is no evidence from his case file to support these claims. Instead, it was reported that he was a fairly "mid-level" gang member, and his status was gained mostly through that of his male family members, who were far more influential in drugs trafficking, neighbourhood violence, and intimidation. His desire to be seen as dangerous or intimidating could explain the marked and intense eye contact he gave throughout the interview process. Once the interview began, it was fairly obvious that Paul was attempting to promote a certain image of himself to the interviewer, and as much care as possible was taken in delivering the interview protocol to avoid any indication of question intent.

Major Themes

Gang Affiliation

Paul was very vocal about his position in a dangerous street gang.

I'm a top member of a street gang and obviously there are people that are younger than me and obviously I make a lot of money but they have to impress me they feel they have to impress me because to get my respect that's something very powerful for them for gang members…so it's a challenging kind of... people need that kind of…boost (Ln 44-51)

Despite the likely fabrication in Paul's responses, it is important to place his offence within the context of the street gang environment. Sexual prowess, both within consensual and non-consensual encounters is a valuable commodity for members of street gangs to gain "respect," "ratings," and "status" within the gang community (Beckett, et. al, 2013; Harding, 2014). Although, the other interviewees might have felt a similar pressure or value placed on sex acts in the eyes of the peer group, Paul's experience with duo rape might differ in intensity in that he was a member of a more

formalised street gang with a very rigid and specific structure. There was an explicitly stated expectation for him to behave in a certain way. Paul was not only at risk from outside rival gang members, but from the possibility of losing his position in if he failed to comply not only with gang, but also with familial expectations.

In considering the definition of MPR (Horvath & Kelly, 2009), Paul's offence comes under both "duo" and "gang"-related rape subtypes. Paul's connection to the gang and the importance he appeared to place on this membership was apparent throughout the interview.

people want to impress someone you see…like…in the world of street life if you grow up on the streets you understand because…everyone in the streets nowadays has a older or a younger…its just confusing…never ever be down classed in that level but people…wanna be their olders they look up to their olders like their fathers…cause they didn't have a father when they were younger they have to prove their ability basically who they are…(Ln 257-264)

Despite the differences between Paul and the other participants, it appears from his reflections that there exists a hierarchy with "olders" and "youngers." These labels are fairly commonplace within the literature on serious group offending and are not necessarily indicative of age, but rather, of ranking within the gang (Beckett et. al, 2013). They aspire to be like those who are above them in ranking, and maintain and/or elevate their status by engaging in activities the gang values. Again, this is more explicit and structured in a street gang than a less formally structured male peer group. The difference seems to be in the overt expectation of antisocial criminal behaviour(s) that is not as readily apparent without the gang-affiliation. Paul cites the absence of fathers as a justification for the mentality of gang members "looking up" to their "olders" seeking approval. The absence of positive male role models in the

lives of gang members is well-documented (Cloward & Ohlin, 2013), and the possibility that these young men see older gangs members in that light is widely reported (Alleyne & Wood, 2010; Centre for Social Justice, 2009; Cloward & Ohlin, 2013).

Treatment of and Attitudes Towards Women

When he was not speaking specifically about peer groups in relation to the gang, Paul talked about his inability to speak about women with other men.

obviously it's a thing where I can't really you can't really talk to the same sex about certain people…'cause they'll just break your hopes (Ln 269-271)

When asked to elaborate on "break your hopes," Paul explained that if he were to mention a girl in whom he was interested, his peers would immediately start "slandering" her and ruin his perception of her as someone of "good reputation." This disillusionment or suspicion of women, bolstered by this type peer support, may have contributed to his later participation in the offence.

The overarching theme of Paul's interview that affected his responses seemed to be his gang-involvement. Although this perspective provided a different view of male peer support, there was evidence to suggest just how strongly MPS operates in a group with exaggerated and explicit hierarchies.

Participant 4 – "Henry" and Participant 5 – "Chris"

Henry and Chris are presented here together because they are co-defendants currently residing in the same prison. Their interviews were very similar in that they were in the same male peer group and working at the same nightclub at the time of their offence, however each young man was interviewed separately.

Available Demographic and Offence Information

At the time of the interviews, Henry and Chris had recently been transferred to the prison-- that week-- and were interviewed one after the other. They were aged 17 at the time of the offence, and 18 years of age at interview. Henry and Chris both reported being friends for approximately 10 years and went to primary school together. The victim was a 16-year-old mutual acquaintance. After attending a New Year's Eve Party at the nightclub where they both worked. They raped her vaginally and orally at a Henry's home.

Interview Presentation/Behaviours

These two interviews were conducted on the day they arrived at the prison. This presented some further ethical dilemmas apart from those reported in the above ethics section (7.4). The researcher was told this information about 10 minutes before they arrived, and a decision was made to at least introduce them to the study and the possibility of their participation. They were made aware that the researcher knew of their very recent transfer and the implications of settling into a new environment etc. Both men were receptive to this and were amenable to participating. Despite repeated assurances that they could withdraw participation at any time, both continued to answer questions, despite presenting as nervous and impatient throughout.

Major Themes for Chris and Henry

Group Influence

Chris spent most of his interview talking about the influence of male groups on individual behaviour

> *I like being in a group bein' with me mates but you get into trouble sometimes*
>
> *because somebody'll say we'll do this and…they'll just start eggin' each other*
>
> *on to like cause trouble…it's not pressure but it's like you're a bit boring if*
>
> *you don't do something… like nobody likes a sensible guy well they do like*

> *him but like the sensible guy in the group's a bit boring like…so you don't*
>
> *want to be him (Ln 85- 92)*

In this excerpt, Chris talks about the enjoyment he gets out of being with male friends, but highlights the danger of behaviour escalation. "Egging each other on" is a phenomenon that has been highlighted in the literature on group crime dynamics (e.g. DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, Sanday, 1990, Warr, 1996; Warr, 2002) and has been implicated in the escalation of violence in MPR offences (Woodhams, Gillet & Grant, 2007).

Henry echoed Chris's sentiments at various points in the interview

> *…if we wanted to do anything like we'd all do it you know what I'm sayin*
>
> *none of us would like be 'oh I can't go doin that' (Ln 22)…you can be easily*
>
> *influenced by one of your friends or you could just be like acting a goat like*
>
> *you know just trying to just mess about in front of em. (Ln 87-89)*

Both participants cited not only their own inclination to go along with the group and their activities, but the idea of expectation. The peer group all did things together, and those who might not want to take part could be deemed "sensible" or "boring." The denigration of the "sensible" person serves to glorify those that are less so, those that "act a goat" and "mess about." This glorification could be very damaging to individuals who are being "egged on" to do antisocial or dangerous things to themselves, others or property.

Blaming Each Other

Both participants were asked about the influence their co-defendant may have had on their participation in the offence. Henry said of Chris, "*if he weren't there it wouldn't have happened cause he were with the girl (Ln 99-100)".*

Chris blamed Henry, stating

I met up with her and I didn't I didn't want nothing to do with her I was

just making sure she were alright and I went round to his house and they

started doing stuff so I ended up…I ended up like bein influenced by him

really…well a little bit anyway he probably said I influenced him. (Ln 146-

150)

These participants were friends from childhood, and Chris's assertion that Henry

likely blamed him might indicate his perceived knowledge about the way(s) in which

Henry thinks. This could also indicate a tacit acknowledgement by Chris that he was

indeed the initiator.

Within the offence, Chris described the dynamic that existed between them

when the offence was occurring. He said, *it's like yea it were a bit like showing off in*

front of each other (Ln 53). He avoided any commentary on how, what, or why they

were showing off in this manner for each other. Displays of heterosexual prowess

have been suggested as another example of "cultural capital" in street gangs (Harding,

2013) but also in fraternity groups (Hearn, 2004; Humphries & Kahn, 2000; Sanday,

1990), despite that such displays can often seem to be voyeuristically homoerotic in

nature (Franklin, 2004). The abhorrence of anything "gay" or "weak" seems at odds

with this visible display for the viewing approval if not pleasure of a male peer.

Both Henry and Chris present an interesting dynamic that sets them apart from

the other participants in the study in that they were co-defendants, residing in the

same prison with little treatment experience. It would have been interesting to conduct

interviews with similar other participant co-defendants in addition to Henry and Chris

so that in each case, it would be possible to compare and contrast their experiences

with MPR.

These small case analyses represent a snapshot of the major topics upon which participants seemed to focus in their individual interviews based on the information (albeit limited) that was available for release by the prison. They have all participated in duo MPR offences and related many of the same phenomena, but the men differed contextually when they related their experiences and views. For example, Paul talks of male group dynamics, but his experiences come from a gang-dominated environment, about which he spoke at length. This is in contrast to someone like Bob, who reported a distinct shift in behaviours when changing social groups. Providing individual offence and background information serves to situate the participants in the context of the overall thematic analysis presented below.

Overall themes from MPR Offender Interviews

I. Group influence

 a. Change in friendship group from pro to anti-social

 b. Alcohol and substance Use

 c. Respect and how to get it

  - Antisocial Behaviours

II. Attitudes toward and treatment of women

 a. Women as the "Other" and objectification

 b. Trivialisation of sex

 c. Domestic violence

III. The Offence: Why it occurred

 a. Externalisation of Blame

 b. Contributions of Peer Influence

Change in friendship group from Pro to Anti-Social

Participants all spoke of varying friendship groups, but included in each interview was a reported shift in their peer relationships at or around the time of the offence. They reported associating with friends who were involved in organised activities such as skateboarding sponsorships and kickboxing leagues. These peers were replaced by other individuals, engaged in less structured, more antisocial behaviours such as street fighting, selling/taking drugs, and destruction of property. With these new peers, interviewees reported changes in their individual behaviours and outlooks. Bob explained the process.

> *with my old friends I wouldn't have bothered people I just get on to do what I'm doing…I used to skate* (skateboard) *in R. with my friends and they were sponsored as well…we used to skate every day…and then when I went with my other friends when I went to college…I started bein a boys' boy…I wasn't a boys' boy before… (Ln. 57-66)*

This is consistent with findings that individuals who associate with delinquent peers in unstructured social activities are more likely to become delinquent themselves (Haynie & Osgood, 2005; McGloin & Shermer, 2009; McGloin & Stickle, 2011; Weerman, 2011). Indeed, the notion of negative peer influence was readily apparent in the interviews, and was implicated as a precursor to future illegal activities. Bob was asked to elaborate on what being a "boys' boy" meant.

> *a boy that would rather spend time with his friends than his girlfriend…that would rather introduce his girlfriend to his friends than his family… his family's actions like say they said they didn't like her wouldn't count unless the boys said it (Ln. 72-75).*

Although this participant did not explicitly state that he was in a formalized street gang, the relegation of his family as second to the 'boys' is similar in nature to the familial-type groups reported to exist amongst gang members (Harris, Turner, Garrett & Atkinson. 2011; Haynie & Osgood, 2005; Klein & Maxson, 2006). There also is a specific terminology associated with his membership in the group. This term "boys' boy is also indicative of the elevated level of influence exerted by the group on this individual, that the "boys" claim a sort of ownership over him. The above quotes seem to indicate an individual value shift by the participant. At least on the surface, he was changed by what he perceived to be the values espoused by the group. As mentioned previously, there is an ongoing dialogue about male peer support and whether or not like-minded individuals are attracted to one another, or whether the group can change the perceptions and beliefs of the members (Boswell & Spade, 1996; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013; Sanday, 1990). Bob seems to indicate that he was changed in this way, and that this led to anti-social types of behaviours.

Participant reports of shifts in their peer group associations appear to be influential in their later offending. They reported that they were doing well, until they began to associate with more delinquent peers. Even though these interview responses are best taken with the idea of participants' likely motivation for positive self-presentation, there is likely some element of truth in their reports of contrasting experiences with differing peer groups. This supports the notion that some groups of men are more likely than others to participate in misogynist male peer support, a notion also supported by those participants in the sports study (i.e. Boswell & Spade, 1996; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 2013; Humphrey & Kahn, 200). In a broader sense, this could be construed as a victory in the debate between social learning theory (Akers, 1973) and that of self-control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) in explaining the

antecedents of crime. Indeed, Male Peer Support Theory is essentially a theory based upon the tenets of social learning theory in its complete reliance on the peer group, to change individual normative views, either fundamentally or on the surface. It appears that the above excerpt demonstrates the power of the group to change behaviour.

Alcohol and Substance Use

At the beginning of each interview, participants were asked about their male peer groups and what sorts of things they did together. Alcohol and was reported in every interview as an initial and major component of peer group interaction, as well as drugs. Two participants reported selling and distributing marijuana, methamphetamine, and cocaine, while others spoke only of personal use. However, alcohol remained the main source of intoxication and was seen by the men as playing a vital role in their peer interactions.

Chris said of the role of alcohol on peer influence.

> *alcohol is…a big impact on it cause, if somebody eggs you on while you have while you been drinking you there's more chance of you like sayin' yes to it…like if somebody said something stupid to me like jump in the canal and I and I were sober I would say* (unclear)(laughter) *but if I were drunk I might I might consider it you know what I mean…(Ln. 126-132)*

This reaction is unsurprising given that male group interactions in both studies 2 and 3 seem to centre around a pub-type atmosphere or alcohol is integrated into other activities such as after a sports match. Drinking and the weakening of self-control/self-regulation are heavily implicated in not only sexual assault, but also other antisocial and illegal activities for both men and women (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013; Horvath & Brown, 2007; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Sanday, 1990). Alcohol is an

important component to note not only within this study, but study 2 as well. Participants cite alcohol in addition to the group dynamic as a significant contributor to their loss of self-control, and likely loss of self-regulation.

The sale and use of drugs was also mentioned as a commonplace occurrence amongst participants

> *we used to…go out with a bit of music in his mum's car and used to do all the deals…selling coke and weed to the local lads… just 50/50 down the middle used to just go around both of us taking to drugs and just going around selling…and we used to chat (Adam, Ln. 121-126)*

In this excerpt, Adam admits both to using drugs at the same time as selling them in the community. His comfort speaking about this as well as the implied social nature of dealing seemed to appeal to him, and he spoke about these times in a sort of nostalgic manner.

The above demonstrate not only the importance of substance use as an aid to peer influence, but the commonplace nature and importance of substances in social interactions for these men.

Respect and How to Get It

Participants elaborated on the importance of "respect" within their groups. This was heavily dependent upon fear from other members and the community at large. Group approval/admiration, its purpose, how it was achieved, and what it meant for these men to be "respected" was explored further in the interviews and is analogous to the hierarchical structures reported in the sports study.

> *they let out their emotions let out their true colours when you're by yourself…when people are around certain people, some…act the same but some people like to show off a different side of them…sometimes a ballsy side*

and sometimes they have to impress this person…if I look scared in myself and

I show that, that person will say I'm weak so I have to show stronger side to

my personality than what you are really…so it's a thing where it's a it's a

challenge in life but when you're by yourself you got your own time to relax

and unwind (Paul, Ln. 32-40)

Interviewees reported a great deal of competition amongst men in certain of their peer groups as well as extensive personal levels of stress. This is consistent with research into "high risk" and "low risk" male groups (i.e. Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAulson, 1996; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss & Gaines, 1993). Adam elaborated on the importance of reputation

if…people think you're getting taken for a dickhead…as soon as one person

takes you for a dickhead it's just like…a chain reaction… it means you're

moist... it means you're an idiot practically it means you're a fool (Ln. 155-

164)

Although this analysis is largely thematic, it is worth highlighting the very gendered term "dickhead" and its usage as it might be interpreted through a discursive lens. Literally, this would mean the individual might have a "dick" in place of his head, which, would tend to make one look like the fool or idiot mentioned in the excerpt. The use of the phallic term to mock the individual might not only mock them in a literal sense, but reduce his masculinity to nothing but a farce. When defining "dickhead," Adam synonymises it using "moist." Although not overtly sexual, the idea of something being moist brings up images of limp, wet, soft, or weak things, in direct contrast rigid erect phallic image generally associated with masculinity and male virility (Bordieu, 2001; Sanday, 1990). This could also be interpreted as an

insult to male virility, commonly associated with unyielding strength and unfortunately, violence (Bowker, 1998).

Offenders reported an atmosphere of coercion and fear as a result of this competition and a perceived need to keep a reputation in the eyes of the group, exacerbated by substance use, which was reported as a universal feature of the homosocial interactions of these men. Fear of being seen as "boring," "feeling like a dickhead," and general threats to masculinity and sense of self-worth were identified by participants and underscore the importance of peer opinion and interaction in shaping their identity as a member of an all male group.

Antisocial Behaviours. Embedded within the interviews were references towards antisocial behaviours not entirely dissimilar to those reported in the sports study. These behaviours were how one got respect within the group, and are not too dissimilar in intent to those initiation rituals or challenges reported in study 2. However, the offender sample distinguished themselves from the sportsmen by reporting more serious criminal offences in which they participated with male peer groups. Burglaries, assault, destruction of property, and selling drugs were all described as occurring under the influence of male peers. When asked about the influence of his male peer group, Adam stated,

> *I was act all bad in front of em and when I'm by myself I was a quiet lad…*
> *(Ln. 36-37)*

He was asked to elaborate on what "act bad" meant and described

> *going around picking fights doing damage to people…house burglaries and*
> *everything like that. (Ln. 39-40).*

There is a marked contrast between his claim of being a "quiet lad" and then participating in fights and burglaries with the other men in his peer group.

Offender Perspectives on Attitudes Towards and Treatment of Women

With regards to women and their treatment, both by these individuals and amongst their male peers, the men reported not only a trivialising attitude towards sexual activity, but also a contradicting viewpoint of how women should be treated. Figure 7 shows the various perspectives offered by participants in their experiences with female interaction. Participants reported that they treated women well, but later would contradict these claims when reporting past behaviours as well as those of their male peers. Women were seen as "the other," and objectified in the peer groups of these men. Further, they reported sex and domestic violence as commonplace and often co-occurring.

Figure 7. Offender Perspectives on Attitudes/Behaviours Towards Women

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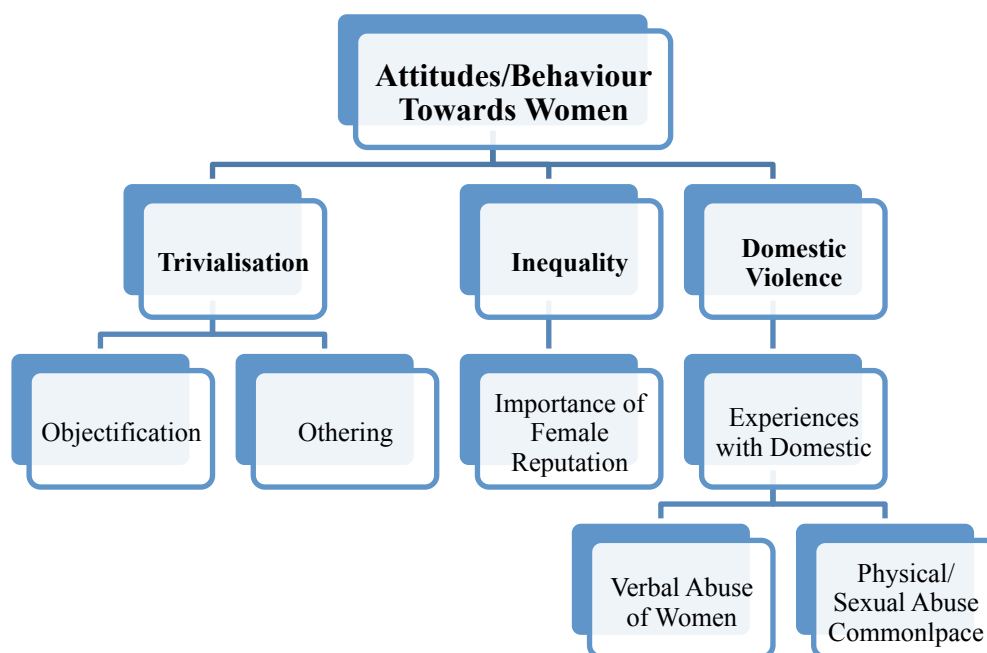
Women as "other" and Objectification. This was included as a subordinate theme in and of itself in this study due to the number of instances participants referred to women in a sense of being a separate, and an unequal counterpart to their masculine peer groups. Interviewees compared and contrasted male and female group interactions, at times relying upon stereotypical gender roles in their explanations.

when you're a man, obviously girls have different ways of interacting they'll

gossip they'll go out like together shoppin' and all that kind of stuff (I: yeah)

men they'll just swear at each other play around play fight have a joke have a

laugh just tell stuff about like yeah they will speak about girls (Bob, Ln 302-

305).

Participants also spoke about instances of verbal and physical abuse in which they had participated or had witnessed. Bob stated,

she started getting lippy to like a proper serious level then everyone would just

start going off at her and if you're her boyfriend you either drop that or leave

(Ln. 257-261).

Again, the use of "that" in referring to a woman, particularly a girlfriend, is indicative of the level to which, for these participants, females are objectified and the rapidity with which they are dismissed or disposed of. For this participant, "Going off" at a woman for getting "lippy" occurred when a woman was vocal or challenging about something said in the male peer group. "Going off" at her, means insulting her until she no longer poses a challenge. This type of behaviour could be construed as the woman threatening the authority or masculinity of the male group member. He feels he must defend his masculinity in front of the group. She must be degraded in order that she is reminded of her status. For this participant, his peer environment is one where women are treated as second-class citizens, rape myths about female subservience are endorsed, and verbal abuse is tolerated and encouraged.

if that girl acted up or done something wrong to provoke that person then

obviously it was dealt with straightaway…if they said 'shut up' or something

and then that person was trigger in their mind what they did…slandered off

the whole estate…they were getting called all sorts of names…Paul, (Ln. 100-

105)

Paul, a gang member from a violent housing estate describes the importance of a woman's reputation, both sexually and behaviourally in his neighbourhood. If a woman was known for having sex with a variety of partners, she was fodder for gossip. If she was disobedient or challenging to the other men in the neighbourhood, she could be bullied to the extent to which she could no longer live in that area. Other men in the study reported similar situations in their neighbourhoods as well.

This theme could serve to illustrate individual and/or peer group acceptance of verbal abuse of women, who dared challenge the patriarchal authority of the men in their lives. This is important in that it highlights the apparent solidarity felt by men in certain peer groups, that women can be "slandered" to such an extent they have to leave their homes. Participants spoke of these events as if they were a natural occurrence. This discussion of the treatment of women led interviewees naturally into speaking about more extreme forms of abuse and incidences of domestic violence.

Trivialization of Sex and Domestic Violence. Interviewees described scenarios in which domestic violence was tolerated and reported extensive experience of witnessing such violence on a regular basis. Bob said of an acquaintance

when I was in London (unclear) *when he's not got good control of his anger*

(laughs) *that woman's his personal beat post if you want to put it that way I've*

seen it first-hand. I know…It happened in my family before (Ln. 284-288)

The link between childhood exposure to domestic violence and later commission of intimate partner violence has been well documented (Carr & Van Deusen, 2002; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Kalmuss, 1984; Lichter & McCLoskey, 2004; Stith, Rosen, Middleton, Busch, Lundeberg, & Carlton, 2000). Indeed, exposure to domestic

violence in childhood is significantly associated with an elevated risk for gendered

beliefs and domestic violence in adolescent dating relationships (Lichter &

McCLoskey, 2004). Given that, it is likely that these offenders are accustomed to

seeing and hearing about violence against both men and women, and that it is an

accepted part of their daily lives.

Offenders who were interviewed talked mostly of casual sexual encounters

that were later reported to their peer group(s). Bob explained the manner in which

these conversations might occur.

> *say if they have sex with a girl and say it's…a 'dead beat' that means that the*
>
> *sex was shit…they'll tell each other the sex was shit…and they'll just go*
>
> *through all the boys and all the boys then will think I don't really wanna beat*
>
> *that (Ln. 305-308).*

Referring to the woman (or her genitalia) as "that" solidifies her status as an object in

the minds of these men, only useful for sex, and the sex was not even enjoyable. The

dismissal of a woman on the basis of her perceived sexual abilities emphasizes the

triviality of the sexual act amongst these men and the level to which sexual

objectification is tolerated, even encouraged within the peer group. The use of

terminology such as "beat that" is alarming in its overt objectification and the

acceptability of violence, but could also serve to demonstrate an established

association between sex and violence in the minds of some offenders. Participants

reported witnessing violence within romantic relationships in conjunction with

objectification and degradation of women and sex. Although they reported these

experiences, offenders seemed not to associate them with their offending behaviour.

They reported domestic violence and objectification/trivialisation casually, and did

not seem to make any connection between the two, their own mindset, and their

ultimate participation in MPR. This is consistent with the literature linking childhood exposure to domestic abuse with future delinquency (For Meta-Analysis, see Holt, Buckley & Whelan, 2008).

Trivialisation of sex, and normalization of violence is an inherent part the macro-level sociological reality suggested by DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1997: 2013) in the Modified Male Peer Support Model. If the peer support is for behaviours that are commonplace or accepted in the wider society, there is little reason for individuals to experience distress at engaging in it.

The Offence: Why it Occurred

Interviewees were asked about the events surrounding the MPR offence for which they were convicted, how the offence progressed, and additional probing items. Overall, they were able to describe in some detail the events preceding the rape, but as they got closer to the event, the offenders became vague, and instead of describing the offence itself, proceeded to distance themselves from it and/or minimise their participation or guilt. This is unsurprising given that information about their specific offence was anticipated to be the most uncomfortable topic for participants in the interview protocol.

Figure 8. Offender Reflections on Offence
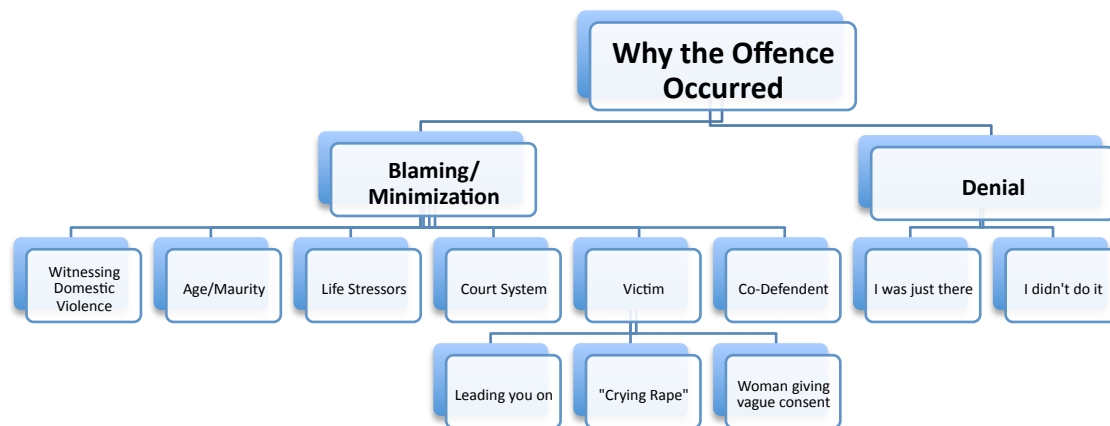
Externalization of blame/Minimization of offence/ Distancing/Othering. There were numerous examples of offender minimisation and distancing themselves from the offence, either explicitly blaming others or through vague generalisation of their behaviour. Blaiming co-defendents was and vague references to their behaviour were most common.

 Although Adam's perspective on his offence was discussed in the earlier case outlines, he was the most willing to discuss his perspectives on his offence and Adam was vague about the offence, but also reported,

> *basically we was all drunk and then permission got put across so I was double checking and everything like that and then the next day or the day after yeah I think it was 2 days after the old bill came to and arrested me for rape (Ln. 85-87).*

He was probed further about how permission was "put across," but was unwilling to describe exactly what happened. It is through this vagueness that participants distanced themselves from the behaviours for which they were convicted. There appears to be in the above statements a "vocabulary of adjustment" (Kanin, 1967).

That is, they are using language and distancing to adjust to their status as sex offenders or being incarcerated. Although Kanin's work is dated, this concept applies to much of the language used in the interviews both in this as well as the sports study. It is not only the finding that negative male peer support is occurring, but the way in which male groups speak about woman abuse that could be related to the "adjustment" of the ways in which their actions are perceived, both to the outside world (the interviewer) as well as personally. This is consistent with a want or a need to preserve the idea of themselves as "normal, respectable men" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 56).

In a similar vein, Adam denied his offence, describing his perspective on consensual sex.

> *"if they weren't comfortable I wouldn't do it" (Ln. 90).*

He went on to explain why he thinks that men are convicted of rape "these days"

> *you go to a party… sleep with someone the next day they're like 'oh shit I've slept with him I've got a chap* (boyfriend) *if he finds out he's gonna batter me'… so they scream rape so then the chap don't blame the woman he blames the other lad and that other lad is innocent… my mate he got found not guilty on it because they found texts on his phone of the girl telling would you like to come round for…another shag and…he…kept sleeping with her…she was sleeping with another 4 or 5 people…her dad found out she slept with him and she didn't want her dad knowing she was a slag…so she screamed rape. (Ln. 145-153)*

This participant not only endorsed the rape myth that women regularly "scream rape," but casually mentioned domestic violence within what he perceives as a commonplace scenario. Such beliefs have been associated with an elevated likelihood

for individuals to commit woman abuse or at least accept it as a common occurrence (Burt, 1980; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997; 2013; Sanday, 1990).

Adam goes on to say

> *Most women in the UK are doing it now, there are loads of people getting arrested for it now and sometimes it is the people that have done it get away with it (Ln. 153-155)*

The idea that "crying rape" is not only common in the offender's immediate environment, but is occurring all over the country serves to underscore previous anecdotes and suggests a mistrust of women particularly within the context of sexual encounters. With such perceptions, women are easily viewed as the "other," when false rape allegations reported to police actually account for only about 5% of all rape cases per year in the UK (Crown Prosecution Service, 2013). Indeed, Burt (1980) reports that "crying rape" is one of the most common rape myths espoused by men, indicating the desire to falsify rape claims possibly in order to hide sexual conduct or an unwanted pregnancy from family and friends

> Henry implicates a number of other things in his offence participation.
>
> *…probably cause I've had a few drinks…and alcohol has an effect on ya and like (unclear) I were still quite young…I was 17 when me offence happened…so when you're young you don't really think things through…you just spur of the moment thing innit and you don't really realise until (unclear)…if he* (the co-defendant) *weren't there it wouldn't have happened cause he were with the girl (Henry, Ln. 93-100)*

The above quote illustrates a variety of justifications for the occurrence of the offence. Henry not only blames his co-defendant, but also implicates his age at the time, and influence of alcohol.

Henry and Chris were co-defendants for the same offence

> *...work finished and that then he met the girl and I invited them round to my*
>
> *house and just yeah (Participant 4, Ln. 79-80).*
>
> *...and I got a phone call she was saying that she wanted to meet up and that*
>
> *and she was sayin oh I'm scared so I ran up I met her and that's what*
>
> *happened (Chris, Ln. 51-52)*

The co-defendants were extremely reticent to talk about the actions that went on or their specific role in the rape. They were new to the prison, having recently been transferred a day before, and looked more uncomfortable than the other 3 interviewees. They may have been less accustomed to speaking about their offence, did not have the words to describe it, or a plethora of other reasons. Although this is not a discourse analysis, it is worth mentioning that Chris was quite defensively aggressive in his response about offence specifics. Both offenders' interviews were cut short as they were visibly uncomfortable and, as a result, the researcher was uneasy about being locked in a room with them.

Denial. Adam, Bob, and Paul denied that their offences were rape. Approximately two-thirds of sex offenders are unwilling to admit that they have committed a crime (Haywood, Grossman, & Hardy, 1993; Marshall, 1994) shown in the earlier case summaries, Adam was quite vocal in his assertion that the sex was consensual and emphasised the propensity for women to falsely allege rape. Although less willing to speak of his offence, Paul reported that "*anyone can get just talk lies* (Ln. 208)," referring to the victim in his offence and her reporting to the police.

Denial has long been associated with recidivism amongst sex offenders (Nunes, Hanson, Firestone, Moulden, Greenberg, & Bradford, 2007). The denial of

participants in this study could change with further engagement in treatment while incarcerated, hopefully lessening the possibility that they will re-offend.

7.6 Discussion

The interviews yielded a variety of interesting findings, not only about the existence of negative male peer support, but offender perceptions of peer influence and how it affected participation in their index MPR offence. Participants were asked about their peer group interactions and what they did together. They reported a number of activities ranging from playing Xbox and team sports to drinking and drug use. They gave the overall impression that the peer groups consisted of individuals already engaged in antisocial behaviours such as drug dealing and general disturbances of the peace.

The men reported not only trivialising attitudes towards sexual activity and related incidences of coercive sexual "pestering" of women, but appear to have normalised psychological and physical abuse of women as well. Expressions such as "beat that" were used by certain participants to indicate sexual intercourse and multiple instances of public verbal abuse of women in front of peers were reported.

Participants provided an oft-contradicting (albeit unsurprising) viewpoint of how women should be treated. In other words, participants reported that they treated women well, but later would contradict these claims when reporting past behaviours as well as those of their male peers. Women "leading you on" and "crying rape" were reported as commonplace and the importance of a woman's "good reputation" (relative sexual innocence) was regarded as essential. Conversely, participants stated that the sexual exploits of their peer groups were reported and related to each other on a regular basis and propagated the notion of women as sexual objects. For these

participants, women represented a group separate from their peer groups, viewed generally as objects, abuse of which would entail no significant consequences.

Participants were asked about their offences and why they believed they participated. Three of the men denied their participation, despite strong evidence to the contrary (as indicated by the case files information read to the researcher) and the resulting conviction. Initially, participant denial may seem like an impediment to the study. However, these offenders were able to provide valuable perspectives on men who might perpetrate such offences despite the debatable veracity of their personal claims of innocence. Their ideas about the type of man who would commit MPR could be indicative of their refusal or inability to see themselves as a figure of societal hostility. The other offenders placed blame solidly on their co-defendants, claiming that they would not have become involved in the offence had it not been for the presence of someone else. Certain offenders also blamed the victim, who "lead me on," or an unfair court system for their conviction. This externalisation of blame is concerning, but the level to which the men had received treatment was unknown. Thus, their ability to assume responsibility cannot be assessed, nor was it possible given the parameters of the study and the accompanying restrictions placed on the participants and researcher by the prison and authorities involved.

Figure 9. Amended Integrated Self-Regulation Male Peer Support Model
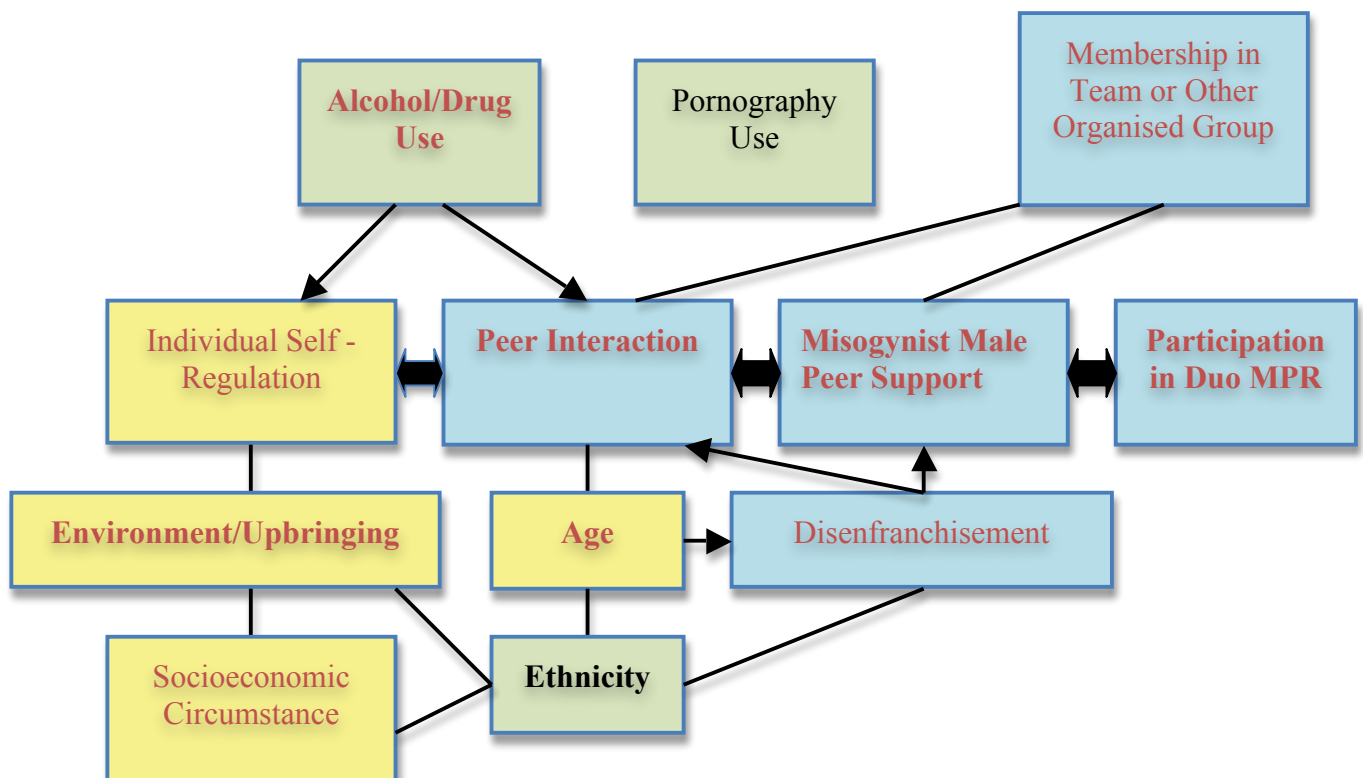
Note: Elements supported by findings are shown in red, and those shown to have strong support bolded.

7.7 Applying the Findings to the Model

In looking at the proposed model, it is unfortunate that self-regulation could not be assessed, as participant responses touched on many other aspects in the model. Participants spoke about upbringing, disenfranchisement, alcohol/drug use, and misogyny, both within their peer groups and without. The men implicated their peer interactions as influential not only in their offence participation, but taking part in other antisocial activities such as drug dealing, gang activity, and destruction of property. Although there was only one participant who was a member of a highly organised street gang, the remaining 4 interviewees reported being involved in close friendship or peer groups who met on a regular basis and maintained some kind of structure.

Findings of this study were very similar to those in chapter 6 with regards to model development. Alcohol was again emphasised as a universal factor present in almost all male peer interactions. In this sample, drug use was reported, but to a lesser extent than was alcohol.

In addition to alcohol and substance use, participants emphasised the role of the casual use of violence, particularly domestic violence in their lives, and the normalisation of which could be a possible factor to consider when looking at environment and upbringing. This portion of the model has now been bolded to reflect the likely significant impact the nature of environment and upbringing has on one's propensity to become involved with and influenced by peer groups that propagate misogyny and the abuse of women. Importantly for the male peer support part of the proposed model, all participants claimed the peer group with which they were involved had some part to play in the events leading up to their participation in a duo MPR.

As in the sports study, pornography was excluded as a factor in the interview protocol for these participants, again for ethical reasons. Given the secure setting, specific focus on offending behaviour, and a lack of prison staff, it was considered to be of vital importance to ensure as much participant and researcher comfort as possible. Inquiry about offender pornographic habits or proclivities was deemed inappropriate for this study. Again, pornography remains in the model due to the empirical evidence suggesting its likely influence (e.g Ferguson & Hartley, 2009; Malamuth, 1985).

7.8 Comparing the Sports and Offender Studies

Mostly due to the timing of access, the offender study was conducted concurrently with that of the sportsmen. Most of the following applies only to the

offenders, but the sports study is mentioned where necessary, and is included in a comparison section towards the end of this chapter. The sports study and offender study were important in that these were the first qualitative inquiries into male peer support and its possible role in MPR. As each sample was given roughly the same interview, comparisons could be made between the men on many of the items discussed.

There were a number of similarities between the two groups, the most important of which was their general endorsement of many of the characteristics of male peer support theory (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995). As with the sport players, offender participants described an atmosphere of normative behaviours for themselves and their peer groups. However, those men in the sports study indicated a more secretive atmosphere around peer environments and those behaviours/beliefs exhibited within. Offenders have already been caught and are currently being punished for their actions. The secrecy of the sportsmen could have resulted from the simple fact that they rarely think of the effect(s) of peer interaction on their individual behaviour(s) within the group and without. This was reported by a number of sportsmen. They might also have been suspicious of the female interviewer and the ultimate subject matter of the study for fear of being labelled a rapist or misogynist.

Sports study interviewees reported a similar atmosphere of hierarchy, competition, mocking, and banter, all of which were echoed by the incarcerated offenders. The use of alcohol was readily apparent in both groups, and seemed universally accepted as an almost compulsory behaviour amongst men in groups. Notions of "having a laugh" and "taking the piss" were used in both studies to describe much of the peer interactions, sometimes encompassing antisocial activities such as public drunkenness and fighting. However, the antisocial behaviours reported

by offenders were more extreme such as breaking and entering, assault, destruction of public property, and serious public nuisance.

Participants in the offender study spoke about peer behaviours and belief systems within the context of wider societal acceptance and personal acceptance outside of the group. An example of this was participants' past experiences with violence, particularly domestic violence against women. Perhaps for the offenders, the commonplace nature of violence and negative treatment of women apart from peer interactions was influential in their ability to accept or at least tolerate the commission of a sexual offence because it is not so far removed from their past experiences, including individuals modelling the behaviour for them at a young age. Participants in both studies reported the importance of group opinion and approval, but those incarcerated individuals reported a stronger likelihood to take group norms and apply them outside of the group, whereas the sportsmen reported more divergence between their behaviours when alone as opposed to within the group. Study 3 offenders continued to engage in antisocial behaviours such as taking/selling drugs etc. without the presence of their male peers.

The importance of assessing male peer support both with an offending and non-offending sample has to do with the nature of men who commit MPR as opposed to those who (to the best of our knowledge) do not. The sports and offender studies served to reveal some similarities that would suggest that the two groups are not necessarily all that different. It seemed as if they engaged in roughly the same behaviours in peer groups, but the offender sample was more extreme. It could be that for them, negative behaviours were more acceptable in the wider community in which they were living, as opposed to the sportsmen, many of whom were older and were able to view their past male peer groups with the benefit of hindsight. It is important

to acknowledge these similarities both in treating MPR offenders after the fact as well as the possibility of developing prevention interventions for men who might place themselves in situations that might result in mistreatment of not just women, but others in general.

Despite similarities in responses, the fact remains that one is a group of incarcerated sex offenders, and the other is not. It is here that self-regulation could come into play. Perhaps the self-regulatory abilities of the sports sample were stronger or more developed than those of the offender participants. Self-regulation assessment has been used exclusively with the offending populations (Yates & Kingston, 2005), but it would have been interesting to test this aspect of the model with the offenders as well as the sports teams in order to assess the role of SRM and offence eventualities.

The sport and offender studies differed methodologically given the setting of the offender interviews and the care afforded to ensuring the appropriate wording of questions. Willig (2008) cites the importance of researcher awareness of what the interview means to the interviewee, and that interviews are conducted in a manner consistent with a participant's "cultural milieu" (p.24). In other words, approach a participant within the context of how they would be most comfortable, and to a certain extent, the language to which they are accustomed. When interviewing the sports sample, this was much easier to achieve, as participants generally selected where they would like to be interviewed, and how (e.g. Skype, face to face, or telephone). The convicted sample however provided considerable challenges to the comfort of both participant and researcher in terms not only of accurate data collection, but of personal safety as well. Participants were unable to dictate any aspect of the interview circumstances, and were under the constraints of the prison

schedule. Little could be done to enhance the comfort of these participants, and it is hoped that their comfort was enhanced by engaging in treatment programs at the prison and being accustomed to speaking about their offences.

The issue of suspicion might also have played a large role in a majority of the interviews in both the samples, as indicated through participant reticence to participate and nervousness, both reported verbally as well as behaviourally (sweating, fidgeting etc.). Another limitation of the method employed within the two studies is that of social desirability. This was apparent more so within the sports study interviews than the offender interviews. Participants in the sports sample were recruited through acquaintances and were aware of the researcher's broad area of study (group sex offences) when they agreed to participate. They were highly motivated to relate their experiences of male peer support in ways that would not reflect poorly upon them in the future. Thus, it is likely that participant reports of their own behaviours and views may not be as factually accurate as their perceptions of others. In contrast, the incarcerated sample seemed to speak much more openly about them.

7.9 Limitations

Research with incarcerated population has inherent limitations, some of which were mentioned above. It was important that this study should have a certain amount of methodological elasticity in most of its components. Arguably, the most important limitations were that of time and access. This study was the last in a series of three, to be conducted as part of a three-year PhD. However, it took one year to secure permission to approach prisons, and another to determine which institutions were willing to help in the research process. Even then, offenders had to consent to participate and actually attend the interview. As they were under no obligation to take

part, there were a few instances of simply not showing up for the interview, or withdrawing after the fact.

Once permissions and consent was finally received, there was the issue of participant/researcher safety. The prison in which the interviews were conducted did not provide the most secure interviewing space for the researcher, resulting in enhanced apprehension and discomfort for her throughout the interview process. The interviews were shorter than expected, and it is likely that this was a contributing factor. There was no staff member present to supervise the participants during their interviews, and very little staff supervision throughout the process of conducting the study.

The prison was unwilling to allow access to participant records, which made it impossible to carry out the self-regulation aspect of the study, and precipitated a partial re-evaluation of the investigation methodology. Instead, offence information was read to the interviewer after completion of the interview.

Despite these and other setbacks, it remains that MPR has not been explored before in this manner, and male peer support has not been examined within the context of MPR. Thus, the findings from this study still provide a valuable contribution to the MPR literature as offenders gave their perspective on male group dynamics and their contribution to the offence for which they were convicted.

Both the sports and offender studies were challenging from a methodological, theoretical, and personal perspective. The number of obstacles faced for each study was daunting, and amendments were designed with difficulty in order to maintain the methodological and theoretical integrity. The following chapter focuses on the reflexive process that was a consistent necessity throughout this PhD in order to maintain a level of objectivity, clarity of purpose, and psychological well-being.

Chapter 8: Reflexivity

This thesis is the culmination of three years of study and research on multiple perpetrator rape (MPR). In those three years, innumerable hours have been spent thinking about the motivations for, and characteristics of perpetrators committing this type of sex offence. This is not my first foray into the subject matter, having previously studied and researched sex offenders, both paedophilic and adult rapists for the purposes of receiving a master's degree. This investigation takes those studies further and into a more specific domain, challenging my practical and analytical abilities exploring a subject matter, which many find to be, frankly repugnant. It is my belief that such reactions are the very reason topics like MPR should be explored more thoroughly. Obviously, the research in this thesis will not eliminate repugnance by the public, nor is that the desired effect. Instead, it is my hope that this research will provide the means for a better-informed reaction to the crimes of MPR offenders. I believe it is through the acquisition and use of new and accurate information that the practical and moral compass of individuals and society at large is questioned and adjusted. I want people to better understand and process the crimes of MPR offenders in order that they might be treated in a punitive manner consistent with the present justice system, but also as human beings, a group to which we all belong.

Despite difficulties inherent in the subject matter, I believe that I am well suited to this type of topic and field of work. I have been studying and working within the field of forensic psychology and particularly sex offences for about 5 years now. I will admit that it has not been easy, but I believe now that I know myself well enough to explore the darker side of the human psyche, while remaining fairly balanced and content in the life I have built with my husband and family. I think that a stable home life and supportive network of friends and family make any type of research and work

easier, but it has been completely essential for me conducting the studies in this thesis.

This chapter chronicles the continuous process of reflexivity necessary in carrying out qualitative research and research in sensitive subject areas such as MPR. Mauthner and Doucet (2003) state that the ability to be reflexive is greatly enhanced by time, distance, and detachment from the doctoral work in which one is engaged. This runs contrary to the timeline of PhD work and the deadlines for submission to which students are held. In other words, hindsight aids in reflexive clarity, and PhD students often do not have this luxury. By acknowledging this however, the researcher becomes cognizant of his or her limitations in writing a thorough account of his or her abilities to remain as subjective as possible (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003).

8.1 Perspective: Looking in from the outside, or looking out from the inside?

In looking at multiple perpetrator rape, it was necessary to engage in almost constant questioning of objectivity. In looking at the insular world of male peer groups and multiple perpetrator rape, there was an interesting dichotomy that emerged for me in the research. In conducting the interview studies, I was experiencing alternating perspectives. The first was of an outsider, maintaining an objective and impassive attitude towards the very alien world of male group dynamics, upon which participants reported rare moments of insight. It was easy in this respect to maintain a very detached attitude not only towards participants, but also towards the subject matter generally. Phillips and Earle (2010) suggest that this "outsider" perspective lessens the risk of a prejudiced or "myopic" (p. 1) view of a phenomenon.

Conversely, I felt like an "insider," at times all too familiar with the behaviours being described to me. Although I can never been a true "insider" in the ethnographic sense (Phillips & Earle, 2011), I was reminded of my own experiences

with male peer groups, misogyny and mistreatment. When interviewees spoke of their

experiences of or participation in misogyny and ill treatment of women, I found

myself not only being unsurprised, but expectant. Given the literature on MPS, male

group dynamics, and my own experiences, I had expected to hear about certain

negative behaviours and dialogues consistent with certain male groups. Far too often,

I have been on the receiving end of catcalls, sexual pestering, explicit propositions,

and inappropriate physical advances that were mirrored by participant responses. In

my attempts at sportsman recruitment, one potential participant told me that he would

participate on the condition that I go to dinner with him. It was in these instances, I

experienced a very negative and stereotypical view of the men I was trying to recruit,

and did consider this attitude when I was finally able to conduct the interviews. I was

very concerned that my general demeanour would be unpleasant or accusatory,

resulting in biased and/or unusable data. At times, I find it very difficult to hide my

emotions, particularly about topics about which I feel particularly strong. Indeed,

when transcribing the audio, I was able to recall certain negative thoughts as a

reaction to participant responses, and I noticed that my general response was to say

"mhm". This seemed to be an effective way of concealing any of my own judgements

whilst encouraging them to keep talking, which they did. I was very conscious of the

impression I felt like I was making on the interviewee, and took great pains to remain

aware of this throughout the interviews.

     Despite my extensive reading on the topic, exploring male group dynamics

and male peer support had never been done in a qualitative study. I was able to

explore this in a very open-ended manner with participants. Although I entered the

interviews with prior knowledge, I am still a woman, and an American conducting

research in Britain. This afforded me a certain practical ignorance that allowed for a

level of freedom in asking questions, clarifying probes, and other items that a male interviewer might have overlooked or assumed.

The intent was to adhere to a neo-positivist-inspired epistemology, where object and subject are strictly delineated and kept separate (England, 1994). The need to be impersonal and neutrally detached from that being studied (Smith, 1988) was made more difficult for me due to my gender and the nature of the crime under scrutiny. However, this handicap was acknowledged early on in the undertaking of the research and every effort was made to disclose any ideas or opinions that might corrupt its undertaking and findings. It is my impression that this affected the participants in study 2 insomuch as they did not feel able to disclose as much information and explicit occurrences with me because I am a woman, and that I was already acquainted with some of them. On one hand this may have hindered the research in that they were made familiar with the topic and had ample time to think about what they were going to say in order to construct a socially desirable/acceptable image of themselves and their peer groups. Certain participants seemed more suspicious and secretive about male peer groups and were, for the most part, very nervous and anxious to conclude the interviews. On the other hand, this prior knowledge of topic and interview intent was reported by some to be beneficial in that it gave them a chance to really reflect on their relationships not only with their own peer groups, but observations about other men with whom they were acquainted. Some participants reported that a major strength of the sports study was that it revealed the extent of male peer influence to the male consciousness by encouraging deeper reflection and thought on individual motivations behind behaviour.

I was expecting a similar dynamic with participants in study 3, only to be surprised by the relative ease at which they spoke about their male peer groups and

friendships. In interviewing these men, I was dropped into a very strange dynamic. If we had not been in a prison, I would have said they were more comfortable to interview than the sportsmen in study 2. It only became difficult when we began to speak about their specific offences. They did not want do go into any detail, even though I was told by prison staff that they were accustomed to speaking frequently about their offences with a group of staff made up almost entirely of women. Although more detailed disclosure would have been preferable, they still related information about their behaviour and attitudes towards women that indicated the likely presence of negative male peer support. I think that the likelihood of male reluctance to disclose information completely resulted in a conservative estimate of the phenomenon, and that the problem of negative male peer support may be more prominent than this research has shown.

During analysis and write-up of both the offender and sports studies, I consulted with all three of my supervisors on multiple occasions about the potential for judgemental or biased interpretations of the data. My supervisory team has substantial experience conducting research in forensic psychology and with MPR in particular. Their perspective was invaluable in suggesting alternative ways of examining and presenting the data in such a way as to demonstrate as much vigour and fastidiousness as possible.

8.2 Study 1

Study 1 was fairly straightforward. In my first year, I endeavoured to learn more about MPR, and a data set was readily available from which I could learn a great deal and hopefully direct the progress of my PhD. The viva/examination process helped a great deal in clarifying my thinking about this first study and to conduct comparisons allowing me to reframe the thesis in light of duo offences, which

provided a much more succinct area of focus from which to consider subsequent data. I think the study might have been stronger had I collected and organised the data myself. I might have taken greater control and "owned" the data more effectively, and completed the study sooner.

8.3 Sports Study

Study 2 presented considerable challenges in maintaining the methodological integrity of the research, while at the same time keeping amendments flexible enough to accommodate participant recruitment problems. More than half of my participants in study 2 knew me before being interviewed. They were familiar with the serious nature of my research topic and why I was interviewing sport team members. This may have had a positive effect on the study, as they may have been more prepared or motivated to tell me about other people they knew about. Conversely, it might have hindered their ability to talk about themselves. Some of them were aware that they were likely to see me again at some point in the future. This may have resulted in a deliberate withholding of information, enhanced propensity for social desirability. Despite this likelihood, the sports men endorsed a number of variables and phenomena inherent in the proposed model.

Suggested study amendments, recruitment difficulties, and participants' apparent reluctance for full disclosure resulted in providing additional support for what I had already thought to exist amongst male peers and what they themselves reported: a subculture that, in certain groups can lead to misogynist male peer support.

I have scoured the interviews, both transcript and audio to ensure that my findings did not result from my dislike of certain participants or the manner in which the questions were delivered, resulting in biased interpretation of the data. Failing my ignorance of any non-conscious influence, I can say with confidence that I was unable

to identify any such problems in the interpretations and excerpts included in the findings.

I also considered the applicability of action research to my investigation, in that I was hoping to at least encourage participant reflection on these topics. Although I will likely never know whether this reflection will lead to action, it is at least a start, for participants in generating self-reflection on the group processes that exist within their own male groups, but male groups in general. It may be that one of the participants in my research will find himself in a situation where negative male peer support is occurring, and if not defying the group, at least reflect on his own suggestibility and belief in the male peer culture that was ubiquitous both in studies 2 and 3.

8.4 Offender Study

Study 3 presented some challenges from the outset. There was a lengthy application process in order to approach prisons. Then, the permission was sought by the governor to ask offenders for their consent, to which they could always refuse. Out of a total of 15 institutions approached, only two agreed to aid in the research. Out of these, only one prison was able to find offenders suitable for the research who were willing to be interviewed. There were points during this process that I became very pessimistic about the study, indeed the entire PhD, and research in general. My previous experiences with approaching prisons were in the United States, where the prisons are approached directly through their respective psychology departments, and prisoners are given incentives for participating in research. I found the English and Welsh system of gaining prison access far too long-winded and difficult. As a result of these difficulties, those participants I had managed to recruit became very valuable and I felt a considerable amount of pressure to conduct and analyse the interviews

correctly and to the best of my abilities. In reflecting upon both studies 2 and 3, recruitment difficulties made participants much more precious, and may have strengthened my abilities as a researcher in that I took great care in preparing, conducting, and analysing the interviews.

In my master's dissertation, I worked from case files and had no contact with the men themselves. It was much easier to demonise them, which I believe helped me to protect my own psychological well-being. In this thesis, things were less black and white. I could picture each offender speaking as I transcribed. At certain points in the interview, we could have been two acquaintances speaking over a cup of coffee, not in a prison interview room. On the one hand, I like this and believe that this aided in building rapport, which inevitable helped in eliciting more information. On the other I was constantly aware that I was not only in a country foreign to my own, but a foreign town as well, surrounded by strangers. This discomfort likely resulted in shorter interviews than I had anticipated. This was before even thinking about the fact I was sitting in a prison, speaking to a rapist.

Much to my surprise, I found that I enjoyed working with the sex offenders more that the sports sample in study 2. I knew some of the sportsmen, as the sample was recruited as a matter of convenience. Others were friends of friends. The resulting dynamic was different to that between the incarcerated participants, and myself who were complete strangers. I found myself being more nervous about the responses of those sports participants with whom I had met previously, and who I was likely to meet again in the future. I experienced a sense of anonymity and distance between sex offender participants and myself. When considering this distance, however, both participant populations seemed similarly open when speaking about male peer support and their experiences. Offender participants arguably had little to lose by speaking

with me, their crimes already acknowledged and punishment meted out. It may also be that they had already thought about MPR dynamics as a result of their previous experiences with SOTP. Although the offenders were reticent to speak about their specific sexual assault, they were quite willing to discuss male peer support and male group relationships.

So although I was nervous at the environment in which I found myself, the actual interviews were very relaxed. Apart from the setting, the sex offender interviews were very similar to the sports players. They were accustomed to answering many questions. Also, they were more cooperative and open about the subject matter, which for the most part did not focus explicitly on their offence. Their responses about male peer support, in many instances mirrored those of the sports players, who were more reticent not only to participate, but also to disclose any details about their relationships with other men. This, coupled with my seemingly successful attempts at building rapport was beneficial to the research in that it deepened the depth and breadth of the data collected.

When transcribing the recording, I realised that I actually had a laugh with a few of the participants. Obviously not about their offence, but about needing clarifications about cultural norms/sayings with which, as an American, I was unfamiliar. I felt more at ease with participants than the staff at the prison, who were often seemed stilted and uncomfortable in their interactions with me. I got the impression that I was considered to be an interloper; eager to hear the opinions and experience of individuals that society would prefer to forget. I think that for participants, I represented a highly unthreatening individual, existing only to hear their story and opinions, whether accurate or not. Also, I interviewed them without any prior knowledge of their history or their index MPR offence. And I was,

ultimately, a novelty; someone they did not see everyday, providing a small respite from what seemed to be a monotonous prison regime, female, with an American accent. It was difficult for me at times to separate the idea that the men seated in front of me in the prisons were sex offenders that, committed violent acts against women. On the surface of my mind, I decided to treat the interviews as just a conversation with a man about their friendship dynamics. However, there was an understandable and omnipresent uneasiness when I was in a room alone with them, as I always was.

From a practical standpoint, the area that was allocated to me for the interviews was located in a cluster of three separate rooms branching from a single foyer area behind a locked door. The offender and I were locked into this cluster of rooms, one of which I could use for the interview. Granted, there were alarms on the walls, to which I sat closest, but I had expected a more secure environment for the interviews. As I mentioned above, I was more comfortable once the interview began and I got a sense of the individual's mindset, but until a rapport developed, I was most apprehensive, almost to the point where I wanted to leave. There remained an undercurrent of this apprehension throughout, although not always conscious. I noticed that, after leaving each interview, and returning to the "safety" of my minder, I would always let out an audible sigh of relief. I felt sorry for the offenders, but not sorry enough not to be glad that they were in prison.

A staff member read both the victim and offender accounts of their MPR offence to me after each interview. This was done deliberately, as I wanted to be as objective as possible going into the interview. Additionally, I thought it would be easier to speak with them if I had no prior knowledge of the specifics of their crime(s). Certain participants had caused significant physical damage to the victims throughout the course of their offence. Had I known these details; I believe I would

have been more focused on their offence, and not on the research questions I was trying to answer. The deniers would have been more difficult to speak with if I had known the particulars of their cases, the details of which strongly indicated their guilt. These inconsistencies might have irritated me in the interviews, and it was my goal to be as non-threatening and non-confrontational as possible. I remained ignorant of their offence specifics in order to protect myself from the possibility of saying something insensitive or inflammatory that might have compromised the interview or my personal safety.

Upon further reflection, I think that doing research in emotionally charged subjects such as sexual assault, it is vital that the researcher admit to his or her personal limitations and weaknesses. I find it difficult not to challenge what I believe to be duplicity, so I chose to keep myself in a place of partial ignorance to mitigate this aspect of my character in the interviews. I have also seen a clinical psychologist throughout this PhD in order to explore my thoughts and feelings about my choice of PhD topic, its effect on my personal life. This was invaluable in learning to accept my own shortcomings and the development of coping skills to mitigate/overcome them. I think knowing oneself as thoroughly as possible is key in working with emotionally sensitive topics/individuals.

Extensive debriefing sessions were held with one or more members of my supervisory team throughout studies 2 and 3 to ensure my thought processes were not taking too subjective a turn in addition to discussing how the research was affecting me personally. I was struck by my attitude towards the prisoners, which was that of alternating pity, and experiencing a general ease of interaction with them that was never mentioned as a possibility in supervisory meetings or in the literature.

This ease was quite reassuring to me when I began the analysis and write-up. I think that my decision to remain ignorant of their offences until the conclusion of the interview was helpful in separating the man from the crime for which he was incarcerated. Although certain portions of the interview were focused upon the offence specifically, I was more interested in the process and interpersonal dynamic between offenders than the unsavoury details of the offence itself. I believe this was helpful in maintaining a more objective vision of the offender sample.

8.5 Other Issues

Over the course of this PhD, I have realised, sometimes to my dismay that I am extremely embedded (as many are) in a social patriarchy from which it is my belief we will never in my lifetime (perhaps ever) escape. But unlike some of my contemporaries, I do not believe that gender roles are necessarily a bad thing. They only become bad when people do not have the opportunity to escape from them.

While my part-support of patriarchy may not be attractive to many of my colleagues, I do not believe it is a detriment to my research. Thus my PhD was one of personal conflict and vacillation between identities as an appalled feminist and hypocritical product of patriarchy. I felt unable to communicate this to my supervisory team for much of this PhD for fear of negative judgement or that I was unsuitable for the task, which I knew to be untrue. I was finally able to speak with them about it as the studies were completed and I had reconciled myself to the fact that I was different; different from them and different from many others in my field. However, that does not negate the fact that MPR is a serious social reality regardless of one's politics, and that my research is still just as valuable. I don't believe that this affected the research outcomes, but I do believe this may have stalled the completion of the research to a point.

It's frustrating sometimes going over the interviews because I realise I could have probed more or made them longer or done something to make them better, although some of the interviewees were very difficult. Some were exasperated, annoyed, and impatient with the process. Particularly within the sex offender interviews, my time with them was so limited, and the setting so uncomfortable (locked in a 3 room area with them by myself), that the interviews were all entirely too short in my opinion. Even so, I think that some useful information was gained through the interviews and they are certainly suitable enough to answer my research question.

I concluded the studies in this thesis, confident that I have done all I could to mitigate the effect of my own biases on the findings presented in the previous chapters given the numerous obstacles that arose, both expected and unexpected. It is my hope that my work will represent part of a foundation upon which MPR research can build and develop.

Chapter 9: Overall Discussion of Findings and Concluding Remarks

The studies conducted represent some new and intriguing avenues from which to examine MPR, and an integrated theoretical model from which future research can develop and benefit. This chapter will discuss the overall findings with implications for future research. The model will also be examined with relevant contributions from each study included along with recommendations for future inquiry into male peer support, self-regulation, and MPR in general.

9.1 Overall Findings

This thesis focused upon a model of offending based upon two empirically supported theories; Male Peer Support, and Self-regulation. It was the intention of studies 2 and 3 to determine the applicability of this integrated model to duo MPR offences. The following is a brief overview of findings from all 3 studies.

Study 1 provided an analysis of the largest MPR offender sample to date in the literature. Along with general support of past findings regarding offender and victim demographics, and offence characteristics, significant differences were found when MPR groups were compared based upon the number of perpetrators involved. These conclusions served to underscore the idea that, not only is MPR a distinctly different form of rape, but that changes in the number of offenders and the resulting differences between groups might be indicative of differing social dynamics with the addition of more individuals in an offence.

The predictive power of the variables in the study was significant, but weak. Stronger prediction levels of offender number through offence/victim characteristics may be possible if initial recording was completed in a more rigorous and systematic fashion.

Although the proposed model is intended to be more general than the foci of findings from study 1, age and ethnicity found strong support, not only from study findings, but from past research as well. These elements were further emphasised in the re-presentation of the model and its iterations in subsequent studies.

Study 2 considered male peer support and self-regulation in a sample of sportsmen. It was apparent that, for the men in the sample, male peer support was a significant contribution to their participation in a number of activities in homosocial groups, not all of which were positive. Findings supported many components of the proposed model, and indicated the presence of negative male peer support in a number of ways. There was evidence of hypermasculinity, maltreatment of women, misogynistic dialogue, antisocial behaviour, and an absence of deterrence, all of which were outlined in Schwartz and DeKeseredy (2013) in their Modified Male Peer Support Theory. Other variables in the model that were also supported by participants were upbringing, alcohol use, individual self-regulation, and participation in both sport and

Study 3 not only endeavoured to assess the applicability of male peer support, but also that of self-regulation in the experiences of a sample of incarcerated MPR offenders. Although it was not possible to examine self-regulation, participants endorsed the support of their male peers as being a significant contributor to their participation in duo MPR.
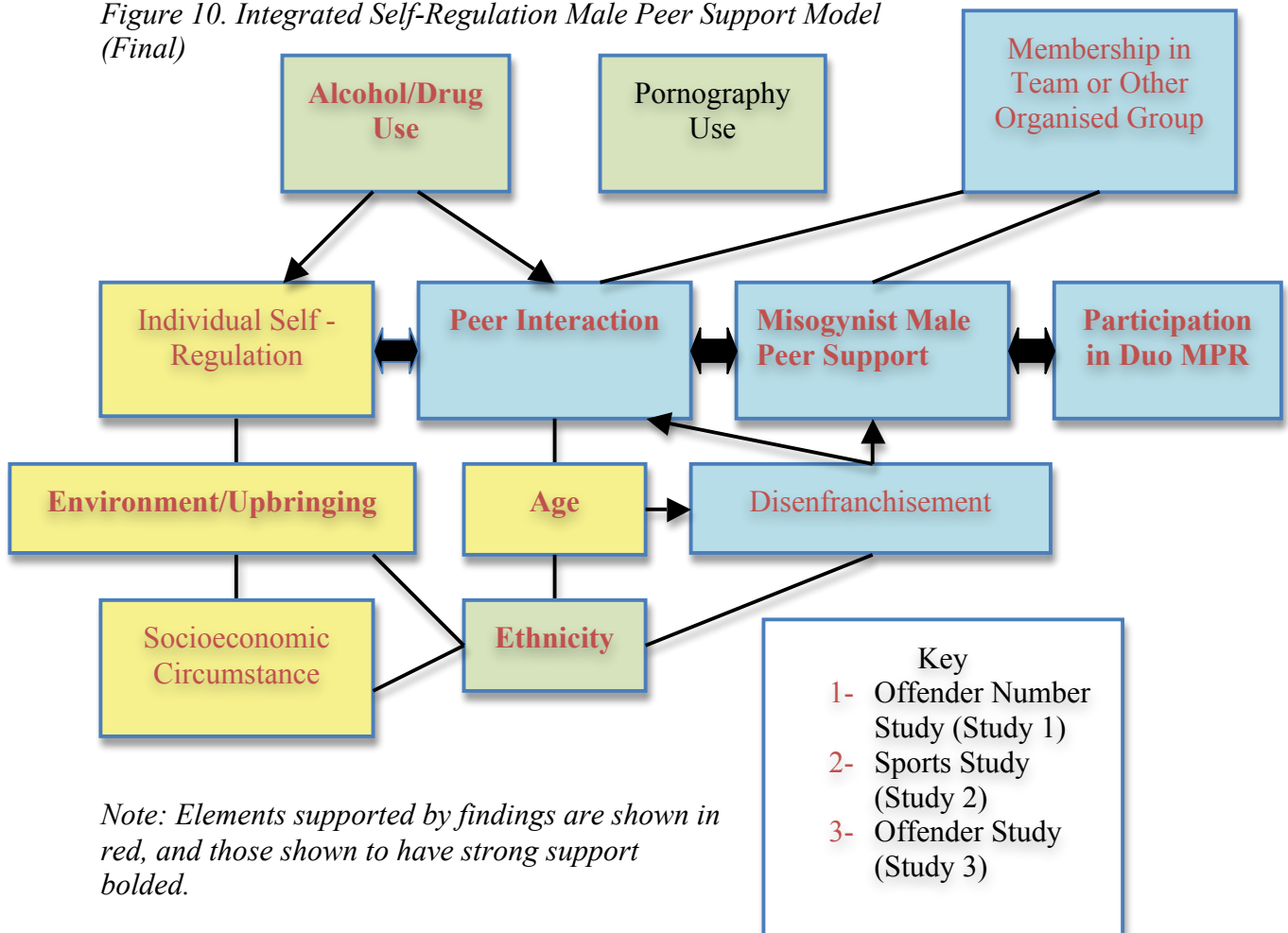
The interviews conducted yielded interesting and somewhat disturbing data about the activities and dialogues reported by the interviewees both as spectators and participants. Notions of a subculture in existence amongst certain male peer groups were emphasized, leaving little doubt as to the presence of negative male peer support

and its detrimental influence on the conversations and behaviours of others towards

not only women, but other men.

9.2 Considering the Model

Figure 9.1 show the new model of offence progression as it has been

hypothesized for this thesis.

Figure 10. Integrated Self-Regulation Male Peer Support Model (Final)

Note: Elements supported by findings are shown in red, and those shown to have strong support bolded.

Those variables running through the middle represent the theoretical models

examined and the end result, participation in MPR. The branching variables represent

those major associated variables reported in the literature, which, apart from

pornography, were all examined in this thesis. The arrows between self-regulation and

male peer support are intended to indicate the possibility of a reciprocal association.

Individuals come to a group with pre-existing levels of self-regulation, which could

be enhanced, or most likely depleted in an MPR offence. Further, the level to which misogynist male peer support can influence the individual may depend on the strength of their self-regulatory abilities. Although low self-regulation might be directly related to participation in MPR offences or lone sexual offences without the aid of misogynist male peer support Ward et al., 2005), this model suggests that MPS exacerbates the likelihood of MPR specifically.

The variables branching from the main theoretical points are coloured in blue, yellow, and green. The blue represents those elements of the model inherent in the Male Peer Support Model. Those in yellow show elements in the Self-Regulation Model. The items in green represent those variables implicated in both theoretical perspectives. Alcohol, pornography, age, and ethnicity are implicated in both male peer support as well as self-regulation as important variables for consideration.

Those variables stemming from upbringing include ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Individuals in study 3 were keen to highlight the role of their neighbourhoods and indicated an environment of economic deprivation. Socioeconomic circumstances and disenfranchisement have not been bolded in the model, as they were merely implied by participants as opposed to explicitly stated. Although drug use was reported, individuals in both the sports and offender studies emphasised extensive use of alcohol, which is echoed in the literature reported in chapter 6.

In evaluating the model, the criteria delineated by Ward and Maruna (2007) was considered. This stipulates that theoretical models can be evaluated according to 5 elements: comprehensiveness, coherence, unification, fertility, and explanatory depth. In examining the model proposed in this thesis, it is difficult to determine its utility, as self-regulation could not be explicitly tested. However, the model can be

considered from a theoretical standpoint, presenting an intriguing avenue from which more detailed and specific MPR inquiry can be conducted,

With regards to comprehensiveness and unity, the model was designed to account not only for individual characteristics (self-regulation), but also those factors affecting the individual and the progression towards a duo MPR offence. Some of these were static, such as age, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and upbringing. Variables such as alcohol, pornography, and group associations represent more dynamic factors. When taken together these demonstrate the inner and outer variables that make up self-regulatory ability. However, self-regulation theory is concerned mainly with the states of the individual, not necessarily the influence of peers. Self-regulation is also meant for sexual offenders generally, and has not been specified to a specific type of offence. Male peer support is used in the model to represent the outside influence of negative peer support in the commission of duo MPR.

Participants in both the sport and offender studies reported considerable amounts of negative male peer support in their activities with the group and without. They also endorsed concepts inherent in self-regulation theory, but more work would be needed to focus specifically on the degree to which these concepts apply. In the offender and sports studies, participants endorsed the elements in the model, particularly those related to male peer support, upbringing, and alcohol. The model accounted for the findings from the studies, and provided a considerable amount of explanatory depth in considering the two theories being applied to a specific type of sexual offence.

Fertility indicates the level to which new theoretical formulations lead to new predictions (Ward & Maruna, 2007). The present model does aid in explaining MPR offence progression, the idea being that individual self-regulation is diminished in the

face of negative male peer support. This diminished ability to regulate behaviour, exacerbated by a misogynist or antisocial peer group, is an intriguing new way to examine not only duo MPR specifically, but sex offences generally. Male peer support has been implicated in individual sexual and domestic violence offences (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2013), and more work on the relationship between self-regulation and male peer support would be useful in determining the practical utility of considering the two together.

In determining the coherence of the model (Ward & Maruna, 2007), both external consistency with other theoretical perspectives as well as the possibility of internal contradiction were considered. Self-regulation theory has gained considerable support as a viable alternative to relapse prevention (Hanson, & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Newman & Wallace, 1993; Kingston, 2006;Lambine, 2010; Ward et al., 2004; Ward & Gannon, 2006) and encompasses innate levels of self-regulatory ability as well as the effect of outside circumstances on that ability.

Male peer support theory has also garnered support as an important factor to consider in the abuse of women generally (DeKeseredy, 1988b; DeKeseredy, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy 1997; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2002; DeKeseredy, Rogness, & Schwartz, 2004; DeKeseredy, Schwartz, Fagen, & Hall, 2006) but also within MPR specifically (Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2013).

In examining the proposed model for internal contradictions, it appears that male peer support could be considered as an outside circumstance factor that is already embedded in the self-regulation model (Ward & Gannon, 2006). However, this is not explicitly delineated in SRM. The utility of the proposed model lies in its specific application to duo MPR (as examined in this thesis). Although more support is needed, both theories are strengthened by the principles in the other. Self-regulation

fills the individual factor gap in male peer support, and male peer support provides a level of offence specificity to self-regulation.

Evaluating the model is difficult at this stage as more work needs to be done to test both components in accordance with established application protocol measures (DeKeseredy & Ward et al., 2004).

9.3 Difficulties

In each study, there were substantial difficulties. Inconsistent and/or unreliable reporting and coding was a considerable obstacle in analysing the data from study 1. It would have been ideal to have collected, coded, and analysed the raw data instead of using a secondary data source. However, the value in the studies lies in the sheer number of cases analysed, and as much as possible was made of the data in keeping with reliability and validity.

As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, participant recruitment was the largest impediment to both the sports and offender studies. The sportsmen themselves were reticent to participate, whether due to suspicion, hostility, or simple lack of interest. These were all encountered, and the design of the study suffered. It would have been ideal if participants were unknown to the researcher, and perhaps if the researcher had been male. Despite these setbacks, some interesting and surprisingly explicit data was gathered, which could indicate that, had the study gone to plan, the depth and content of the interview data may have been even more strongly associated with the elements in the model.

The offender study presented recruitment problems as well. However, this was not necessarily to do with the participants themselves, but the bureaucracy of the prison system. The application process was lengthy and intimidating, and so few prisons were willing to consider the study (n=2). The 5 interviews conducted were the

result of a 2 year (approx.) process of amendments, applications, phone calls, and meetings. This was before the offenders were even presented with the study information and given their own opportunity to consent. The layers of permission needed to access this population made the research very difficult.

9.4 Future Research

It would be ideal to replicate the studies and, given more time and willing offender participants, really delve specifically into each variable and their perceptions relating to its influence on group antisocial behaviour and MPR.

In addition to the effect of group number on offence characteristics, the first study highlighted ethnicity and MPR, which to date, has received no explicit attention in the literature. The likelihood of one ethnicity to commit a specific crime is not a popular sentiment in a society that prides itself on tolerance and equal rights for all, and socioeconomic deprivation and institutional racism likely plays a significant role in the overrepresentation of minority populations in the correctional system. However, until researchers are brave enough to explore uncomfortable topics like ethnicity, religion, and possible detrimental effects of certain cultural beliefs and customs, little can be done to effect change.

Sports were highlighted as well, and future work should be done on the proliferation of "lads culture" and the ways in which men assert their masculinity. What, if any, are their contributions to MPR offences? The notion of "banter" and normalisation of misogyny in certain groups could also be studied as they relate specifically to MPR. Pornography was not explored in the interviews for ethical reasons, as highlighted in chapters 6 and 7, but should be given more examination if possible in future work given recent literature suggesting the detrimental effects of

pornography use for young people (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009; Horvath, Alys, Massey, Pina, Scally, & Adler, 2013; Malamuth, 2014;).

The offender study offered up some interesting findings, many of which were related to the normalisation of violence against men and women as well as many instances of female objectification and othering. Another avenue that has yet to be explored in MPR is that of class. Most of the offenders were of lower socioeconomic status, but there are multiple instances of MPR committed by more privileged individuals (Benedict, 1998; Sanday, 1990, engaging in the same group dynamics reported by offenders.

It would be ideal to replicate the studies conducted here with larger sample sizes in more controlled environments. Self-regulation was not explicitly assessed in the studies and is a detriment to this thesis, necessary in evaluating this model and providing further empirical support. However, the implications of self-regulation and its seemingly plausible relationship with male peer support levels remains an intriguing avenue for future investigation, not only for MPR, but other group criminal offending as well.

It should be clear from the studies in this thesis that there is much more to be done in order to provide a more extensive understanding of MPR offence progression. Each of the variables in the model could be tested independently to determine their likely role in the offences. In addition to replicating the work of DeKeseredy and his colleagues (1988, 1990, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2004, 2006; 2013 etc.), self-regulation must be examined with regards to MPR, if not as it was intended for the studies in this thesis, perhaps comparing those abilities of MPR offenders to those of lone rapists. It possibly could be a good indicator of just how well equipped an individual is when faced with a negatively influential peer group.

9.4 Possible Implications for Treatment Providers

The studies highlighted the apparent heterogeneity of MPR offenders. In applying the new model of offence progression, individual behavioural deficits in self-regulation can be captured in addition to how those deficits aided the offence process in an offence-specific manner.

Indeed, participants suggested that certain groups behave more negatively towards women, and that some members are worse than others, suggesting that a delineation of these men could be possible, and treatment needs assessed in a different manner. For example, a leader of an MPR offence involved in planning, procuring the victim, and behaviourally initiating the assault may have more deviant tendencies than, a group member who did not participant, but was the lookout.

If individuals were classified according to the self-regulation model, and then assessed for male peer support, it may be easier to highlight areas of deficit that could lead to offending, or at the very least, poor treatment of women and/or antisocial behaviour. It is then that these deficits might become a significant area of treatment focus order to prevent further victimisation, to individuals, and to society as a whole.

9.5 Final Comment

To my mind, there are 3 layers to MPR: the individual, the group, and the interaction between the two. The work done in this thesis has laid the groundwork for a plausible theory of offence progression that connects and explains these elements. The motivations of one offender is difficult enough to understand, much less that of a group of individuals, each bringing with them differing lived experiences, constructions of normality, and outlooks on the world, all contributing to the psychology of the group, and in turn, are sometimes reflected back in individual behaviour change.

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Appendices Table of Contents

Quantitative: Offender Number (Study 1)

Qualitative: Sports Study (Study 2)

Qualitative: Offender Study (Study 3)

Appendices

Offender Number Study (Study 1)

A: Coding Dictionary

1. Number of Suspects in the Group	2= Duo 3= Trio 4= 4+
2. Age Range of Suspects Recoded for clarity. Certain categories (e.g. Adolescent/Adult) were collapsed into "Mixed Ages"	0= Child 0-10 1= Adolescent 11-17 2= Young Adult 18-30 3= Mid-Adult 31-50 4= Older Adult 51+ 5= Mixed Ages
3. Victim vulnerabilities	0= N/A 1= Self Admin Alcohol 2= Self Admin Drugs 3= Self Admin Alcohol/Drugs 4= Disabilities (Mental health, physical, learning) 5= Foreign Visitor/ Missing Person/Homeless/Prostitute
4. Age Ranges of Victim Recoded for clarity. Certain categories (e.g. Adolescent/Adult) were collapsed into "Mixed Ages"	0= 0-10 1= 11-17 2= Young Adult 18-30 3= Mid-Adult 31-50 4= Older Adult 51+ 5= Mixed Ages
5. Initial Offender Approach	1= Blitz 2= Surprise 3= Con
6. Approach Location	1= Private Dwelling 2 = Transportation/ Public/Other Building 3 = Outdoors
7. Offence Location	1= Private Dwelling 2= Transportation/Public/Other Buildings 3= Outdoors
8. Use of Violence	1= yes 2= No 3= Verbal
Type f Violence	Deleted as inconsistent/vague/absence

Weapon used	Deleted as Weapon type identifies where weapon was not used
9. Weapon type	0=no weapon 1= Firearm 2= Sharp Object/ Knife 3 Blunt instrument 4= other weapon 5= Multiple Weapons
10. Vehicle Used	0= No 1= Yes
11. Victim Ethnicity	1= White 2= African Caribbean 3= Asian/East Asiam 4= Mixed Ethnicities
12. Offender Ethnicity	1= White 2= African Caribbean 3= Asian/East Asian 4= Mixed White/Minority 5= Mixed Minority
13 Number of Victims	1=1 2=2 3= 2+

B: Trio/4+ Groups Binary Logistic Regression Table

Sports Study (Study 2)

C: Study Information Sheet

You are being invited to participate in a research study conducted by a PhD student in the psychology department at Middlesex University. Before deciding whether or not you will take part, it is necessary that you understand why the study is being conducted and what will be involved for you as a participant. Please take a few moments to carefully read the following information, and discuss it with others if you wish. If anything is unclear or you would like more information, do not hesitate to contact the primary investigator by email. Participation is voluntary, so take your time in deciding whether or not you would like to become involved in the project.

What is the purpose of the study?

A number of studies in Psychology have investigated the likelihood that the influence of friends is strongest in single sex groups that spend a large amount of time together. Many studies on sexual assault and male peer support have taken place on university campuses in the United States and Canada because of an increase in on-campus sexual assault. It has been found that all-male team and/or fraternity members are more likely to support sexually assaultive ideas than non-members.

Exploring the possible negative behaviours associated with male peer support as our own abilities to regulate behaviour and attitudes towards women is important, not only to police, but to universities in which exclusively-male groups exist, in efforts to recognize, intervene, and hopefully prevent any continuing discrimination against women as well as sexual assault.

What will happen if you participate?

You may choose to take part in a 1-hour (approx.) interview regarding perceptions of peer support, male sexuality, and perceptions of women. You will be asked to discuss

your peer interactions while playing a sport, the attitudes of your friends towards women, and how that affects your own beliefs and behaviours. Again, there will be no identifying information taken or reported within these interviews. Notes will be taken and analysed for recurring themes and trends that arise within the discussion. The interviews will also be recorded digitally for later transcription.

Please indicate your willingness to participate on the attached consent form.

How will this make you feel?

You will be asked to reflect upon your peers, past sexual experiences and the ability to regulate your behaviour, as well as some very personal views about women and relationships. Experiences within these areas may lead to feelings of guilt, sadness, fear of prosecution, anger, embarrassment, or shame. As much as possible will be done to minimize these effects, and you will be thoroughly debriefed approximately one week after the focus group. Any counselling support/community resource information will be available as well.

What are the possible benefits?

By participating in this study or others like it, athletic teams can improve the image of all-male team sports by raising awareness in the community. On a personal level, the focus groups will encourage self-reflection on attitudes towards interpersonal relationships, both within peer groups and without. Participants may re-evaluate their attitudes towards women as well as their team members, which may lead to self-improvement and personal growth.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may for any reason choose to withdraw from the study at any time. Only consent to participate if you have read and understood the above information. Thank you for taking time out to consider taking part in this investigation.

If you have any questions, comments, or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact

Mackenzie Lambine: m.lambine@mdx.ac.uk.

Supervisor:

Miranda Horvath, PhD: m.horvath@mdx.ac.uk

D: Consent Form

<div align="center">

Middlesex University

Psychology Department

Written Informed Consent

</div>

Title of study and academic year: The Influence of Male Peer Support and Self-Regulation on Behaviour within Athletic Teams and All Male Peer Groups 2012/2013

Researcher: Mackenzie Erica Lambine _____

Supervisor*:* Miranda Horvath PhD., Jackie Gray, PhD., Joanna Adler, PhD.

- I have understood the details of the research as explained to me by the researcher, and confirm that I have consented to act as a participant.

- I have been given contact details for the researcher in the information sheet.

- I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, the data collected during the research will not be identifiable, and I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time without any obligation to explain my reasons for doing so.

- I further understand that the data I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent publication, and provide my consent that this might occur.

_____   _____

Print name   Sign Name

date: _____

I consent to taking part in a 1 hour (approx.) interview_____(initial)

To the participants: Data may be inspected by the Chair of the Psychology Ethics panel and the Chair of the School of Social Sciences Ethics committee of Middlesex University, if required by institutional audits about the correctness of procedures.

Although this would happen in strict confidentiality, please tick here if you do not

wish your data to be included in audits: _____

Primary Investigator: Mackenzie Lambine, <u>m.lambine@mdx.ac.uk</u>.

E: Interview Brief

Interview Brief

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. Today, we will be discussing some topics related to the activities of the male peer groups to which you are a member, and how membership in this group affects your behaviour and attitudes. It is important to remind you that these groups/activities are completely anonymous, and you will only be identified in the research as a numbered participant.

This interview will last approximately one hour in which the following topics/questions will be explored:

- Your all-male peer groups and how everyone gets along with each other
- What do you do together?
- Do your behaviours/ attitudes change in the group as opposed to by yourself?
- What are the attitudes/behaviours towards women when an all-male group is together?

These will be the major questions addressed, but related additional questions will be asked to explore the topics in more depth. These topics are designed to get you thinking about your relationship with the group and its effect on your attitudes and behaviors towards women.

The discussion will be tape recorded for the purposes of transcription. After transcription is finished, the recordings will be deleted. The resulting data will be kept for approximately 4 years at which point it will be destroyed.

Your participation is voluntary and you may at **any time** withdraw from **any part** of this study for **any reason**.

Thank you for participating,

Mackenzie Lambine

m.lambine@mdx.ac.uk

F: Interview Debrief

Interview Debriefing

Thank you for participating in this interview. Your responses and reactions are crucial to this investigation of how all-male groups behave.

The importance of having a interview session is that discussion allows for more detail and explanation than is given by simply ticking a box. Responses from you and other men allow for a more complex and in-depth picture of the issue of male peer support and its true effect, both emotionally as well as behaviourally.

This exercise was not intended to draw out any negative feelings in participants, only to explore the concept of male-peer support and its effects. This was not meant to suggest that your have ever or ever will participate in a sexual assault, but investigate a new way of thinking about group behaviour.

If participating in this focus group has affected you in a negative manner, feel free to contact the primary researcher m.lambine@mdx.ac.uk or Middlesex University Counseling Services ext. 6266. Additional information can be found at

Support Line
Email: info@supportline.org.uk
everymanproject@btopenworld.com
Tel: 01708 765200

Samaritans
Email: jo@samaritans.org
Tel: 08457 909090
Website: http://www.samaritans.org/

The Everyman Project
Email:

Tel: 0207 263 8884
Website: www.everymanproject.co.uk

Thank you again for taking part

Sincerely,

 Mackenzie Lambine

G: Transcription Glossary

Glossary of Transcript Symbols

Interviews were transcribed using a modified orthographic style of transcription. This includes all filler words and phrases (e.g. um, like, know what I mean etc.), false starts, and repetitions. Pauses are only noted if they last for 1 second or longer.

.   – One second between sections of speech

(P:) or (I:) – Participant (P) interrupts or Interviewer (I) Interrupts

(*Laughter*) – Both participant and interviewer laughter

(*Laughs*)- whoever is speaking laughs

(*unclear*) – Word or phrase unclear

? – Rise in inflection at the end of a sentence

(*Italicised information*) – Something in the interview that occurred that could not be captured with dialogue presented such as deliberate change in speech (i.e. giving an impression of someone), laughter, or clarity of the topic to which they refer.

'single quotation marks around a statement ' – Participant quoting someone

Offender Study (Study 3)

H: NOMS Approval

Ms Mackenzie Lambine
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20 November 2012

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FINAL APPROVAL – NOMS RESEARCH – PRISONS

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Dear Ms Lambine

Title: Assessing the Applicability of Male Peer Support and its Effect on the self-regulatory abilities of Incarcerated Multiple Perpetrator Rape (MPR) Offenders

Reference: 205-12

Further to your research application to the NOMS National Research Committee (NRC), and following further information received, the Committee is pleased to grant approval for your research.

Before the research can commence you must agree formally by email to the NRC (National.research@noms.gsi.gov.uk), confirming that you will comply with the terms and conditions outlined below and the expectations set out in the NOMS Research Instruction

http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/offenders/psipso/psi-2012/psi-13-2012-research-applications.doc

If prison establishments are to be approached as part of the research, a copy of this letter must be attached to the request to prove that the NRC has approved the study in principle.(*Approval from the Governor of each establishment / Chief Executive of the probation trust you wish to research in. (Please note that NRC approval does not guarantee access to establishments/trusts; access is at the discretion of the Governor/Chief Executive and subject to local operational factors and pressures). This is subject to clearance of vetting procedures for each establishment/trust)*

Once the research is completed, and received by the NRC Co-ordinator, it will be lodged at the Prison Service College Library.

Yours sincerely

National Research Committee

m.horvath@mdx.ac.uk
j.adler@mdx.ac.uk
j.gray@mdx.ac.uk

I: Study Information Sheet

Study Information Sheet

The Influence of Male Peer Support and Self-
Regulation on Behaviour with Incarcerated Multiple Perpetrator Rape Offenders.

Researcher: Mackenzie

Supervisors: Miranda Horvath PhD., Joanna Adler, PhD., Jackie Gray, PhD.

> You are being invited to participate in a research study conducted for the purposes of a PhD investigation by a student at Middlesex University. Before deciding whether or not you will take part, it is necessary that you understand why the study is being conducted and what will be involved for you as a participant. Please take a few moments to carefully listen to the following information. If anything is unclear or you would like more information, do not hesitate to ask the researcher. Participation is voluntary, so take your time in deciding whether or not you would like to become involved in the project.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study is intended to explore the influence of co-offenders on individual participants in rape offences.

What will happen if you participate?

There are 2 parts to this study, two of which will need your direct participation.

Part 1. The primary researcher will need permission to access your records in order to gather demographic information and information about your criminal history.

Part 2. You may also choose to take part in a 30 minute (approx.) interview regarding perceptions of peer support, sexual experience, and perceptions of women. With your permission, these will be recorded and notes will be taken.

How will this make you feel?
You will be asked to reflect upon your past experiences and ability to regulate your behaviour, as well as some very personal views about women and relationships. Experiences within these areas may lead to feelings of guilt, sadness, fear of prosecution, anger, embarrassment, or shame. As much as possible will be done to minimize these effects, and you will receive a debriefing sheet including any support resources offered by the institution in which you reside.

What are the possible benefits?
Your attitudes, feelings, and motives are important in understanding why these crimes occur, and develop more effective interventions with offenders. Participation in this study will encourage self-reflection on attitudes towards past relationships, both within a group and without. You may re-evaluate their attitudes towards women as well as to other male peers which may lead to self-improvement and personal growth.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may for any reason choose to withdraw from the study at any time. Only consent to participate if you have understood the above information. Thank you for taking time to consider taking part in this investigation.

If you have any questions, comments, or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact the psychology department of this institution who will be able to contact me for more information.

J: Consent Form (Offender Version)

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Written Informed Consent

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The Influence of Male Peer Support and Self-
Regulation on Behaviour with Incarcerated Multiple Perpetrator Rape Offenders.

Researcher: Mackenzie Lambine
Supervisors: Miranda Horvath PhD., Jackie Gray, PhD., Joanna Adler, PhD.

I have understood the details of the research as explained to me by the researcher, and confirm that I have consented to act as a participant.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, the data collected during the research will not be identifiable, and I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time without any obligation to explain my reasons for doing so. Any information collected from me may be destroyed upon my request up until May 1, 2013.

I understand that my participation is confidential, with certain conditions outlined in section 51 of the official prison rules. If I disclose the intent to harm myself or others, or compromise the security of this institution, the primary researcher will alert appropriate authorities.

I further understand that the data I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent publication, and provide my consent that this might occur.

I consent to allow the primary researcher access to my records _____

I consent to participate in the interview portion of this study _____

I consent to have this interview audio-recorded _____

_____   _____

Print name   Sign Name

date: _____

To the participants: Data may be inspected by the Chair of the Psychology Ethics panel and the Chair of the School of Social Sciences Ethics committee of Middlesex University, if required by institutional audits about the correctness of procedures. Although this would happen in strict confidentiality, please tick here if you do not wish your data to be included in audits: _____
Primary Investigator: Mackenzie Lambine Middlesex University Psychology Dept.

K: Interview Schedule

Offender Interview Protocol

(including potential probes)

How would you describe your interactions with the other men in your

friendship group at the time of the offence

- o Were these men involved in the offence?

- o (If No) How did you know the men who took part in the offence?

Do you think you behaved differently when you were with other male peers than

when you were by yourself?

- (if so) How did your behaviour change when you were around the offending

  group?

- Did this extend to your romantic relationships at the time?

  - o If yes, how so?

  - o Did your peers influence how you thought about women?

    - about Sex?

What types of things did you do together?

- o With your friends

- o With the offending group (if these were different from friends)

Around the time of the offence, were you using alcohol or drugs on your own?

- o How much/how often

- o Group use?

- o Do you believe that this played a role in your participation?

  - If so, how?

Could you describe the events leading up to the offense?

- o What were you feeling when you were in the group before the offence?

- o Why do you think the offence occurred?

- o   Why do you believe you participated?

  - ▪   Do you think the presence of others impacted your

    participation?

    - •   How?

    - •   Why do you think that is ?

Additional Topics raised by participants in Sports Study Interviews but not specifically targeted by researcher

- •   "Bravado"

- •   "Masculinity"

- •   "The Lads"

L: Offender Debriefing

Debriefing

Thank you for participating in this interview. Your responses and reactions are crucial to this investigation of how all-male groups behave.

The importance of having an interview in conjunction with questionnaire responses is that discussion allows for more detail and explanation than is given by simply ticking a box. Responses from you allow for a more complex and in-depth picture of the issue of male peer support, self-regulation and its true effect, both emotionally as well as behaviourally within group sex offences.

There is also the issue of comparing the questionnaires with the interview responses and prison record information. Individuals may respond differently in face to face interviews than when they are filling out in a questionnaire.

This exercise was not intended to draw out any negative feelings in participants; only to explore the concept of male-peer support and its role in contributing to an atmosphere in which sexual assault is possible.

Should you feel any negative effects resulting from your participation, below are some resources available to you at your institution.

PLACE FOR INSITUTION RESOURCES

Thank you again for taking part
Sincerely,
 Mackenzie