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Sex Offender Grouping Within A Probation Approved Premises

Carla Reeves
University of Huddersfield
c.l.reeves@hud.ac.uk
The Study

- Ethnographic study of the experiences of sex offenders living in a Probation Approved Premises (hostel): (21 months)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of data collected</th>
<th>Number of data collection points</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observation in hostel (including informal interviews)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with residents</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with Staff</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tbody>
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Group Characteristics and Membership

- Resident Group
  - Others
  - Sex Offenders
What Residents Say...

“They talked about how there were two groups of offenders: the ‘others’ and the ‘sex offenders’.” (R7 and R8 in interview, CSA)

However, in public..... ‘drug addicts’ and ‘others’

This was not a representative description
“You know paedophiles and that. And the things is, who will replace him here? One leaves and another comes, there seems to be more of them coming here all the time. I don’t like them, I speak to them but I don’t want anything to do with them. I just put up with it in here.”

(R5 female ‘other’)
What ‘Sex Offenders’ Say...

“Q: is there anyone that gives you hassle, or causes hassle?

A: When people come in new, you get the ones that think they know everything and they say that he’s such and such a person and they seem to....they get into their heads that he’s such and such a person. They go ‘Well, he’s that sort of person.’”

(R4 in interview, CSA)
A solid line denotes additional membership of other groups.
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A dotted line denotes potential movement between groups.
Arrows denote the direction of movement on dotted lines.
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What Residents Say...

“That’s what makes it so hard for people like R6 (20 year old CSA), he’s in between groups. The drug addicts are about his age, they’re much younger really [than the sex offender group], but his offences are the other group. He doesn’t really fit in anywhere.”

(R7 in interview with R8, both CSA)
“S9 comments that the younger sex offenders especially see themselves as ‘white knights’ or ‘advocates for everyone else’ [residents]. They ‘have a certain cockiness over-confidence. This disappears with age, like a chrysalis and they turn into older sex offenders who are not so attention seeking, patient and take much longer [grooming] over their offences.”

(S9, PSO, observation notes)
Limited movement only, with ‘others’ not moving between the two

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Limited movement only, with ‘others’ not moving between the two.
What Residents Say...

“R47 (convicted of multiple rapes against adult women) was upset because someone called him a ‘paedo’. He was sitting with R39, R26 and R49 (all CSAs) and said he was not interested in kids. Later when R51 (female, ‘other’) asked him what he was going to do tomorrow he said he was ‘going to sniff glue and then go to the park to watch the kiddies.’ R51 was shocked and said he shouldn’t say such things because of the other three there. R47 said he ‘didn’t give a fuck about them’ although he spends much of his time with them.”
What Staff Say...

“The CSAs tend to be passive and compliant (at least in their presentation) whilst ASAs are more short tempered, aggressive and usually slightly younger. The ASAs resident at the moment are both immature, insecure and joke a lot. Anti-female comments are made in the form of jokes, for example, R47 often comments that women are fickle, nagging temptresses.”
Distancing Techniques

• 1. Distancing from the group not a member of
  – Name calling: “R33 [violent offender] calls R1 [CSA] ‘nonce’ and ‘kiddie-fiddler’ to his face.”

• 2. Distancing from group a member of
  – Presentation as another offender

• 3. Reinforced by staff
  – “there’s lots of ‘nonce-calling’ going on. Even among staff.”
  – SOTP/SOGP
Functions of Grouping

• Support mechanism
  – Coping structures
  – Older offenders

• Supporting members’ resistance to offence work
  – Development, internalisation and normalisation of techniques of neutralisation
“The thing is you listen to these men, they’ve been offending for years...what do you call it?...justifying it to themselves all this time. And they’re much more convincing than the psychologists [....] and they are there all the time.”  (Child sex offender)
Resisting Rehabilitation

- Challenging post-offence neutralisations
- Group resistance of challenges. Normalisation of neutralisation
- Development of pre-offence neutralisations
But.... Grouping Can Support Rehabilitation

- Challenging post-offence neutralisations
- Group challenges. Supportive of offence work
- Admission & acceptance of responsibility
What can be taken from this?

• The character of groups are influential on members
• Supportive – instrumental to coping in institutions
• If grouping were managed in residential settings it could be a powerful mechanism to support RSO and PO work
• If not, the negative effect of grouping needs to be acknowledged
References