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## Appendix A

### **BTP Sexual offences crime codes (England and Wales)**

E04 - Indecent Exposure Insult Female

E14 - Sexual Offences - Committing An Act Outraging Public Decency

E20 - Sexual Assault On A Male Aged 13 And Over No Penetration

E21 - Sexual Assault On A Male Child Under 13 No Penetration

E22 - Rape Of A Female Aged 16 And Over

E23 - Rape Of A Female Child Under 16

E25 - Rape Of A Male Aged 16 And Over

E28 - Sexual Assault On A Female Aged 13 And Over No Penetration

E29 - Sexual Assault On A Female Child Under 13 No Penetration

E30 - Causing Or Inciting S A Child Under 13 To Engage In Sexual Activity

E32 - Causing Or Inciting S A Child Under 16 To Engage In Sexual Activity

E37 - Trafficking Into The UK For Sexual Exploitation

E39 - Sexual Grooming - Female

E41 - Exposure

E45 - Sexual Assault On A Male Aged 13 And Over By Penetration

E47 - Assault On A Female Aged Over 13 By Penetration

E51 - Causing A Male Person To Engage In Sexual Activity No Penetration  
(No Consent)

E52 - Sexual Grooming - Male

E55 - Voyeurism

## Appendix B

### **Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-phase guide to Thematic Analysis**

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarising yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and rereading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking in the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic map of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

## Appendix C

### Thematic coding for police interviews

Theme	Description	Sources	References	Quote
<b><u>CJ processes</u></b>	Reporting to the police an offence/investigation by the police/CPS decision making/outcome from Magistrates or Judge	3	34	
Gaining sufficient evidence	Mostly in relation to evidence for court, but also as part of the investigation stage	3	16	We need to have good evidence.
Failings of the system	Feeling that certain CJ processes do not support their work and what they are trying to achieve	2	9	I lost at court over a space that wide [indicates a foot measurement with his hands]
Impact on the victim	How the aspects of the CJ process impacts (usually negatively) on victims	2	9	it's going to be quite harsh for them in the box
No victim, no crime	The importance of having a 'capable' victim for an offence to progress through the different stages and get an outcome	2	12	Arresting someone that's got a solid sort of victim, that obviously was aware and cos she's aware, she is also aware that you are actually dealing with it, if that makes sense?
<b><u>Outcomes</u></b>		2	14	
Negative	Negative outcomes with regards to sex offenders going through CJ processes.	2	6	a lot of them still fall flat before they even get to court sometimes and when you get to court ,like you've heard, some of them they don't always get found guilty,

Positive	Positive outcomes with regards to the way in which CJ processes deal with sexual offenders	2	7	keeping these people off the streets or at least getting them onto a sex offenders register, where they can be monitored properly and kept an eye on for 5,7 years or indefinitely, which makes sense.
<b><u>Comparison with other offenders</u></b>		3	16	
Differences	How sex offenders are different to other types of offenders on the tube	3	14	Pickpockets are historically a lot harder to follow and catch, whereas sex offenders tend to be a lot easier.
Similarities	How sex offenders are similar to other types of offenders on the tube	2	4	so the behaviour is very similar to that that you might see in a pickpocket
<b><u>Dual role of officer</u></b>		2	4	
<b><u>Environmental factors</u></b>		3	25	
Busy or crowded areas	The environmental conditions of locations	3	18	what the offender looks for is a busy environment that enables their offending, so there's no good looking at a quiet station
CPM for other offences	Measures that have been employed to reduce crime	1	3	where they've like improved stations like Kings Cross and so on... less crime, but I'm talking about pickpockets
Station specifics	Attributes of the station that are preferable for a sex offender	1	4	the stretch of line is important to the 'pervs' because they need a crossover point...

				they need to be able to easily loopback
<b><u>Geographical elements</u></b>		3	34	
Line	Identified tube lines	3	12	it happens quite a bit on the Northern Line as well. Now and again is it on the briefing, by and large it's the Central Line, by far the Central Line.
Location	Key locations identified	3	32	So, we were getting reports of sexual offences taking place on the east part of the central line, so Mile End inwards
<b><u>Identified problem</u></b>		3	39	
Media influence	The impact of the media on the response to the problem	2	6	it's ignored until it hits them in the face for whatever reason, be it a bad report in the Evening Standard or whatever it may be, um, then they take notice
Prevalence	The perceived frequency and volume of sexual offending occurring	2	7	you certainly could arrest one a day if you really were trying
<b><u>Response to the problem</u></b>		3	23	
Inadequate conviction rates	Perceived conviction rate for sex offenders	1	2	I don't know what the conviction rate is but it must be really low
Misjudgement of intel	The way in which intel is used inaccurately	1	6	the reporting process and the way intel is recorded is skewed
Operational approach	The approach by teams on the ground tasked with addressing sexual offences	3	10	the trouble is, is they're sending people down blind there, putting uniform officers in plain clothes expecting them

				to just pick it up like that it honestly doesn't happen.
Strategic approach	The approach by the organisation to decision making on how resources are allocated	3	11	if you were in charge of 300 officers and that was on the front page you would send half of them at least down, get rid of a problem and that hasn't happened.
Secondary priority	Dealing with sexual offences is not really DIP squads' main focus	2	5	We're on a pickpocket squad, we are pickpocket squad officers, we are tasked with that. If we go out on patrol and see someone who is committing a sexual offence we would deal with it we're police officers
Severity	The seriousness of the problem	1	4	It's always been a problem. I remember you've, you've said it so many times to the bosses - there is a massive problem with sexual offences.
<b><u>Offender actions</u></b>		3	164	
Tunnel vision	Focused and unaware of being under surveillance	3	19	Obviously not aware that we have followed them for a while, and we've been watching them.
Abort	Signifies that the offender appears to exit the offence process	1	3	it's not because they, weren't trying it's just that, yeah the opportunity has just not come up.
Initiation	The individual has selected a target victim and is following/ positioning	2	11	he got behind some Chinese females and he

	themselves to commence the offending behaviour			had a bag as well a satchel in front of him,
Modified	Offender has had to modify his intended actions as a result of a change of circumstances	1	1	He was looking at someone else, so he was looking at different targets on the carriage and when she got off or moved, I remember him turn around and then pin this one.
<b><u>Offender perceptions</u></b>		3	19	
Absence of capable guardians	No-one able to exercise some form of informal oversight	1	1	the fact that no one looks at each other on the tube is also really helpful to...
Calculation of risk	Defining hazards and/or effective countermeasures for the associated vulnerability	1	6	stations where the door open on the same side they got on cos they get on to a massively rammed carriages they start sexually assaulting someone they don't want to have to cross to get off that busy carriage because they've got much more chance of getting apprehended, whereas if they can just hop off and cross over then that's far more attractive to them.
Getting away with it	The offenders' actions appear to go undetected or are not dealt with appropriately	3	11	I think, like you say as well, they're getting away with it -that's the problem.
Normal behaviour	The offenders view their behaviour as normal	1	2	they see it as normal, as in their mind they can justify it,
<b><u>Offender response to apprehension</u></b>		3	45	



<u>Admission of guilt</u>		3	6	
Acting guilty, but not admitting it	The offender denied the offence, but still engage with officers who are talking about the issue when they don't need to	1	2	it does amaze me how these people are not under arrest and are free to leave at any time, however, no matter how much they are in denial with themselves, they won't walk away from us
Apologetic	Expressing or showing regretful acknowledgement of an offence	2	4	he was like "yes, yes, yes, I'm sorry"
Denial	The offender's refusal to accept they have done anything wrong	3	11	some will be out right denial and say I've not done anything
I need help	Acknowledgement that their inappropriate sexual behaviour is causing them problems	1	2	I've actually had a person say to me "I've got a problem, I need help"
Indignant	Annoyance that this accusation has been made	1	1	oh my god, how dare you accuse me of this?,
Justifications or excuses	Inferring that there is a reasonable action for the offending behaviour	3	13	he claimed that he was going over to grab the pole
No comment	Offender does not say anything when arrested or gives a no comment interview	2	4	some will not say a thing
Physical reaction	Offender has a physical response to being stopped	2	11	I've had a couple wet themselves.
<b><u>Offending behaviour</u></b>		3	47	
Escalating	Increasing the scale of their inappropriate sexual behaviour over time	1	1	the same with sex offenders they can start off very, very small, see how close they can physically get to someone i.e. a woman in the morning without them noticing. And then

				they go that one step further and see right can I sniff their hair? And then they go that one step,
Positioning	The offender placing themselves in a position to commence the search or offending process of the sexual assault	3	14	how he was positioned behind the girl wasn't the right way to position yourself, you don't stand behind someone and put both of your feet around their feet,
Repeat offence behaviour	Offender observed to have offended against more than one victim on an occasion	2	2	he then touched another ladies bum and then another ladies bum
Sexual assault	An attempt to initiate harmful or offensive contact with a person, or a threat to do so	3	28	where the hand is in front stroking, but it tends to be stroking, groping - there's one where, where one actually was out onto a woman's breast
Subtle	Offenders committing acts that are barely noticeable	3	8	very, very, very, very, very subtle touches, light back of the hand
Uncontrollable or involuntary	A sudden strong and unreflective urge or desire to act	1	2	sexual offenders seem to just sort of almost can't help themselves.
Use of props	Use of an object to facilitate or mask offending behaviour	3	8	He got onto a train and he moved his briefcase and when he got off he put it back again
Opportunistic vs. planned	The notion that an offender will either commit pre-meditated offences or acts on impulse	1	4	if a person is just on the underground, on a crowded underground and then they see someone they fancy and they just on impulse, do something then you are

				never going to pick that up beforehand
Quick movement	The change of pace in the movement of a sex offender, it quickens	2	9	they'll see something and they will suddenly zip around, they stand, their movement is quicker
Routine activities	The lifestyle of the offender contributes to the crime event occurring	3	9	People have probably been doing it all their life coming home from work.
<b><u>Search behaviour</u></b>		3	48	
Frantic signs of desperation	The offender is conducting themselves in a hurried, excited and disorganised manner	1	4	PO2:... they're more committed to doing... "I need to, I need to get, I need to get my..." PO3: Frantic. PO2: "...sexual gratification quick coz I'm running out of time".
Overt	Offenders search actions are open and plainly apparent	2	9	they can be so, so unsubtle that they would literally, that their eyes will lock on to a young lady or whatever is in their particular zone and they will literally be down the platform
Target selection	Choosing a person at which the sexual assault is aimed at	3	10	You will see exactly that they've clocked on to a target whether it's someone to steal from or someone to touch
Tunnel vision	The tendency to focus exclusively on the selected target and be unaware of what is going on around them	3	19	they are so zoned in on the female or whoever they are looking at and what they are about to do that...

Unusual behaviour	Strange actions that are not appropriate to the situation	3	27	we saw this geezer one day looping a couple of times
Combination	Displaying more than one suspicious behaviour in sequence	3	9	it's not just one single thing that they might do it will be a combination of a few little things.
Goes against tube norms and culture	Behaviour which would not be considered the norm on the tube	3	18	all behaviour which you wouldn't normally do for someone that just wants to get on and go home.
Offender characteristics		3	31	
Heterogeneity	The diverse qualities and characteristics of offenders and their behaviour	3	11	so, you can get ones that are quite slow and take their time and you get ones that are sprint to the target.
Offending history	Offenders have had committed previous offences	3	10	over the last 11 years I've nicked some two or three times
<b><u>PO's experiences</u></b>		2	39	
Frustration with processes	The feeling that despite their best efforts processes are working against them	1	5	You knowing you're doing a good job but you're not getting, your asking victims, women to go through, you know, a trial 6 months, 18 months after that incident and you're not winning them.
Not feeling listened to	Officers not feeling listened to within the organisation	2	6	Whereas, all the way along us on the ground are saying "you've got a problem with this" and it's ignored until it hits them in the face for whatever reason,

Previous experience with SO's		2	8	
No experience	No experience of sexual in previous roles	2	4	Prior, I didn't have any at all of sexual offences. I was on the pickpocket unit, but I was on the enquiries, so I was reactive, so I didn't see any of that side of things.
Some experience	Some experience of sexual in previous roles	2	5	we often, erm, happened up on sexual offences by accident
Time working for BTP		2	4	
Time working proactively on Sexual Offences		2	3	
Training		2	24	
Feasibility of SOs training	How easily training on detecting sexual offences could be implemented	2	11	yeah it is a skill but it's not a skill that I can say to you go on this course and you are now a train sex offender catcher.
Learning from experience	learning whilst performing the job	2	7	It's just something you going to learn with experience.
Mentoring	Learning from others who pass on knowledge	1	4	So, it's very much sort off handed down, but there is no tangible skill.
Transferred skills	Use of relevant skills that have been used in other areas	2	3	We have used what we've learnt from pickpockets.
<b><u>PO's role</u></b>		3	124	
Interpersonal skills	Officers finding a way to interact and communicate with apprehended offenders	1	2	you have to try and build up a rapport with these people, err, to help you achieve your goal.

Evaluating situations	Making a judgement about or an assessment of the value/importance of something	3	52	we can make a judgement on the ground pretty quickly whether we should be paying a bit more attention to that person if we think they are acting in a suspicious way, i.e. they are a pickpocket or a sexual offender.
Judging plausible actions	Assessing whether an individual's actions are reasonable or probable in the given situation	1	3	I always went in when I watch someone ticking off the reasons - what they were doing was innocent until they, so I'm always thinking they're lost", "they're waiting for someone" and when they start ticking those ones off "they're not lost, they're not waiting for someone", then I start thinking I'm actually on to a, something good here - going in with that sort of mindset rather than thinking everyone's a pervert.
Moral consideration	Making a decision how to act and weigh up how it will affect themselves and others	3	19	in my mind if I decided that somebody is a sexual offender and I know that he is going to target someone they want me to let him do it which I don't agree with at all.
Threshold	The magnitude or intensity that must be exceeded for a certain reaction to occur	3	24	They are following numerous women or whatever but don't actually do something, but we know they're definitely up to

				something, but they haven't done enough
Certainty	Feeling sure that an offence has taken place	3	10	we've got to be sure that there's enough to arrest them in our mind, you know, and be 100% that yeah they should be arrested, and they should be going to court for it.
Insufficient evidence	Not enough evidence to demonstrate that an offence has taken place	2	7	if you go in too soon as well, you also lose the offender, in terms of bringing him in to custody for something.
Not this time	The offenders may not be apprehended the first time, but will come to the attention of officers another time	2	3	if we don't catch them that time, generally we will come, even as reactive officers now, you do come across people that have either been arrested by as previously on the system
Perceived barriers	Organisational factors that prevent officers being as effective as they can in their roles	2	23	Sadly, the police, like anything else is a business and people want to see a return on their money
Prevention and deterrence	The aim of officer's role is to prevent crime as well as deter would be offenders	1	2	we prevent crime -as well as deter crime, we prevent it as well.
Resilience	The capacity of officers to rise to the inevitable challenges, problems and setbacks in the course of their work	1	1	you have to have real sort of mental resilient to be able to maintain that level of alertness for weeks at a time because you're going out there and you're constantly sort of confronted with crowds of people and you're trying to sort out

				someone within that crowd
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## Appendix D

### **Checklist for the development and evaluation of crime scripts (Borrion, 2013)**

Criteria	Description
Typology	The type of script should be clearly indicated: potential script, planned script or performed script; perpetrator script, victim script, control script, etc.
Traceability	All items of information should be explicitly connected to the objectives of the design problem. Dependencies between states of the entities and activities should be clearly visible.
Transparency	The syntax and method adopted for the creation of the script should be clearly communicated, along with the data used for its generation. The criteria used for the development of the model and its calibration should be made explicit. When multiple scripts are combined, the syntax and method of integration should be provided.
Consistency	The syntax and method adopted for the creation of a script and the integration of existing scripts should be consistently applied throughout the entire scripting process. Consistency also applies to scripts represented in a diagrammatic form.
Context	Crime and crime control are both context sensitive. A mention of the context should be added alongside the script so to allow more accurate understanding of the constraints and

	conditions that could impact on the effectiveness of control measures.
Completeness	Scripts should include relevant information about the elements that significantly influence the probability distribution of the consequences. Whilst it is understood that ecological models are always incomplete, the main factors of performance should be described for all modelled activities, including physical and psychological ones.
Parsimony	Scripts should not include any information about those elements that are not relevant to the stakeholders' high-level requirements.
Precision	The precision and resolution of the information included in a script should be based on the sensitivity of the control measures and allow effective evaluation of requirements.
Uncertainty	The uncertainty about the commission of crime and its impact according to the stakeholders' criteria should be explicitly detailed. For example, one should distinguish between sensed, inferred or speculated actions. Equally, when the script is based on multiple instances of crime and contain several tracks, the likelihood and statistical significance of each path should ideally be indicated.
Usability	Scripts should be comprehensive to those expected to use them. When scripts are

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	represented using activity diagrams, both the text and symbols used should be intelligible.
Ambiguity	It should not be possible to interpret the information forming a crime script in more than one way.
Accuracy	The intrinsic and relational properties of the elements represented in a crime script should be accurately characterised.

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### **Email to BTP proactive police officers**

Dear all,

I am a PhD researcher with Middlesex University who is being funded by BTP to look at the issue of sexual offending on London railways. In particular, my research is looking at offender behaviour and characteristics in relation to the more prevalent lower level sexual offences that occur. I will be exploring this subject in a number of different ways to gain a good understanding of the way in which sexual offences are committed.

My initial study involves interviewing and observing BTP police officers who undertake proactive duties with regards to sexual offences, to learn more about what is observed in terms of sex offenders' behaviours. I am inviting you to participate in this study and have enclosed an information sheet to provide you with information about the study and what you are being asked to do. Please read the information sheet fully before making your decision. Participation is entirely voluntary and you do not have to take part in the study if you do not choose to do so.

I will be attending team briefings over the next few months to introduce myself to the units, which will give me an opportunity to tell you more about the study and answer any questions you might have. If you agree to take part in the research, I will ask you to sign a consent form to indicate if you agree to take part in the interview and be observed whilst on duty, or whether you do not want to take part in an interview but agree to be observed as a member of a unit under observation. I have enclosed a copy of the consent form for your reference. Observations and interviews will be arranged at times that are convenient to officers within the units. If you do not wish to take part in the study and do not consent to being observed whilst on duty with your unit, please email me on [feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk](mailto:feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk) – this will be treated as confidential.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to meeting you.

Yours sincerely,

Shola Apena Rogers

Middlesex University

## Appendix F

### **Information sheet for participants - Police Officers**

Psychology Department  
Middlesex University  
Hendon  
London NW4 4BT

#### **Understanding the commission of sex offences on London railways**

**Researcher:** Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University  
([FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk) or  
[feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk](mailto:feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk) )

**Director of Studies:** Dr Jackie Gray at Middlesex University  
([J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk) )

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

#### **What is the purpose of the research?**

This research is to explore and build on existing knowledge about sex offending on the railways, with a particular focus on understanding offender behaviour and characteristics during all stages of the offence. We would like to interview and observe BTP police officers working in the area of sex offences, to learn more about their observations of the characteristics and behaviours they spot with potential sex offenders.

#### **What will happen to me if I take part?**

There are two elements to this study that you are being asked to participate in: the group interview and the observation of the unit on proactive duties.

You are being asked to take part in either a short individual or group interview with other members from your team at your located offices prior to you going out on a proactive shift. You will then be shadowed whilst your unit undertakes operational duties on the railways - the focus of the observation will be on what you observe with regards to sexual offending. Finally, you will be asked to take part in a short individual or group interview back at the office after the shift to reflect on how the shift went, observations made by the researcher and fill in any gaps. Each group interview will

last approximately 30-40 minutes. The observation will last for the full duration of the shift or for as long as possible without disrupting operational activities. There may be limited field notes made, but no digital recording during the observation, however, extensive field notes will be made retrospectively to assist with analysis. The interviews will be digitally recorded. Confidentiality will be maintained unless the researcher observes anything unethical or which constitutes as malpractice, which will need to be reported to a senior officer. The researcher will also breach confidentiality if an offence is witnessed. In this instance the researcher may a) provide a witness statement to police officers and b) be called upon to give evidence in court. At a later date after the data has been analysed, the researcher will present the themes that arose to a group of police officers who agreed to further participation in the research, as a way of checking agreement. You will be given an opportunity to contribute to this part of the research and give feedback on the analysis.

If you do not wish to take part in the study as explained above, you are being asked to consent to be observed by the researcher as part of the proactive unit going on duty to address sexual offences.

### **Do I have to take part?**

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You do not have to take part if you do not want to. Please note that even if a senior officer strongly encourages you to take part, it is always your decision whether or not to participate. If you decide to take part, you may withdraw at any time during your participation without giving a reason. If you wish to withdraw, please contact the researcher (or their Director of Studies) on the details at the top of this information sheet and ask for your data to be withdrawn from the study up until data analysis begins on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2016. You will be given a copy of this information sheet to help you choose whether or not to take part. You will also be asked to sign a consent form prior to taking part in the research. Confidentiality will be maintained as to whether you have consented to participate in the study or not.

### **What will happen to the data?**

To enable an accurate transcription of interviews, data will be recorded. The retrospective field notes of the observation will also be transcribed. All data will be anonymised in transcriptions. Only the researcher, the supervisory team and examiners may hear original recordings or see the transcriptions. All recordings and handwritten field notes will be destroyed after final examination of the thesis which will be after February 2019. Anything you say during the interview will be treated as confidential, other than anything which would constitute policing malpractice. Due to the nature of the research, extracts from interviews will be used in reports to the BTP, conferences, publications and the final thesis. However, you will remain anonymous throughout, as all names, places, role and operational rank will be

removed to ensure this. You will only be referred to using a unique identifier e.g. 'Officer 1'

**Who has reviewed the study?**

All proposals for research using human participants are reviewed by an Ethics Committee before they can proceed. The Middlesex Psychology Department's Ethics Committee have reviewed this proposal.

**Who is organising and funding the research?**

This research project is sponsored by the British Transport Police (BTP) and is being undertaken in collaboration with Middlesex University.

Participation is voluntary and greatly appreciated. Thank you for reading the information in this information sheet, if you are happy to take part in this research please sign and date below the attached informed consent sheet. If you have any questions or concerns before, during or after your participation in this research contact Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University ([FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk) or [feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk](mailto:feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk) ) or Dr Jackie Gray (Director of Studies) at Middlesex University (Tel: (0) 20 8411 5458: Email: [J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk) ).

### **Informed consent for participants – Police officers**

Middlesex University School of Science and Technology  
Psychology Department

#### **Understanding the commission of sex offences on London railways**

**Researcher:** Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University  
([FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk))

**Director of Studies:** Dr Jackie Gray at Middlesex University  
([J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk))

- 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 consent to the interview being audio-recorded and transcribed.
- I consent to the use of my case file information for the purpose of the study.
- 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 participating in the project at any time without any obligation to explain my reasons for doing so.
- I understand that anything I say during the interview will be treated as confidential, unless I discuss any issues that indicate a specific risk to myself or others. This can include risk of self-harm, violence or disclosures of abuse. If this occurs, then this information will be forwarded to my probation officer to ensure my safety and the safety of others.
- I understand that I can ask for my data to be withdrawn from the project until data analysis begins on 31st August 2017.
- I further understand that the data I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent publication in a doctoral thesis, reports, journal articles and other dissemination materials that may be published online and in print, and I provide my consent that this may occur.



\_\_\_\_\_  
Print name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Sign Name

date: \_\_\_\_\_

**To the participant:** Data may be inspected by the Chair of the Psychology Ethics panel and the Chair of the School of Science and Technology 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: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Debrief for BTP police officers**

Psychology Department  
Middlesex University  
Hendon  
London NW4 4BT

#### **Understanding the commission of sex offences on London railways**

Dear participant,

Thank you for taking part in this research.

This study is part of a programme of research being undertaken by a Middlesex University research student over a period of 3 years, which is being funded by the BTP to enhance their understanding of the characteristics of sexual offenders on the railways. This is the first study to be undertaken. It seeks to draw on existing knowledge of police officers who have experience in detecting sex offenders on the railways, to contribute to the evidence base and inform research going forward to explore the offence commission process and the types of people who offend in these ways.

Over the coming 18 months, further studies within this research programme will involve interrogating data held on BTP databases. This will assist with identifying what information regarding the offences, the victims and offenders can provide an account of the processes an offender has taken before, during and after committing a sexual offence on the railways. Finally, one study also seeks to interview convicted sex offenders who have offended within BTP jurisdiction to explore various factors relating to their background, social and offending behaviour in the context of the transport environment.

It is anticipated that this programme of research will address the *when*, *how* and *why* sexual offending occurs on tube and other London transport networks. It is the intention that by gaining more detailed knowledge of sex offenders' actions and behaviours, it will inform recommendations for new approaches and prevention

measures to tackle the current problem. Would you be interested in hearing about the findings from this research? It is hoped that the policing strategies that BTP will implement as an outcome of this research programme will be co-created with the participants that have taken part. Therefore, there may be further opportunities to participate in discussions about the findings and the implications, would this be of interest to you? If you would like to receive more information or to be involved in future stages of the research please let the researcher know in person or by sending an email to the address below.

If participation in this study has raised any difficult experiences or issues which you would like further support on, you can access Trauma Risk Management (TRiM) practitioners who can facilitate onward access to additional counselling / support should this be required. This resource can be accessed through contacting the Occupational Health Team at BTP.

If you have any further comments or questions about the research you can contact **Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University** ([FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk) or [feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk](mailto:feyishola.rogers@btp.pnn.police.uk) ) or **Dr Jackie Gray (Director of Studies) at Middlesex University** (Tel: (0) 20 8411 5458: [J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk) ).

We are very grateful for your time and sharing your experiences with us.

Yours faithfully,

Shola Apena Rogers  
Middlesex University

### **Police Officer semi-structured interview questions pre-observation**

Thank you for coming to be interviewed today, I really appreciate you taking the time to help with this research. The purpose of this first interview is to help me to understand the context in which you work. I also want to discuss your experiences of identifying someone committing a sex offence, the types of behaviour that raise suspicion and suspects' responses to being apprehended. After this interview, I will shadow you on your duties and after that, we will have an opportunity to discuss relevant events that occurred in the post- observation interview.

Before we start the discussion, I'm going to talk you through the information sheet and consent form I've just given you (*participants will have been sent the information sheet which includes informing them that we will be audio recording in advance of the interview. Researcher to go through with each participant and make sure they understand before giving their consent*). Do you have any questions you'd like to ask before we start? You'll notice from the form that we're going to be recording the discussion today so I would like to obtain your consent to take part and be recorded.

*Take questions then collect in signed consent form*

I'm going to start the recorder now. (*Start recorder*).

### **Experience and background factors**

1. How long have you been working in the Proactive Unit? How long has the unit been tasked with looking at sexual offences?
2. What is your rank and role?
3. Prior to the Proactive Unit being tasked with sexual offences, what was your previous experience of working on sexual assault offences?
4. What training have you had that is relevant to this particular role?

### **Experiences of identifying sex offences**

5. How many times have you identified someone you believe to be committing a sex offence?
6. How frequently do you approach someone?
7. How many arrests do you think you've made?
8. When out on your proactive shift today, what might raise your suspicions and alert you to a possible sex offence about to be committed?

#### **Prompt**

How does this compare to sighting a possible suspect going to commit an offence that wasn't sexual?

What kinds of behaviours would you expect to see before you apprehend or stop someone as a possible suspect?

Can you describe the types of behaviour that a suspect may have committed during the offence?

In particular, have you observed any patterns of behaviour of potential suspects? If so, what were they?

9. What resources do you use to assist the detection of possible suspects?

Prompt

How does police intelligence inform your activities whilst on duty?

10. What actions and behaviours have you observed a suspect to carry out in an attempt to hide what you believe they are intending to do?

Prompt

Have you ever witnessed a potential sex offender appear to change a plan of action either before you suspect they were going to commit an offence or during the offence?

11. Are there behaviours you have observed that make you think someone may have registered something unusual happening? Have you seen people apparently behave erratically, or seem shocked?
12. What actions and behaviours of a potential suspect have you seen after the alleged offence has occurred?
13. If you apprehend a suspect, what tends to happen?
14. What would you define as a good outcome from today's proactive duties?
15. Is there anything you would like to add, or do you have any questions?
16. Finally, are you still willing for me to shadow you when you go out today?

I'm going to stop the recorder now. (*Stop recorder*).

### **Police Officer semi-structured interview questions post-observation**

Thank you for allowing me to shadow you and to conduct the second part of the interview process. The purpose of this post observation interview is to give you an opportunity to say how you felt the shift went from your perspective, whether this was a routine shift or not. It will also allow me to share some of my observations and to identify which behaviours are displayed by perpetrators of a sexual offence.

Before we start the discussion, I want to remind you that participation in this study is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time. As before, I will be recording the discussion. Do you have any questions you'd like to ask before we start?

*Take questions.*

I'm going to start the recorder now. (*Start recorder*).

1. How did today's shift go?

Prompt

Was it routine or not?

2. Were your suspicions raised by any particular behaviour that you observed whilst on duty today? What did you see?
3. Can you tell me more about the stops/arrests that were made today? Or if no stops/arrests were made, why was this?

Prompt

What prevented you from taking any further action?

4. I observed..... How would you say that captured what the suspect did?
5. I observed..... What would your understanding of that be?
6. Do you feel that today had some good outcomes?

Prompt read back initial definitions of outcome then ask them to consider whether there were other outcomes too.

7. Do you feel that you could have improved today's outcomes?
8. Are there any barriers you experience in detecting and apprehending potential offenders?
9. Is there anything that would help to tackle sex offending on the railways more successfully?

10. Do you have any further comments about proactive duties today or have any questions?

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with me today. If you have any questions about the observation and/or interviews you can contact the researcher Shola Apena Rogers or Dr Jackie Gray (supervisor) (*details on sheet given to participants*).

I'm going to stop the recorder now. (*Stop recorder*).

### **Former proactive Police Officer semi-structured interview questions**

Thank you for coming to be interviewed today, I really appreciate you taking the time to help with this research. The purpose of this first interview is to help me to understand the context in which you previously worked. I also want to discuss your experiences of identifying someone committing a sex offence, the types of behaviour that raise suspicion and suspects' responses to being apprehended.

Before we start the discussion, I'm going to talk you through the information sheet and consent form I've just given you (*participants will have been sent the information sheet which includes informing them that we will be audio recording in advance of the interview. Researcher to go through with each participant and make sure they understand before giving their consent*). Do you have any questions you'd like to ask before we start? You'll notice from the form that we're going to be recording the discussion today so I would like to obtain your consent to take part and be recorded.

*Take questions then collect in signed consent form*

I'm going to start the recorder now. (*Start recorder*).

#### **Experience and background factors**

1. How long had you been working in the SOU?
2. What is your rank and role?
3. Prior to working the SOU, what was your previous experience of working on sexual assault offences?
4. What training have you had that is relevant to this particular role?

#### **Experiences of identifying sex offences**

5. How many times have you identified someone you believe to be committing a sex offence?
6. How frequently do you approach someone?
7. How many arrests do you think you've made?
8. What behaviour might raise your suspicions and alert you to a possible sex offence about to be committed?

#### **Prompt**

How does this compare to sighting a possible suspect going to commit an offence that wasn't sexual?

What kinds of behaviours would you expect to see before you apprehend or stop someone as a possible suspect?



Can you describe the types of behaviour that a suspect may have committed during the offence?

In particular, have you observed any patterns of behaviour of potential suspects? If so, what were they?

9. What resources did you use to assist the detection of possible suspects?

Prompt

How did police intelligence inform your activities whilst on duty?

10. What actions and behaviours have you observed a suspect to carry out in an attempt to hide what you believe they are intending to do?

Prompt

Have you ever witnessed a potential sex offender appear to change a plan of action either before you suspect they were going to commit an offence or during the offence?

11. Are there behaviours you have observed that make you think someone may have registered something unusual happening? Have you seen people apparently behave erratically, or seem shocked?
12. What actions and behaviours of a potential suspect have you seen after the alleged offence has occurred?
13. If you apprehend a suspect, what tends to happen?
14. Is there anything you would like to add, or do you have any questions?

I'm going to stop the recorder now. (*Stop recorder*).

1    **Appendix L**

2    **Police pre-observation interview on 29th November redacted**  
3    **transcription**

4    Group Interview Location:                      CLPS  
5    Date:    29/11/16  
6    Number of Attendees (if known):            4  
7    Name of Transcriber:                              Shola Apena Rogers

8

9    INTERVIEWER:

10   If I could start with you individually, I'll start this end and work my way  
11   round, the first couple of questions are about you, like how long have you  
12   been working for this proactive unit?

13   PO13:

14   [REDACTED].

15   PO11:

16   [REDACTED].

17   PO14:

18   [REDACTED].

19   PO12:

20   [REDACTED]

21   INTERVIEWER:

22   Ok, so a real range there. And, so how long has the unit been tasked with  
23   looking at sexual offences?

24   PO13:

25   Officially, a year.

26   PO11:

27   But unofficially we have always dealt with it, yeah.

28 INTERVIEWER:

29 Ok.

30 PO12:

31 When I started on DIPs, um there was no sexual offences proactive team.  
32 We were the sexual offences proactive team and we used to share the  
33 same office, so the DIP squad and the sexual offences unit all used to sit in  
34 the same room any ID sorts that came out for either pickpocket or sexual,  
35 then we would be the ones that go out and look for them. We're the only  
36 ones that really, um, knew how to go looking for these people. Um, and it  
37 sort of come from us that we pass on our knowledge, sort of, as other  
38 people come and gone from the DIPs squad - only, I think there are only  
39 two or three of us that have been here as long as me, so we sort of pass  
40 on the knowledge.

41 INTERVIEWER:

42 And, so if I could go around again, what's your rank and role?

43 PO13:

44 [REDACTED].

45 PO11:

46 [REDACTED].

47 PO14:

48 [REDACTED].

49 PO12:

50 [REDACTED].

51 INTERVIEWER:

52 Lovely, ok, and prior to you coming to this unit, what experience have you  
53 had with working with sexual offences with BTP?

54 PO13:

55 Erm, just the odd plain clothes patrol on my previous unit.

56 INTERVIEWER:

57 What did you come across in that role?

58 PO13:

59 Erm, still come across offenders, that cos it was less frequent plain clothes  
60 patrols you obviously come across them less frequently.

61 INTERVIEWER:

62 Ok, and if they were sexual offenders what kind of offences might they be  
63 committing?

64 PO13:

65 Mainly, outraging public decency, so like filming up skirts and stuff like  
66 that.

67 INTERVIEWER:

68 Ok, thank you.

69 PO11:

70 I'm just trying to remember before I had a few sexual offences, touching  
71 jobs, as a [REDACTED], I dealt with it at, for one section 2, which is  
72 penetration, but, um, so I dealt with that investigation. Other than that,  
73 it's hard to remember what I was doing before seven years ago - just the  
74 odd job now and again.

75 INTERVIEWER:

76 And yourself? [towards PO14]

77 PO14:

78 Err, same. A couple of, er, plain clothes patrols where we were actually  
79 tasked to look for people that have committed offences because we had  
80 their stills from CCTV, reviewed it and we knew where they were travelling  
81 to, had a couple of good arrests dealing with that in plain clothes and in  
82 uniform sometimes you just come across something, someone's just  
83 grabbed hold of someone saying "he's just done this".

84 PO12:

85 I've only done[a short time] in uniform at [REDACTED], erm, and the only  
86 one I can remember is er, where there was a report of a guy masturbating

87 on a train from Brixton towards Stockwell. And, I managed to run  
88 downstairs and actually got on the train while he was still masturbating in  
89 full uniform. That's the only sexual offence I can remember before I came  
90 onto the DIP squad.

91 INTERVIEWER:

92 Thank you. And so what training have you had that's relevant to this  
93 particular role?

94 PO11:

95 None.

96 PO13:

97 None.

98 PO11:

99 I have done CID course, erm, but it is not really relevant to this job but I  
100 haven't had, we, none of us have had any specific training...

101 PO13:

102 It's just on the job training really isn't it?

103 PO11:

104 Yeah

105 PO13:

106 You just pick it up.

107 PO11:

108 Well, I wouldn't call it training I'll call it practice because nobody's, on the  
109 job training was if you on here and someone is training you while you're  
110 on the job. Practice is when you were doing the job and you get better at  
111 it, I'd say we've had some practice...

112 PO13:

113 Well, yeah.

114 INTERVIEWER:

115 On the job training/learning through experience which I guess is a form of  
116 on the job training.

117 PO12:

118 Yeah, there, as far as I know, there is no training, at all. It's a shame I think  
119 we should be trained in how to take statements properly from sexual  
120 offences, erm, victims.

121 PO13:

122 Yeah.

123 PO12:

124 Because we're like bulls in a china shop, when we nick someone we just  
125 want to get it all out of the way and have it done and dusted as quickly as  
126 possible and I think maybe more time should be taken. Erm, I'd, a bit of a  
127 serious one, um, about six months ago and I decided to get a sexual  
128 offences officer to come down he was trained in doing, what's it called?

129 PO11:

130 ABE.

131 PO12:

132 ABE, erm, because I thought that that would be more appropriate than me  
133 just taking a statement from her and it ended up that the guy got  
134 convicted in court so it was worth it. But if he hadn't of been available  
135 then we would just have done a normal statement.

136 INTERVIEWER:

137 Ok, that was really useful to know. So thinking of you, erm, maybe as a  
138 unit I guess would be useful, how many times do you think you've  
139 identified someone committing a sexual offence? Roughly, I mean saying  
140 the last six months?

141 PO11:

142 That we've actually arrested? Or...

143 INTERVIEWER:

144 Yeah.

145 PO13:

146 Probably about, not that many.

147 INTERVIEWER:

148 Or maybe not arrested, let's go back, think of people you think you I have  
149 identified.

150 PO11:

151 We know people are up to no good but no offence to arrest for.

152 PO12:

153 It's probably every single shift we go out, we'll see somebody - apart from  
154 the one shift you came out with us. But probably if not everyday every  
155 other day we will see someone and we'll follow them because we believe  
156 they are doing that.

157 PO11:

158 But that doesn't translate into an arrest though because people, some  
159 people just look, just look they follow people to just look. maybe they  
160 have no intention of ever doing anything other than just look but because  
161 they're... arcing and looking, we've got, we look at them.

162 INTERVIEWER:

163 Ok, so you kind of answered my next question which would be like  
164 approximately one to two every shift that you go out you might see  
165 someone who you feel could be but it might not result in

166 PO13:

167 And it depends what time of year as well. Now women are wearing more  
168 clothes which funnily enough does attract less attention from men, where  
169 in the summer you pick up sex offenders may be a lot more frequently.

170 PO11:

171 And upskirt filming is not good now as people are wearing trousers and  
172 jeans rather than short skirts and summer dresses.

173 PO12:

174 Yeah, it's definitely a seasonal thing. You can tell after winter when we get  
175 that first couple of days in spring where it's nice and sunny we always say  
176 will get a sexual offender a day and we do, it's literally like that.

177 INTERVIEWER:

178 Yeah, and how many arrests do you think you've made as a unit say in the  
179 last six months?

180 PO12:

181 Since us four have been together, I can't think of one.

182 PO11:

183 What about upskirters?

184 PO12:

185 Oh, we've had the upskirter fellow, oh I had the fellow in Victoria who I  
186 just went to court with.

187 PO11:

188 Yeah, I had one at Mile End, two at Mile End...

189 PO13:

190 Any arrest or just sexual offender?

191 INTERVIEWER:

192 Sexual offender.

193 PO12:

194 Oh, what's his name, [REDACTED] as well.

195 PO11:

196 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED], that one...

197 PO12:

198 [REDACTED] also I had the South American fellow, [REDACTED]

199 PO13:

200 That was about a year ago



201 PO12:

202 No, we nicked him again didn't we at King's Cross. I went out on a level  
203 one job.

204 PO11:

205 That one that we had, it was over six months ago but....

206 PO12:

207 About 10.

208 INTERVIEWER:

209 About 10.

210 PO11:

211 Not loads.

212 INTERVIEWER:

213 And if, um, if when you're out on proactive duties what, and I know we  
214 spoke a bit about this, what kind of things are you looking at that might  
215 raise your suspicions that may be a sexual offence might be committed?

216 PO12:

217 Um, it's just basically when we're standing on the platform or when we  
218 are travelling on the train we see someone get off a train and either walk  
219 along the platform looking into carriages as they're going along and then  
220 re-board the same train or they'll cross straight over to the next platform  
221 and go back the other way to where they've come from. And pretty much I  
222 would say you guys would probably agree with me, within about a minute  
223 you'll be able to say it's a pickpocket or it's a sexual offender because the  
224 way they carry themselves. Erm, Sexual Offenders you can quite happily  
225 follow for about an hour and they won't pick you up, you can stand next  
226 to them, be on the same carriage, get on trains get off trains, crossover -  
227 they will not pay a blind bit of notice to you. Whereas a pickpocket will  
228 spot you straight away. Um, I think that's the big difference.

229 PO13:

230 Yeah, sex offenders if you see one when they are actually working, they've  
231 got their eyes glazed over they are just transfixed on one thing they won't  
232 really care who's around them other than who they're looking at.

233 PO11:

234 And their gait is different, their walk, everybody, when somebody's wants  
235 to stand on the platform, everybody stands there waiting and they'll see  
236 something and they will suddenly zip around, they stand, their movement  
237 is quicker and they are following their eyes they're looking down, they  
238 quite often will be looking at a girl's, generally their arse and he'll, they'll  
239 just go towards it like, like...

240 PO12:

241 A moth to a flame.

242 PO11:

243 That's it, a moth to a flame. I was trying to think of, um, an appropriate  
244 analogy but yeah [laughs]. It's like er, they've got a homing device  
245 whereas a pickpocket is more guarded and they are looking around,  
246 they've got people looking out for them and then they tactically go in  
247 whereas sexual offenders seem to just sort of almost can't help  
248 themselves. That's what it looks like.

249 [00:10:00]

250 PO12:

251 The last guy who were arrested his name was [REDACTED], unfortunately,  
252 erm, he was filming up girls' skirts with a rucksack and it really wasn't that  
253 busy was it? We must have been on about two or three different trains  
254 with him, where it was just like four big hairy blokes just staring at him  
255 trying to work out what he was doing, and he didn't pay a blind, he was  
256 walking past us and squeezing past and getting in with us. All he was  
257 interested in was the short skirts that was all he could see. We could have  
258 stayed with him all day long...

259 PO13:

260 Proper tunnel vision.

261 PO12:

262 So, you pick up on that...

263 PO13:

264 I don't think we have ever followed a sex offender and they have actually  
265 pinged us or seen us.

266 PO12:

267 No, no. Even the ones that we know, who you know, over the last 11 years  
268 I've nicked some two or three times and see them again and they don't  
269 recognise me. Or not guided to look around to see if they know anyone  
270 they're just so focused.

271 PO11:

272 Because I think before they actually do something they think they're not  
273 doing anything wrong, I guess because they haven't done anything so why  
274 would anybody been looking at them? Whereas a pickpocket will know his  
275 going there's a thief, so he'll always be on the lookout but it's a different  
276 psyche. I mean a thief knows he's a thief but the sexual offender just,  
277 don't know, it feels different with different psyche.

278 INTERVIEWER:

279 So, it kind of almost sounded what you said, is that may be a sex offender  
280 isn't necessarily always going to offend?

281 PO11:

282 Yeah, yeah, I think that is why sometimes, some people say it is easier to  
283 arrest a sexual offender, I think maybe if a sexual offender goes down on  
284 the underground to offend then yes maybe. But if a person is just on the  
285 underground, on a crowded underground and then they see someone  
286 they fancy and they just impulse, do something then you are never going  
287 to pick that up beforehand because he is not exhibited any suspicious  
288 activity he's just done something there and then - we're never going to  
289 pick up and I don't know how many of the crimes that come in are of that  
290 ilk and how many are off the offender that goes out to offend.

291 INTERVIEWER:

292 Yeah. And I think you've probably described a lot of the behaviours, how  
293 long do you kind of wait to see how things unfold and how do you make  
294 that judgement?

295 PO12:

296 Yeah, I, I think the most difficult thing the job is asking us to do in the last  
297 year is to let these offences happened, that never used to be the case we  
298 used to go out and look faces that were known if we saw them we'd arrest  
299 them. But the bosses, now I don't mind if you pay them this tape, seem to  
300 think it was a good idea that now we left the offences happen and from  
301 my point of view, and I'm sure the guys would agree with me, it's the most  
302 difficult thing in the world to let happen. If you, in my mind if I decided  
303 that somebody is a sexual offender and I know that he is going to target  
304 someone they want me to let him do it which I don't agree with at all. In  
305 the old days if we come across someone we didn't know, we knew what  
306 they were doing they would get off the train and we would have a little  
307 chat with them and our little chats would normally mean that they wasn't  
308 come, going to come down the underground and bother us again. Nothing  
309 underhand or anything but we would give them a good enough  
310 conversation to say we know who you are, taken your photograph, we are  
311 going to put your images out there, if you are seen again you will be  
312 caught and tell them, like, the home truths about you know, sexual  
313 offenders register, their wives will find out, their girlfriends will find out,  
314 their families will find out and that conversation used to hit home. So we  
315 used to, you know, get rid of it that way but the bosses, for some reason  
316 have got a bee in their bonnet, that we are now to let women get sexually  
317 assaulted, which I don't agree with I think it's um, an outrage basically, but  
318 they won't listen to us they want us to go out let them do their job and  
319 the rest of them for the offence, so they get a nice pair up that looks good  
320 on paper. Erm, I just think it's wrong but, I don't know what the rest of the  
321 team think? That's my opinion.

322 PO14:

323 Sometimes you can follow people and you're pretty damn sure what  
324 they're up to and that conversation is their luckiest day ever because  
325 they'll never do anything again, well we'd like to think they wouldn't  
326 because we've spoken to them, we know, the sexual offenders they think  
327 that they are the only ones doing it that's why they don't pay attention

328 they just think that "I've got a good idea, I'll get on clothes behind females  
329 or think I'll film up people's skirts", but it's hard to let it happen,  
330 sometimes it happens anyway but...

331 PO12:

332 I mean the guys filming up skirts I'm fine with because we never ever tell  
333 the victims. We arrest them and we don't engage with the person he has  
334 just filmed up because there is no need whatsoever for that person to  
335 know what's happened because that affects them, and I know how sexual  
336 offences affects people - it does, it can ruin people's lives. You know, I  
337 don't want to put myself in a position where I have ruined someone's life,  
338 some girls you can say "he's just feeled up your skirt" and that's it they go  
339 to pieces. So, obviously, I've had a few jobs with these guys the last one  
340 we had it was like "don't worry about the victim, don't worry she doesn't  
341 know it's happened, there's no need, we've got the evidence on his  
342 camera", you know, that's going to convict him. So, having her knowing  
343 that somebody has done something, you know, appalling is pointless. Erm,  
344 what was my point I was getting to?

345 PO11:

346 I don't know.

347 PO12:

348 Yeah, it was just the whole, like, do we let somebody sexually assault  
349 someone?

350 [00:15:00]

351 PO11:

352 I always take it on a case-by-case basis, I'm not going to let, yeah, you look  
353 at it one way and say ok maybe, somebody has to lose out for the  
354 common good, but you're not going to let like a young girl or a child be,  
355 somebody who, who, on the surface, who is obviously vulnerable you're  
356 not going to let it happen. But sometimes you can see them doing what  
357 they're doing and you can see the victim is completely oblivious really,  
358 other times, you can see them react but it always affects them and then  
359 you always feel guilty and I feel the guiltiest when they go to court cos you  
360 sort of sell, you sort of have to, you know, you give them all the we will  
361 support you we'll do this for you, we'll do that for you, erm, at the end of

362 the day they still get cross examined by a solicitor in the courtroom who  
363 makes them cry and then they always come out crying and you think "I  
364 did, I sold that cos I had to.

365 PO13:

366 I agree with what PO14 says though, if you stop a pickpocket before they  
367 do an offence they will carry on trying to steal, but some of the sexual  
368 offenders we get, you've just got to stop them, have a strong word with  
369 them and they won't do it again because you have given them a chance  
370 and they are so like, I think generally some of them are pretty scared...

371 PO12:

372 Yeah.

373 PO13:

374 Because not just the way we talk to them but just because they realise  
375 how close they were to losing their jobs, wife, kids, whatever.

376 PO11:

377 Because they are not really part of the, what you would classify as the  
378 criminal fraternity, you know what I mean?

379 INTERVIEWER:

380 Explain that's a bit more.

381 PO12:

382 They are all lone wolves, they are not part of a organised gang.

383 PO14:

384 They don't tell their friends that "I'm going out doing this".

385 PO11:

386 They are not boasting about it.

387 PO14:

388 Thieves do, thieves will always say "I've got this today I've got, look what  
389 I've got today".

390 PO11:

391 It's not their job. A thief, you know, if you're a pickpocket, this is your job  
392 you've almost signed up for that career path.

393 INTERVIEWER:

394 Yeah.

395 PO13:

396 And yeah, a thief, if a pickpocket get stopped without doing a job and not  
397 arrested for them that's a good result because they carry on and know  
398 they are one step ahead of us.

399 PO12:

400 But to say to, like, Mr Grey who lives at home with his wife and kids...

401 PO11:

402 ...and works in the office.

403 PO12:

404 ...I'm taking your photograph we are now going to put this across every  
405 unit in the BTP and met round and try and link it to any other assault, this  
406 is what could happen to you, it just [clicks fingers] a little like just goes on  
407 in their head I'm not saying it stays forever I remember talking to people  
408 who was that guy with the grey hair the other day? We stopped?

409 PO13:

410 Yeah, yeah.

411 PO12:

412 I hadn't seen him for 7 years and the first time he's come back, and he  
413 remembered me, because I said I stop to you and he was like "yes, yes,  
414 yes, I'm sorry" [laughs]. You know, so, it works -he hasn't done anything  
415 for 7 years, he's obviously had a little relapse and pop back for a day last  
416 week and I grabbed him up again. Erm, but I would much rather that then  
417 let him do what the bosses want us to do, which I think needs to be  
418 addressed because I'm not happy.

419 INTERVIEWER:

420 Sounds like not a good place to be in if you are told to do one thing and it  
421 goes against kind of what you...

422 PO12:

423 I don't know how they can ask anybody to do it, I don't think they could  
424 possibly thought the unit are going to let people get to sexually assaulted,  
425 cos, no matter, it affects the woman's but also it affect us as well you  
426 know, we witness things like that, I mean me and [REDACTED] had the five  
427 year old girl an 8 year old girl sexually assaulted in front of us at South  
428 Ken. But that happened without knowing, we didn't know it was going to  
429 happen you know, we was just looking at guy that looks really weird and  
430 we'll just thinking what's he looking at? What's he going to do? Because  
431 there is no one around just these two little girls and he sexually assaulted  
432 these two little girls and it really really affected, you know weeks and  
433 weeks we'll sort of I can't believe I saw that, I can't believe that  
434 happened". And if you want people to let that happen, then it's like aiding  
435 and abetting as far as I'm concerned.

436 INTERVIEWER:

437 It sounds kind of like you have to make a judgement call, especially when  
438 you...

439 PO12:

440 Yeah, a lot of the ones we getting are the guys that have, um, got in close  
441 behind a woman, ended up with an erection and started rubbing  
442 themselves into them, which is, I don't feel, this sounds terrible, that to  
443 me I don't feel like I've let that happen because I've seen him yet in close  
444 behind someone and I'm still thinking "what's he doing? Is he a pickpocket  
445 is he a, and also if you look down there's a bulge in his trousers is banging  
446 into somebody's back side. So, I haven't, I haven't sort of concurred with  
447 him doing what he's doing, I've followed someone I think's suspicious and  
448 it's happened but when I know it's a sexual offender and I know he's going  
449 up to do something I'm not going to let him do it, does that make sense?

450 INTERVIEWER:

451 Yeah

452



453 PO11:

454 We got you know, er, when we arrested [REDACTED], he was quite a  
455 serious sexual offender who is always in and out and if I see him again, I  
456 don't follow him to try and catch him sexually offend somebody else, I'll  
457 pick him up and stop him or tell him off, I'd put in an intel report in on him  
458 I'd do everything I can but what I'm not going to do because I know he's a  
459 sexual offender, I'm not going to watch him go and grab somebody and  
460 then pat myself on the back and say "yeah, I've arrested you again"  
461 because what I've done is created, allowed another victim again. I don't  
462 know what technically we, if that's right or wrong...

463 [00:20:00]

464 PO12:

465 Well, the first line of a police officer is to prevent crime. That's why we are  
466 here.

467 PO11:

468 No, I mean like, I don't know if erm, what [REDACTED] would say to that.

469 PO12:

470 Well, that's because he has to tick all his boxes and get all his figures and  
471 then he'll make himself look good in front of the BTP authority. I mean all  
472 they want is figures on a sheet of paper, you know, saying "oh look we've  
473 solved 500 sexual assaults this year". Oh that's good. Not that we let 400  
474 assaults actually happen in front of officers because that would be a  
475 completely different story. If the press get hold of it, if anyone got hold of  
476 it we'd all be finished. Can you imagine the headlines "BTP let 400 women  
477 get sexually assaulted while officers watching".

478 INTERVIEWER:

479 That would have a different slant definitely. So, what do you, why do you  
480 think they are asking you to pay that approach?

481 PO12:

482 Basically, what happened was, erm, we had a area commander in about 3  
483 years ago called [REDACTED]? He was very interested in the DIP squad he  
484 like what we did, erm, and it come up in conversation about sexual

485 assaults and he was made aware that a lot more sexual assaults are going  
486 on and people don't report it. Cos, we like say to 'em, they're out there  
487 they're everywhere, but 9 times out of 10 he will speak to a female and  
488 they go " oh that's alright I didn't feel anything, you know it's fine", so  
489 then we'll have a chat with someone. He didn't like that and he said I'll do  
490 a big campaign Op Guardian, I want people to report it, I want people to  
491 bring it to our attention and then we will investigate it. Now some  
492 people's sexual assaults, to like the actual sort of, you know, what's what,  
493 is huge and people like calling the police - they're going to see posters up,  
494 they're gonna see this up, they're gonna see that up, "I was on the train  
495 someone bumped into me his hand touch my backside", we've got to  
496 CRIMIT, we've got to investigate it - it just went mental, it just went off the  
497 scale. So, I'm sure you're aware sexual offences since Guardian come out  
498 has gone through the roof.

499 INTERVIEWER:

500 Yep

501 PO12:

502 On top of that they was going to get rid of the sexual offences unit.

503 PO11:

504 They're still going to get rid of the sexual offences unit.

505 PO12:

506 They're getting rid of us as well, so, we are not going to be there. As from  
507 April we don't exist, erm...

508 PO11:

509 April 1st.

510 PO12:

511 Erm, but they want to, because they have created a monster they now  
512 want it sorted out. So they've created this massive influx of crime that is  
513 happening and all of a sudden they want them solved and they want us to  
514 solve them by letting them happen, rather than us just having a word with  
515 someone. You know, they are not getting all the CCTV...

516 PO11:

517 The reactive group, cos we got bottled neck for CCTV, the whole force is  
518 not structured properly. With a CCTV rich environment that we have if you  
519 go in through an investigative route, i.e. send us out looking for ID sorts,  
520 that's cool but they don't come out, they come out in drips and drabs  
521 because they don't have enough people to do, to process the CCTV and it  
522 doesn't matter how many officers you have sat at a desk submitting  
523 requests for CCTV if they're not getting the, you're not gonna get, you're  
524 not gonna get any clear ups through an investigative route, and anyway  
525 the sexual offences were also stressed and they all went off sick and left  
526 and found any excuse to leave. So then, basically we're the, they look to us  
527 to er, to plug the gap, basically.

528 INTERVIEWER:

529 And you've kind of brought me nicely to my next question, what resources  
530 do you use to assist you in kind of your role?

531 PO11:

532 Well we don't get given anything. The only thing we want is to be left  
533 alone to do the job, but there is quite a lot of obstructions now, people  
534 get their rest days cancelled, we are fighting against a roster now because  
535 they want, we work the night shifts now and there's never any, for DIPS...

536 PO12:

537 And sexual offences.

538 PO11:

539 ... there's nothing happens, so they've taken away Thursday and Friday  
540 which are very productive shifts and replaced them with non-productive  
541 shifts.

542 INTERVIEWER:

543 So, tell me again, obviously I'm new to the policing structure, so you work  
544 shifts and you're saying that now they're asking you to do the night ones  
545 that's taking away from your most productive days which is Thursday and  
546 Friday, ok so they're asking you to do Friday and Saturday night now which  
547 you don't pick up...

548 PO11:

549 Well they are actually asking us to do 7 nights and we're trying to fight the  
550 roster.

551 PO12:

552 We've informed them that the underground, believe it or not, is not open  
553 at night time it closes at 12. They want us to work from 11 at night till 7 in  
554 the morning.

555 PO11:

556 On weekdays.

557 PO12:

558 For a 7 day stretch and we said that's pointless, but they said well that's  
559 what we want and the reply was I'm sure you'll find something to do".

560 INTERVIEWER:

561 Ok, where is he previously would have used your Thursday, Friday...

562 PO11:

563 To do rush hours yeah.

564 INTERVIEWER:

565 Ok, right... so when you say you want to be left to do your job what do you  
566 mean by that?

567 [00:25:00]

568 PO11:

569 It feels like you're fighting against the roster, um, and we'd like lots of ID  
570 sorts to come out.

571 INTERVIEWER:

572 ID sorts?

573 PO11:

574 Images of suspects that have done the jobs, so when we see someone we  
575 recognise we can just arrest them, will that be for sexual offences or pick  
576 pocket, it means we can arrest sexual offenders without them committing  
577 offences...

578 INTERVIEWER:

579 Ok, so bit more proactive when talking about prevention.

580 PO11:

581 Yeah, so... unfortunately it has already happened, but at least we can  
582 arrest them but we don't have to then follow that person for him to  
583 assault somebody else so yeah it would be prevention in preventing  
584 further reoffending and whatever intel, but they can never seem to get  
585 the intel right because it is very hard. But to stick up for them, the Intel  
586 people, when a crime is recorded it's a bit different for sexual offences but  
587 they have end station reporting. So if it's happened along on the Central  
588 Line and they got off at Mile End but it actually happened nearer Oxford  
589 Circus it will come up as Mile End, so you can never really get a clear  
590 picture of where these offences are happening or when.

591 PO12:

592 There, there, there very good of sort of sending out pictures without  
593 locations and without times.

594 PO11:

595 Yeah.

596 PO12:

597 So, when we'll get sent a picture of someone it'll just say this occurred,  
598 this was reported at Mile End when you know it's not at Mile End because  
599 it is probably up at Oxford Circus. And then there is no time, there's no,  
600 you know, there's nothing. There's like intelligence wise the force has  
601 gone over a cliff, but purely because of the amount of work that's come  
602 through because now people are reporting it.

603 INTERVIEWER:

604 So, resources wise there is not much on the ground that you...

605 PO13:

606 We got given those cameras, but we've never really use them

607 PO11:

608 We've struggled to use them, but I guess that's not their fault they're  
609 trying to give us what we need.

610 PO12:

611 They, will work, I mean cameras are a good idea.

612 PO11:

613 Yeah.

614 PO12:

615 They will work, it's just everything...

616 PO13:

617 It's just hard to like... it's still a key fob but you still got to try and, it's so  
618 busy you've got to get around people and it would be easier if it was a  
619 phone because he could just hold it up like this while a key fob...

620 PO11:

621 It's still hard, I mean first of all you've got to remember you've got it cos,  
622 like your adrenaline's going at bit and you're running around doing  
623 this...[inaudible] and then you've got to turn it on.

624 PO13:

625 And you realise the battery is drained.

626 PO11:

627 The battery is dead and like oh shit [laughs] but...

628 PO12:

629 Yeah, I mean they could, I mean strangely enough they should form like a  
630 sexual offences unit that would be really good, but as you know they've  
631 taken all of the resources out of that and they're breaking them up, they  
632 are going to be no more from April.

633 PO11:

634 I think they should give us all not Blackberrys but iPhones, job iPhones so  
635 we can get our emails, get the pictures on our phones...

636 PO13:

637 Yeah, we'd spend less time having to come back here to look at emails just  
638 to look at her and you could like talk to each other as well.

639 PO11:

640 Yeah well, it would be useful for example rather than ID sorts come out,  
641 just a picture, a package come out - did they use an Oyster card ok it's this  
642 number so then you've got the background Intel. This number was tapped  
643 in at a station and they tapped in at the station at every day between 8  
644 o'clock or taps out, then we've got an idea where to look for this person  
645 rather than just a picture but then there's all these...

646 PO13:

647 It takes time.

648 PO11:

649 That takes time but why does it take time? We've got a couple of people  
650 there...

651 PO13:

652 It's more TfL.

653 PO11:

654 Yeah, but that's not our problem.

655 PO12:

656 We should be more, we should be more CCTV based and Oyster card  
657 based.

658 PO11:

659 That's what we should be getting.

660 PO12:

661 All we're getting is that's a picture of someone who was on the Central  
662 Line. Four and a half million people every day use the tube.

663 PO11:

664 And for us to arrest somebody on an image alone I have to be 100% sure  
665 it's them. Like yesterday with that girl she looks so good for it, so good for  
666 it, but she wasn't doing anything suspicious but I'm not arresting her

667 because I'm not 100% sure, I'm only say what... she look good though  
668 didn't she, but we fell on the side of no because there was no other  
669 evidence around - she wasn't with the other person she was with the stills,  
670 she was when she wasn't doing anything suspicious when we saw her so  
671 to take somebody's Liberty away just cos they resemble someone, I need  
672 to know it's the right person.

673 INTERVIEWER:

674 Ok, also thinking about the way you've been kept talking about that for a  
675 pickpocket, how do you feel when it's a sexual offender?

676 PO11:

677 More so, because it is such a, to accuse somebody of that you need to  
678 know that it's them or be pretty sure, you know.

679 PO14:

680 You always go to court.

681 PO11:

682 Yeah, you always go to court.

683 PO12:

684 Always.

685 PO11:

686 It's very time, for us it takes up a lot of our time and energy, whereas a  
687 pickpocket it could be done and dusted if we arrest a pickpocket tonight it  
688 can be done and dusted by tomorrow.

689 [00:30:00]

690 PO12:

691 They'll be in prison by tomorrow morning and doing a 6 month stretch.  
692 Sexual offences, the guy with the camera we've probably done 6 days in  
693 the office - paperwork and Intel work, so it takes us off patrol...

694 PO11:

695 At least he won't go to court, they usually go to court.

696 PO12:



697 Last months I spent 3 days in court on a simple sexual touching, just  
698 because he was arguing, it was Crown Court he was arguing the toss it  
699 took 3 days, now that's 3 days that I'm not doing other stuff. And the build  
700 up to that I'd spent 2 or 3 days just in the office just putting the case  
701 together to do that, so that's an entire week it's taken out which  
702 obviously, they don't see, the bosses, they just see "oh he's nicked an  
703 offender, well done go out and get another one".

704 PO11:

705 But we don't get a well done, do we.

706 PO12:

707 I don't get a well done, no.

708 PO13:

709 There's no praise from anyone anymore, it's you haven't done this right,  
710 you haven't done this. But hey ho...

711 PO11:

712 But that's another story. [all laugh] That's just morale here, morale is  
713 pretty low in the BTP as you can probably tell, but that's not what you're  
714 here for.

715 INTERVIEWER:

716 But it does obviously impact on you as officers, so yeah, it's hard. Thinking  
717 about when you are watching a suspect, have you ever kind of witnessed  
718 or observed a suspect carrying out or attempt to hide what you believe  
719 their intending to do? A bit more about the premeditated offender I  
720 guess, what kind of actions or behaviours might you see in someone.

721 PO13:

722 The guys who was filming up skirts, he'd got it in a bag so it was very  
723 discreet. And he made his own device so it was very pre-planned. But  
724 touching...

725 PO12:

726 The most bizarre one I've ever had, I was, morning rush hour Liverpool  
727 Street underground station, um, this guy called [REDACTED], funny

728 enough, not being the Take That one, he had a brief case he was holding  
729 against his stomach and he was walking around like he was going to work,  
730 but I just couldn't take my eyes off this briefcase, you know "why is he  
731 holding that briefcase like that?" He got onto a train and he moved his  
732 briefcase and when he got off he put it back again and he crossed across  
733 and he done it again and I thought "what on earth is he doing?" And finally  
734 he got on the escalators behind a girl and he is right behind her and I've  
735 seen him move his, so I just looked round and he had a perfect hole that  
736 big cut in the front of his trousers and his pants and his, he was out and he  
737 was rubbing it up against her back. He looked like he was going to work in  
738 an office and I just thought "that's incredible, he's gone to all this trouble  
739 of getting a suit, cutting a hole in the trousers and his underwear and all  
740 he was doing was covering it with a briefcase, that is so premeditated,  
741 that is so...

742 PO13:

743 That's like... do you remember the one on Westminster Bridge, followed  
744 him from Westminster Bridge he was just going backwards and forwards,  
745 had his hands in his pockets just looking around, looking around I thought  
746 he was a bit odd, follow him into the station and he got behind some  
747 Chinese females and he had a bag as well a satchel in front of him the and  
748 bag just started going like this [uses his hand to indicate an upward back  
749 and forth motion] really quickly. We were like "oh what is he doing?" so  
750 we stopped him and then pulled the bag away and there he was,  
751 everything was out and he was masturbating but he had cut holes in his  
752 jacket pockets, his trousers were undone, the bag was blocking view as  
753 well.

754 PO12:

755 But he was a university lecturer

756 PO11:

757 A professor.

758 PO12:

759 He was doing it on his lunch break.

760 PO11:

761 Didn't you have the upskirter with the watch, so he spent a lot of money  
762 on a camera watch I'm sure, I'm sure there wasn't another reason why  
763 he'd bought it.

764 PO12:

765 No, he was a church minister.

766 INTERVIEWER:

767 So, you are getting people from all different walks of life.

768 All: Yeah.

769 INTERVIEWER:

770 Using all different types of methods concealed.

771 PO11:

772 The one we had was an IT guy, wasn't he? I felt horrible going round his  
773 house his kids were there and that one, that one I honestly think was just  
774 a pure impulse.

775 INTERVIEWER:

776 What makes you...

777 PO11:

778 Because it was just an up..., on the escalator and he was doing it so  
779 rubbishly he obviously wasn't very good at it and the girl in front had a  
780 very short skirt - attractive girl on the escalator and he just blatantly did it  
781 put it on his knee like he'd never done it before.

782 PO12:

783 How'd you do it? [laughs]

784 PO11:

785 I don't know, but he, there was, he hadn't made a device and hidden it in a  
786 camera or got up close, he was too far away to be doing a proper, covertly  
787 we saw him we were further up on the escalator and watched him doing it  
788 and he admitted it. He caved in straight away, admitted it straight away  
789 and if he hadn't he might of got away with it because apparently the  
790 footage was terrible.

791 PO14:

792 We talk about victims, when we stopped that victim she called the police  
793 on us, not thinking that we're police, thinking that we were, she didn't  
794 believe, well we didn't really say what had happened we said has  
795 something just happened? Perhaps, this guy had been behind her.

796 [00:35:00]

797 INTERVIEWER:

798 They'd been something...

799 PO14:

800 Yeah, for a long time.

801 INTERVIEWER:

802 Yep, ok that's interesting. When you stop a victim, um, you kind of have to  
803 be quite careful what you say?

804 PO11:

805 You can't put words in people's mouths or, they have to know that it's  
806 happened to them not after the fact been told by us that it's happened to  
807 them. And so, I will introduce myself as a police officer and explain that  
808 I've been in the company for a while and then has anything happened to  
809 you? And I won't intimate whether it be sexual or anything like that and  
810 then take it from there. I won't say "has somebody just been doing this to  
811 you?" Because maybe they didn't know, if they sort of go "no, no what are  
812 you on about?" They've got no idea then you sort of take stock of what  
813 you have said and reassess...

814 PO12:

815 I normally do the get out clause on that, I go "can you check your bag?"  
816 "Ooo right it was a pickpocket was he? And I'll just think ok fine, I haven't  
817 left a lingering doubt in their mind that someone was doing something  
818 nasty behind them.

819 INTERVIEWER:

820 And so when you apprehend a suspect how do they tend to respond?

821 PO12:

822 I've had a couple wet themselves. I had the guy who was a barrister and  
823 um he actually urinated his trousers whilst he was standing on the  
824 platform. I think because it dawned on him that that was it, like you know,  
825 his job was over, his wife was going to leave him, the kids would never talk  
826 to him again. Um, I've had that twice where they don't outwardly look like  
827 they are absolutely bricking it but they've just urinated.

828 PO13:

829 Generally, they don't really fight other than one example.

830 PO12:

831 [REDACTED]

832 PO13:

833 Yeah, we stopped a guy and he actually, it took about 4 or 5 of Us 2 pin  
834 him down but he said afterwards that he only kicked off because he  
835 thought PO12 was the girl's dad. He had sexually assaulted her...

836 PO12:

837 Older brother [all laugh].

838 PO13:

839 He had sexually assaulted a 15-year-old girl and we were behind him when  
840 he did it and we stopped him and he thought that PO12 was the dad and  
841 he thought that he was going to kill him. So that is why he resisted so  
842 much.

843 PO12:

844 Yeah that would have been nasty.

845 PO11:

846 I've personally had, I've had other ones, we haven't always work together  
847 but my general impression is that there's a remorse, i.e. either they wish  
848 they hadn't done it or they wished they hadn't got caught doing it,  
849 whereas, um, a pickpocket they can be quite 'chippy' and you'll have a  
850 chat with them and you can build a nice rapport with them and stuff like  
851 that and they will allow that to happen, where as a sexual offender is

852 more quiet, more introvert, more retrospectively not proud of  
853 themselves.

854 PO12:

855 There's different, I'd say 90% I like that, they're really remorseful and you  
856 know, they won't want to talk to you, they won't engage with you but I've  
857 also had the other ones when I was first on dips there was a guy that was,  
858 um, going up to school girls in school uniform and trying to put his hand  
859 up their skirt and stuff, and we caught him on two occasions and it was  
860 the old days where nothing in court had happened to him you know,  
861 they'd be out the following day. It was the second or third time we caught  
862 him, we managed to remind him because he was being watched by the  
863 Met for, like, paedophile type stuff and er, went to Crown Court with him  
864 and he actually said in front of the judge "it don't matter what you give me  
865 I'll never stop offending and he smiled. Round about three years later he  
866 was on Crimewatch and he was actually dressed in a girl's school uniform  
867 and joined a school party so he could blend in. When, I saw it on the Crime  
868 Watch, I was like that the guy but basically the system has got him so  
869 much that he had gone to an extreme where he is now dressing as a  
870 schoolgirl to join in with a school party so he is sexually offending  
871 schoolgirls on trains and stuff. But he had said that day you will never stop  
872 me offending. And what's his name? The geezer from South Ken who'd  
873 done the little girls he was off the same ilk.

874 PO13:

875 But some of them, we have had them where you arrest them and their  
876 but "oh she didn't notice, she didn't notice" as if like they do think if they  
877 do it so they don't know if it is that busy then it's ok. As if it is in their  
878 minds they think that what they're doing is not wrong.

879 PO12:

880 I've had that with flashers, um, again there was a guy we had at South Ken  
881 who was flashing in front of 14-year-old girls. Arrested him and he went to  
882 prison, got 9 months, come out again, back at South Ken the following  
883 summer - there he is standing there, flies undone, old chap hanging out  
884 behind a bunch of school girls. We've nicked him, turned him round to the  
885 CCTV and he's still out of his trousers and when we got him upstairs and  
886 sat him down in the room, he's going "I haven't done anything, I haven't

887 done anything." And he was still, to put it nicely, he was still exposed  
888 while he's sitting there. I said "it's still out mate" and he's like "no, it's an  
889 accident". He just wouldn't have that he had done it, he was doing it but  
890 he just couldn't to himself admit what he done, he was just ridiculous.

891 INTERVIEWER:

892 In denial.

893 [00:40:00]

894 PO12:

895 I had one guy that was masturbating up against a girl on a train and um,  
896 he went to Crown, he actually ejaculated on this girl's back so we got all  
897 the evidence, got her coat, got everything done. Went to Crown Court and  
898 he actually, his defence in Crown Court was that he had been to the toilet  
899 at Piccadilly Circus, come down onto the platform when he got on the  
900 train he realised his flies were undone and his penis was still hanging out  
901 of his trousers. He went to zip up his fly, caught it on his penis and then he  
902 was tugging the zip like this which made him get aroused and ejaculate.  
903 And that was his, he was so in denial about what he had actually done and  
904 he'd had, like three previous for it. And honestly, the judge tried not to  
905 laugh and the jury was sitting there opened mouthed and he was like "I  
906 have not done this, I've not done this, this was an accident." A lot of them  
907 just can't get to grips with what they do, it's like two different people -  
908 there's like a gay person who goes to his job and goes home to his wife  
909 and there's that bloke that comes out on the underground train on my  
910 way home but they have no sort of control over that they don't want to  
911 admit what he does.

912 PO11:

913 [REDACTED] he sexually assaulted a police officer [REDACTED].

914 PO12:

915 Two.

916 PO11:

917 Two, was it?

918 PO12:

919 Yeah... no, no sorry, that was another guy, [REDACTED] done Jo.

920 PO11:

921 And his defence was she was following me so I thought it was on and then  
922 it's always "I'm impotent" that's the next one.

923 INTERVIEWER:

924 So, that's the excuse that you get or justification, no not justification,  
925 excuse.

926 PO11:

927 No, not justification. Yeah.

928 PO14:

929 "I couldn't have done it, you're making it up, you're mistaken".

930 PO12:

931 The one I was in court for last month, um, I got speaking to the defence  
932 and prosecution lawyers because I was the officer in the case and um, his  
933 defence said that he tried to bring the fact that he couldn't get an  
934 erection, but he had been to the doctors 10 days after I arrested him and  
935 told his doctor that he couldn't get an erection because he had a medical  
936 slip and he had never ever previously had one before and the defence said  
937 to him I'm not going to let him bring that up because the jury will just  
938 convict on that because that just shows guilt. But that's what they go  
939 down " I'm impotent, I can't do it, I've got this problem".

940 PO13:

941 They didn't bring it up in court?

942 PO12:

943 No, cos if he had they would have jumped all over him. After this offence,  
944 you've been gone to a doctor's and said I can't get an erection can you  
945 give me a note.

946 PO11:

947 The last 3 were the same as his.

948 INTERVIEWER:



949 And is that, like on the platform they are giving that straight away? Or is  
950 that later in your

951 PO11:

952 Yeah, yeah. Well

953 INTERVIEWER:

954 A bit of both.

955 PO11:

956 A bit of both, yeah. It's normal, it makes you smile almost when they say  
957 it.

958 PO14:

959 It's like a little gift [inaudible]...

960 PO13:

961 The one you do arrest and catch, a lot, if they do admit it its stress "oh I'm  
962 stressed at the moment, I'm on medication". That was the upskirter of the  
963 other day, the guy that we caught on Westminster Bridge said "oh I'm  
964 stressed, I'm going through a tough time". Ok, how is that justifiable to go  
965 out and...

966 PO12:

967 You've cut two holes in your jacket pockets.

968

969 PO13:

970 Yeah you know, I think it's just in their head trying to justify it - a reason.

971 INTERVIEWER:

972 So, I'm conscious of it getting close to time when you normally start going  
973 or might be out already, what would you define as a good outcome?

974 PO12:

975 It's nice to talk to somebody else about it, cos we don't normally get to  
976 talk to people, especially our bosses they don't listen to a word we say. So  
977 er, it's nice to explain it how we feel about doing what we're doing.

978 PO11:

979 Well to answer your question it would be to arrest somebody.

980 INTERVIEWER:

981 Is that the answer that you're giving or because, before you kind of talked  
982 about that's, is that your outcome Is that a BTP outcome or your unit?

983 PO11:

984 Well, basically, it's more like a bad day would be we go down there and  
985 we don't see anything, we don't get to do any proactive work. If we, if we  
986 go down there and we spot something that's good and we do a follow, ok  
987 that's pretty good. If we got some more than do a follow, you know we  
988 will stay together and it works so you don't get pinged, that's good we get  
989 pinged that's not so good, we go home and well like "oh, we messed up,  
990 how did we mess up?"

991 INTERVIEWER:

992 And pinged?

993 PO11:

994 Is get spotted, yeah. If we stop somebody and get to put in a good FIS, we  
995 stopped, well we didn't get to nick [REDACTED] the other day, did we?

996 PO12:

997 No.

998 PO11:

999 But, put in a FIS - an intelligence report - he's got previous, he is a  
1000 convicted rapist, um, and some firearms offences. They've done some  
1001 work with him which is good on their part something happened in there in  
1002 the past, which on a good thing they are doing some work behind the  
1003 scenes and now we can arrest him on sight. So, if we get to put in a good  
1004 Intel report that would be good, if we make a, I'm not going to lie to you,  
1005 we're primarily a pickpocket squad if we get a pickpocket arrest that  
1006 would be good. If we see a sexual offender and stop an offence that would  
1007 be good, if we have to arrest somebody for that that would be good as  
1008 well. Anything other than doing nothing because that's depressing and we  
1009 don't come to work to do nothing we can do nothing at home [laughs].

1010 [00:45:00]

1011 INTERVIEWER:

1012 Ok, so that's all my questions, are there any that you might have or  
1013 anything that you've might want to say that I haven't necessarily asked a  
1014 question about?

1015 PO12:

1016 Um, it's just the sexual offences umbrella is quite a big umbrella. There are  
1017 lots of different caveats to it. People have different sort of sexual needs  
1018 and sexual... what's the word, fantasies. Everyone's fantasy is slightly  
1019 different, everyone wants to do things in a slightly different way, so we  
1020 had to adapt to what's going on there sometimes trendy things come up  
1021 like the upskirting only caught on, sort of, three summers ago, I'd say.

1022 PO11:

1023 Yeah, technology has allowed people to do it.

1024 PO12:

1025 Yeah, technology has allowed people to do it, but websites have got set  
1026 up, you know, more people getting to looking at what other people are  
1027 doing and they think they'll join in and there are a few websites now that  
1028 are for people who are not up skirting but actually sexually offending  
1029 people and they talk about their experiences and where's the best place  
1030 to do it. All this information has been given to our intelligence unit and  
1031 they haven't done anything with it but there is a big 'frotting' is it?

1032 PO11:

1033 Frottaging, that's the name, that's the official term for rubbing up against  
1034 somebody on a train.

1035 PO12:

1036 Yeah but that's the name of the website its 'frotteurs anonymous' or  
1037 something like that. And they're all putting on their experiences every day  
1038 and where to go and where's the best place, and two of them were  
1039 arguing saying that "I do Liverpool Street,".

1040 INTERVIEWER:

1041 And does that inform...

1042 PO12:

1043 We should be getting the information but unfortunately, we found that  
1044 information out all by ourselves we haven't been given intelligence we've  
1045 between me and a couple of guys who work on the unit have worked out  
1046 who's doing it and what's going on and we have tried to feed that  
1047 information through and it's just hit a brick wall and the answer was what  
1048 do you want us to do with that information. It's like they are naming  
1049 stations and naming times can we start getting CCTV [inaudible] ... he's  
1050 done something she said something to him, he's blogging it all on the  
1051 internet, but they don't think see that as important. But that's the thing  
1052 with technology it's growing and people are finding more and more  
1053 different ways to do it even with the upskirting, they're getting other  
1054 people to do on their behalf so they can watch it. T the guy they had in 2  
1055 weeks ago said he wasn't doing it for own gratification, he's doing it  
1056 because he's got a fan club. So, he goes out filming, he uploads it onto the  
1057 Internet and he's getting the kudos from that.

1058 PO14:

1059 There is also the consensual stuff in male toilets that seems to not be...

1060 PO12:

1061 Do you want to talk about that mate?

1062 PO14:

1063 No, no, no.

1064 PO11:

1065 My first ever arrest that was.

1066 PO14:

1067 Males going to the same cubicles together doing stuff and the toilet  
1068 attendants a lot of them turn a blind eye to it, they're used to it and we  
1069 had a stop not long ago where the toilet attendant, we didn't know what  
1070 had happened but we spoke to him and the toilet attendant said "he's  
1071 here every day" and that's something BTP I think need to get involved with  
1072 but I don't know whether they, because no-one complains.

1073 PO13:  
1074 Mmm, it's not the same, yeah there's no victim as such is there other than  
1075 if you are in the cubicle next door.

1076 PO11:  
1077 Broadly speaking, the stuff that we get involved with obviously without  
1078 diminishing any sexual offence, but I would suggest it's on the less serious  
1079 end of the spectrum, isn't it?

1080 PO12:  
1081 On the same thing about, you know, consensual, there is a guy on the  
1082 Piccadilly line - if we go on the Piccadilly line hopefully we will see him  
1083 tonight, um, he is Japanese

1084 PO11:  
1085 Very.

1086 PO12:  
1087 Very provocative and goes out...

1088 PO13:  
1089 He does actually go back and forth as well

1090 PO12:  
1091 Round and round and round in circles trying to get close to blokes who he  
1092 thinks are going to touch him, so it's a reverse one but he's not out  
1093 sexually assaulting anyone, he wants to get sexually assaulted.

1094 PO14:  
1095 He want's everyone to look at him, "look at me".

1096 PO11:  
1097 A crop top he's always got a bare, completely bare, what's it called, midriff  
1098 it's always a bare midriff and big sunglasses, he sticks out but yeah, he  
1099 prances around looking for attention and contact.

1100 INTERVIEWER:  
1101 Ok, well we might see him this evening.

1102 PO11:

1103 Yeah, yeah, yeah, it's like once a week he's...

1104 PO14:

1105 It's like he dresses up and thinks today right I going to go and do this and  
1106 he loves it, he loves himself.

### **Observation fieldnote for 18<sup>th</sup> October 2016**

I completed a pre-observation interview with Unit 1 prior to this observation session. There were 5 plain clothed police officers and myself. We left the offices at 17:00, which was later than we left the previous time, and walked to Tottenham Court Road to take the Central Line eastbound to Holborn. On arrival we walked down towards the centre of platform to where the entrance is, three officers stand on one side of the entrance and two officers and myself stand the other side. We are all positioned away from the platform edge by the platform wall. The officers position themselves at an angle so that they can observe people coming through the entrance. One officer remarked that they are fairly routine in the sides they take on the platform.

The time is 17:10, the platform is not very crowded and an officer comments that it seems quite quiet. As trains come in officers observe the way in which men are looking to board the train. When trains depart, the officers are observing who might remain on the platform. There was a man who caught the officer's eye because he had been on the platform for a while and had let a number of trains go by and it wasn't extremely busy. One officer explained that they would look at the different trains available, i.e. the three possible routes and if they have gone and a person is still on the platform this may raise suspicion.

The platform and flow of passengers becomes busier now at 17:22. The man who has come to our attention is still under observation and an officer stated that his eyes appear to be watching women passing by. He then sits down on the seats to look at his phone. An officer comments that by focusing on one person who then may go on to commit an offence, there is always the risk that they are missing a 'real' perpetrator. The man then appeared to get up and preparing himself to get on a train, but a quick decision was made to follow another man who had attracted the officer's attention. The officer explained that they try to put themselves in the individual's (who they are watching) position to justify behaviour to judge whether it is suspicious or not.

The second man was noticed on the platform because he had walked up and down the platform 3 times and he did not appear to be getting on the train in a hurry. His movements seemed erratic, for example, walking fast, slowing down and turning back on himself. He eventually got on a train heading eastbound and all 5 officers and myself got on the train with him. The train was very busy. The man did not appear to be targeting anyone in particular. He travelled from Holborn to St Paul', then crossed to the eastbound platform and got on the first available train going westbound past Holborn to Oxford Circus where he walked through the passageways to the Victoria Line. He arrived at the southbound platform and picked up a newspaper from a platform seat and boarded the first tube that arrived. The officers and myself got on the train – one officer near him and the rest by the next set of the doors. The man stood in the aisle and then read the paper he had picked up. No further behaviours were observed that maintained suspicions so the officers and I alighted at the next station which was Green Park. We had been watching that man for approximately 20 minutes.

We took the Piccadilly line back to Holborn – this train was not busy in contrast to the Central line. When we got off at Holborn we returned to the eastbound Central line platform and resumed positions. The time is now 17:53, after a few minutes a man catches an officers' eye from the way he glanced at a woman before following her onto the train. He was observed by an officer pushing past people to stand next to her. Two of the officers and myself quickly

boarded the carriage where the man had got on. The carriage was busy, but not as packed as I had observed other trains to have been this evening. The man looked at the particular woman he appeared to have selected a number of times, but was not observed to carry out any further behaviours.

We got off at Bank and returned to Holborn and picked up a message from them that the other members of the unit had arrested someone in Bank. We immediately made our way to Bank, the suspect was handcuffed and sitting in what was a booth used by London Underground staff waiting for a van to take him back to the station. Whilst we were waiting, one officer spoke to the suspect and I was able to hear the responses. When asked if he understood what had happened, his response was "the train was packed", "if the woman had a problem she should have said something", "I have done nothing wrong", "I have a wife and two kids". The suspect denied anything happened. His oyster card did not throw up any unusual issues. Two officers had observed him from behind, standing on his tiptoes behind the victim and the arching of the back to push his hips further forward into the victim. The other officer was at the side of the suspect and observed the entire sexual assault which included observing the man pushing his erect penis into the bottom of the victim.



## Appendix N

### Email to Probation Officers

Dear Probation Officer,

I am a PhD researcher with Middlesex University who is being funded by BTP to look at the issue of sexual offending on London railways. In particular, my research is looking at offender behaviour and characteristics in relation to the more prevalent lower level sexual offences that occur on London transport, e.g. inappropriate touching/groping or taking inappropriate pictures. I will be exploring this subject in a number of different ways to gain a good understanding of the way in which these sexual offences are committed.

**I have received approval to conduct this research from Johnny Rico, Research Manager, London CRC and NOMS, who has identified that you currently manage an offender that I would like to recruit to my study.**

This study involves interviewing individuals who have been convicted of sexual offences on London railways, to learn more about their behaviours. I am inviting offenders who meet the following criteria to participate in this study:

- a) Over 18 years old
- b) Have a conviction for a sexual offence that occurred within London between the period 1/09/2014 – 31/08/17
- c) Is currently service under a community order or on license

I have enclosed an information sheet about the study and what participants are being asked to do, and a copy of the consent form for your reference. Please can you provide this information sheet to offender(s) on your caseload that meet these criteria to see if they would like to participate in the study. I would appreciate if you would go through the information sheet if there are any issues with literacy and advise that participation is entirely voluntary and they do not have to take part in the study if they do not choose to do so, and that they can withdraw from the study at any time. It is not intended that their decision to take part, or not, would impact on the supervision of their order/license.

If an offender is interested in taking part in the study, then I would arrange with you to interview the offender in your probation office at an arranged time which is suitable for all (probably during a regular supervision appointment) - I would not require you to be present. I can arrange to come to your office and meet you over the next few months to introduce myself, which will give me an opportunity to tell you more about the study and answer any questions you might have. In the

meantime, I can be contacted on email if you have any queries, please email me on [FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk) or call on 07927 497 559.

Thank you for your time and I hope that you will be able to assist me with recruiting participants for my study.

Yours sincerely,

Shola Apena Rogers  
PhD Researcher, Middlesex University

## Appendix O



### **Information sheet for participants - Offenders**

Psychology Department  
Middlesex University  
Hendon  
London NW4 4BT

#### **Understanding the commission of sex offences on London railways**

**Researcher:** Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University  
([FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk))

**Director of Studies:** Dr Jackie Gray at Middlesex University  
([J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk))

#### **Invitation paragraph**

You are being invited to take part in this research study.

Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read the following information carefully, and discuss it with others if you wish.

Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

#### **What is the purpose of the research?**

The researcher is PhD degree candidate in the Psychology Department at Middlesex University, working in collaboration with the British Transport Police. The research project is titled “Understanding the commission process for sex offending on London railways” and is supervised by Dr Jackie Gray and Professor Joanna Adler. This research is to explore and build on existing knowledge about sex offending on the railways, with a particular focus on understanding offender behaviour and characteristics during all stages of the offence. We would like to talk to people who have committed a sexual offence on London railways to find out what their experience was. This research will help us to understand what causes people to sexually offend on the railways.

#### **What will happen to me if I take part?**

You are being asked to take part in an interview with the researcher at your probation office. First you will be asked to complete a short form with your demographic details and then the researcher will ask you some questions about

past life experiences which may relate to childhood family experiences, sexual offences, recent life events leading up to the sexual offence, the actual offence, and what happened after. There will also be questions about what you thought and felt about what happened.

The interview will last approximately an hour, and will take no more than 2 hours. If you require a 10 minute break during the interview please tell me the researcher. The interviews will be audio recorded to make full use of your responses, and then analysed for the purposes of the research. If you are asked any questions during the interview that you do not wish to answer, you do not have to. Confidentiality will be maintained unless you disclose a risk to yourself or others (see below). The researcher will offer you a debrief session to discuss any issues you have relating to the study and provide you with contact details for any future queries. It is possible that you might find some of the questions distressing. If this happens you should discuss this with your probation officer to explore what support you need.

The researcher will record some information from your records about the types of offences that you have committed which will be used later in data analysis. This will include information such as the number and type of previous convictions, when you received your first conviction, what your current convictions are, and the length of your current sentence.

### **Do I have to take part?**

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You do not have to take part if you do not want to. Whether you agree to take part in the research study or not will have no impact on the supervision of your order. If you decide to take part, you may withdraw at any time during your participation without giving a reason. If you wish to withdraw, please contact the researcher (or their Director of Studies) on the details at the top of this information sheet and ask for your data to be withdrawn from the study up until data analysis begins on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2017. You will be given a copy of this information sheet to help you choose whether or not to take part. You will also be asked to sign a consent form prior to taking part in the research.

### **What will happen to the data?**

The interviews will be audio recorded to make full use of your responses and analysed for the purposes of the research. **Your identity will not be revealed as all data will be anonymised in transcriptions.** All the information about your participation in this study will be kept confidential. The procedures for handling, processing, storage and destruction of data are compliant with the Data Protection Act 1998. Data will be collected with only a participation number to identify it. Information linking participation numbers and participants' names will be locked away and only the researcher and their supervisors will have access to this for the

purpose of collecting file data (participant files are recognised through identification numbers).

Only the researcher, the supervisory team and examiners may hear original recordings or see the transcriptions. All recordings and transcriptions will be destroyed after final examination of the thesis which will be after February 2019. Anything you say during the interview will be treated as confidential. **The only time that confidentiality may be breached is if you discuss any issues that indicate a specific risk to yourself or others. This can include risk of self-harm, violence or disclosures of abuse.** If this occurs it is part of our duty of care to forward this information to your probation officer to ensure your safety and the safety of others.

Due to the nature of the research, extracts from interviews will be used in reports to the BTP, conferences, publications and the final thesis. However, you will remain anonymous throughout, as all names and places will be removed to ensure this. You will only be referred to using a unique identifier e.g. 'Participant 1'

#### **Who has reviewed the study?**

All proposals for research using human participants are reviewed by an Ethics Committee before they can proceed. The Middlesex Psychology Department's Ethics Committee have reviewed this proposal.

#### **Who is organising and funding the research?**

This research project is sponsored by the British Transport Police (BTP) and is being undertaken in collaboration with Middlesex University.

Participation is voluntary and greatly appreciated. Thank you for reading the information in this information sheet. If you have any questions or concerns before, during or after your participation in this research contact **Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University - email [FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk) or Dr Jackie Gray (Director of Studies) at Middlesex University (Tel: (0) 20 8411 5458: Email: [J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk) ).**

### **Informed consent for participants - Offenders**

Middlesex University School of Science and Technology  
Psychology Department

#### **Understanding the commission of sex offences on London railways**

**Researcher:** Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University  
([FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk))

**Director of Studies:** Dr Jackie Gray at Middlesex University  
([J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk))

- 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 consent to the interview being audio-recorded and transcribed.
- I consent to the use of my case file information for the purpose of the study.
- 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 participating in the project at any time without any obligation to explain my reasons for doing so.
- I understand that anything I say during the interview will be treated as confidential, unless I discuss any issues that indicate a specific risk to myself or others. This can include risk of self-harm, violence or disclosures of abuse. If this occurs, then this information will be forwarded to my probation officer to ensure my safety and the safety of others.
- I understand that I can ask for my data to be withdrawn from the project until data analysis begins on 31st August 2017.
- I further understand that the data I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent publication in a doctoral thesis, reports, journal articles and other dissemination materials that may be published online and in print, and I provide my consent that this may occur.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Print name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Sign Name

date: \_\_\_\_\_

**To the participant:** Data may be inspected by the Chair of the Psychology Ethics panel and the Chair of the School of Science and Technology 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: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Interview schedule - Offenders**

This interview schedule consists areas which provides an overview and the context for the research. This is intended to be a guide. The aim is to facilitate the offender's free flow recall and the guide is for the interviewer to assure that the relevant theory driven areas can be questioned at the end, should this not have been covered during the interview. These questions will be adapted for each individual, as required, and have been developed in a way that should not guide the answers given by participants. If a participant cannot answer a question, or does not want to, even after prompts, they will not be probed further.

The interview comprises of four sections:

- First, the background questions aim to assess how the participant learnt inappropriate sexual behaviour and how sexual violence entered their life through questions adapted from social learning theory and life characteristics.
- Second, questions will be asked regarding the circumstances in their life a month and a week before the offence to assess any precipitation life events.
- Third, the offence process will be explored by allowing the participant to recall events (rather than a set of pre-determined questions) with some probing to clarify or explore event further around decision-making and feeling.
- Finally the post offence behaviour will be asked about with some short questions.]

Thank you for coming to be interviewed today, I really appreciate you taking the time to help with this research. The purpose of this interview is to help me to understand why and how people commit sexual offences on London railways, in order to help reduce and prevent further sexual offences being committed. The areas covered include a brief overview of your childhood and adulthood, followed by questions relating to the sexual offence for which you have most recently been convicted of. There may be some questions that are considered to be of a personal or sensitive nature, if you do not feel comfortable answering them, that's fine, just let me know.

Before we start the discussion, I'm going to talk you through the information sheet and consent form I've just given you *(participants will have been sent the information sheet which includes informing them that we will be audio recording in advance of the interview. Researcher to go through with each participant and make sure they understand*



*before giving their consent*). Do you have any questions you'd like to ask before we start? You'll notice from the form that we're going to be recording the discussion today so I would like to obtain your consent to take part and be recorded.

*Take questions then collect in signed consent form*

I'm going to start the recorder now. *(Start recorder)*.

## **Background factors**

### Childhood (0-18):

1. How would you describe your childhood?
  - What early memories do you have?
  - How would you describe the parenting you received?
  - How were you treated?
2. Do you remember seeing or experiencing sexual abuse/violence and or domestic violence whilst you were growing up?
3. What was the nature of this violence?
  - Someone being forced to do sexual acts
  - Someone being punched
4. Did you commit any sexual behaviours which would be considered to be an offence before you turned 18? What were they?
  - Observing unsuspecting individuals who are partly undressed, naked, or engaged in sexual acts
  - Exposing your genitals in public
  - Behaviours involving touching and rubbing against a nonconsenting person

### Adulthood:

5. Have you committed any sexual offences as an adult prior to the offence for which you received this conviction?
6. Can you give me a description of the victim? (What were their characteristics?)
  - Gender
  - Age
  - Stranger/acquaintance

7. Have you committed any violent crimes as an adult?
  - - Grievous bodily harm
  - - Actual bodily harm
  - - Violence in the act of another crime
  - - Robbery
8. Do you use pornography?
  - Online
  - Child
  - Frequency
9. Do you have sexual fantasies?
  - Can you describe your most frequent – what does it involve?

#### **Before the offence**

10. Can you give me a summary of what was happening in your life in the month before the index offence?
11. Were you:
  - - In employment?
  - - In a relationship?
  - - Involved in any violence?
12. Prior to the day of the offence, can you recall if you or someone close to you had experienced any significant life event that had an impact on you?
  - Had anything out of the ordinary happened?

#### **The offence**

*I would like to focus on the sexual offence for which you have this conviction, which occurred whilst on the public transport network. I am interested in hearing your account of events, so please think back to this time as best you can to recall what happened at that time.*

13. Take me through the day of the offence up to the actual event, what you did and where you were. For example, when did you get up, what did you do next, go to work, etc.
14. Prior to committing the offence, how did you decide where you would carry out the offence?
15. How did you decide which type of victim you would approach?
16. How long did you take to make the decision around location and victim?

17. How would you describe your mental state before the offence?

*Now, can you please take me through the actual events that occurred during the offence. I want you to speak freely and try to remember as much as you can about what happened including what you did, why you did it, and how you felt about it in the order as it happened. Also mention things around you as it was happening such as who was there, where you were and what was around you. Start from where you were when you saw the person who you sexually assaulted and what happened from then. After I might ask you some more specific questions relating to areas that interest me.*

18. What happened during the offence?

- Time of day
- Location
- When did you see the victim?
- Initial emotion – did the emotion change?
- Thoughts during the assault

19. What were your expectations of what would happen?

20. Did anything during the assault influence what you did?

21. What did you feel went according to your plan?

22. What happened when the assault was over?

23. Can you describe how you felt immediately after the offence?

### **Post offence**

24. Can you describe how you felt a few days after the offence?

25. Have you had any thoughts about committing any further sexual offences on London railways?

26. Do you have anything else you wish to add that is relevant to what we have discussed today?

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with me today. I will now provide you with a debrief sheet which will give you further information about why I am carrying out this research. If you have any questions about the

interview you can contact the researcher Shola Apena Rogers or Dr Jackie Gray (supervisor) (details on sheet given to participants).

I'm going to stop the recorder now. (Stop recorder).

### Offender interview self-report form

#### Demographic Information Form

1. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_

2. What is your ethnicity?

a) White – British	b) White – Irish	c) White – Other
d) Black British/ Black - Caribbean	e) Black British / Black – African	f) Black – Other
g) Asian – Pakistani	h) Asian – Bangladeshi	i) Asian – Other
j) Mixed Black and White	k) Mixed Asian and White	l) Mixed Other
m) Other	n) Prefer Not to Say	

3. How do you describe your Sexual orientation?

a) Heterosexual/straight	b) Homosexual/Gay/Lesbian	c) Bisexual
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4. What is the highest level of qualifications you have achieved?

a) Functional skills	b) GCSEs	c) A Levels
d) Degree	e) Postgraduate	f) Doctorate

5. Are you currently a student?

a) Yes, full-time	b) Yes, part-time	c) No
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6. Do you currently work?

a) Yes, full-time	b) Yes, part-time	c) No
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7. What is your current/most recent occupation?

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**8. Last year, about how much was your income *before taxes*?**

a) £0 to £14,999	b) £15,000 to £29,999	c) £30,000 to £44,999
d) £45,000 to £59,999	e) £60,000 +	f) Prefer not to Say

**9. Which best describes you living status?**

a) Living with parents	b) Renting	c) Home owner
d) Homeless	e) Other	

**10. Which option best describes your relationship status?**

a) Single	b) Casual open relationship	c) Recent exclusive relationship
d) Long term-exclusive relationship	e) Married	f) Divorced
g) Complicated	h) Prefer not to say	i) Other

**11. Do you have any children?**

a) Yes	b) No
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**Case File Information (to be obtained from file)**

**1. Number and type of previous convictions:**

**2. Length of offending history:**

**3. Current Convictions:**

**4. Current sentence length:**

### **Debrief sheet for participants - Offenders**

Psychology Department  
Middlesex University  
Hendon  
London NW4 4BT

#### **Understanding the commission of sex offences on London railways**

Dear participant,

Thank you for taking part in this research.

This study is part of a programme of research being undertaken by a Middlesex University research student over a period of 3 years, which is being funded by the British Transport Police (BTP) to enhance their understanding of the characteristics of sexual offenders on the railways. Sexual assault is a serious offence and victims often suffer psychological distress which impacts on their lives. Women are predominantly victims of sexual offences, with men being the perpetrators in the majority of incidents. Sexual assaults, especially sexual offences that occur on public transport are a violation of women's rights to be able to travel freely without fear of victimisation. BTP and other key stakeholders across London want to reduce the occurrence of these incidents by understanding more and building on existing knowledge.

In this study, we are interested in learning more about individual's behaviour and characteristics when committing a sexual offence on London railways. The study also aims to explore various factors relating to your background, social and offending behaviour in the context of the transport environment. This will assist with identifying how offences are committed. Victims, police officers and offenders can provide an account of the processes an offender has taken before, during and after committing a sexual offence on the railways. Over the coming 18 months, further studies within this research programme will collect and analyse

data from these sources, including the data held on BTP databases. It is anticipated that this programme of research will address the *when*, *how* and *why* sexual offending occurs on tube and other London transport networks. It is the intention that by gaining more detailed knowledge of sex offenders' actions and behaviours, it will inform recommendations for new approaches and prevention measures to tackle and reduce the current problem.

In exploring some of the social contexts in which sexual offending can occur, there is the potential that participation in this study has raised any difficult experiences or issues which you would like further support on. If this is the case, then you can discuss this with your probation officer who can advise on what additional support is available to address your needs.

If you have any further comments or questions about the research you can contact **Shola Apena Rogers at Middlesex University ([FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk](mailto:FA098@live.mdx.ac.uk))** or **Dr Jackie Gray (Director of Studies) at Middlesex University (Tel: (0) 20 8411 5458: [J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:J.Gray@mdx.ac.uk) )**.

Please be assured that your data are completely anonymous and confidential as outlined in the information sheet. We truly value your time and sharing your experiences with us.

Thank you again for your participation in this study.

Yours faithfully,

Shola Apena Rogers  
Middlesex University



## 1 Appendix T

### 2 Example transcription of one offender interview

3

4 Interviewer

5 How would you describe your childhood?

6 Offender 3

7 Erm, I'm the oldest of three siblings, my parents were married until my father died. As a  
8 childhood, my father was away a lot because he was in the Merchant Navy, he was a chief  
9 engineer. And so, he was away when I was first born, when I was born he was away every 6  
10 months for six months at a time, only back for a short period, I wasn't aware of that I don't  
11 think, but he was away for 6 weeks, 7 weeks at a time. So, my mother was around the  
12 household and always did. She wasn't very emotionally giving to anybody, that I could ever see  
13 anyway. So, it was quite an isolated sort of childhood, there was me and my brother who were  
14 close, in age and close when we were young and my sister who is 7 years younger than me,  
15 erm, who was not planned. Not that that mattered to her anyway. So... and then at about, I'm  
16 not quite sure when it started, probably round about 9 I probably always had a temper but I'd  
17 never, I don't think it was out of control until about 9 and then it became kind of rages, not  
18 violent not physically violent to anybody just, erm shouting and stamping and being like a two-  
19 year-old when you're 9, except that went on for a number of years. And it's coincident with  
20 having jaundice, so hepatitis A, when I was 9 and being off school for about well the best part  
21 of that year with having relapses and thing and so I missed a year of school then, which put me  
22 into this, some kind of pressure when I went back, so that would be across 8, 9. I forgot how to  
23 do division, long division for example and just things past me by. Things then got worse when I  
24 move to senior school because I couldn't handle that pressure and the difference, I didn't  
25 understand a lot of what, not intellectually, intellectually I'm not, I don't have issues,  
26 particularly, I'm not stupid, but I was definitely frustrated both emotionally and intellectually  
27 and I didn't get what was happening and my control over my emotions and my temper and  
28 everything else just got worse and then I was put into a psychiatric ward for a couple of weeks  
29 and then came out and then I didn't react very well to that when I came back out. And so I  
30 then went into an adolescent unit, which was a behavioural adolescent unit in Cheshire  
31 because I was born in Liverpool, grew up in Merseyside, and was there for 18-20 months.

32 Interviewer

33 What kind of age was that when you were...

34 Offender 3

35 12.

36 Interviewer

37 At 12 you went to the psychiatric unit...

38 Offender 3

39 So, I came back 13 and a half or so.

40 Interviewer

41 So, you were there for a period of about 18 months?

42 Offender 3

43 About 18 months, yeah. it was the January/ February when I went in... I think. And that was  
44 great, didn't do much from my education, although there was a school there, but we didn't do  
45 anything very, erm, academic really or in a normal curriculum. So, when I came out I went back  
46 to a grammar, different grammar and they put me back a year, so I was going on 14 in the  
47 second-year senior school, which for the first half of it was ok, except I was this hulking person  
48 amongst all these kids. And the, let's see I got expelled from that at the end because I reacted  
49 at the end of an exam, it was a maths exam, maths was always this thing, trigger, and I think  
50 they thought I was, cheating I wasn't cheating, I wasn't, I wouldn't be able to cheat but I didn't  
51 want to show my working out because it was so little, so I was more ashamed of not being able  
52 to do it rather than any kind of cheat. But anyway, I got excluded from that and then went, and  
53 then they decided what to do with me whilst I was still, they still had to educate me because  
54 15 was the school leaving age then. So, I had home tutors for the last 12 months, the last  
55 academic year. And over that, so I would still occasionally lose it, up until probably 21, 22 and  
56 even then probably until and I spent most of the 70s, cos I went into unemployment directly  
57 after leaving school at 15, so I had my £5.50, yes it would be £5.50 with my youth employment  
58 and I was on the dole most of the 70s because I didn't have any qualifications, I went to college  
59 at 15, 16 to do a levels but I didn't, I hadn't had enough school to approach doing things  
60 sensibly, but I did lots of other things and became Student Union president of things, did lots  
61 of political and social stuff, so I wasn't kind of like not doing thing. And then I spent most of the  
62 70s on the dole doing this and that, not very much really, couple of jobs until I did my night  
63 school A-level English Lit over two years, one night a week. Got that and then eventually after  
64 selling encyclopaedias for about 6, about 2-3 months actually, I went on a TOPS course, which  
65 was the then Conservative government idea for long-term unemployed to retrain people, so  
66 you got more than your benefit and you went on a real course and supposedly it would equip  
67 you to be able to get a real job afterwards. So, that was it in programming, IBM mainframe  
68 programming and it was a brilliant course which was the Foundation of my career thereafter  
69 and I didn't look back after that, really, I didn't get a job after it because people still employed  
70 based on complete history rather than just the fact you went on a course. So, I didn't get a job  
71 out of it directly, but I went to college, I went to [REDACTED], did my HND and when I came  
72 out from that I got work and haven't really stopped working apart from, well working for  
73 myself, which is still working, since then so that would be 1980s through to now.

74 Interviewer

75 Thank you, and you talked about, going way back again, to the family unit if your dad was away  
76 quite a bit how long did that last until, going away for 6 weeks and coming back?

77 Offender 3

78 He retired, well they moved to [REDACTED] in 88, he was still working, he was a  
79 superintendent, so he worked on a shore, but I'd left home, more or less. He died in 1990, so  
80 he was only retired a very short time before he died. So, he did that most of his life. And most  
81 of the time, I mean I only really got to know him in maybe the last couple of years really.

82 Interviewer

83 Who would you say that you were closest to then, when you were growing up?

84 Offender 3

85 [00:10:00]

86 Well I was, it was definitely my mother because she relied on me because I was the oldest, so,  
87 then you looked after kids when you went like just the oldest it didn't matter how old you  
88 were. So, I looked after my brother when he was three, two or three, lost him on the way to  
89 school, erm. Well, yeah, it sounds kind of Dickensian, but it wasn't really, that was just the way  
90 it was.

91 Interviewer

92 And during your childhood were there any experiences of violence at all, domestic violence,  
93 sexual violence that you observed?

94

95 Offender 3

96 No, there was, erm, I guess, my mother went into hospital for something which I can't  
97 remember what it was, and my father was away at sea and my grandmother came and looked  
98 after us and it was just too much for her. And she laid down rules and things and started laying  
99 down the law and she got her dog lead and started, and I stood in front of the other two kids  
100 and she started flailing around this dog lead. That's the only, otherwise there's no, I remember  
101 once being physically maybe twice, it was at school. I went to a private Preparatory Catholic  
102 school for a couple of years and they used the cane there and they use that, that is what  
103 probably plugs into my maths thing, erm, they used to cane to teach, so if you didn't get above  
104 a Gamma which would be a E, which doesn't make sense because it's Gamma but never mind,  
105 erm, then you could get the cane. So, I used to get the cane a fair bit in class, there'd be one or  
106 two and it wasn't actually that harsh really, but they would also do it for punishment and that  
107 did hurt and that I had a couple of times. And that is part of an atmosphere of oppression and  
108 because they use, it went all the way to 6th form, relatively small probably only 200 boys, it  
109 was all boys. But they use the ones in the older years to [cajole] the younger ones, it always  
110 means bullying so that was just an endemic thing, which you just live with, I mean you just  
111 navigate your way around that.

112 Interviewer

113 And what was your experience of bullying then?

114 Offender 3

115 Oh, threat and, verbal threat more than anything, I don't remember anyone ever carrying  
116 anything out and I have just had, I could just talk my way out of it and not, not really, I mean  
117 there was one I remember coming back and this prefect came and said you owe me so many  
118 lines and I was like I have no idea what you are talking about, nothing to do with me and I just  
119 avoided him for, until you disappeared. There may have been some at one of the grammar  
120 schools about trying to lay in wait for me and threatening me and stuff, but on the whole I  
121 tended not to worry about those things and just if they happened then I just, I don't remember  
122 ever having a fight, really, dust ups occasionally but nothing real or being actually bullied. I was  
123 larger, I was taller than most. I had glasses, so I had the usual name-calling, my name kind of

124 makes it obvious that you have to put up with things, so in that sense you get a thick skin -in  
125 other things you don't, in some things I was emotionally quite thin. But in terms of name-  
126 calling things I could, I was used to that.

127 Interviewer

128 Yeah, you said emotionally then, what kind of things would?

129 Offender 3

130 If some, err, like with very small children the one thing, the first thing they learn is fairness, it's  
131 still about selfishness, but it's about being unfair to them. So, if something was unfair or I felt  
132 really unfair then that would trigger me, it probably still would but not in the same way and it  
133 leaves me also with a desire to be understood so I get quite pedantic, people would probably  
134 think, sometimes. But I want to make sure or try and make sure that I'm understood. I'm much  
135 more relaxed about it than I was like 20 years ago, but it's still there as part of my basic  
136 makeup which goes I want to be understood, so when I say something, I want it clear. Not in a  
137 very, not in an aggressive way just in a I want to be understood right, so I'm not this and I'm  
138 not that and I don't mean this, and I don't mean that.

139 Interviewer

140 And so, moving on to the latter stages but before you were 18, were there any sexual  
141 behaviours which you might have considered to be an offence committed?

142 Offender 3

143 No. Well, I suppose, they were consensual although it was against the rules, so when I was in  
144 the adolescent unit and it was co-ed, it was boys and girls, and I was the youngest and it wasn't  
145 like everybody was sexually active and we were just going crazy, but there was always tension  
146 and always pairings and things. There wasn't an awful lot of physical sex going on, but there  
147 was a lot of... not petting even but kind of on that, because it was separated when we went to  
148 the separate rooms, it was separated, but there were at least two occasions where we got  
149 invited over so you had to go over the roof and coming through the window and they'd be in  
150 their end and they're all naked in the bathroom and nothing happened at all, not for me not  
151 for anybody else or the older guys either, it was just giggling really, it was really quite not even  
152 adolescent at that point. So, there were those kind of things, but that I would just call normal  
153 given the circumstances, we were lucky that nothing got out of hand, I suppose.

154 Interviewer

155 And so, before this offence that you've been convicted for, were there any other sexual  
156 offences that you committed as an adult?

157 Offender 3

158 No. No. What I did came out of an interest I've had for a long time in street photography, so  
159 just taking public photographs in a public place completely straight nothing, er, offensive,  
160 nothing even prying particularly, but of strangers. And random. So, the transition to that, there  
161 is a certain thing about doing things in secret, not being, but doing them in full, so hiding in full  
162 view type. So, no one take any notice of me taking photographs, no one took any notice of me  
163 when I actually took videos, that I was aware of anyway. And the slide into that, well apart  
164 from the boredom which created me just because I'm just sitting on the train every day, not

165 that it happened every day at all. It was a completely chance thing that I got up and my camera  
166 it went into a video, you know, just press the button and I thought, "that's interesting," not  
167 sexually interesting, just visually, photographically, the randomness of it is interesting.

168 Interviewer

169 When you were on the tube.

170 Offender 3

171 When I was on the DLR and most of this was on the DLR. Erm...now the things which then  
172 make it, sort of, why do you want to publish that and why do you want to take it, you know  
173 what I mean, that's all still really quite unresolved other than I'm just following my nose doing  
174 things and I'm not totally thinking, at the time that it all happened, that it's even, I'm not  
175 saying that it's not wrong, I would say there was probably something still going, "this is not  
176 right", but it wasn't necessarily illegal because, and so the risk went down, the risk was still up  
177 because people could still discover it, but the actual outcomes were less than I thought, then it  
178 turned out not to be, but that's, that's the fantasy I was in at the time. Erm, but the whole  
179 thing was that I happen to see, so I had used a porn site, from time to time, not obsessively,  
180 and upskirts that weren't upskirts were there and there was a kind of people who were  
181 interested in seeing things without seeing, kind of, looked like it so exactly the kind of things  
182 you can get just by not trying to trap people into it, not hanging around escalators, not any of  
183 those kind of angled based things, but just straightforward videos. And that's what for the  
184 most part I took, that I took all the time but randomly there were about three or four that  
185 actually exposed more than just the tops of knees and leggings and tights and so on. But the  
186 actual, erm, and the thing which plugged me into doing it, the kind of reinforcement loop was I  
187 got 25000, 50000, 100000, 400000, over sometimes views of this stuff and it seemed although  
188 wrong on lots of levels because I was doing something nobody was knowing about, I was  
189 stealing their private space in a public space, which I understood that about, but that's not  
190 much different from doing the same thing in the street except the actual material because I  
191 never did it in the street. And then the use of it, and you had this whole spectrum of people  
192 who seemed to be interested in it and you can only go on what people comment, but it  
193 seemed to be, erm, apart from those who were interested in obscure type things anyway, who  
194 were always disappointed, mostly disappointed, and I'd make these quite long they would be  
195 like 7 minutes long of like an Andy Warhol, fixed camera seeing the same thing over and over  
196 again, nothing changes except it could change at any point.

197 Interviewer

198 Could you describe kind of the setup of how you did it to get those 7 minutes, where might  
199 you position yourself?

200 Offender 3

201 So, I wouldn't go to any particular seat I would just get on a seat and it could be someone  
202 random opposite and erm, sometimes I would go with an idea of where if, if it presents itself  
203 then I would set it up, I would start taking videos or otherwise it was just completely random  
204 why I started doing it. I got some software for the phone, not this particular phone but for a  
205 phone, which essentially makes it inert when you're taking videos.

206 Interviewer

207 Makes it a...

208 Offender 3

209 Inert, so you don't see anything, you don't hear anything

210 Interviewer

211 Ok

212 Offender 3

213 It's completely black it's just dead or asleep. And then it was in a fairly unobtrusive leather  
214 type case, but it wasn't, I didn't hide the camera itself it was in my hand and I would hold it like  
215 that [crosses his arms and holds a phone down between his thighs at about knee level with the  
216 camera facing away from him]. And then I would sit in a typical male, knee spreading, taking  
217 up space sort of way, with that and my arms crossed and probably listening to music at the  
218 same time and in fact I would be completely disassociated from whatever was going on, cos I  
219 wasn't trying to attract their attention nor make any way of being taking attention, so I wasn't  
220 looking at them, particularly, any more than anything else and I was pretty much always had  
221 headphones on and actually listening to music. And I would just have it on play and then  
222 continue for it to play until it's stopped, or I got off or anything else, and that would be it. Then  
223 I'd go some point in the future and get it off the camera and onto my system at home and edit  
224 it. I pretty much published everything I took, apart from things that would just, you know, for  
225 one reason or another, technically just didn't happen, which wasn't that often. So, I pretty  
226 much published everything if that I took, and I edited it, I put titles on it, sometimes I did  
227 dissolves from one edit to the next edit, sometimes I just let it go through. Occasionally,  
228 because I was listening to music at the same time it would come through and it would be this  
229 kind of incompletely, inadvertent soundtrack and sometimes I took that off and sometimes I  
230 let it go through, but it was always nothing to do with whatever you were watching, it was just  
231 random. And I would try and give them titles which were not crude at all, but descriptive... but  
232 without trying to make out that there was going to be something that there wasn't on the  
233 video. And then I'd publish it, it would take a couple of days for it to pop out and then I'd see  
234 what, how many views there were and for a while I just would be really just interested in how  
235 many views there were and whatever, comments not so much because the comments tended  
236 to be moronic or just comments really they weren't very interesting. And that was it, keep on  
237 doing that. So, there are about 112, so I guess over in total maybe 120 at the most over 4 and a  
238 half years and it did go in a kind of curve so in the beginning there were very few and in the  
239 middle of there was a cluster when it was more frequent and then it was tailing off, it was  
240 starting to disappear. And that relates to what I was doing at work and how I was feeling about  
241 work and whether I was feeling fulfilled, cos it was the work I put into it, as well as the, so the  
242 initial setup of me doing something in public, privately that, that's definitely the main thing  
243 which kept driving it and then the response of actually publishing it and getting that kind of  
244 gratification without it being sexual because it never actually was for me, there were some  
245 things which were kind of titillating but they weren't kind of, they wouldn't be enough for me  
246 to want to do it for myself. I'm not saying it's kind of like some altruistic thing, cos it definitely  
247 wasn't, cos I was getting something about doing it and because of the nature of the content,  
248 even if it wasn't explicit it's obviously about people and about them and their bodies and how  
249 they are structured. And whether it's about the light on tight or the way things move around  
250 or just the movement of the carriage, which was interesting, all those things playing to it. So,

251 I'm not going to say that there was no sexual component to it at all, but it wasn't one  
252 about...erm, it is, it is an abuse of personal space but it's not a sexual abuse in the sense of I'm  
253 not attacking anybody and I tried not to identify people, I probably failed in some ways, and I  
254 rationalize that by, if someone who was on the video saw themselves, they would only see  
255 themselves in the context of being on that site, you know what I mean. Cos no one, it was not  
256 interesting enough to republish for anybody. I've never found any, they could possibly be, but  
257 I've never found any republishing.

258 Interviewer

259 So, just so I understand, did you come across the site first before you started upskirting?

260 Offender 3

261 Yes, but it's a very general-purpose site it's a complete broad-spectrum from entirely, kind of,  
262 ancient 60s and 70s porn all the way through to personal produced porn that people put up  
263 themselves or stolen stuff all films and the rest of it, and they have categories of all of the  
264 usual kind of things that you'd expect.

265 Interviewer

266 Ok

267 Offender 3

268 So, it's the complete gamut. And for the most part I would use it for fairly straight visual, but  
269 personally for my sexual, if I'm on my own, it's, I don't use visual aids much at all I always  
270 remember things which have happened, so I don't fantasize in terms of sex and masturbatory  
271 stuff, I'm mostly replaying things which have happened.

272 [00:30:00]

273 Interviewer

274 Ok. And you talked about kind of the curve and what was going on for you in your life,  
275 at the time and you started you were using the site and you had an interest in street  
276 photography and made this transition to start up skirting, what else was going on for  
277 you at the time when you first started 4 years ago?

278 Offender 3

279 In work?

280 Interviewer

281 Work, life...

282 Offender 3

283 So, I was contracting, I suppose I can mention places and things since you're not going  
284 to extract all that, so I was working at the [REDACTED] as a contractor on [REDACTED],  
285 which is the [REDACTED] online. And I was responsible for the [organisation] online  
286 platform and redeveloping that and managing it so, kind of being engineering manager  
287 and the architect for that, which was I started in 2009. 2011, which is when I started  
288 doing this, and that was an interim job because I was a contractor, they were never

289 going to pay me enough to do it as a job and be able to live down here because our  
290 home was in [REDACTED], so the only way I could afford to be down here was to get  
291 contractor rates and because it costs, what was costing then £12,000 a year just to have  
292 the rent for the place and I couldn't afford that on a regular wage at the [REDACTED]. So,  
293 I knew it was going to be interim, they did hire someone and then they kept me as the  
294 architect for the platform, but it was kind of having the baby taken away which I had  
295 built and grown and it going to somebody who didn't really understand it or even really  
296 care about it. And I could separate that off whilst I was at work and things, but it  
297 definitely did have an effect on me and I had very little practical to do at work other  
298 than just be me. Now that's fine I can be me all the time and that's great, but I still also  
299 need to do stuff [inaudible] and I had less to do of that, so it's not so much boredom  
300 because there were still pressure and things and I was still doing things, but there was a  
301 definite lack of fulfilment about my, me in the world and what I did and I would come  
302 away, and I was repeating exactly what my father did all of his working life, I'd be away  
303 all the time. So, at the same time I started having affairs, not affairs but just sexual  
304 encounters, cos I would be down here on my own so there was lots of opportunity, lots  
305 of dead time and so on because I wasn't doing, working so hard either. So, all of that  
306 puts me into this headspace of being unfulfilled, slight bereftness of losing, not losing  
307 the job because I've done a good job and they wanted to keep me, but this kind of  
308 morning type thing so I was just sad a lot of the time, I wasn't depressed, I don't think.  
309 But I wasn't in a good place. So, that was, I'm not saying it's absolutely a cause, but it's a  
310 correlation so it happened at the same time. And then in 2012 my contract came to an  
311 end which came to an end quite quickly, but that was fine, being a contractor was, it  
312 wasn't like was emotionally not able to cope with that, that was fine, and I organised a  
313 job, so I just moved into another job which was a better rate, working with someone I  
314 also worked with at the [REDACTED], but in a different organisation. The only, the only  
315 downside to that was that I had to become an employee, according to the deal we made  
316 by the end of the first year because they messed around it was another 9 months after  
317 that, so it was 18, 19 months by the time I became an employee. But I was getting paid  
318 well and when they actually did pay me as an employee it was a really good deal and I  
319 could afford to still do it cos it wasn't a public service, it was a full profit company and  
320 they make a lot of profit. And that was as a {inaudible}, which is kind of like the same  
321 kind of thing I was doing at the [REDACTED], but they had much broader sets of projects,  
322 but they didn't, none of the projects wanted to let me in as a contractor they were all  
323 very closed. But I was still interested in doing things, it carried on taking videos from  
324 time to time, but it was fairly much more sporadic through 2012. I suppose the peak  
325 would be 2013, so I went into hospital with my heart, so my heart condition in  
326 September 2012 and I was in hospital for about 9 days. And then I came out and then I  
327 was adjusting to go back to work and the medicine regime, which is like, 9, 10, 11, 12,  
328 13 I think a day, and then what would be the next stage of the treatment? Would I have  
329 to have a bypass? Could I not, could I get away with not having a bypass by having  
330 stents? So, that was all going on at same time and when I came back out. And when I  
331 did come back, the pressure definitely went up at work, which was fine, but I was  
332 doing, it was more frustrating because people weren't actually following through with  
333 the things that we were trying to do, so it was a bit like I was thrashing around a lot and  
334 not getting anywhere. That's how it felt in 2013. And I think it went up, I did look at this



335 for a bit, but not like very much, I think it did go up around 2013 and then it started  
336 tapering off again in 2014, 2015. And the last, there was probably only about 5 between  
337 the last half of 2015 and the one which I actually last published which would be May, I  
338 think, and I think that had been around since the previous October September sometime,  
339 so I don't think I was taking any at the time I got arrested.

340 Interviewer

341 Ok

342 Offender 3

343 I can't swear to that, but I think true.

344 Interviewer

345 So, you've talked a lot about work, what about your personal life what was going on  
346 there for you?

347 Offender 3

348 Apart from these extramarital events, I've been, we've been married since 1982 and we  
349 met at college in [REDACTED], so we've been together since 1980. I spent a lot of time,  
350 not just in the past 8, 9 years but since, since the early 90s spending a lot of time  
351 working away for various things. In the early 90s, '93, '92, I worked in the Far East and  
352 I was, that's when I was doing exactly the same kind of thing in terms of periods as my  
353 father, I'll be away for 6- 8 weeks, back home for a week and then out again. And  
354 actually I didn't, I didn't misbehave much at all apart from alcohol cause it was that kind  
355 of work hard, play hard type environment, but it was in the Far East and so you're  
356 getting lots of, especially in business, people thinking that you can be if not corrupted,  
357 although it is being corrupted, swayed and cos I was working for a supplier, a systems  
358 software operating systems company, there was a great deal of smoozing with people  
359 and it's an odd kind of the way it's setup is that in the Far East it's often the client who  
360 will look after the person who's selling to them and so they would put you into  
361 situations where you actually navigate that. So it wasn't like I was doing anything illegal  
362 and I didn't really stray, but there were lots of stuff I really would rather not have done,  
363 I'm talking about hostess bars and Piano bars and all the rest of that, but most of the  
364 alcohol was, and I could drink, and so when you can have that as a capacity you tend to  
365 use that or people tend to push it. It was a great, great job, but there were lots of  
366 downsides to it, no doubt why my heart condition or one of the reasons. But that only  
367 lasted for a couple of years and then I was, came back and really started working for  
368 myself for a long time, which also meant being away quite a lot, not often abroad, but  
369 sometimes. And I would have, over that period, I would have the odd sexual encounter  
370 and they were all, until I did have a an affair in '99, 2000 which was the only serious  
371 thing and my wife discovered that and it became a make or break them. And she says I  
372 should have left then. And she's probably right, I probably just refused to move out of  
373 fear probably. But anyway, we, we get on fine, we are best friends which it's not like I  
374 haven't done terrible things to her, not physically, I mean, but the emotional abuse of all  
375 that. So, yes, the kind of classic, "I don't feel great so I'm going to do something to make  
376 me feel better, what can I do to make me feel better? I can have this random thing which

377 is guiltless", except it's never guiltless afterwards, it's got this at the time, but not  
378 afterwards. So, I had a lot of those kind of things, not all the time but in, over that  
379 period. And then I went bankrupt in 2000, not paying attention really. So, I spent a few  
380 years at home as a kind of house husband whilst my wife went away to work, and she  
381 was in [REDACTED] all week and coming back at the weekend. So, we have swapped  
382 around like that. [Sighs] And then I started, then at the age of almost 50, I started to  
383 work in interesting companies again and, which I didn't think I was going to, I was  
384 pretty depressed in my 40s and getting up to 50 cos I didn't think I was going to do the  
385 kinds of things I thought I should still do, but I got to be in demand again randomly and  
386 did a lot of work, worked mostly for one company in [REDACTED] so I spent all week  
387 pretty much 4 days a week in [REDACTED], in [REDACTED] and then came home at the  
388 weekend. I did that for the three and a half years and then I went to the [REDACTED].

389 Interviewer

390 Ok. And at the time, going back to you some of the videos and images that you were  
391 taking, you said it would mostly be on the DLR?

392 Offender 3

393 Yes, there were a few, very few on the Central Line when I was working with  
394 [REDACTED], otherwise it was all on the DLR.

395 Interviewer

396 Was there anything in particular about that environment or was it cos it was just part of  
397 your routine to go to work?

398 Offender 3

399 To some extent it's the way the carriage of the DLR is set up, in that and there's one set  
400 of carriages now which is just two banks that face each other and there far less table for  
401 the passengers because you're always going that way what time, but the regular  
402 carriages where you've got two facing, a pair facing then a set which are more like bus  
403 ones and they are facing each other in a column and there's two at the end which are  
404 facing.

405 [00:45:00]

406 The ones which are by the doors, the ones which are facing each other across the aisle  
407 how much further away and so, and also because I tended to sit just by getting on the  
408 door and if there was free I'll go and sit there, that was more likely where I would take  
409 videos from, but if it was, and it didn't stop me taking them, if I sat on one of the other  
410 seats you're actually very close to the person who is opposite you. And not like you,  
411 actually you seem less on the video because it's too close and too dark and everything,  
412 so very little is visible, but you're very close to someone and from a risk point of view  
413 it's much higher, I suppose. So, in lots of ways, if, if that was a specific thing you  
414 wanted to reduce then you would re organise the carriages, so they would be rather than  
415 the seats facing each other, they'd be more like a bus where they are all facing in one  
416 direction. That's the only thing really, other than that it wouldn't have made much  
417 difference either way if it was, I don't think.

418 Interviewer

419 In the peak period of when you taking more images can you take me through the day,  
420 literally would you get up in the morning and think today is the day, would it be on the  
421 way to work, on the way home? Talk me through some of the thoughts that you would  
422 have.

423 Offender 3

424 I might think about it before I left the flat to go to work or before I left work. It was not,  
425 I was far less likely to do it on the way home then on the way. I have no idea why that  
426 is, that could just be fatigue, or it could be just because it was the end of the day and the  
427 place was more crowded if I was actually going in the rush hour. Because I tried to  
428 avoid the rush hour, not for the purpose of taking videos, just because it was annoying,  
429 and I hated the crush and because I could, I would usually leave after that main rush, so  
430 the carriages were not empty, but they weren't cramped. I, I've had both the idea of,  
431 well I never started videoing before I was sitting opposite someone, so I might think  
432 that I might, but I wouldn't absolutely have decided to, and I wouldn't, I don't believe, I  
433 don't remember ever seeing someone and think I'm going to go and sit opposite. It  
434 would be quite random because sometimes some, you know people get up and  
435 somebody new would sit down and sometimes there was a complete continuation if  
436 there would be one person sitting there and then they get off and somebody else would  
437 sit in there and I just keep it running, it wasn't, I wouldn't differentiate because I could  
438 edit it later if it makes sense or not.

439 Interviewer

440 So, in that sense it wasn't a type of victims that you were looking for in particular, it was  
441 just...

442 Offender 3

443 No. No. Or even a type of person or a type of clothing or how much or not people  
444 revealing which is very rare and actually if the truth be told if anybody is going to get  
445 up and get an inadvertent flash, they're going to be at my head height rather than here,  
446 and a very quickly worked out I was very really ever going to catch certain, anything  
447 that was going to be more explicit then just what I generally did. So, if I was really  
448 wanting to do that, I should have been standing up, which would be easier to do in a  
449 crowded train, but I never did that, no I never did that.

450 Interviewer

451 What about your mental state at the time of the offences?

452 Offender 3

453 Zen's not quite the right word, but differently disassociated with what, what this hand  
454 was holding the camera I would disassociate and not think about it at all and mostly  
455 that's why I was listening to music, that's partly to be there but not there, not obvious,  
456 not be taking any notice off. And partly just that's how I take, if you're going to take still  
457 photographs I don't do shooting of any kind, but it is like shooting you have to be still  
458 even though you've got all the anti-shake and all the rest of it, you still want to be still,

459 so you say at that point and get hold your breath and you don't know squeeze and going  
460 to make his little, so you're not actually thinking about anything very much at all when  
461 you take the actual shot. So just because of all of that disassociation, I think I would just  
462 be in this state where I was switched off and in a commute, most everybody else is in  
463 that state too, everybody goes really, erm, in that space when they can just tolerate the  
464 fact that there are around all these other people and they can ignore them at the same  
465 time. So yes, I wasn't massively interested, I wasn't aroused, I wasn't, my heart wasn't  
466 going in that sense, that wasn't the risk because I accept risk is part of, a great part of  
467 this but it's more the contemplation of the risk than the actual thing itself and because I  
468 premeditated the software on there, which minimized me being noticed.

469 Interviewer

470 So what kind of risk or the contemplation of risk, tell me what would go through your  
471 mind?

472 Offender 3

473 Very, very occasionally I think at some point, if I got caught, I'm at, then [REDACTED] or  
474 whichever, erm, what's the impact? And it would be, I knew that even though I might  
475 not think it was illegal and it might not actually, nothing too severe might happen, it  
476 would be still a thing I couldn't avoid, it would still be reputationally destructive, which  
477 it is, the reputational destruction is far greater than any other legal result. But that was  
478 pretty seldom, so that's, I don't think it's arrogance so much as, I suppose it's still very  
479 childish, but a feeling of... not immunity, but kind of, it's not going to happen. That's the  
480 risk, but the outcome, "nah, that's not going to happen".

481 Interviewer

482 Because?

483 Offender 3

484 Well, cos I've done, I've made all these plans, it's all completely, no one's going to take  
485 any notice of this and it's so bland nobody's going to you care about this.

486 Interviewer

487 So, on the particular day, was there a particular day that you were apprehended?

488 Offender 3

489 No, no, no, they just came to the home.

490 Interviewer

491 They just came to the home, so how did you feel at that time?

492 Offender 3

493 That was total shock. Cos it was a 6 a.m. knock, no it was a total shock, it was  
494 everything disappearing in a second. And everything suddenly would, and all of the  
495 inevitable things, regardless of what actually happened in legal court. It's the complete  
496 exposure, not just the fact that people would know, but people would know about me

497 and that's, and so the kernel inside me that's a very, it's like having that ripped open and  
498 was really difficult. But once I came to terms with that, it was fine because I told my  
499 manager, the same day, and he's American so from his point of view he was bad, but it  
500 wasn't unmanageable, he thought. He thought it's up to me as to whether, it's fine, and I  
501 didn't know back on, I told him exactly what it was, but right up until the last day he  
502 thought he could manage it. But I stayed working and he kept me working, he didn't  
503 suspend me or do anything else, and I work just as well because it was something else  
504 to do rather than contemplate what's going to happen.

505 Interviewer

506 And how long was the time between the knocking on your door and it going to court?

507 Offender 3

508 June through to 'til February, end of February and I left my employer, so I resigned,  
509 they gave me the opportunity to resign and a little bit of money at the end of the  
510 February. It went to magistrate's court and, it went to magistrates' court and they, we  
511 had that meeting the day after that.

512 Interviewer

513 And since this time have you had any further thoughts of committing sexual offences?

514 Offender 3

515 No. No and the other kind of obsessional things habitual things I've done in the past,  
516 which includes things like gambling, for a period, when I was on the dole so and you  
517 got no money at all so what do you do, you know, gamble and bet on horses, obviously  
518 the best thing to do. So, I did that, and I very quickly went through the whole, kind of,  
519 complete crash and burn, but once I did crash and burn it didn't bother me at all, I was  
520 not interested.

521 Interviewer

522 With gambling?

523 Offender 3

524 Yeah. So, I could have a bet now, but it's just a bet it doesn't mean I'm going to have  
525 another one and another one and another one and then put more money on and chase  
526 more money and sell something or do something. It didn't push me so far as to steal  
527 anything, but I told other people stuff that they knew I was selling for them and I tried  
528 to make the money increase and failed and then had to come, that's when it all blew up  
529 on that. It was a very short period that I did it for. Typically, I go through an obsessional  
530 thing and it becomes too much and then I, it just becomes nothing after that. For a  
531 period afterwards, I would still I would get on the, I couldn't get on the DLR during my  
532 bail period, cos I was restricted from using Underground, I learnt a lot about buses, but  
533 after the conviction, no restriction other than my harm order. Getting on an actual train,  
534 which I still could like British Rail train, there was a kind of, well there's that person  
535 there there's that person there but I'm not going to do anything about it, but if I hadn't, if  
536 it hadn't had happened, then I probably would have videoed but it having happened, it

537 all gone all the consequences being far more true, you know, prevalent and obvious,  
538 now it's got no temptation at all. Or for anything else. I accept, the one thing, so I'm  
539 doing this Horizon course, which is not therapy, is a key thing for me is to recognise  
540 when I get into the unfulfilled boredom, kind of, cycle and when things which I  
541 wouldn't normally think of as being something interesting to do, that I just don't go off  
542 and do that, whatever it is, cos anything can become destructive after, if done to excess.

543 Interviewer

544 So, it's not therapy?

545 Offender 3

546 No, it's education.

547 Interviewer

548 Would you rather it have been something else or therapy?

549 Offender 3

550 Yes, I'd rather it been more therapeutic, now there is a certain amount of therapeutic  
551 outcome from it, cos you've got, erm, erm, you've got thinking about the things which  
552 come up each time and how they relate to you and all those kind of, so there is that,  
553 that's true and there are I suppose some tools, cos it's big on tools, but they are fairly,  
554 erm, what's the word, they're fairly gross in the, because they're meant to be memorable  
555 so you can use them in different context, which is fine but they also then tend to become  
556 a bit kind of clumsy, so I have to translate them into something that makes sense to me  
557 which is watchfulness, I think. So, there is mindfulness which is great, which I try and  
558 get back to which I had from time to time, but there's watchfulness as well, which is  
559 watching me and my behaviour and how I behave with other people and how I'm feeling  
560 about myself.

561 Interviewer

562 I think I'm nearly at the end of my questions

563 Offender 3

564 Oh wow, 42 minutes, yes.

565 Interviewer

566 Is there anything else that you might want to add as I may be haven't covered?... you  
567 mentioned kind of the addiction or the obsessive...

568 Offender 3

569 Obsessive, kind of habitual.

570 Interviewer

571 Did that include any alcohol or substances?

572 Offender 3

573 Not so much the alcohol itself, although that ends up, that would end up being a lot of  
574 alcohol. More, more the social set, he used to be normal to go to, it is normal for people  
575 who work in [REDACTED] and commute and get on the train, so it's normal for a lot of  
576 people, but outside of [REDACTED] it's now not so normal to pop the pub after work  
577 because you have to drive. Whereas, before in the 80s and somewhat the 90s but  
578 definitely the 80s, it was normal to go and drink after work and to a point where it  
579 wasn't safe for people to drive with someone, so that was essentially acceptable. The  
580 social bit of doing that was more important than the actual alcohol, similarly when I was  
581 drinking a lot in the Far East that was, I very rarely drink on my own, I don't really do  
582 much drinking on my own erm, one or two glasses of wine or whiskey or something  
583 like that. But not as a thing not as a habit. Recreational drugs which I stopped in 1980,  
584 was all about social and very sparse, couldn't afford it, but now nothing since then.

585 Interviewer

586 And going back to my final question, was there anything else that you wanted to add?

587 Offender 3

588 [long pause of 10secs] I'm aware that if I try and claim that this is not entirely sexual at  
589 all, it's not going to be particularly believed. And from a psychiatric point of view, it can  
590 be sexual without it being around, that's what I'm, so I accept that there something about  
591 me being hidden or hiding and although they use the voyeurism guidelines, it's the only  
592 thing which really irritates me as because they did that for a common-law offence and  
593 that just deals, so that's my tennis team because that's just wrong, so it would have been  
594 different if they hadn't have done that but my own solicitor agreed with that so it was  
595 hard. But there is definitely a, in a non-sexual, there is a way of just observing the  
596 world, people and people behaving. That doesn't mean behaving privately together,  
597 doesn't mean watching them having sex or hiding around and try to see them, it doesn't  
598 mean that at all, which might, the psychiatrists I saw before the case we need to think,  
599 but then he was manufacturing a dossier to convince a judge so, if you read that I  
600 wouldn't place much prudence in it, especially me going around suburban streets at the  
601 age of 7 to peer at people, because that's just crazy. it would be crazy if it was true and it  
602 definitely wasn't true. Yes, so I'm, I accept there must be some sexual component to it,  
603 but it's not a sexual component which is specifically going to lead me into, into  
604 offending in a different way, I believe.

605 If it were an actual offence, if there was an actual law as opposed to... there not being  
606 one, then yes if it had been, if I thought it was stronger than a by-law of TfL, which is  
607 what I thought it would be, but it's not even a bye law in TfL, then yes that would have  
608 completely, I wouldn't have considered doing it at all. Actually, yes, because these days  
609 I restricted from using [inaudible]

610 Interviewer

611 Did you ever give any consideration to the person to which you might be filming or  
612 taking images of?

613 Offender 3

614 This is going to sound really bad, but no but that's exactly the same has anyone taking a  
615 photograph of anybody else but they don't know in the street, so you're interested in the  
616 picture although social set of which were taking the photograph off without them being  
617 aware of it.

618 Interviewer

619 But the difference being with this type of offence although you might not have been  
620 intentionally by your own admission there being an element of sexual activity in terms  
621 of and the victim not being aware of that and she talked about their personal space

622 Offender 3

623 So, in taking the, in being there and taking the videos, no I didn't think about them at all,  
624 in actually editing them I did and just as I would if I was processing in fact I'm really  
625 interested in what people are thinking when I'm actually taking a real photograph or,  
626 you know, Street photograph. I'm interested in what's actually going on with that, which  
627 I've taken which I haven't seen when I've taken photograph because it's pretty random  
628 and opportunistic. but the videos when I edited them, yes, and some, there wasn't one I  
629 didn't show because of that but there's not that I didn't consider it and still did it.

630 Interviewer

631 And what did you consider?

632 Offender 3

633 What would they think if they saw it? and then I gave myself yes stupid rationalization  
634 of, "well if they saw it they're going to see it in the context that in which everybody else  
635 sees it.

636 Interviewer

637 Which is?

638 Offender 3

639 In a sexual context and that's what they're also looking for, so it doesn't mean it wouldn't  
640 be shocking, possibly means that it wouldn't be, and there's complete rationalisation  
641 which is wrong, but yes, that's the kind of stories tell yourself to justify.



## Appendix U

### **Narrative analysis of the additional offender interviews**

#### **Narrative 4 -James**

James is a 37-year-old White British man who has no previous convictions registered on the Police Nation Computer (PNC). He is serving a 12 month community sentence, following a guilty plea for an offence of Committing An Act Outraging Public Decency (E14). This involved filming up a woman's skirt whilst on a tube train. He was seen by a member of the public with a concealed recording device that was wrapped in a newspaper, which he appeared to be filming up women's skirts. Examination of James' mobile phone and computer found numerous video clips where he had filmed up women's skirts between 2007 and 2015, at various locations including London Underground stations. He is currently employed and living with his partner and child. The meeting took place in a probation room, where he would normally meet with his probation officer.

#### **Storytelling and content**

The interview commenced with a question asking how James would describe his childhood. His response drew parallels with the summary provided by Dave, in that there was a tension between good and bad experiences, however, in this narrative the emotions described were fear and love. The element of fear was positioned first by James, which prompted me to ask a

follow-up question to elicit further information relating to the “difficult” relationship he had with his father.

*“There was a lot of physical violence, er, [sighs], there was a lot of threats, lots and lots and lots and lots of threats and violence, we had quite a hard life. It didn't really seem that different until I started mixing and seeing a lot of other families at 10, 11, 12 and things just seemed amiss.” (Lines 846-9)*

James described experiencing physical violence and emotional abuse at the hands of his father and facing a level of unpredictability, which culminated in fear and “oppression” for his mother and sister, as well as for him. James also described being enlightened as he became older to the knowledge that his family experience was unusual in comparison to his peers. Like Dave’s narrative, there was attribution of these childhood experiences to having negative consequences for James and an impact on him long-term.

*“So, kind of blame my dad for loads of years for loads of stuff and then had to do loads of work on all of it.” (Lines 849-50)*

James’ portrayed his father as the antagonist who provided obstacles and created the conflict which tested James, in this part of the story. The content of the story thus far, appears to have, in part been presented in this way to ensure that I became invested in the story at this early stage. There was also justification which could be interpreted as a direction from James, to pre-empt what is to follow in the rest of the narrative leading up to the commission of the sexual offence. James conveyed an understanding of the need to address these issues that have

arisen from his early experiences, which sets the scene for the other stories to follow within this narrative.

The portrayal of James' childhood was characterised by negative or apprehensive feelings about family relationships. He described feeling *"wary"* of how love was communicated within his family and unclear of whether *"things were done out of love"*, or not. This seemed further compounded by his presentation of negative early memories.

SAR

*"And any early childhood memories in particular?"*

James

*"Er, nearly drowning, erm, taking a first proper lashing, erm, first sexual experiences at school, sort of 3, 4."*

(Lines 859-63)

Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and attachment issues provide the context for James' narrative on his early life, indicating his propensity to developing vulnerabilities in relation to establishing future positive attitudes towards relationships with others. James also provided details of early sexual encounters, which depict the early development of sexual curiosity and experiences of *"thrill"*.

*"My folks [REDACTED], and I grew up with a lot of teenagers that were older than me, so I was introduced to sex and lots of sexual practices from a really young age like 6, 7, 8. 9. Erm, so, it was always something naughty, it was always something to*

*be hidden, it was always very exciting, er, it was coveted by both teenagers and hidden by adults.” (Lines 890-4)*

These experiences were followed by early sexual awareness and exposure to a sexualised environment because of the influences of others during his upbringing, which may have shaped his beliefs about sex and his subsequent experiences of *“healthy or unhealthy relationships”*. In addition, James described engaging in excessive masturbation during adolescence. The presence of ACEs and elements of sexual pre-occupation in this narrative suggested a culmination of the clinical predictors associated with sexually abusive behaviour. James identified that *“pleasure/pain pathways were forged”* from an early age, which he links to his offending behaviour.

### **Identity construction**

James identified with being a creative person, who has had worldly experiences with an open mind and freedom to follow his desires which includes his sexual desires. James described how he has *“crafted”* this creativity through his career choices as a fashion and glamour photographer and painter, which served to satisfy his *“sexual energies”* through access to a *“supply of women of consent”*. The creation of this identity within the narrative, legitimised his sexual desires being met in the name of work or ‘art’. Retrospectively, he conveyed within the narrative that his desires drove his work in an unhealthy way, this is presented as a rationalisation, which will later be extended to his subsequent offending.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> James could be considered within #MeToo, which recognises the impact of sexual harassment within the workplace in the fashion industries among many others. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/metoo-movement>

SAR

*‘Is that looking back in hindsight or something you think you were quite aware off at the time?’*

James

*‘No, no, no, no, not at all. No, I don't think I, I don't think I was particularly aware of, of it, I was just following my desires, that's where my work lay. So, what I'm going to say is that I might have an addiction to creativity and have to make stuff all the time. In that period of my life the addiction to the, the addiction to the fetish or desire overcame the creativity, so it drove it rather than the other way round. Can work with it as a fuel, but actually to drive it? Yeah, it was madness.’*

(Lines 944-53)

The extract introduced the concept of addiction, James gave an account characterised by a loss of self-control. This situation bears similarities with Dave's, as James also experienced bereavement, job loss and relationship breakdown, in addition to alcohol and drug addiction.

James talked about his transition to fatherhood as a defining point for enabling him to move *“into another phase of his life”* and construct a new identity. Although his arrest had taken place prior to him becoming a dad and allowed him to see how *“dysfunctional”* certain aspects of his sexual behaviour were, this did not seem to produce the life-changing event that prompted the creation of a new persona. He continued to describe how he was in the present day still trying to establish other facets of his identity.

*"I'm still trying to represent the role of lover in my partner's life as well as husband to her and you know house cleaner and cook and maker of money. So, I'm still trying to retain and keep that fire."* (Lines 1010-12)

James appeared to find maintaining a relationship hard, he was in the process of separating from his current partner at the time of the offence but is still with her now. The relationship difficulties may be a result of his early childhood experiences, but they may also be a product of the values and beliefs that James holds about women. Referring to his current partner as "*a very witchy woman*" and in the context of his own offending behaviour, it may be suggestive of James holding adversarial sexual beliefs. The adversarial sexual belief that sexual relationships are fundamentally exploitative reinforces the view that each party is not to be trusted and sexual offending lies on a continuum of exploitation (Burt, 1980). This cognitive distortion within James' narrative role, served as an enabling mechanism to his breaking the law and facing the challenge of viewing himself in a negative light.

James acknowledged the importance of a healthy sex life in amongst the other roles he wishes to fulfil, however, it does not refer to James assuming a new identity. Instead, James is returning to his old self indicating that there were many features of his previous identity that he regarded positively.

*"I'm coming back out again to a place where I was before the arrest, but with a much greater awareness. Mmm. I didn't hate all of the old me, you know, I just lost all of me between the arrest and the end of this course really."* (Lines 1017-20)

James presented his current identities by distinguishing them from their past actions and identities (Zerubavel, 1998). Having engaged in numerous therapeutic endeavours, there is a sense that elements of James' beliefs and values underpinning his new identities may have been co-constructed by the process of interacting with these therapeutic mediums. Whilst not wanting to sound *"too clichéd"*, being caught for the offence was a catalyst for helping him choose a new path.

James emphasised the desire to eliminate some of the negative behaviours he had developed unconsciously, as he understood their negative consequences.

*"I don't know, I shone so much light in some areas of my life and completely ignored others. I have no idea what my shadow was doing while looking away."* (Lines 1281-3)

The description embodied his creative identity, as James described the experience as though it were a photoshoot, which maintains this core aspect of the artist he perceives himself to be. There was a sense of greater self-control within his life, which he attributed to the creativity 'cleaning itself up'. In respect of his desistance from committing SOLT, James highlighted the role of intervention in assisting the process.

*"The course spills over into every aspect of life, I think, especially in human relating... so I think even the language that I use, even the way that I try and communicate with people has changed."* (Lines 1323; 1328-9)

This extract illustrated how James has co-constructed his current identity through his interaction with the courses he has attended, which have had the

focus of addressing his sexually abusive behaviour. It seems that James has developed new skills, *"I think certainly doing the course showed me, er, how to connect with my empathy"*, which has helped him become less *"self-absorbed"*.

Being a sex offender, however, did not appear to be part of his identity, as it did not feature in his narrative. I would interpret that, for James, this label is unhelpful with the desire to construct a more positive self, as it maintains the *"guilt"* and *"shame"* experienced by the individual who has sexually offended. Whilst James maintained that he sought to gain the maximum benefits from the course he was offered, he also admits that he initially rejected some of the work as it made him see himself in a light that he did not want to accept.

*"I went and I er, had to reframe things a few times cos my ego was saying that this exercise wasn't worth doing, so I did some self-sabotaging and I would always go back and do it again and really do it properly."* (Lines 1236-8)

James conveyed that the journey to remodelling his identity was not a straightforward task. It required perseverance and a commitment to the cause of addressing the negative behaviour, forcing him to view himself in a negatively light before being able to progress to a *"better space in terms of just interacting with the world and be a part of it again."* (Lines 1262-3) I interpreted the storyline provided by James, as amounting to a 'redemption script' in which he wanted to demonstrate a positive ending to me.

### **Narrating/making sense of the offence**



James' narrative about offending did not appear to hide anything and contained many details. It was devoid of emotion and delivered with a factual tone. I wondered if this was as a result of having attended the course designed to address his sexual offence, whereas Dave, who had not attended a course, struggled with articulating the nature of his offence within his narrative. On the day of the index offence for which he received his conviction, James stated that alcohol misuse and his relationship ending were personal factors that may have altered his acted as a trigger or influenced his decision-making process during the offence. The sense of low self-worth, isolation and almost giving up on life described by Dave is echoed within James' account of his mental state at the time of the offence, which may have resulted in low self-control. When I asked James to state what happened, James provided the following account:

*"Er, I got on the train and saw a very pretty mixed-race girl in, er, in a short skirt standing looking absolutely beautiful, leaning up against the post in the train station, leaning up against the rail on the train. Yeah, that was it, that was enough and she didn't have bare legs, she wasn't, you know, in a state of undress she just captivated me and my attention was all on her, I wanted to record her, so I did and you know, that's how I did it and that's how I got caught."* (Lines 1166-71)

James' narrative described identifying a beautiful girl as a trigger and he referred to other offences in which he would see a "pretty girl" and feel compelled to film her. Whilst the objectivity of women is entrenched within the creative field in which James works and in the wider societal norms, this interacts with his impulsive need to capture the sexual thrill of the moment.

Indeed, identifying with the creative justifications for his actions enabled him to continue with his offending, as James focused more on the act of obtaining “*technically perfect*” images rather than the “*ethics and morality of doing it.*” Questions such as “*was it in focus?*” or “*was there enough light?*” were self-deluding cognitive distortions that allowed James to continue with the behaviour. Although James primarily referred to filming women on the street as his main interest, he also provides an account as to why this type of offending on the tube occurs:

*“Well, I guess the tube, the tube is probably the easiest place in a way to do the offending like I did because there's often, you know, people are kind of squished up and no one's really looking down, so you kind of think you can get away with it. And yeah, and I guess you think even unconsciously weighing up the risks of being caught and you assess that the only way is probably being seen by someone else and most people are asleep on the Tube anyway, so it, I see why there's a, I see why there's a reaction or, raise in numbers of people offending on transport systems, they all suffer from the same thing it's sleepy people in overcrowded spaces, you know.”* (Lines 1203-10)

First, James acknowledged the environmental factors that facilitate committing a sexual offence, namely being in a crowded place with other people around who are not alert to what might be happening. These factors contributed to his cost/benefits analysis of committing the intended offence, which for James included “*weighing up the risks of getting caught*” and achieving the thrill and sexual-gratification from doing something that feels “*kind of naughty*”. Yet it appeared that James possessed flawed knowledge about the situation, that no-one would be watching his actions, which he used in the decision-making process.

Consequently, it was a member of the public that saw he was using the camera and informed the police, resulting in his arrest.

When asked about whether he had planned the offence prior to carrying it out, James stated “*no, no, no, I didn’t plan it*”. His emphatic response would suggest that his offences were opportunistic, however, his offending required a prop which needed assembling prior to being used in the commission of the offence.

*“I just put the camera in the end of the newspaper and pointed it at the women because I thought I won't be able to do it standing there holding this, someone will see me, so I'll do it more secretly, secretively which I did.”* (Lines 1159-62)

This quote showed that despite his assertions, James had given forethought as to the best methods to use to achieve his goal, i.e. that he needed to hide his USB stick to covertly film up women’s skirts. It would seem in interpreting his actions within his story, it was more palatable to present a plot which says he was opportunistic and impulsive, than to appear as if he pre-meditated to commit the offence. James also gave an account of his justifications about his moral parameters which guided whether he would commit an offence or not.

*“Oh, let's say when I was doing it, yeah. if at the same time, if that's the same time as a girl or a woman would come out or cross my path or where I was gonna film, if there was, like if there was a young kid or old woman or something nearby, I immediately wouldn't do it. There was, I'm not going to say a boundary cos I kind of broke some pretty big boundaries, but yeah, I guess the atmosphere had to be right, the environment had to be right for my slightly crippled consciousness to be able to do it. You know, providing, providing there's not this, this and this criteria it would be ok, where of*

*course the criteria expanded to everything there is no criteria for this offence there is no ok with it, at all.”* (Lines 1216-23)

James acknowledged that, at the time, he knew that what he was doing was wrong at some level, however, his rationalisations provided him with excuses to continue with his offending behaviour. By stating that *“there is no ok with it, at all”*, he demonstrates that through his narrative that understands the flaws in the rationalisations he formally held, again illustrating his transformation from his previous identity.

Reflecting back on some of his motivation for obtaining the *“thrill”* gained by his behaviour, James stated that it was to *“pacify anger”* and override feelings of *“dreadful sadness and just general despair.”* As well as providing a way to *“vent sexual frustration”*, offending in this manner was used as a coping mechanism by James to deal with the adverse things he was experiencing. In addition to having poor coping strategies, the isolation James felt meant that he lacked someone to be *“the right sounding board to tune in and tune out with”*, to get advice from or help with working problems out. During this period, James was stuck in a circular trap that perpetuated his continued behaviour.

*“Addiction and offending, addiction and offending...there's a path that I was on that I have no idea whether I could have stopped on my own if I wouldn't have chosen to, as it needed an intervention certainly to begin to help, I went to AA for 3 days a week solidly to kick that at the beginning.”* (Lines 1301-4)

So, although the *“initial shock was brutal”*, it was the catalyst for a more honest evaluation of his behaviour and the consequences.

*“It enabled me to admit I had a problem, then it took away all of the things I could hide behind. And then it showed me what I could lose. Not only where I was at, but what I could potentially lose.”* (Lines 1311-3)

For James, the reality of his previous story highlighted the need to find a different narrative to avoid further negative consequences.

In concluding his story to date, James tries to position and make sense of his behaviour in the context of wider societal issues. He refers to the “*objectification of women*”, advances in technology and the imperfection of mankind as factors interacting with each other to create the problem of SOLT. James engaged in a philosophical monologue which addresses the concept of “*Shame, guilt, religion all in the way of God*” (lines 1360-1), linking this religious reference to the way in which individuals have vices e.g. “*pornography, drugs, alcohol, commission, bonuses*” (line 1361), which help to deal with emotions that are being repressed and may be a consequence of poor coping mechanisms. The concluding remarks include a sense of inevitability of men engaging in sexually assault, which require prevention initiatives to include a dialogue about “*why all the men have felt that they had to do it* (line 1433)”. This belief was, no doubt, a motivator for James to participate in the interview and tell his story. He was in control of the storytelling throughout the narration, dictating how the interview should go. The antithetical narrative provided was structured and had a conventional storyline delivered as a set of stories that explains how he has come to be where he is today. The interview ends on a positive note, acknowledging the past and from the

researcher's viewpoint it is suggestive that a hopeful future going forward is envisioned by James.

*SAR*

*"It sounds like a journey from the onset to where you are now."*

*James*

*"For sure."*

(Lines 1439-42)

#### **Narrative 4 -Ben**

Ben is a 56-year-old White British man who has no previous convictions registered on PNC. He was serving an 18-week suspended sentence for an offence of Committing An Act Outraging Public Decency (E14). This involved filming up a woman's skirt whilst on the rail network between 2016 and 2017. Sixty-two videos were found on his phone, all taken during the morning or evening commute behind the females in question, while walking behind her up the stairs or escalators. The images were filmed at various locations on London Underground in busy stations. In addition to his sentence, Ben received a programme requirement to attend a sexual offending group and a Sexual Harm Prevention Order (SHPO). Ben is currently retired and living with his partner, he has two adult children. The meeting took place in a probation room, where he would normally meet with his probation officer.

#### **Storytelling and content**

Ben was asked a background question about his childhood to start the interview and began with establishing his place within the family unit. He

comments that he “*was a mistake*” as his parents had not planned to have further children after his older brother and sister. He laughed nervously but stated that he was fine with this knowledge. Ben continued to describe having “*a fairly straightforward childhood*” (lines 2079-80), which was stable. He talked about having a stricter upbringing from his father but felt that both parents were “*loving and generous*”. Ben experienced difficulties in his teens due to his mum being very ill for a period of five years, until she passed away when Ben was 20. This adverse childhood experience occurred at a later period than the other individuals. For Ben, it “*blighted*” his teenage life and had a profound impact on his social development, as he “*found it very difficult to relate to other people*” (line 2101).

Ben’s narrative revealed that he was a relatively isolated figure. The six-year age gap between Ben and his sister resulted in a typical “*love/hate relationship*” and he described not really knowing his brother (there was an 11-year age gap), as they were growing up. Whilst he recalled spending time with his maternal grandmother, he did not initially remember having any other close relatives, although he later conceded that he was also closer to his mother’s sister.

*“I was very introverted and retiring as it were and I don't know whether that was because of what was going on at home with my mother, I don't know I never really made that link but erm, certainly that period of my life was a difficult one because I was so shy.”* (Lines 2102-2105)

Ben’s storyline lacked emotional content, or details about his experiences as a child. His account failed to engage me and appeared to mirror what could be considered his rather banal life story, which contrasted with the previous

narratives that had been elicited. With each individual that I interviewed, a natural part of me tried to find an aspect in them that I could like, to counteract my focus on their offending behaviour. This was distinctly lacking, as Ben's narrative did not connect with me enough to invest in his storylines.

### **Identity construction**

As his storyline developed, Ben moved on to depict characteristics of his identity, which were presented in the context of his "straightforward life" in which he had a family unit and stable career.

*"No major ups and downs, erm, the irony of all this is I'm a very law-abiding person, I completely respect the law almost to an extreme...So, always been very, very law abiding and so never any, any, coming even close to any kind of offending before this."*  
(Lines 2160-2); 2165-6)

Being a law-abiding person was integral to who he saw himself as an individual but was also closely embedded in his professional life. It is evident throughout his narrative that Ben was trying to make sense of what he did to maintain his core identity, which is challenged by how he perceives himself now having committed these sexual offences.

*"But now it only makes sense in that I've linked it to, well it doesn't make sense, none of it, it'll never make sense completely, but I've made sense of why I was in the state I was in."* (Lines 2304-5)

This extract was an example of Ben's cyclical thoughts of trying to understand his identity, as defined by his behaviour. It also portrayed the sense that he will



never be able to reconcile the disparity between his core self and the reality of past actions.

When thinking of his behaviour, Peter stated that he is *“I am still as disgusted about it now, as I was when I was arrested”* (lines 2307-8), which has impacted on his self-esteem. Unlike Dave and James, and to a certain degree Peter, there did not seem to be construction of a new identity for Ben, having been arrested and convicted of the sexual offences. Instead, Ben appears to be attempting to maintain his positive self-identity by his admission that *“since then I’ve done a lot of thinking and rationalised it a bit. (Lines 2315-6)”* These post offence rationalisations preserve his beliefs about ‘the self’, allowed Ben to hold on to his core commitments and ideals and acknowledge that people make mistakes about what they stand for as a person and what they really believe (Kristjánsson, 2010). Essentially, Ben conveyed to himself, and me as the researcher, that he is still a law-abiding person, despite what he has done. Ben has created this narrative identity in his storylines through self-awareness and reflection post arrest and conviction, revealing elements of previous self-deception.

### **Narrating/making sense of the offence**

From the outset, Ben stated that he has reflected for understanding of his offending behaviour and *“as to why it’s happened”*. As described above, Ben utilised rationalisation to explain his behaviour within his narrative. His narrative was around feelings of boredom driving his behaviour, however, these can be largely considered as rationalisations after the event. Yet Ben’s narrative also indicated

that at the time of the offence, he utilised techniques of neutralisation and moral disengagement mechanisms to make his deviant actions more acceptable to him (Page & Pina, 2015).

*“I suppose I was, I was selfishly thinking well this isn't impacting on anybody because they don't know I'm doing it, no one else knows I'm doing it, so no one's being harmed, that was a false belief in my head, although I suppose you know [laughs], in truth it has, it has some truth because none of those people on the phone will never know about the activity, don't get me wrong doesn't make it right, but it's different from any other kind of sexual crime in that the victim won't know what happened.”*

(Lines 2527-32)

This extract illustrated how Ben was aware that his excuse making cognitive processes enabled him to continue to commit offences. He maintained the belief “*in a kind of sick sort of way*” (lines 2532-3), that morally his actions were not as bad as other sexual offences, presumably to cope with the shame and guilt of his actions. Ben described his behaviour becoming habitual which showed parallels with the other interviewed offenders. He alluded to his actions becoming “*a familiar activity*”, almost as if he was following a script. Ben gave an account of the opportunistic way in which he offended and denied a more predatory motivation to finding a victim. He maintained that his behaviour did not include following a particular woman and waiting until they went up the stairs/escalators. He also alluded to having multiple victims in one journey and described being indiscriminate with his victim selection, as this had less importance and did not drive his decision to upskirt.

When I asked the question, *“at the time that you would be actually upskirting, was there anything that would occur that would perhaps interrupt you or make you change your plan?”* Ben indicated that his risk assessment of being detected was incomplete, as it did not include thoughts of the police being around or that CCTV might capture his behaviour. There is an element in the narrative of Ben wanting to be caught, as he conveyed being embarrassed by his behaviour and not feeling that he had the self-control to stop himself. Boredom within the work context and seeking a thrill to counteract those feelings, is the narrative recounted by Ben, echoing Peter’s narrative. Other relevant situation factors influencing Ben’s decision to offend included the time of year, as he recalls not offending at the same level in the winter months, *“but for 5/6 months of the year it probably didn't happen more than once or twice perhaps.”* (Lines 2494-5) On the basis that he did not offend during winter, he does not attribute his offending to wanting a sexual thrill, as he didn’t seek to meet this need in any other way during this time.

Finally, Ben seemed to be driven by a desire to help in the preventative efforts to address the problem of SOLT. This quest appeared to be an attempt to right the wrong of his offending behaviour, which probably relates to his wanting to be exonerated for his offending. As he brought his narration to a close, Ben indicated that what had been most impactful for him sustaining the positive changes was the consequences he endured in the aftermath. In Ben’s view, this is what needs greater publicity within police campaigns designed to prevent this type of behaviour. For Ben, the opportunity to have this interview appeared to

act as an opening for a new storyline in which he can be the hero and not the villain.

*“In fact on the day of the arrest one of the police officers said that to me and I said I would be very happy to help out, anything I can do, so this has been great.”*

(Lines 2590-1)

## Appendix V

### **Recoding of offence, offender and victim characteristics from the information contained in police records of initial crime reports**

#### **Coding dictionary**

1. Offence type	1 = Sexual Assault 2 = Outraging Public Decency (masturbating/upskirting) 3 = Exposure
2. Region	0 = South and East 1 = TfL
3. On/off train	0 = Off train 1 = On train
4. Time of day	1 = Early morning 2 = AM rush hour 3 = Middle of the day 4 = PM rush hour 5 = Late evening
5. Time of year	1 = Autumn 2 = Winter 3 = Spring 4 = Summer
6. Offender age	1 = 0 - 21 2 = 22 - 30 3 = 31 – 44 4 = 45+
7. Offender ethnicity	1 = White 2 = BME
8. Offender previously known to BTP	0 = No 1 = Yes
9. Offender charged	0 = No 1 = Yes
10. Victim age	1 = 0 – 13 2 = 14 – 21 3 = 22 – 34 4 = 35+
11. Victim Ethnicity	1 = White 2 = BME

## Appendix W

### **Coding of variables used to describe offender's behaviour during an offence as derived from content analysis of initial crime reports**

#### **Coding of variables**

Twenty-two offence variables were created to conduct a manifest content analysis (MCA) of available police records in order to provide a list of elements common to offences. Definitions were carefully described to eliminate discrepancies in category assignment. All variables are dichotomous with values based on the presence/absence of each category behaviour. A description of the categorisation scheme is given below.

#### **Offence characteristics**

##### ***Variable 1. Heavy breathing***

0=No            1 = Yes

This variable categorises those offenders who breathes heavily on the victim, so that the victim feels their breath. This variable emphasises the offender's invasion of the victim's personal space.

##### ***Variable 2. Toucherism***

0=No            1 = Yes

The offender uses his hands to inappropriately touch the victim. Contact with the hands is made with any part of the victim's body.

##### ***Variable 3. Frotteurism***

0=No            1 = Yes

The offender uses his groin area to make contact with any part of the victim's body, with or without an erect penis.

##### ***Variable 4. Rocking/rubbing with groin***

0=No            1 = Yes

As above, but this variable categorises those offenders who maintains contact with their groin area, moving in a rocking back and forth or rubbing up and down movement against the victim.

***Variable 5. Expose genitals***

0=No      1 = Yes

The variable relates to the offender exposing his genitals.

***Variable 6. Masturbating***

0=No      1 = Yes

This variable categorises offences where the offender masturbates, which includes over clothing or by exposing his penis. This would be characterised by the offender rubbing his hand over his groin area for a period of time.

***Variable 7. Kiss or attempted kiss***

0=No      1 = Yes

The offender has kissed or attempted to kiss the victim on any part of their body. This may have resulted as contact but also includes where the offender's attempt is evaded by the victim and no contact is made.

***Variable 8. Eye contact***

0=No      1 = Yes

This variable categorises the offender's attempt to make eye contact with the victim. The focus of this variable is the offender's want to engage with the victim with this nonverbal form of communication.

***Variable 9. Upskirting***

0=No      1 = Yes

The variable addresses the offender's attempts to take an image of up the victim's skirt. This includes stills and videos using any recording device. This variable would also be coded as present for when other images are taken of the victim, for example 'down blousing'. It categorises any act by the offender directed to obtain an image of the victim's private parts.

***Variable 10. Use of a prop***

0=No            1 = Yes

This variable relates to offenders using a prop to facilitate or disguise their offending behaviour. This includes using a mobile device to commit upskirting or a bag to cover sexual touching of a victim.

***Variable 11. Verbal harassment***

0=No            1 = Yes

The language variable categorises those aspects of what is said by the offender to the victim. It does not necessarily result in a verbal interchange. This variable relates to all styles of communication by the offender including compliments, questions asked of the victim which are of a non-sexual nature, as well as insults.

***Variable 12. Reaction – no difference***

0=No            1 = Yes

This reaction variable examines how the offender copes with or reacts to, active victim resistance; the resistance of the can be verbal or physical. This categorisation addresses the offender not the victim. This variable categorises those offenders whose action and/or intentions are not changed by victim resistance; the offender will continue to assault against an actively resisting victim.

***Variable 13. Following***

0=No            1 = Yes

Similar to the above variable, but this variable categorises those offenders who follows a victim who has moved to another location, e.g. to another part of the train or has alighted from the train.

***Variable 14. Offence duration < 1 minute***

0=No            1 = Yes

This is the first of two variables concerned with the temporal aspects of the offence. This variable categorises whether the duration of the offence was less than a minute. This category was to emphasise the offences that were briefer in nature, e.g. a quick 'grope' or 'slap on the bum'.



***Variable 15. Offence duration > 1 minute***

0=No            1 = Yes

In contrast to the above, this variable categorises those offences which last for longer than a minute in duration. This category was to emphasise the offences which were characterised as more prolonged in nature.

***Variable 16. Victim physically responded***

0=No            1 = Yes

This specific categorisation in the first of four variables relating to the victim's reaction/actions and not the offender's. This categorisation of 'victim physically responded' identifies that the victim responded by moving away or pushing the suspect away but did not actually leave the offence location. This variable was not recorded as a 1 if there was only verbal response by the victim, as this is covered in the variable below.

***Variable 17. Victim verbally responded***

0=No            1 = Yes

This variable relates to the victim responding verbally to the offender's actions, for example, the victim said something, i.e. spoke to, shouted at or confronted offender.

***Variable 18. Victim raised the alert***

0=No            1 = Yes

This variable relates to the victim alerting a third party about the offence taking place at the time, for example, directly telling another passenger about or shouting out loud for others to hear what is happening, whilst the offender is still present. This variable was not coded as a 1 if the victim raised the alert at a later time after the incident occurred, i.e. getting off to tell a station guard.

***Variable 18. Witness intervened***

0=No            1 = Yes

This relates to the actions of a third party, who has become aware that an offence has taken place. This variable would be coded 1 if the witness intervened whilst the offence is taking place or immediately after.

***Variable 19. Offender apologised***

0=No            1 = Yes

This variable related to the specific apologetic speech used by an offender, usually at the end of a sexual assault.

***Variable 20. Offender left location***

0=No            1 = Yes

This is the first of three variables that relate to the end of the offence being committed. This variable categorises whether the offender leave the offence location at the end of the offence, e.g. alights from the train or carries on walking through the station. This variable may also be coded 1, even if the victim has also left the offence location.

***Variable 21. Victim left location***

0=No            1 = Yes

This variable related to whether the victim leaves the offence location during or after the offence has taken place, e.g. alights from the train. This variable may still be coded 1 if the offender has also left the offence location.

***Variable 22. Offender apprehended***

0=No            1 = Yes

This categorisation addresses whether the offender is apprehended at the time or immediately after the offence. The variable would be coded 1 if the offender is held by police or station employees (until police arrive).

**Variables used to describe offender's behaviour during an which were excluded from analysis**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Reason for exclusion</b>
Victim Exposed	Less than 2% occurrence
Duration 1 to 2 stops	Time chosen as the preferred method
Duration 3 to 4 stops	Time chosen as the preferred method
Duration 5+ stops	Time chosen as the preferred method

## Appendix X

### **Contingency tables for the Chi-square analysis**

List of tables in Appendix X

- 1 - The relationship between the BTP region (sub-division) governing where the offence took place and time of day
- 2 - The relationship between offence location and toucherism
- 3 - The relationship between verbal harassment and toucherism
- 4 - The relationship between offender leaving the offence location and toucherism
- 5 - The relationship between the offence duration being > 1 minute and frotteurism
- 6 - The relationship between following and frotteurism
- 7 - The relationship between time of day and masturbation
- 8 - The relationship between offence on/off train location and upskirting
- 9 - The relationship between time of day and exposure
- 10 - The relationship between being charged for an offence and masturbation
- 11 - The relationship between being previously known to BTP and masturbation

*1 - The relationship between the BTP region (sub-division) governing where the offence took place and time of day*

		Region			
			South & East	TfL	Total
Time of day	Early morning	Count	10	26	36
		Expected Count	10.9	25.1	36
		% within Region	2.4%	2.7%	2.6%
	AM rush hour	Count	90	274	364
		Expected Count	110.6	253.4	364.0
		% within Region	21.8%	29.0%	26.8%
	Middle of day	Count	81	139	220
		Expected Count	66.9	153.1	220.0
		% within Region	19.6%	14.7%	16.2%
	PM rush hour	Count	93	264	357
		Expected Count	108.5	248.5	357.0
		% within Region	22.5%	27.9%	26.3%
	Late evening	Count	139	243	382
		Expected Count	116.1	265.9	382.0
		% within Region	33.7%	25.7%	28.1%
Total		Count	413	946	1359
		Expected Count	413.0	946.0	1359.0
		% of Total	30.4%	69.6%	100.0%

**2 - The relationship between location and toucherism (n=1358)**

		Location		
		Off train	On train	Total
<b>Toucherism No</b>	Count	141	512	653
	Expected Count	192.3	460.7	653.0
	% within Location	35.3%	53.4%	48.1%
<b>Yes</b>	Count	259	446	705
	Expected Count	207.7	497.3	705.0
	% within Location	64.8%	46.6%	51.9%
<b>Total</b>	Count	400	958	1358
	Expected Count	400.0	958.0	1358.0
	% of Total	29.5%	70.5%	100.0%

**3 - The relationship between verbal harassment and toucherism (n=1358)**

		Verbal harassment		
		No	Yes	Total
<b>Toucherism No</b>	Count	601	51	653
	Expected Count	571.7	81.3	653.0
	% within Verbal harassment	50.6%	30.2%	48.1%
<b>Yes</b>	Count	587	118	705
	Expected Count	617.3	87.7	705
	% within Verbal harassment	49.4%	69.8%	51.9%
<b>Total</b>	Count	1189	169	1358
	Expected Count	1189.0	169.0	1358.0
	% of Total	87.6%	12.4%	100.0%

**4 - The relationship between offender leaving the offence location and toucherism (n=1358)**

			Offender left location		
			No	Yes	Total
Toucherism	No	Count	480	173	653
		Expected Count	442.9	210.1	653.0
		% within Offender left location	521.%	39.6%	48.1%
	Yes	Count	441	264	705
		Expected Count	478.1	226.9	705.0
		% within Offender left location	47.9%	60.4%	51.9%
	Total	Count	921	437	1358
		Expected Count	921.0	437.0	1358.0
		% of Total	67.8%	32.2%	100.0%

**5 - The relationship between the offence duration being > 1 minute and frotteurism (n=1358)**

		Region			
		South & East	TfL	Total	
Exposure	No	Count	345	838	1183
		Expected Count	359.8	823.2	1183.0
		% within Region	83.5%	88.7%	87.1%
	Yes	Count	68	107	175
		Expected Count	53.2	121.8	175.0
		% within Region	16.5%	11.3%	12.9%
Total		Count	413	945	1358
		Expected Count	413.0	945.0	1358.0
		% of Total	30.4%	69.6%	100.0%

**6 - The relationship between following and frotteurism (n=211)**

		Following		
		No	Yes	Total
<b>Frotteurism</b>	<b>No</b>			
	Count	107	38	145
	Expected Count	84.5	60.5	145.0
	% within Following	87.0%	43.2%	68.7%
	<b>Yes</b>			
	Count	16	50	66
	Expected Count	38.5	27.5	66.0
	% within Following	13.0%	56.8%	31.3%
<b>Total</b>	Count	123	88	211
	Expected Count	123.0	88.0	211.0
	% of Total	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%

**7 - The relationship between time of day and masturbation (n=1359)**

		Time of day					Total
			AM		PM		
Offending behaviour		Early morning	Rush hour	Middle of day	rush hour	Late evening	
<b>Masturbation</b>	<b>No</b>						
	Count	30	329	154	317	304	1134
	Expected Count	30.1	304.0	183.7	297.0	319.0	1134.0
	% within Time of day	83.3%	90.4%	70.0%	89.0%	79.6%	83.5%
<b>Yes</b>	Count	6	35	66	39	78	224
	Expected Count	5.9	60.0	36.3	58.7	63.0	224.0
	% within Time of day	16.7%	9.6%	30.0%	11.0%	20.4%	16.5%
<b>Total</b>	Count	36	364	220	356	382	1358
	Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	356.0	382.0	1358.0
	% of total	2.7%	26.8%	16.2%	26.2%	28.1%	100.0%



**8 - The relationship between offence on/off train location and upskirting (n=1358)**

		Location		
		Off train	On train	Total
<b>Upskirting No</b>	Count	364	928	1292
	Expected Count	380.66	911.4	1292.0
	% within Off/On train	91.0%	96.9%	95.1%
<b>Yes</b>	Count	36	30	66
	Expected Count	19.4	46.6	66.0
	% within Off/On train	9.0%	3.1%	4.9%
<b>Total</b>	Count	400	958	1358
	Expected Count	400.0	958.0	1358.0
	% of Total	29.5%	70.5%	100.0%

**9 - The relationship between time of day and exposure (n=1359)**

		Time of day					Total
			AM		PM		
Offending behaviour		Early morning	Rush hour	Middle of day	rush hour	Late evening	
<b>Exposure No</b>	Count	30	355	187	332	338	1242
	Expected Count	32.9	332.9	201.2	325.6	349.4	1242.0
	% within Time of day	83.3%	97.5%	85.0%	93.3%	88.5%	91.5%
<b>Yes</b>	Count	6	9	33	24	44	116
	Expected Count	3.1	31.1	18.8	30.4	32.6	116.0
	% within Time of day	16.7%	2.5%	15.0%	6.7%	11.5%	8.5%
<b>Total</b>	Count	36	364	220	356	382	1389
	Expected Count	36.0	364.0	220.0	356.0	382.0	1358.0
	% of total	2.7%	26.8%	16.2%	26.2%	28.1%	100.0%

**10 - The relationship between being charged for an offence and masturbation (n=293)**

		Charged		
		Yes	No	Total
<b>Masturbation No</b>	Count	127	104	231
	Expected Count	118.3	112.7	231.0
	% within Charged	84.7%	72.7%	78.8%
<b>Yes</b>	Count	23	39	62
	Expected Count	31.7	30.3	62.0
	% within Charged	15.3%	27.3%	21.2%
<b>Total</b>	Count	150	143	293
	Expected Count	150.0	143.0	293.0
	% of Total	51.2%	48.8%	100.0%

**11 - The relationship between being previously known to BTP and masturbation (n=228)**

		Previously known to BTP		
		Yes	No	Total
<b>Masturbation No</b>	Count	145	42	187
	Expected Count	136.1	50.9	187.0
	% within Previously known	87.3%	67.7%	82.0%
<b>Yes</b>	Count	21	20	41
	Expected Count	29.9	11.1	41.0
	% within Previously known	12.7%	32.3%	18.0%
<b>Total</b>	Count	166	62	228
	Expected Count	166.0	62.0	228.0
	% of Total	72.8%	27.2%	100.0%