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Children**

Emily C. Sand

**Thesis Submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the MA degree in Criminology**

**Department of Criminology
Faculty of Social Science
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Abstract

While the problem of sex offending has become widely researched, little is still known about how individual cases and alleged offenders warrant intervention. For years, research on sex offenders has focused on the male perpetrator and ignored the female perpetrator. There has been some supposition as to why women have been ignored as a topic of inquiry, including traditional gender stereotypes, scepticism on the part of professionals, and biases about its occurrence. In this study, how sex offenders come to be recognized by decision-makers is the focus of inquiry, based on the alleged offender's gender, the gender of the perceived victim, as well as the gender of the decision-maker. Secondly, this study examined the role that personality plays in the decision-making process regarding men and women alleged of sexual abuse. Using the liberal feminist position to examine gender roles and sexual scripts, as well as West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of 'doing gender' and a new concept, 'reading gender', in conjunction with personality theory, this study explored how decision-making is conditioned by gendered schema and levels of authoritarianism, "belief in a just world" and sex roles. Using a mixed methods approach, participants completed a questionnaire, and three personality scales. It was found that decision-making is conditioned not only by the gender of the respondent, but also by the offender, in such a way that men and women regarded the same situations of sexual abuse in different ways. The gender difference that became apparent was also conditioned by levels of authoritarianism and "belief in a just world".

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INTRODUCTION

In January 2008, a 40 year old offender was sentenced to 2 and ½ years in prison by a Halifax court for sexually assaulting a 12 year old boy repeatedly over the course of a year.

During March 2007 in Quebec, a 31 year old was sentenced to 15 months in prison and 3 years probation for sexually assaulting a 13 year old boy over a 4 month period.

In 1998, a British Columbia judge handed down a thirteen year prison sentence to a 21 year old offender for the sexual assault, drugging and production of child pornography of eight children, one pre-school aged boy and seven pre-teen to teenage girls.

The above individuals have two things in common: they are convicted sex offenders and they are also all women. Pamela Ruth Collins ‘had sex’ with the 12 year old boy over 100 times while babysitting him. Julie Dorval’s 13 year old victim was a friend of her daughter’s, and who, it was argued by the defence, suffered no harm as a result of the ‘relationship’. Crystal Henricks narrowly missed a designation of a dangerous offender for assaulting the eight children.

While the problem of sex offending has become widely researched, very little is still known about how certain individuals come to attention as perpetrators. Research conducted on sex offending has tended to focus on the male perpetrator of sexual abuse therefore implying a lack of female offenders. It was during the 1970s that cases of sexual abuse began to surface, which resulted in the emergence of a social problem¹ (Finkelhor, 1986). However, research was primarily focused on men as perpetrators and women and girls as victims (Denov, 2004, 2001; Finkelhor, 1986). It was not until the 1990s that the literature started to directly examine women as perpetrators of sexual assault.

While official statistics do report on the presence of female offenders of sexual abuse, there has been some supposition by researchers as to why women have been ignored as a topic of inquiry in relation to sexual abuse of children, including traditional gender stereotypes (Denov, 2001; 2004), scepticism on the part of professionals (Finkelhor, 1986) and biases about its occurrence (Allen, C.M., 1990). Other studies have examined the limited reporting of female perpetrated sexual assault and have found that acts committed by women are often disguised as part of a care giving role (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979), data collection techniques are poor (Finkelhor & Russell, 1984), children have less access to the justice system and have a limited knowledge of their rights (Belknap, 2000), and women are more likely to report abuse than men (Denov, 2004; 2001; Condy et al., 1987).

However, the focus of the current research is not on the phenomenon of sexual offending or the perpetrators per se (as is traditionally the case), rather on how decisions are made regarding perpetrators are conditioned by gender. Thus, decision-making and the disposition of

¹For the purpose of this thesis, social problem refers to the process that Spector and Kitsuse (1973) identified, in that something becomes problematized due to complaining groups in society and the institutional response to such complaints.

sex offenders (both male and female) is examined in the context of sexual abuse against children.

Using analogue “proof of concept” research², I am looking at the role of the adjudicator’s gender and personality characteristics in decision-making, with respect to judgements of criminality as well as appropriate intervention strategies of sexual offenders of both genders. Therefore the research primarily asks two questions:

1. Does the gender of the adjudicator interact with the gender of the alleged perpetrator and/or the perceived victim in judgements of criminality in alleged cases of sexual abuse of children?
2. Does the gender of the adjudicator interact with the gender of the alleged perpetrator and/or the perceived victim in judgements of appropriate intervention strategies?

As a secondary point of inquiry the research asks:

1. Does the personality of the adjudicator interact with their gender, the gender of the accused and the perceived victim in judgements of criminality and interventions in alleged cases of sexual abuse of children?

In chapter one, the existing literature that examines gender, broadly, within the context of the criminal justice system, and specifically in relation to sexual abuse is presented. The literature review will also explore the research findings that have examined sex roles, authoritarianism and belief in a just world in regards to decision-making in the criminal justice context. Chapter two outlines the theoretical framework from which I will analyze and discuss my findings. This chapter includes the liberal feminist position on gender role acquisition and sexual scripts, as well as a section which explores individual difference in terms of personality theory. The third chapter will outline the methodology guiding the current research, including the specific data collection tools, methods of analysis and limitations to the current study. The

² Proof of concept research or ‘analogue study’ is an approach to research in which a hypothesis is explored with a smaller, specific group of subjects and research procedures analogous but not identical to those that might permit highly confident generalization of results to natural settings.

fourth and fifth chapters will the present quantitative and qualitative findings respectively. In chapter six I will reflect on and discuss these findings. This thesis will conclude with a discussion on areas for future consideration as well as the implications of the current research.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review examines how gender and personality variables have been studied in regards to decision-making in the criminal justice system. The first section of the literature review will examine gender within the context of the criminal justice system, generally, before considering the literature on decision-making in sexual abuse cases, specifically. The second section of the literature review will focus on personality, particularly research that examines how sex roles, authoritarianism and “belief in a just world” (BJW) condition the adjudication process in the criminal justice system. The concluding section of this literature review will discuss where the gaps lie in the existing literature and how the current research attempts to fill those gaps.

1.1 Gender and Decision-Making in the Criminal Justice Context

Studies have shown that there are a number of processes underlying professionals' decision-making regarding alleged and convicted offenders (Denov, 2004; Denov, 2001; Erez, 1992; Ferguson & Negy, 2004; Stolzenberg & D'Alessio, 2004) and highlight how the gender of the decision maker, the alleged offender and the perceived victim may play a role.

Denov (2004; 2001) conducted a series of unstructured interviews with male and female police officers and psychiatrists that explored the investigation and assessment of sexual abuse cases, formal sexual abuse training, and perceptions about women as sex offenders. She found that these criminal justice professionals operated in terms of a "symbolic victim" and a "symbolic offender" when dealing with offences; the former fitting into traditional female stereotypes (virtuousness, vulnerable, passive) while the latter exhibited traditional male stereotypes (sexually aggressive). Thus, cases which do not reflect this positioning were not given the same priority as cases involving the 'symbolic' male offender and female victim.

In another study on the correlation of gender and specific crimes, Stolzenberg and D'Alessio (2004) studied over 500,000 cases of kidnapping, forcible rape, forcible fondling, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault and intimidation in the United States. Using official statistical data they found that when examining the association between the gender of a suspect on the likelihood of arrest (holding other variables constant, such as offense seriousness), women were less likely than men to be arrested for certain crimes including forcible fondling, intimidation and kidnapping.

Gender has also been found to play a role in the level of culpability ascribed in domestic abuse cases, where "...men who engage in domestic abuse can expect to be judged more harshly

for their actions by police, therapists, and family members than women who commit similar assault on their husbands or boyfriends” (Ferguson & Negy, 2004: 214).

Furthermore, in a study that examined the effect of gender in decision-making after conviction, Erez (1992) reviewed the records of 613 parolees who were supervised over a four year period. She found that parole officers made decisions regarding the management of potential parolees, in terms of assessments of their threat to society and chance of recidivism and/or rehabilitation, on the basis of gender stereotypes. This was especially the case in regards to female offenders. Levels of supervision and determination of needs were altered or maintained in order to restore a parolee’s social functioning and role in society in terms of gender-norms. For example, decisions were made regarding female parolees based on their academic or vocational level and marital status most frequently, while males were most often judged based on their level of risk (Erez, 1992).

Similarly, Lazar (2006) examined how the gender of the victim affected decision-making processes. Using vignettes randomly mailed to 154 child-protection officers, Lazar (2006) found that the gender of the victim, as well as the gender of the decision maker, was a significant factor in determining the severity of the hypothetical intervention applied in cases of sexual and physical abuse against children. Female decision makers tended to chose less severe interventions than their male counterparts when the victim was a battered female child. The same study found that on the whole, child-protection workers chose more severe interventions when the victim was a female child than when the victim was a male child (Lazar, 2006).

In short, then, the existing literature on gender and decision-making suggests that not only does gender influence decisions undertaken by criminal justice system personnel, (including police officers, parole officers and children’s aid workers), but there is some

evidence that suggests such judgements are biased in relation to traditional gender stereotypes.

1.2 Gender, Decision-Making and Sexual Abuse:

As previously mentioned, researchers studying decision-making in the criminal justice system have consistently found that the gender of the alleged offender and the victim plays a role in the adjudication of cases and offenders. This section narrows the focus by reviewing how this phenomenon has been studied in relation to sexual offending, specifically. Research indicates that opinions or beliefs about femininity (Allen, C.M., 1990), as well as professional training on the role of women³ (Denov, 2004; 2001), influence the manner in which professionals respond to sexual offending in a professional capacity.

In light of the increase in sexual offending (or in the reporting of incidents) by women in the 1980s, Prudence Allen (1990) attempted to explain why there had been this apparent sudden recognition of female perpetrators. She argues that a professional's own beliefs regarding a woman's ability (or in this case inability) to commit such crimes has actually impeded their willingness to see or to recognize cases of sexual abuse/assault when the alleged offender is female (Allen, P., 1990). Furthermore, she argued that the observer's personal beliefs and biases regarding female stereotypes and roles, such as a females' sexual passivity and their nurturing tendencies, colour how they view the actions of women who commit sexual offences (Allen, P., 1990). As a consequence they dismiss, or redefine incidents in a manner that aligns with their view of women.

³ These are the beliefs that are conveyed in formal schooling for their profession, and formally and informally reinforced in policies and procedures of their discipline.

Studies on the response of professionals to female sex offenders have also shown that reactions to such perpetrators may be conditioned by the professional training rather than by what they have learned through work experience (Denov, 2004; 2001). In her study on the recognition of women as sex offenders by criminal justice professionals, Denov (2004; 2001) interviewed police officers and psychiatrists and found that they had been taught that men are offenders and women are victims, which is inconsistent with recognition of the female offender or male victim, and as such found that these professionals responded accordingly.

In a similar vein, Hetherington and Beardsall (1998) conducted a study to examine the role that the alleged perpetrator's gender played in the decision-making processes of police officers and social workers. These researchers examined the likelihood of these professionals assigning the same seriousness to cases of child sexual abuse if the incident had been alleged to have been committed by a woman rather than a man. Using four brief vignettes (varying the gender of the perpetrator and victim) and accompanying questionnaires, Hetherington and Beardsall (1998) looked at how participants viewed the incident based on the gender of the perpetrator and victim. In addition, the researchers had participants complete two other scales regarding their perception of the sex-role and sexualized behaviour towards children of the alleged perpetrator. Their study found that the gender of the perpetrator was relevant for a number of decisions, biasing (in favour of) women, so that female perpetrators were treated more leniently than men or not sanctioned at all. Social services involvement and investigation, as well as registration of incidents as legitimate cases of sexual abuse, were deemed significantly more appropriate if the perpetrator was a man rather than a woman. In the same sense, imprisonment was indicated as appropriate more often when the perpetrator was male rather than female. The same study also showed that female professionals were more likely than male professionals to view female

perpetrators as in need of formal intervention (Hetherington & Beardsall, 1998). The researchers made no comment regarding differences in decision-making practices based on the gender of the child victim.

The studies reviewed here suggest that the gender of the perpetrator affects decision-making overall in the criminal justice system. As with other offences, decisions regarding sexual abuse cases appear to be conditioned by traditional gender stereotypes concerning what is, and is not, considered to be “appropriate” male or female behaviour.

1.3 Sex Roles and Decision-Making in the Criminal Justice Context

This section examines research concerning sex-roles and decision-making in the justice system and the manner in which sex-roles (the degree to which an individual identifies as masculine, feminine or androgynous) affect decision-making. The literature that exists on sex roles and decision-making in the criminal justice system is extremely limited, and what research is available tends to focus on the extent to which offenders, rather than on decision-makers, conform or deviate from traditional or expected sex roles.

However, a study conducted by Bickle and Peterson (1991) examined how sex roles within a family affected the decision-making process in criminal sentencing. They found that decisions were often affected by traditional sex roles of men and women within the family, such that men who provided significantly for his dependents were granted more leniency, as were employed males. Women who were married with children were experienced more leniency than unmarried women living alone.

Edwards (1986) found that the severity of treatment or intervention applied is tempered by the degree to which women offenders adhere to, or diverge from, traditional female roles, as

well as the degree to which the professional subscribes to those beliefs. Furthermore, Edwards (1986) found that professionals employ various methods of bringing the behaviour of women offenders into congruence with the traditional gender role expectations of professionals and noted that if the professional is successful than women may be given special consideration and more leniency than men.

Willis, Hallinan and Melby (1996) examined how sex role stereotyping influenced determinations of culpability in domestic violence situations. They found that students with traditional orientations of sex roles showed a favourable bias towards the man, especially married men. Also, individuals with traditional beliefs of sex roles thought the domestic violence situation to be less serious and a more general occurrence than those individuals who believed that men and women have more egalitarian sex roles. Further, traditionalist also indicated shorter sentences for the guilty party than egalitarians did.

Research examining sex roles in decision-making has emerged in regards to the attribution of blames in cases of rape. Ben-David and Schneider (2005) examined the connection between perceptions of rape, attitudes toward gender roles and level of victim-perpetrator acquaintance using 150 Israeli students. They found that the more traditional the gender role attitudes of the decision-maker, the greater the tendency to minimize the rape. This finding reinforces Acock and Ireland's (1983) study, which found that those individuals who express traditional attitudes about appropriate sex roles tend to be significantly more harsh toward rape victims and less harsh towards the perpetrator.

Additionally, two separate studies examined how the determination of blame is allocated in cases of date rape and stranger rape, in relation to the gender and sex roles of the offender in the American context (Szymanski et al., 1993) and the Turkish context (Gölge et al., 2003).

Both studies found that their participants (college students) placed greater emphasis on the gender rather than the sex role of the perpetrator in the determination of offender blame in rape cases. Whether an individual was merely male or female, rather than the degree to which they adhered to the normative or stereotypical traits or qualities that define masculinity and femininity, proved to be more important when determining offender blame in cases of rape.

1.4 Authoritarianism and Decision-Making in the Criminal Justice Context

This section will examine the literature that explores authoritarianism as a personality characteristic that can influence a professional's response to different criminogenic situations. Authoritarianism measures the level that an individual's judgements are influenced by punitive and conventional moralism (Altemeyer, 1981). An individual scoring high on authoritarianism sees the 'moral', the powerful and the in-group (those conforming to norms and social standards) standing in fundamental opposition to the immoral, the weak and the out-group (the marginalized) (Altemeyer, 1981). Such individuals tend to support the current political authority, regardless of ideology and/or their own beliefs. Further, high authoritarians often display hostility towards social out-groups, for example, severely punishing criminals and being prejudiced and 'mean spirited' against marginalized groups, such as the poor. Finally, high authoritarians tend to have distinct character attributes, including being dogmatic, zealots, hypocrites, and absolutists (Altemeyer, 1981).

Several studies conducted by psychologists, criminologists, and legal scholars have looked into the role that authoritarianism plays in different levels of decision-making, mainly by police officers and juries (Ryckman, Burns & Robbins, 1986; Parker, Mohr & Wilson, 2004; Brown & Frank, 2006; Bray & Noble, 1978; Jurow, 1971). Individual differences in

authoritarianism were found to be negatively correlated to a police officer's willingness to divert youth away from the criminal justice system (Parker, Mohr & Wilson, 2004). High authoritarian police officers were more likely to take formal criminal justice action against youth, while low authoritarian (egalitarian) police officers were more likely to divert youth away from the criminal justice system.

Also in this context, it has been found that individuals who ranked high on authoritarianism were more likely to endorse the use of harsher strategies for punishment and dealing with criminal behaviour and crimes such as murder, rape and manslaughter than those who rated lower on authoritarianism (Ryckman, Burns & Robbins, 1986). Similarly, research has shown that juries with a high proportion of authoritarians are more likely to convict (McGowen & King, 1982) and to impose longer sentences (Bray & Noble, 1978). In a study that examined physical and sexual abuse against children, Lazar (2006) found that when child protection officers were forced to make a decision regarding intervention strategies, high authoritarians were more severe in their recommendations for intervention, than low authoritarians.

The research on authoritarian personality has been consistent in finding that high authoritarians are more punitive towards alleged offenders than low authoritarians (egalitarians) at all levels of the justice system, from pre-arrest through to conviction. This is consistent across different actors within the criminal justice system, including the police, juries and social workers. The next section will focus on a final aspect of personality and review research concerning belief in a just world in relation to decision-making in the criminal justice system.

1.5 Belief in a Just World [BJW] and Decision-Making in the Criminal Justice Context

The “belief in a just world” (BJW) hypothesis, as set forth by Lerner (1980), characterizes an individual’s perception of the way the world works in terms of ‘good things happening to good people and bad things happening to bad people’. It is a way for individuals to understand the world in which they live. In this sense, individuals attempt to rationalize the negative experiences that befall people, while at the same time justifying why unfavourable events do not happen to themselves.

Studies have examined the role that BJW may play in relation to individual’s actions and attitudes towards victims and offenders in the criminal justice system. It has been found that jurists with high BJW scores are more likely to believe in the guilt of the defendant than the inverse (Moran & Comfort, 1982). Whatley and Riggio (1993) studied 160 male and female undergraduate students to determine how they attribute blame in situations of rape, and found that when the victim had a prior criminal arrest, they were seen as more deserving of the sexual assault than victims who had no previous record. Results of this study seem to indicate that individuals who are viewed as ‘bad’ or ‘criminal’ are seen as deserving of undesirable fates (Whatley & Riggio, 1993). Furthermore, studies have also shown BJW is also somewhat contingent upon gender such that men tend to believe in a just world more than women (Whatley & Riggio, 1993; Ambrosio & Sheehan, 1990).

Research has also been conducted concerning how an individual’s “belief in a just world” can lead victims of sexual assault to be secondarily victimized by criminal justice professionals and juries. Correia and Vala (2003) studied how an individual’s level of belief in a just world interacts with the presentation of sexual assault victims and found that those

observers who had high BJW scores were more likely to disregard the circumstances of the assault, and focus their attention on the mere fact that it occurred, while those individuals who score low on BJW scales are more likely to observe the case as a whole, or more strictly in terms of the facts of the case, including mitigating and aggravating factors. Thus, high BJW individuals are more likely to secondarily victimize survivors of sexual assault to re-establish their belief in the just world than low believers.

The literature on BJW is generally consistent in agreeing that those victims and offenders who have criminal or less than “pristine” backgrounds are seen as more deserving of negative events than those who are deemed “innocent” and have noncriminal backgrounds. It has also been found that, as is the case of individuals who score highly on authoritarianism, individuals with high BJW scores are more likely to be punitive than individuals with low BJW scores. The next section will outline where the gaps in the literature lie that has been discussed, and how the current research will attempt to fill those gaps.

1.6 Gaps in the literature

As we can see, there appears to be a support for the hypothesis that gender plays a role in conditioning decisions within the criminal justice system, along traditional gender stereotypes. More specifically, the literature is consistent in recognizing that decision-making in sexual abuse cases is often contingent upon the adjudicator’s perceptions regarding gender and sex roles. We have also seen that research regarding authoritarianism and BJW suggests that high authoritarians and believers in a just world are more punitive towards alleged offenders.

The literature that exists regarding decision-making, gender, and personality in the criminal justice context is limited. Decision-making literature that examines the criminal justice

system has tended to focus on police regarding discretion and juries regarding punitiveness (Ryckman, Burns & Robbins, 1986; Parker, Mohr & Wilson, 2004; Brown & Frank, 2006; Bray & Noble, 1978; Jurow, 1971). Research in this area that focuses specifically on sexual abuse against children is especially scarce.

There are a number of identifiable gaps in the literature regarding decision-making and the effects of gender and personality in cases of sexual offending against children, specifically when examined together. While some literature has examined gender together with different personality characteristics and how they relate to decision-making within the criminal justice context, no literature exists that attempts to examine how those decisions are made regarding sex offenders. Although Hetherington and Beardsall's (1998) study examined the role that gender and sex roles play in decision-making regarding sexual abuse of children, sex roles were examined by asking participants to respond to a sex role inventory in relation to the alleged offender. The influence of the sex role of the decision maker was not explored. As well, the role of the victim's genders was not discussed. Similarly, the literature on authoritarianism and BJW has neglected to study the influence of decision-makers' personality characteristics regarding sex offenders as a topic of inquiry. Such personality characteristics have been examined in relation to decision-making of police and juries, as well as locating blame in sexual assault cases, however, the influence of adjudicators' personality characteristics in decision making concerning sexual offending cases has yet to be studied. This current research attempts to fill this gap.

The studies reviewed generally focus on one personality characteristic in isolation and on moral perceptions as opposed to professional case disposition judgements. In addition, the literature has not specifically examined the links or interaction between personality

characteristics and gender in decision-making regarding cases of sexual offending. The current study seeks to address this gap by examining the interaction of gender and personality, with the gender of the accused and perceived child victim in cases of alleged sexual abuse of children. The next chapter will present the theoretical framework which will guide the analysis of the research.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In no country has such constant care been taken as in America to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace with the other, but in two pathways which are always different.

-ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE
DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA (1835)

This chapter will explore the ways in which we can start to think about decision-making through a gendered lens, as well as by examining an individual's personality. First, this chapter presents several theoretical concepts regarding gender and gender difference that will be used to analyze the study's data. More specifically, this chapter first outlines how gender difference is constructed and maintained throughout life. We then delve into how men and women are "performing" or "doing" gender and how this conditions their behaviours on a day-to-day basis. The idea of "doing gender" is then extended into the notion of "reading" gender, which is essentially how our performances are interpreted through a lens which draws upon gender and sexual scripts with which the audience is familiar. Second, the chapter presents an overview of

personality theory and sets out the ways in which we can make sense of decision-making by looking at individual differences in personality.

Before we began with the discussion on gender, it must be clarified that the framework presented in this chapter is coloured by a liberal feminist perspective which asserts the equality of men and women. This feminist perspective posits that men and women are more similar than they are different and stresses the importance of freedom, most especially the freedom to choose (Harlan, 1998). Furthermore, the liberal feminist perspective also sees “most stereotypically masculine and feminine traits as culturally imposed” (Harlan, 1998: 74) and thus strives to avoid the teaching and socialization of gender schema. For liberal feminists inequality and difference maintained between men and women is, in large part due to the ways in which we are socialized by and through divergent institutions and throughout our lives

2.1 Gender

In order to be able to explore decision-making through a gendered lens, we must first understand what is meant by gender. Kimmel (2004) noted that gender is more than simply a system of classification, through which males and females are biologically sorted, separated and socialized into roles within society; it is a manner in which individuals relate to one another. The World Health Organization identified gender as the “socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women” (World Health Organization, 2008). Scott (1999) further asserted that gender is the manifestation of cultural constructions of social ideas of what is, and what is not, appropriate for men and women. Gender has become one of the “axes around which social life is organized and through which we understand our own experiences” (Kimmel, 2004: 5). It is important to note that in

discussing gender in this chapter, I am referring to the traditional forms of masculinity and femininity which continue to be pervasive in our society today.

2.1.1 Creating Gender Difference: The Production of Gender Roles

This section explores the various ways in which gender roles are developed. The discussion focuses on the values, attitudes and behaviours that are associated with each sex, and how these characteristics of masculinity and femininity are then reflected and reproduced through the family, schooling and the workplace (Kimmel, 2004; Younger & Warrington, 1996; Reskin, 1996; Adler, Kless & Adler, 1992; Eder & Parker, 1987; Lever, 1976).

The family is the first source of gender socialization, beginning at birth and continuing throughout life through sources such as education, work and peers. During infancy parents and other adults treat male and female babies differently. For example, research has found that during the first six months of life, mothers talk more to girls and respond more quickly to their cries than they do for boys (Kimmel, 2004: 141). Furthermore, by a child's first birthday, girls are not only allowed but even encouraged to spend significantly more time than boys touching and staying in close contact to their mothers (Kimmel, 2004: 141). Moreover, boys are encouraged to gain their independence early on, while girls are rarely encouraged to do so. Girls are given dolls and doll houses to play with and are encouraged to stay indoors, while boys are given trucks and tools and are emboldened to leave the house and spend time outdoors (Idle, Wood & Demaris, 1993; Peters, 1994; Eder & Parker, 1987; Lever, 1976).

These gender differences in attitudes and behaviours towards boys and girls continue throughout childhood and well into their adolescence. Boys are played with more roughly and greeted with smiles, while girls are thought to be more delicate and gentle. Thus, sweetness and

cooperation are likely to elicit parental approval in girls (Kimmel, 2004). Moreover, independence, aggression and emotional suppression are rewarded in boys, while in contrast, girls are encouraged to express feelings and control their aggression (Adler, Kless & Adler, 1992; Eder & Parker, 1987). Thus, aggression and violence are the accepted forms of emotional expression for males. Alternately, while boys are rewarded for their physical performance, girls are rewarded for their physical appearance and grooming (Adler, Kless & Adler, 1992; Eder & Parker, 1987; Lever, 1976). Muller and Goldberg (1980) noted that by the time children reach five years old, they have expectations that the adults around them will treat boys and girls in gendered ways. Martin and Little (1990) also found that children aged 3-5 years had an understanding of their membership in a specific gender group based on their same-sex peer preferences, as well as their sex-typed toy preferences.

Once boys and girls reach school age, they are exposed to environments which continue the socialization of a gendered identity that began with the family. From the time children enter nursery school or kindergarten classes, their education is gendered and even, albeit implicitly, an education in gender. The classroom toys and activities are separated along gender lines, while there is no official rule as to which children can play with which toys, there are invisible boundaries which are segregated on the basis of sex (Kimmel, 2004). Older children and youth in the school environment are also exposed to, and taught 'proper' gender roles. Girls, despite their academic achievements are often prized for their physical appearances first and often surprise teachers and other adults when they possess both physical beauty and intelligence (Kimmel, 2004; Younger & Warrington, 1996). Boys on the other hand are given extra attention, challenged more frequently, and called on to answer questions more often than girls (Younger & Warrington, 1996).

The workplace, like the school environment reinforces gender roles learned early on in life. Kimmel (2004) maintained that most societies allocate tasks on the basis of gender. As we have already seen, masculine and feminine traits and behaviours that exist are positioned in opposition to each other. This trend is reflected in the workplace where it is divided into the public sphere (business and politics) and the private sphere (family and home). This division has traditionally been maintained along gendered lines; the public sphere as the male domain and the private sphere as the female domain (Kimmel, 2004). Over the past thirty years the roles of men and women have become increasingly blurred as women have moved from the private sphere into the public sphere to participate in the paid labour market (Laflamme, Pomerleau & Malcuit, 2002). Nevertheless, Reskin (1996) noted how different positions in the workforce are seen as appropriate for men or for women and thus individuals are funnelled, and virtually coerced into those positions. It is here that we see women as teachers, nurses, assistants, aestheticians, nannies and other helping/caring positions in the workforce. Men on the other hand are CEOs, lawyers, bankers, politicians and other highly independent and powerful jobs where decisions are made. According to 2006 Canadian Census Data, there were 8,125,540 women and 9,020, 595 men in the labour market (StatsCan, Profile of Labour Market Activity, 2006)⁴. Men were three times more likely to hold senior management positions, three times more likely to be in any management position, and three times more likely to be employed in the sciences. Women were four times more likely to hold secretarial, administrative or clerical positions, nine times more likely to be employed in child care and sixteen times more likely to be in the nursing profession (StatsCan, Profile of Labour Market Activity, 2006). According to

⁴ Numbers relating to the Canadian labour market were interpreted by the researcher from the raw numbers made public by Statistics Canada from the 2006 Census, which reports on employment and occupations held by Canadians.

Kimmel (2004) even when women branch out into the traditionally male sphere (e.g. business, politics, science), they are made to feel unwelcome in their job, and are even paid less and promoted less than men in the same position (186).

Despite women's improving standing and position within the marketplace, men's positions within the family and home have not seen the same shift (Shelton, 1996). Men have been surprisingly resistant to change in regards to family work. Laflamme, Pomerleau and Malcuit (2002) noted that even in families with two working parents, men spend less time caring for children. They went on to assert that this may be reflected in the fact that men often work outside the home, however, when women work in the paid labour force the time spent caring for children is not impacted. Shelton (1996) also found in her review of the literature that there was no apparent association between a woman's occupational status and the amount of household work they undertook. Additionally, Milkie et al. (2002) found that men and women may both feel the stress of time commitments to fulfill family roles; however women are more negatively affected, as they are coming to work what was termed by Hochschild (1989) the "second shift". The "second shift" refers to the added hours of child care and other domestic duties on top of their market work; as such activities are still identified as the mothers' "responsibility". Milkie et al. (2002) went on to state that:

despite the culturally championed 'Mr. Mom' who shares equally in the care of his young children, mothers continue to spend more time with children than do fathers and do twice as much of the 'custodial' care involving feeding and cleaning – even as they have entered the paid labour force (22).

Even when excluding child care from domestic work, employed women still have more time-consuming work weeks than men when combining paid work with home work (Shelton, 1992). Milkie and Peltola (1999) noted that house work is heavily weighted towards women as

it is still remains largely divided by gender, meaning that women are often still responsible for the majority of household tasks. In this sense, women continue to perform such 'female' tasks as cooking, cleaning and caring for children, while men perform tasks such as cooking, travelling to stores (including travel time and shopping), yard work and doing repairs (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). The main difference in these tasks is frequency and flexibility. Male tasks such as mowing the lawn needs to be done only part of the year, and then every couple of days, while female tasks such as bathing a child or cleaning the dishes needs to be done every day and within certain time constraints (Milkie & Peltola, 1999).

As we can see, the creation and maintenance of a gendered identity is a lifelong process starting at birth. Despite the changes and advancements, girls are taught to be docile, gentle, nurturing, to place emphasis on physical attractiveness rather than physical ability, they are socialized to be passive, and non-violent and free to express their emotions. Boys are taught to be strong physically and emotionally, dominant, independent and powerful, to place emphasis on athletic and physical ability, and to not show weakness. These characteristics begin at home and are reinforced at school and in the workplace. Even within the family unit itself, gender roles are played out in the division of household labour and childcare. The next section will examine sexuality and how the sexual scripts that are prescribed to males and females are dominated by beliefs on what it means to be a man or a woman.

2.1.2 Gender and Sexual Scripts

According to Simon and Gagnon (1999) scripts "are a metaphor for conceptualizing the production of behaviour within social life" (29). Therefore sexual scripts can be defined as follows:

...an individual's generalized knowledge about the typical elements of sexual interaction, including expectations about the behaviour of the partner and normative beliefs about the appropriateness of specific behavioural activities.

Krahé, Bieneck & Scheinberger-Olwig, 2007: 687

Gender plays an integral role in the sexual scripts ascribed to men and women. As Vance (1999) affirmed, "gender and sexuality are seamlessly knit together" (45). The sexual scripts of men and women are directly linked to the gender typed behaviours and attitudes that are seen as acceptable for boys and girls (Byers, 1996). Prudence Allen (1990) in her discussion on sex unity (sexes are fundamentally equal) and polarity (sexes are fundamentally different) noted that "the lived experience of the body is different for a man than it is for a woman; being brought up in the Western world as a female or male brings to consciousness an entirely different range of data" (12). In essence, she is saying that in reality, men and women are brought up and socialized differently based on their sex, which in turn creates a different set of schema from which they are to perform. This is reinforced by Waring, Stavropoulos and Kirkby (2003) in their discussion on the debates surrounding gender. They stated that "what is clear about the definitions and discussion of gender and sex is that ideas of sexuality are so intimately tied up with gender, that it is sometimes difficult to see where one ends and the other begins" (7).

When we are looking at the specific manner in which male and female sexuality manifests itself, we see that much like other behaviours and attitudes they remain demarcated as masculine or feminine, so is sexuality. Hegemonic masculinity as outlined by Connell (1987; 2005) is the manifestation of the normative ideal of masculinity to which men are supposed to aim. A component of hegemonic masculinity is that sexuality is male driven and therefore, women's sexuality is whatever the socially canonized version of male sexuality is not. For women, sexuality has become almost synonymous with their reproductive functioning and

therefore making motherhood the natural expression of their sexuality (Waring, Stavropoulos & Kirkby, 2003). Furthermore, their sexuality is marked as naturally masochistic, narcissistic and passive, thus, making sex bad for women, even potentially unhealthy and immoral. On the other hand, male sexuality is described as naturally aggressive, sadistic and active (Waring, Stavropoulos & Kirkby, 2003). Moreover, the expression of his male sexuality is not only tolerated, it's encouraged (Kimmel, 2004).

In short, we can see how men gain status from the expression of their sexuality, while women stand to lose status. "Boys are taught to try and get sex; girls are taught strategies to foil the boys' attempts" (Kimmel, 2004: 240). Thus, it is the boys' role to initiate and escalate sexual interaction, while it is the girls' role to decide whether or not to accept the boys' advances and to persuade the boys away from sex (Kimmel, 2004; Denov, 2001). Kimmel (2004) indicated that women are raised and socialized to believe that to be sexually active is to transgress the rules of femininity. Denov (2001) reinforced this point as "traditional sexual scripts exclude the image of women as sexual aggressors, as initiating sex with men, as indicating their sexual interest and at times, coercing their reluctant partners to engage in unwanted sexual activities" (307). Since it is not the feminine role to engage in these behaviours and femininity and masculinity are constructed as oppositional, it is therefore the men's role to be sexually aggressive, initiate sex, indicate their sexual interest and at times encourage their reluctant partner into unwanted sexual acts. Thus, specific sex roles, which are diametrically opposed, are assigned to men and women (Denov, 2001). It is clear that gender roles and sexual scripts play a major role in how individuals act in their interactions with others, as well as how others perceive their behaviour. The next section further examines how individuals perform gender in these interactions.

2.1.3 “Doing Gender”

As was previously mentioned, gender is something that individuals are taught through, and in, social interaction in various institutions. It is the outward display of the learned gender behaviours that identifies individuals as masculine or feminine. These displays of our accepted gender are what we now term ‘doing gender’. In their article entitled “Doing Gender”, Candace West and Don Zimmerman (1987) introduced a particular approach to conceptualizing gender. They noted that in Western societies, the accepted cultural perspective on gender views men and women as naturally and unequivocally defined categories of being (West & Zimmerman, 1987: 127). In their research on how individuals come to possess and display gender, they looked at how gender is expressed through interactions with others, and in turn is seen as natural while at the same time being recognized as socially produced (1987: 129). Their conceptualization of ‘doing gender’ is rooted in Erving Goffman’s (1976) work that looked at gender display. Goffman contended that in all interactions with human beings, men and women assume that each possess a ‘nature’ that is not only essential to their being, but that can be easily discerned through signs and expressions displayed during the interaction (1976).

If gender be defined as the culturally established correlates of sex (whether in consequence of biology or learning), than gender display refers to conventionalized portrayals of these correlates.

Goffman, 1976: 69

West and Zimmerman (1987) noted that this description is a “socially scripted dramatization of the culture’s *idealization* of feminine and masculine natures, played for an audience...” (30; italics in original).

From this starting point they present the notion of “doing gender”. According to West and Zimmerman (1987) “doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and

women and men... [and] once differences have been constructed, they are used to reinforce the “essentialness” of gender” (137). Therefore, a person’s gender is not simply what one *is*, rather it is something that one *does* and does continuously and recurrently throughout their life and interactions with individuals and institutions (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Kimmel, 2004). For example, a man offering his arm to a woman, opening a door for her is performing masculinity. The woman by accepting his arm or entering through the door before him is not only reinforcing and legitimating the performance of his masculinity, she is also performing her own femininity. “If we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce, and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category (West & Zimmerman, 1987: 140). Therefore, as Kimmel (2004) explains, we are creating and re-creating our own gendered identities in our interactions with others.

Judith Butler (1999) expanded upon this notion of “doing gender” and presents the concept of “gender performativity” through which the body is the site of display for an internal core or identity. She recognized that gender is a product of culture and is therefore reliant on the social reproduction of its ideals for its survival (Butler, 1999). Furthermore, Butler (1999) contended that “the effect of gender is produced through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements and styles of various kinds constitute an illusion of an abiding gendered self” (179). In this sense, gender performativity is a recognition or subversion of the relation between the culturally produced and maintained notion of gender and the biologically assigned sex. However, she also recognized that we sanction those individuals who fail to ‘do’ their gender correctly (Butler, 1998). In other words, we punish those individuals who subvert (directly or indirectly) the traditional and

accepted beliefs associated with the specific sexes. The next section explores how we can extend this notion of “doing gender” to “reading gender”.

2.1.4 “Reading Gender”

Taking the performance of gender as a starting point, we now explore the ways in which the idea of “reading gender” becomes not only complimentary but necessary in understanding the ways in which people live their gender. As we have seen previously, “doing gender” is the process in which we perform our gender for those around us in our everyday interactions; “reading gender” then is the process through which we “read” or “interpret” or “see” other people’s performance. It becomes part of the interactive process, though more passive than the active performance of ‘doing gender’. It is the manner in which we ‘read’ the signs of people’s behaviour.

“Reading” is the process through which we view, understand and interpret behaviours and situations according to our knowledge base. “Reading gender” then is the process in which we view, understand and interpret gendered performances through our own accepted beliefs of what it means to be masculine and feminine. When we are reading gender we are using the gendered and sexual scripts that we have accepted to impose our own interpretative framework and thereby reaffirm our own understandings of ‘natural’ gender performances. Therefore, we are examining how an individual applies gendered scripts to “read” behaviour and what the gendered cues are. Thus, what is the gendered lens through which individual’s make sense of action, discourse, behaviour and myriad of other ways in which gender is performed? In this sense, “reading gender” becomes a natural extension of “doing gender”. A gendered performance is not gendered unless there is a reaction to it, and that reaction is coloured by

gendered schema. As previously detailed, it is through the ongoing socialization that individuals receive at home, at school and in the marketplace that they learn, accept and reproduce gender. Therefore, in 'reading gender' individuals are evaluating and legitimating the gendered needs of the performers.

2.2. Beyond Gender

In the preceding sections I have presented several concepts from which we can start to understand decision-making from a gendered perspective. 'Gender roles' and 'sexual scripts' have been presented by detailing the lifelong and diverse sources of socialization which create, maintain and reinforce traditional stereotypes regarding appropriate behaviour for men and women. "Doing Gender" then, is a way in which 'our' gender is displayed through our actions. This performance is then reinforced or sanctioned. This concept is key to understanding "reading gender", which will be central to our discussion. "Reading gender" becomes the way that individuals are 'making sense', 'seeing' or 'interpreting' the performances of others in terms of gendered schema. In the discussion of the research findings, the concept of 'reading gender' will be used as a starting point to make sense of individuals' social behaviour in the context of decision-making.

However, while the above description offers a framework for interpreting social behaviour as conditioned by an individual's gender, we have to take care not to essentialize and over generalize and thereby suggest that social behaviour can be explained solely on the basis of an individual's gender. Doing so would mean that all men and all women will "do" and "read" the same gendered performances in the same way due to their gendered socialization. We may want to consider that men and women are exposed to and socialized to

appropriate gender roles and sexual scripts; however their engagement with those gender roles and sexual scripts may be conditioned not only by their gender, but their personality. In the coming section, various theories regarding personality and social behaviour are presented. This will allow us to develop a more inclusionary framework for understanding people's social behaviour by making room for individual difference.

2.2.1 Additional Individual Differences: Personality Theory

As well as thinking about decision-making through a gendered lens, we can begin to think about how the social behaviour of the participants may be driven by their personality. In order to do so, this section presents a theoretical framework for understanding how decision-making may be tempered by personality. Thus, this section provides an overview of personality theory and how it can be used to make sense of the decision-making process of individuals who possess certain traits or dispositions.

Personality comes from the Latin word *persona*. The term *persona* was once used in ancient Rome to represent the masks that theatrical performers wore, which characterized the individual based on a consistent pattern of behaviour (Snyder & Ickes, 1985: 883). Thus, just as *persona* came to represent the consistencies and regularities in the character of the performer, so does it now represent the consistencies and regularities in individuals' in their day-to-day lives. Thus, personality is seen as something that distinguishes individuals from other individuals and that can render their behaviour somewhat predictable (Snyder & Ickes, 1985: 883).

One way we can start to think about this social behaviour is from a dispositional strategy to understanding personality. The dispositional strategy (or trait theory) seeks to understand consistencies in social behaviour based on stable traits (for example sex role, authoritarianism or

level of belief in a just world) that are thought to reside 'within' an individual (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Furthermore, this strategy assumes that it is possible to observe the regularities and consistencies of these traits or dispositions across time and space (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Thus, it is believed that all individuals who possess certain traits will act the same in way all situations. For example, using this approach in the context of the current research, we can speculate that high authoritarian individuals will always be more punitive than egalitarian individuals, and will judge situations in a consistent manner. Thus, in this study then, it is hypothesized that despite the gender of the offender or victim, all high authoritarians will be maximally punitive. In the same sense, we can look at sex roles. For example, sex typed females will always be punitive, while androgynous individuals will not be. However, it is rare that all individuals will act in the same manner all the time.

Therefore, a second possibility, and decidedly more appropriate, in exploring our understanding of personality is to take an interactional approach. This approach has become more popular as trait theorists recognize that "each and every trait does not determine the behaviour of each and every person, all the time" (Potkay & Allen, 1986: 455). As such, interactionism has seemingly become the most powerful approach in understanding complex human behaviour (Potkay & Allen, 1986). Unlike the dispositional strategy to understanding personality and social behaviour, the interactional strategy seeks to understand the regularities and consistencies in social behaviour, not only in terms of the relatively stable traits or dispositions, but in terms of their interaction with situations (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Thus, this understanding of social behaviour assumes that the personality dispositions of individuals will interact with the situational features and will express themselves differently in various scenarios.

In this sense, a trait or disposition may have a particular impact on behaviour in a given situation and a different effect in other situations. It has been theorized that there are different types of situations which allow social behaviour to be guided more concretely by individuals' dispositions than by situational features. Snyder & Ickes (1985) reported on 'weak' and 'strong' situations in which individuals interact. On the one hand, 'strong' situations are often highly structured and defined and in which individuals are provided with salient cues about what type of behaviour is appropriate (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). On the other hand, 'weak' situations are often ambiguous and relatively unstructured and do not provide cues about expected behaviour (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Therefore, it is believed that individuals' behaviour in 'strong' situations is guided less by a disposition but by the situation, as there are more strict guidelines and rules which prevent much variation in behaviour. However, 'weak' situations provided little structure regarding behaviour, and therefore an individual's actions in such a situation will be guided more by their individual dispositions.

We can hypothesize how this strategy would implicate itself in the current research. Authoritarian individuals will be more punitive in situations that present a male offender than in situations with a female offender. This hypothesis stems from the knowledge that authoritarian individuals tend to be more punitive, but also that they hold rigid and traditional views of women, which would prevent them from identifying a woman as an offender (Altemeyer, 1981). A second way this theory could manifest is in the responses of sex typed and androgynous individuals. Androgynous males and female will be more likely to be insensitive to the gender of the perpetrator when it comes to decision-making, as they hold neither traditionally masculine roles, nor traditionally feminine rolls. However, sex typed males and sex typed females will both be maximally punitive to a male perpetrator. This reflects the highly accepted traditional

masculine and feminine roles and beliefs that each hold in regards to their own and other's behaviour.

Following this, it becomes more salient to use an interactional strategy to understanding personality and social behaviour than a dispositional one, as it is more likely that given situational differences, individuals will act differently. In this context, an interactional strategy of personality theory - that assumes that individual personality traits influence social behaviour, but that influence is contingent upon the situation - will be used in conjunction with the liberal feminist position on gender socialization to begin to make sense of decision-making in different situations of child sexual abuse. In the next chapter the methodology guiding the current research is presented.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodological approach of the current research. The first section presents the epistemology of mixed methodology, including a definition, a brief history of the approach, as well as a presentation of arguments regarding the viability of combining different methodologies. This overview includes a discussion of the limitations and the benefits of mixed methodology, as well as the reasoning behind adopting this approach for the current research and a description of the specific research design applied in this study. The second section outlines the technical methods and tools that were used for data collection. This includes information concerning the background of the sample and the location of the research, as well as an overview of the personality scales, vignettes and questionnaires that were utilized. The chapter then reviews ethical considerations as well as the specific process through which the data were obtained and then analyzed, including a brief description of the statistical techniques employed. Finally, the limitations of the current study are presented.

3.1. Mixed Methodology Research

3.1.1 Defining Mixed Methodology

Mixed methodology is an approach to research whereby quantitative and qualitative strategies for collecting and analyzing data are used in a single study (Cresswell, 2003)⁵. It is believed that in doing so, one method can help develop or inform the other. It requires the researcher to collect different sorts of data sequentially or concurrently to better understand a particular research problem. Moran-Ellis and her colleagues (2006) identified mixed methodology “as the use of two or more methods that draw on different meta-theoretical assumptions” (46). At a more basic level, Janice Morse (1991) succinctly defined this type of research when she stated that “methodological triangulation is a method of obtaining complementary findings that strengthen results and contribute to theory and knowledge development” (122). The next section briefly presents the genealogy of mixed methodology research so that we can better understand how it can be used for the current study.

3.1.2 History and Development

The strategy of employing different methods in a single research study was initiated by Campbell and Fiske (1959), who drew upon multiple methods to study the validity of measures of psychological traits. Mixed methodology became extensively employed in health and education research and has now emerged as a valuable strategy in researching social problems (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006). As such, this strategy has been implemented to study such social problems and phenomena, as parenting (Green, 2007), reducing workplace stress (Kowalski et

⁵ Mixed methodology always refers to a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study. It does not include employing a research design consisting of two or more strategies from the same paradigm (ex. Interviews and focus groups).

al., 2003) and female delinquency (Kakar, Friedemann & Peck 2003). This approach to research has developed and expanded over the past several decades. Takkashori and Teddlie (2003) discussed the various pseudonyms under which mixed quantitative and qualitative studies have appeared including, triangulation, integrating, synthesis, multimethod, and multitrait methods, but note that mixed methodology appears to be the terminology being used in recent writings. It is important to note that while mixed methodology research has expanded its field of use, there still exists some controversy as to whether or not the approach is an effective research strategy. The following section presents the arguments in favour and against its use.

3.1.3 Arguments For and Against the Use of Mixed Methodology

While mixed methodology research has gained increased legitimacy, there has been debate regarding the validity and viability of such research strategies, as some researchers argue that quantitative and qualitative methods have different epistemological foundations and that those differences are irreconcilable (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006). This position is based on the premise that quantitative research stems from a natural science approach which views people as inert, while qualitative research comes from a phenomenological approach which seeks to focus upon the lived experiences of people (Bryman, 1984). Other arguments against the use of mixed methodology include minimal or no measurement validity and epistemological incompatibility of qualitative and quantitative methods. Advocates however, argue that increased measurement validity is not the purpose of mixed methodology research; instead, the purpose is to increase the breadth and depth of the analysis of a specific phenomenon (Kelle, 2001). Furthermore, different results stemming from qualitative and quantitative strategies of

data collection do not reflect flawed measurements; rather they reflect different aspects of complex social phenomena (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006).

Researchers supporting mixed methodology note that while epistemological differences do exist between quantitative and qualitative strategies, mixing methods is not about merging the guidelines and paradigms of each, but rather is about “the use of appropriate strategies for maintaining validity for each method” (Morse, 1991: 122). Morse (1991) went on to dismiss the controversy by recognizing that researchers often fail to remember that both quantitative and qualitative methods are merely tools that the researcher has to study different social problems and foster understanding and create knowledge. Moreover, she posited that the most versatile researchers can employ the two strategies of data collection, while acknowledging the theoretical positions of both (Morse, 1991).

3.1.4 Benefits and Limitations to Mixed Methodology

Advocates of mixed methodology research identify numerous benefits to conducting studies using quantitative and qualitative techniques. One benefit to implementing a mixed framework in research is the increased level of confidence in the study’s findings (Kelle, 2001), as different methods with convergent or additive information may reinforce the findings of each (Jick, 1979). There are several other noted benefits to this strategy of research including different constructions of the same phenomena (Moran & Butler, 2001) and the ability to combine the findings of different approaches to create new knowledge. This occurs when researchers are able to use both methods to examine different components of the same phenomenon simultaneously which are normally studied independently (Foss & Ellefsen, 2002; Cresswell et al., 2003). Mixing methods may also help researchers to uncover deviant

viewpoints or perspectives (Jick, 1979). Cresswell (2003) noted that one of the benefits to mixed methodology research is the expansion of understanding from one method to another. Social problems are complex and often multi-faceted and mixed methodology research allows for researchers to study the multiple levels of social phenomena in a single study (Moran-Ellis et al, 2006). Despite the numerous benefits of this approach to research, there are some limitations. Mixed methodology research can be extremely cost and time intensive which may restrict its use (Cresswell, 2003; Jick, 1979). The next section presents the way in which mixed methodology is applied to the current research.

3.1.5 The Current Study

Mixed methods research allows for both close-ended quantitative data and open-ended qualitative data to be collected and analyzed (Cresswell, 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). Employing a mixed methods research design in the current study allows for broader perspectives, as qualitative data can describe or inform aspects of a quantitative study, which cannot be quantified (Creswell et al., 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). A strict quantitative study would not allow for a deeper understanding of decision-making that considers perceptions, while a strict qualitative study would be unable to examine precision in how and to what extent personality factors affect decision-making. A concurrent mixed methods approach was used for the current study. This approach allows us to examine decision-making by assessing potentially convergent or additive quantitative and qualitative data. In this study, three personality scales and a questionnaire assessing responses to a vignette were used to examine the relationship between gender, personality and decision-making in the criminal justice context

of cases of alleged sexual abuse of children. At the same time, decision-making was explored using open-ended questions.

This mixed methods approach requires the simultaneous collection of data, with quantitative methods guiding a portion of data collection, and qualitative methods being employed to gather data that cannot be procured by quantitative methods alone. This mixed methods design is known as a ‘concurrent nested strategy’ of data collection (see Figure 1 for visual representation). This mixed methods design has only one data collection phase, during which time both quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously (Cresswell, 2003). Unlike traditional triangulation, which places equal emphasis on each method, this design has a predominant method that guides the research study (Morse, 1991). In this sense, the method given less importance is considered to be embedded (*or nested*) in the research study. For the purposes of the current research, quantitative methods are guiding the data collection, while qualitative methods are embedded within the design. This allows for different levels of data to be collected that the dominant method fails to capture (Cresswell, 2003). The data that are collected is integrated or mixed during the analysis phase of the research study.

Concurrent Nested Research Design

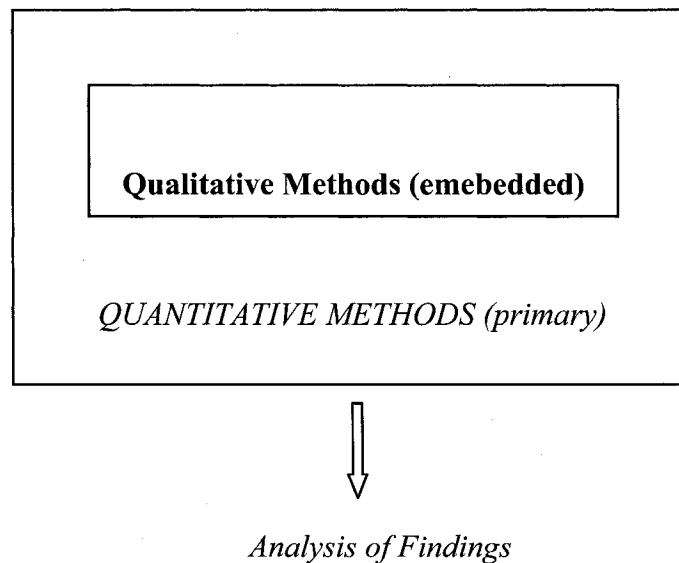


Figure 1 Concurrent Nested Mixed Methods Research Design
SOURCE: Adapted from Cresswell (2003).

3.2. Methods

3.2.1. Location, Sample and Subjects

The population of the current sample of participants consisted of students enrolled in a third-year required course in the Department of Criminology at the University of Ottawa. The population was accessed through consultation and discussion with the professors of the courses. Thus, it was a non-random convenience, or non-probability sample, as the students in the criminology department were readily available to the researcher. The students were asked to consider volunteering to complete the study during class time, which involved responding to three personality scales, a vignette of a case of suspected child sexual abuse, and questionnaire. It is important to note that the current study is an analogue or “proof of concept” study in which a research hypothesis is explored with a smaller, specific group of subjects and research

procedures analogous but not identical to those that might permit highly confident generalization of results to natural settings. The specific tools used for data collection are presented in the next section.

3.2.2 Research Instruments

The study employed three scales that measure different facets of an individual's personality, as well as a vignette depicting a scene of alleged sexual abuse against a child, and a questionnaire assessing decisions concerning the disposition of an accused sexual offender in the vignette (Please see Appendix #1 for vignettes and questionnaire). The following are the scales that were used to measure the specific personality characteristics.

- a) Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1981) (see Appendix #2 for an illustration of this inventory⁶);
- b) Belief in a Just World (Rubin and Peplau, 1975) (see Appendix #3 for an illustration of this scale);
- c) Balanced F-Scale, measuring authoritarianism (Cherry & Byrne, 1977) (see Appendix #4 for a illustration of this scale).

All participants were asked to fill in a brief demographic form indicating their gender and then to respond to the vignette by completing the questionnaire, followed by filling out each personality scale, with each scale taking approximately ten minutes to complete.

⁶ Copyright laws prevent the replication of the inventory in full.

3.2.2.1 Bem Sex-Role Inventory

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) measures self-reported assessments of an individual's sex-role orientation, "In general, we refer to sex role characteristics as those characteristics that actually differentiate the sexes, are stereotypically believed to differentiate the sexes, or are considered to be differentially desirable in the two sexes" (Lenney, 1991: 573). Sex roles have traditionally been measured in terms of masculinity and femininity. According to Sandra Lipsitz Bem (1981), femininity and masculinity have been seen as diametrically opposed, not only in psychology but also in society. However, there has been a shift in thinking to consider masculinity and femininity as potentially independent characteristics and to include what scholars have termed psychological androgyny, a term that refers to the integration of masculine and feminine traits within a single individual (Bem, 1981: 4). In order to empirically study androgyny, a new type of sex role scale was needed that did not position masculine and feminine traits as oppositional to one another. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) includes 60 personality characteristics, of which 20 are stereotypically feminine, 20 are stereotypically masculine, and 20 characteristics that are neither traditionally masculine nor feminine. Respondents taking the BSRI are asked to rate themselves on each characteristic on a scale from 1 ("Never or almost never true") to 7 ("Always or almost always true") (Bem, 1981: 4). Characteristics were selected as masculine or feminine based on the cultural definitions of sex-typed social desirability (Bem, 1981: 4). For example, stereotypically feminine characteristics include affectionate, understanding and compassionate, while stereotypically masculine characteristics include independent, assertive, and dominant. Characteristics that are neither directly associated with either gender include conscientious, moody and reliable.

The BSRI differs from other sex role inventories as it treats masculinity and femininity as independent dimensions, rather than two poles of a single dimension. This enables a respondent to indicate if they are high on both dimensions (androgynous), low on both dimensions (undifferentiated) or high on one dimension and low on the other (either masculine or feminine) (Bem, 1981: 4). The BSRI has excellent reliability. Holt and Ellis (1993) computed Cronbach alpha's and found that the BSRI had an internal reliability of $\alpha=.95$ for the masculinity scale and $\alpha=.92$ for the femininity scale. It has been used in a variety of research on a multitude of topics, as well as been employed with different age ranges, populations and cultures. The BSRI remains the most frequently used scale in sex-role research, as well as it is the standard for which other instruments are compared (Lenney, 1991).

3.2.2.2 Belief in a Just World (BJW)

According to Lerner (1980), BJW refers to the way in which people believe that the world is predictable and manageable (Lerner, 1980). A just world is one in which people "get what they deserve", good or bad. This 'belief' in a just world can vary in strength and intensity (Lerner, 1980). While Lerner's BJW is often used in discussions on the tendency to blame the victim, it can be understood in regards to people's responses and attitudes towards offenders as well. People may conceptualize the offender's behaviour as bad and evil and their punishment as their "just deserts" (i.e. bad things happen to bad people). Rubin and Peplau (1975) designed the BJW scale, which measured individuals' level of adherence to this belief. They originally perceived this scale as "an attitudinal continuum extending between two poles of total acceptance and total rejection of the notion that the world is a just place" (Rubin & Peplau, 1975: 66).

There has been some debate surrounding the dimensionality⁷ of the scale. Ahmed & Stuart (1985) found that the BJW is a one-dimensional factor, while Ambrosio and Sheehan (1990) found that the BJW was multidimensional. Despite the contradiction in the nature of dimensionality, the scale is still widely used. The BJW scale is self-reported and depending on the version used, varies in the number of questions. Respondents are asked to answer questions based on a 7-point scale, 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree) (Dalber et al., 1987 as cited in Correia & Vala, 2003). In a review of available BJW scales, Furnham (2003) found that the Rubin and Peplau's (1975) scale has a reliability of $\alpha = .80$.

3.2.2.3 Authoritarianism

The final scale that was used in the study is the Balanced F-scale measure of authoritarianism. The first systematic research on authoritarian personality syndrome (authoritarianism) was conducted by Adorno et al. (1950). Shaver and Robinson (1975) explained the concept of authoritarianism as an attempt to link deep-seated personality dispositions with socially significant forms of belief and social behaviour involved in adhering to a rigid and dogmatic ideology and in discriminating against out-groups. Several scales were produced to measure authoritarianism. Adorno et al. (1950) developed the F (potential for fascism) Scale. The first scales were inextricably linked to political situations, levels of anti-democratic tendencies and ideological beliefs. "It was [later] recognized that authoritarianism

⁷ Dimensionality refers to the "number of independent coordinates needed to specify a measure mathematically" (Cloninger, 1996: 67). In this sense, a trait can be *unidimensional*, *bidimensional* or *multidimensional*. Unidimensional traits assess only one dimension, such as intelligence or extraversion. Bidimensional traits provide two scores, for example masculinity and femininity. Finally, multidimensional traits have three or more dimensions, such as self-monitoring.

can be useful in completely apolitical social situations and more specialized and less ideological scales were developed” (Shaver & Robinson, 1975: 296).

There have been several criticisms levelled at the original scale, including the limited focus in the political arena and a methodological flaw which led to acquiescent response bias (which is the tendency to agree with scale statements despite the substantive content) (Robinson & Shaver, 1975). Byrne created a balanced F-scale responding to these criticisms. The agreement bias that seemed to plague earlier versions of the scale was eliminated with the Balanced F-scale, as it presented an equal number of statements (items) that were positively and negatively worded (Cherry & Byrne, 1977). The correlation of Byrne’s Balanced f-scale with the original F-scale is .84, thus making it possible to measure authoritarianism without the danger of acquiescence (Cherry & Byrne, 1977).

Byrne’s Balanced F-scale is a 22-item scale that asks respondents to indicate their agreement to a variety of personal, academic and social statements on a scale from 1 (strongly disagreeing/opposing) to 7 (strongly agreeing/supporting). The following are examples of statements included in the scale, “The prisoners in our correctional institutions, regardless of their crimes, should be treated humanely” and “obedience and respect to authority are the most important virtues children should learn”. Individuals with high scores are considered to have authoritarian personalities, while low scores indicate egalitarian personalities.

3.2.3 Vignette and Questionnaire

This study used a vignette and a questionnaire to understand people’s attitudes and beliefs in regards to decision-making in the criminal justice context of alleged child sexual abuse. Vignettes are “short descriptions of a person or a social situation which contain precise

references to what are thought to be the most important factors in the decision-making or judgement-making processes of respondents” (Alexander & Becker, 2007: 94). Such descriptive scenarios have long been used in psychology and social sciences like anthropology (Hughes & Huby, 2002). Vignettes have increased in popularity as researchers have increasingly recognized the limitations of questionnaires or interviews in exploring attitudes, behaviours, beliefs and perceptions especially in regards to decision-making (Alexander & Becker, 2007; Hughes & Huby, 2002). Alexander & Becker (2007) note that a major problem arising out of traditional survey research is the ambiguity that surfaces when participants are asked to make decisions with limited or seemingly abstract information. Vignettes help to address this problem by standardizing the situation for all participants. Furthermore, vignettes are recognized as useful when studying sensitive or difficult topics by reducing the chance of receiving socially desirable responses engendered by the presence of the interviewer. Additionally, they help to desensitize the participants to the topic of inquiry through the manner in which questions are formulated and posed and how participants are invited to respond (Hughes & Huby, 2002: 384). Thus, vignettes were judged to be appropriate for the current study, as the topic of decision-making regarding child sexual abuse is an emotional one for many people. Vignettes also make it possible to study the effects on an individual’s judgement or decision-making by allowing the researcher to vary characteristics in the vignette (Alexander & Becker, 2007). This aspect of the vignette technique allowed the researcher to vary the gender of the alleged offender and victim in the study vignettes.

As part of the current study’s quantitative component, vignettes were used to present one of four standardized descriptions of an ambiguous case of sexual abuse against a child. The vignettes depicted a scenario in which an adult male or female had committed the same act

against a male or female child that is considered to be illegal under Section 151 of the CCC, Sexual Interference. This section specifies that “every person who, for a sexual purpose, touches, directly or indirectly, with a part of the body or with an object, any part of the body of a person under the age of fourteen years” is guilty of a sexual interference offence. This particular offence was chosen in order to be consistent with official statistics regarding the most common scenario of child sexual abuse; the child was under the age of 6 and the alleged offender in the scenario is a family member, as research indicates that this is the case in most instances of abuse against children (AuCoin, 2006).

Participants randomly received one of four vignettes: (1) male adult/female child, (2) male adult/male child, (3) female adult/female child or (4) female adult/male child. Participants were instructed to imagine themselves as children’s aid workers. From this point of view, they were asked to indicate their judgement as to whether or not a crime had in fact occurred and the type of intervention, if any, that they would recommend. The following is how the questions were presented to the participants.

1. Based on the above situation, has a crime occurred?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
2. Based on the above situation, for the adult cousin, what course of action/intervention, if any, would you recommend? (please choose one)
 - a. No course of action/intervention
 - b. Referral to criminal justice authorities (police/crown attorney)
 - c. Recommendation for adult to be placed on CAS watch list
 - d. Referral to psychiatric/psychological facility for evaluation or treatment

3.2.4 Qualitative Methods

To broaden the findings and nuance the analysis of the current research, simple qualitative methods were also employed. After participants had completed the questions directly related to the scenario depicted in the vignette, they were asked an open-ended question, “Please, explain, in as much space as necessary, why you chose the course of action/intervention that you did in the previous question”. The question was intended to explore the reasoning behind participants’ answers in the quantitative component of the research.

3.3. Data Collection

3.3.1. Ethical Considerations

Prior to data collection, ethical approval for the research project was sought through the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa. Due to the nature of the current research project pertaining to the alleged sexual assault of children, ethics approval was required from the full review board. Before approval could be obtained, the review board required extra measures be taken given that university students are viewed as members of a captive audience. In order to fulfill the requirements of the review board, a letter of approval and permission was obtained from the Chair of the Criminology Department as well as the course professors in whose classes the research was to take place. Additionally, the course syllabi were required to include information pertaining to the research project. Upon completion of these steps, ethics approval was granted and data collection commenced (see Appendix #5 for Ethics Approval).

3.3.2 Data Collection Process

On three dates, January 10, 22 and 23, 2008, the researcher attended three separate sections of CRM 3301, Criminological Theories II, with the permission of the course professors who granted 40 minutes to conduct this research. The researcher introduced herself to the students as a second year masters student in the Department of Criminology, working under the supervision of Drs Bruckert and Fisher, and proceeded to outline the research project as an attempt to further understand what factors affect decision-making in cases of alleged sexual abuse against children. It was made clear to the students that participation was completely voluntary and that they would not be penalized for not taking part in the research. It was also emphasized to the students that at no time would they be required to disclose personal information, and that all information gathered would remain anonymous. Students who chose not to participate were given permission to leave the classroom for the duration of the data collection. Those who chose to participate were then given an opportunity to ask any questions regarding the research project and their participation, although no students elected to do so.

Surveys were distributed randomly to all students who chose to participate. Upon completion of the research materials, participants were asked to return the survey to the front of the class and place it in a box. Only one student required clarification of their role in completing the research material during data collection. Once all the students had completed the survey, an information sheet was distributed, which thanked them for their participation. Given that the topic of the research could potentially have negatively affected some students, participants were informed of counselling services at the University of Ottawa, as well as services within the broader Ottawa community,. The researcher then proceeded to advise the students that upon completion of the research project, an email would be sent to the course professors detailing the

findings, which would be distributed to them. Students were once again thanked for their participation and left the classroom.⁸

3.4. Data Analysis

Once the surveys were collected, they were divided into four groups based on the vignette that the participant had received. Every survey in each group was then assigned a number. Vignette 1 was assigned numbers A-1 through A-33, vignette 2 was assigned numbers B-1 through B-35, vignette 3 was assigned numbers C-1 through C-34 and vignette 4 was assigned numbers D-1 through D-35. Three additional questions were coded as follows: gender, Male = 1, Female = 2; “based on the above situation, has a crime occurred,” No = 0, Yes = 1; and “based on the above situation, for the adult cousin, what course of action/intervention, if any would you recommend”, 1 = no action/intervention, 2 = referral to criminal justice authorities, 3 = recommendation for adult to be placed on CAS watch list, 4 = referral to psychiatric or psychological facility for evaluation or treatment. Once the questionnaire was coded and entered into an Excel spreadsheet, the qualitative comments were typed up verbatim into the spreadsheet so that a thematic analysis could take place. All of the comments were analyzed for the prevalent themes that arose. Once the qualitative comments were analyzed, the remaining data were analyzed using SPSS.

⁸ Once the data analysis was complete, an email was sent to the course professors including the results of the study and the professors were thanked for their cooperation and asked to forward the results of the study to the students in their courses.

3.4.1 Qualitative Thematic Analysis

In order to identify the prevalent themes that emerged in the comments of my research participants, the researcher read each comment and made a note as to the general nature of the comment. After this preliminary analysis, 15 general topics emerged. The researcher then grouped the comments in regards to the initial categories and read through each comment again. At this point, all comments were organized according to five broad themes, under which eight sub-themes became apparent. Each theme was also examined to see how comments were conditioned by gender of the respondent, gender of the alleged offender and gender of the perceived victim. Once the thematic analysis was complete, an analysis of the quantitative data was conducted.

3.4.2 Quantitative Analysis

In order to complete the quantitative analysis, the questionnaire, as previously mentioned, was coded and entered in an MS Excel spreadsheet. As well, the three personality scales were scored. For the Belief in a Just World Scale (Rubin & Peplau, 1975) and the Balanced F-Scale (Byrne, 1974), the respondent's score on each question was entered in the Excel Spreadsheet and the 'sum' feature was used to calculate the total score. The scores were then imported into SPSS, where they were then recoded as high or low in BJW or authoritarianism based on a median split of the data. For the BJW scale, scores below 68 were re-coded to indicate a low belief in a just world, while scores 68 or higher were classified to indicate a strong belief in a just world. The same process was undertaken for the balanced F-Scale; scores below 74 were re-coded to represent low authoritarianism (egalitarianism) and 74 and above as high authoritarianism.

The BSRI (Bem, 1978) was scored in a similar manner. For each participant, responses for masculinity and femininity characteristics were entered in the spreadsheet. Again the ‘sum’ feature was used to obtain a total masculinity and femininity score for each participant. In order to determine the sex type of each participant based on their masculinity and femininity scores, the median scores for all participants on each measure were obtained. Rather than using the standardized scores (medians) provided with the BSRI workbook, the sample medians were obtained in order to better reflect the current time and study population, as the original scores were obtained over thirty years ago. Participants were identified as masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated based on the location of their masculinity and femininity scores in relation to the sample medians (Figure 2).

		Masculinity Score	
		Below Median	Above Median
Femininity Score	Below Median	Undifferentiated (low-low)	Masculine (high masc.-low fem.)
	Above Median	Feminine (high fem.–low masc.)	Androgynous (high-high)

*Source: Bem (1978)

Figure 2: Classifying Subjects with the BSRI

Once the participants were designated as one of four sex types, the data was exported into SPSS, where the scores were then re-coded into sex typed (masculine and feminine), undifferentiated and androgynous.

Once all of the data were entered into an SPSS database, descriptive statistics were calculated in order to determine the sample characteristics. To answer the questions of the

current research, several analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to identify any main effects and interactions between the variables under study. The use of analysis of variance is acceptable for dichotomous variables (see Winer, 1971). Thus a 2 (gender of respondent) x 2 (gender of the alleged perpetrator) x 2 (gender of the alleged victim) between groups ANOVA examined judgements of the occurrence of a crime in the given scenario. Four similar ANOVAs were conducted to explore the effects of the factors under study on the judgements regarding the appropriate intervention strategy in the case in question. In order to do so, the question regarding intervention strategies was re-coded for each ANOVA so that every strategy, except the intervention of interest, was coded as zero (and the variable of interest was coded as 1). ANOVAs were run based on the median split of the personality scales, as well as the split between sex-typed and androgynous individuals to examine the effects of gender on judgements of criminality and intervention strategies.

3.5 Limitations

Like any other research, there are limitations to the current study. One of the main limitations concerns the convenience sample of the participants. As the subjects were recruited from Criminology students at the University of Ottawa, the sample was not representative of individuals who work on the “front lines” dealing with cases of sexual abuse, which may have restricted their ability to effectively relate to the situation of having to make a decision regarding sexual abuse. Nonetheless, the participants who did take part in the research are individuals who are likely to enter professional fields with such responsibilities and therefore offer unique insight into their decision-making strategies prior to their work related experience.

A second limitation reflects the sample size of the current research. Due to time restraints and the sample population, it was not feasible to recruit more students to participate in the study. While the sample size of the research was comprised of 134 individuals, each vignette only had approximately 33 students respond to that specific scenario. A larger sample size would have allowed for more in-depth quantitative analysis of interactions and effects of the study variables, especially personality differences. Also, a larger sample sized would have increased the reliability of the results. However, a number of highly consistent significant results did emerge from the data collected, which will be presented later on⁹.

The use of vignettes, while offering many benefits to the study of sensitive topics, also has limitations. Hughes and Huby (2002) noted that vignettes cannot completely capture the reality of people's lives or situations, and sometimes, the disjuncture between the participant's experiences and the vignette scenario may be too great to be meaningful. Also, the vignette scenario used limits the generalizability of the results beyond the criminal offence presented in the descriptions. Describing a scenario in which the subjects (victim and offender) were related limits the generalizability of the results beyond close familial relationships, as individuals may respond differently depending on the level of acquaintance. However, as was previously discussed, the use of vignettes may help control for socially desirable responses, helps to desensitize subjects to the topic, and standardizes the information for all participants and importantly, embodies the critical variables in the judgement situations under study.

This chapter outlined the methodological framework for the present research. A current definition of the mixed methodology was presented, along with a history of its use, arguments

⁹ A problem was encountered during the analysis stage for one of the study scales (BSRI) which regarding extremely small N sizes.

for and against its effectiveness in research, as well as the benefits and limitations. Following this, the specific concurrent nested research design was presented, along with the data collection tools that were used. The data collection process, as well as the data analysis procedures were outlined in the chapter. Finally, the limitations of the current study were examined. The next chapters present the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the study data.

Chapter 4

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

In this chapter the results of the analysis of the quantitative component of this study are presented. The chapter begins with a description of the participants in this research followed by an analysis of their responses to the experimental vignettes concerning gender of victim, gender of perpetrator, and judgements about intervention in potential instances of child sexual abuse. Analyses will be presented as well concerning how participants' authoritarianism, belief in a just world, and sex role may affect their judgements concerning intervention in potential instances of child sexual abuse.

4.1 Sample Characteristics

The sampling pool consisted of 184 third-year university students who were enrolled in a mandatory criminology course and who were offered the opportunity to take part in this research. From this sampling pool, 137 (a 74% response rate) students volunteered to participate, and 134 provided complete research data. It is important to note that while the potential sample size was 184 students, this does not represent the *actual* total sample available

for recruitment to the current research as it does not capture the number of the individuals who did not attend class on the day of data collection and the actual sample pool size on the specific days volunteers were sought could well have been lower. Accordingly, the estimated response rate—already quite high—may represent a conservative approximation. Of the 134 respondents, 60% were female (n=81) and 40% were male (n=53). For all respondents and across all vignettes presented an equal number of participants perceived that a crime had occurred (50%, n=67) or responded that a crime had not occurred (50%, n=67). In terms of the type of intervention selected by respondents, the most frequently recommended was no intervention (38.8%), followed by referral to psychological care (23.9%) and referral to the CAS watch list (21.6%). The *least* recommended intervention was involvement with criminal justice authorities (15.7%). Table 1 reports the frequencies and percentages of the gender of respondents, judgments that a crime had been committed, and recommended interventions.

Table 1: Frequencies and Percentages of Responses to Survey Questions

Question	Category	Frequency	Percentage
<i>What is your gender?</i>	Male	53	40%
	Female	81	60%
	Total	134	100%
<i>Has a crime occurred?</i>	Yes, a crime occurred	67	50%
	No, a crime did not occur	67	50%
	Total	134	100%
<i>What type of intervention do you recommend?</i>	No action or intervention	52	28.8%
	Referral to CJS	21	15.7%
	Referral to CAS	29	21.6%
	Referral to Psychological services	32	23.9%
	Total	134	100%

Note: Subjects were asked to choose an intervention strategy even when they indicated ‘no crime had occurred’

Figure 3 shows respondents' judgements as to the occurrence of a crime in the scenario they were given as a function of respondent gender. As can be seen in Figure 2, males indicated a crime had occurred more frequently than females (60% versus 43% respectively; $df(132)=1.957, p = 0.053$).

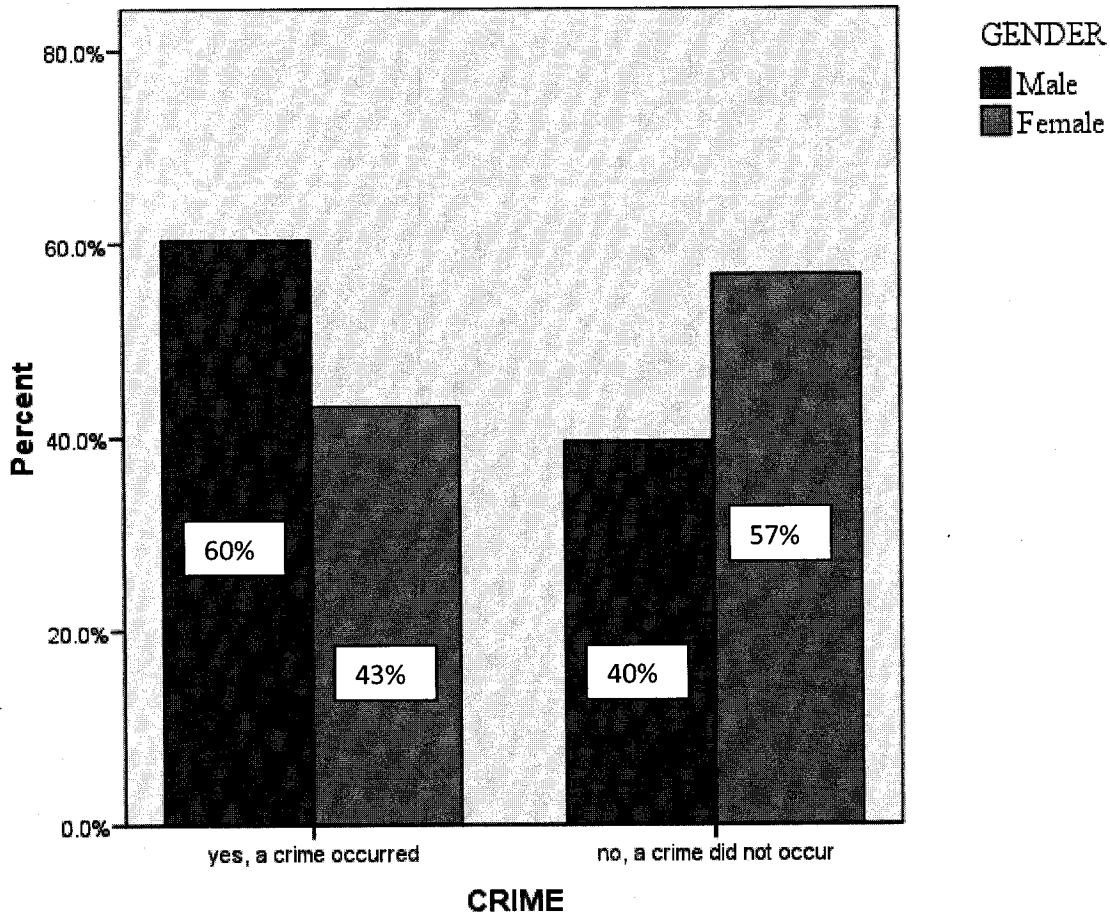


Figure 3: Indications of Crime Based on Gender

Data analyses explored participant responses regarding the most appropriate type of intervention as viewed by men and women across all vignettes under study. As can be seen in Figure 4, the most frequently recommended intervention strategy suggested by males and females was no intervention (34% and 42% respectively; $df(132) = .927, p > .05$) Male and

female suggestions of psychological interventions were approximately equal (24% versus 23.5%; $df(132) = .141, p > .05$). Both genders were relatively similar in their indication of Children's Aid Society involvement, with males recommending this intervention 19% of the time and females 23.5% of the time [$df(132) = -.627, p > 0.05$]. The most distinct difference (which trended toward significance) with respect to suggested intervention for male and female respondents concerned the option of referring the individual to criminal justice authorities; 23% of male respondents indicated criminal justice involvement compared with only 11% of female respondents [$df(132) = 1.804, p > .05$].

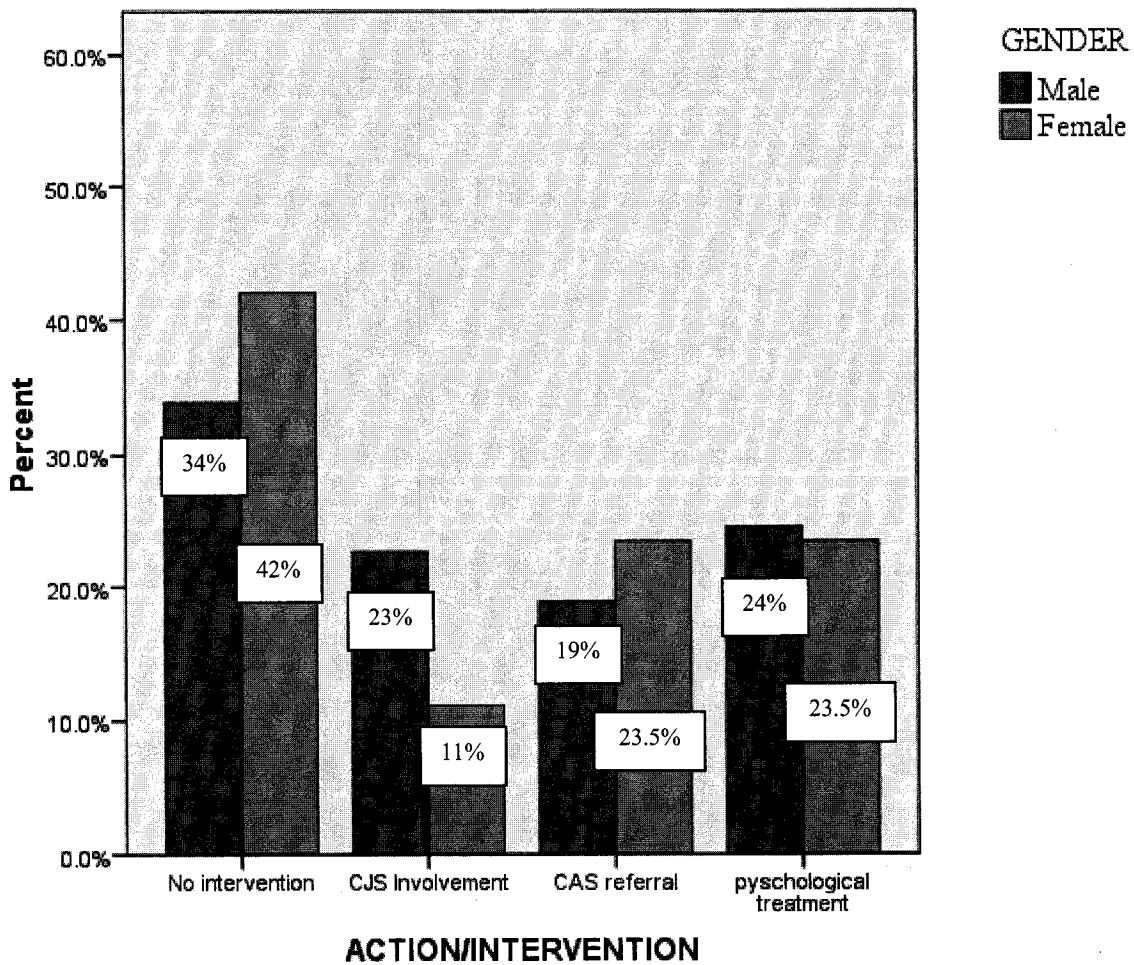


Figure 4: Intervention Strategy Based on Gender

4.2 Judgments of Whether or Not a Crime Has Occurred as a Function of Gender of Participant, Gender of Perpetrator, and Gender of Victim

The primary purpose of this study was to determine whether gender of participant, in the role of adjudicator, and the gender of perpetrator and the gender of victim, have an influence on judgements concerning whether or not a crime was committed. Thus, a two (gender of respondent) by two (gender of perpetrator) by two (gender of victim) between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine judgements as to whether a crime occurred within the context of specific vignettes employed in this research.

Results of the ANOVA showed a significant main effect for gender of the respondent, $F(1,126)= 4.272, p < 0.05$, such that 60.38% of males indicated a crime had occurred compared to 43% of female respondents. No significant main effect was found for either the gender of the alleged offender, $F(1, 126) < 1, p > 0.05$, or of the perceived victim, $F(1, 126) < 1, p > 0.05$.

Results of the ANOVA showed two significant two-way interactions and a significant three-way interaction qualifying the main effect found for gender of the respondent. First, a significant interaction was observed for gender of respondent and gender of perpetrator, $F(1, 126) = 3.910, p < 0.05$, such that in scenarios depicting an alleged female perpetrator, 67% of male respondents made judgements indicating a crime had occurred, compared to 34% of female respondents. Male and female respondents made similar judgements as to whether or not a crime occurred when the alleged perpetrator was male (50% versus 51.16% respectively). Table 2 presents the means and standard deviations for the gender of the respondent and gender of the alleged perpetrator interaction and significant differences between means.

Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for Significant Interaction of Gender of Respondents and Gender of Alleged Perpetrators

	Male Perpetrators			Female Perpetrators		
	<i>Means</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>SD</i>
Male Respondents	.5000 _a	22	.51177	.6774 _b	31	.47519
Female Respondents	.5116 _a	43	.50578	.3421 _a	38	.48078

Note: Means with common subscripts do not differ significantly at the .05 level by t-tests.

The second significant two-way interaction occurred between gender of the respondent and the gender of the perceived victim, $F(1, 126) = 4.114, p < 0.05$, such that 65.37% of male respondents indicated a crime occurred when the victim was male compared to 33.33% of female respondents. Indications of whether a crime had occurred were similar for male and female respondents when the perceived victim was female (55.56% of males versus 53.85%). Means, standard deviations, and significance of differences between means for the interaction between the gender of the respondent and the gender of the perceived victim are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for the Significant Interaction of Gender of Respondents and Gender of Perceived Victim

	Male Victim			Female Victim		
	Means	N	SD	Means	N	SD
Male Respondents	.6538 _a	26	.48516	.5556 _a	27	.50637
Female Respondents	.3333 _b	42	.47712	.5385 _a	39	.50504

Note: Means with common subscripts do not differ significantly at the .05 level by t-tests.

These two-way interactions were further qualified by a three-way interaction of gender of the subject, gender of perpetrator, and gender of the perceived victim, $F(1, 126) = 9.531, p < 0.005$. The means and standard deviations for the interaction are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for the Significant Interaction of Gender of Respondents, Alleged Perpetrator and Perceived Victim

	Male Perpetrator						Female Perpetrator					
	Male Victim			Female Victim			Male Victim			Female Victim		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondent	.7778	9	.44096	.3077	13	.48038	.5882	17	.50730	.7857	14	.42582
Female Respondent	.3333	24	.48154	.7368	19	.45241	.3333	18	.48507	.3500	20	.48936

It can be seen that in general, male respondents were more likely to judge that a crime had been committed when a male perpetrator and a male (versus female) victim was involved whereas female respondents showed the opposite pattern: when a male perpetrator was involved, female subjects were less likely to believe that a crime had been committed if the victim was male compared to female. In the case of a female perpetrator, when the victim was female (rather than male) male respondents were more likely to judge that a crime had been committed than female respondents.

4.3 Suggested Intervention Strategies as a Function of Gender of Subject, Gender of Perpetrator and Gender of Victim

Four additional three-way between groups analyses of variance were performed to examine the influence of gender of participant, gender of perpetrator, and gender of victim on judgements regarding the type of intervention recommended in the four scenarios of the study. Thus, separate two (gender of the respondent) by two (gender of alleged perpetrator) by two (gender of perceived victim) between groups analyses of variance were conducted to examine judgements that a) no intervention was warranted; b) that the scenario warranted criminal justice intervention; c) that referral to the CAS watch list was the most appropriate; or d) that psychological/psychiatric treatment would be most beneficial.

The first ANOVA performed examined judgements that the situation in question did not warrant any intervention. No main effect for gender of the respondent was observed, $F(1, 126) < 1, p > 0.05$, nor were main effects for the gender of the perpetrator $F(1, 126) < 1, p > 0.05$ or of the gender of the perceived victim, $F(1, 126) < 1, p > 0.05$ observed. However, a significant two-way interaction was observed for gender of the respondent and gender of the alleged

perpetrator, $F(1, 126) = 4.251, p < 0.05$, such males and females recommended a similar “no intervention” strategy in relation to a male perpetrator while 50% of female respondents recommended no intervention for an alleged female perpetrator compared to 25.81% of male respondents. As well male respondents were more likely to recommend no intervention for male versus female perpetrators (45% versus 26%). Table 5 reports the means and standard deviations for the interaction. There was no significant three-way interaction, $F(1, 126) = 2.934, p > 0.05$.

Table 5: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for the Significant Interaction of Gender of the Respondent and Alleged Perpetrator on No Intervention

	Male Perpetrator			Female Perpetrator		
	<i>Means</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>SD</i>
Male Respondents	.4545 _a	22	.50965	.2581 _b	31	.44480
Female Respondents	.3488 _a	43	.48224	.5000 _a	38	.50671

Note: Means with common subscripts do not differ significantly at the .05 level by t-tests.

The second ANOVA concerned recommendations of involvement of the criminal justice system and revealed a significant main effect for the gender of respondent, $F(1, 126) = 4.491, p < 0.05$, such that 23% of male respondents judged involvement with criminal justice authorities as the most appropriate course of action, compared to only 11% of female respondents. There were no significant two-way interactions, however the main effect observed for the gender of the respondent was qualified by a significant three-way interaction between gender of the respondent, the alleged perpetrator, and the perceived victim, $F(1, 126) = 8.708, p < 0.05$. Male respondents were far less likely to indicate the need for criminal justice intervention in the case of a female perpetrator with a male (as opposed to a female victim), and male compared to female respondents were less likely to recommend criminal justice intervention in the case of a male perpetrator with a female victim. Male compared to female respondents were also more likely to recommend criminal justice intervention for a male victim of a male perpetrator.

Female respondents were more likely to recommend criminal justice intervention than male respondents when a female perpetrator and female victim (as opposed to a male victim) were involved, as well as when a male perpetrator and male versus female victim were involved. Table 6 presents means and standard deviations for recommendation of criminal justice intervention as a function of gender of participant, perpetrator, and victim.

Table 6: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for the Significant Interaction of Gender of Respondents, Alleged Perpetrator and Perceived Victim on Criminal Justice Intervention

	Male Perpetrator						Female Perpetrator					
	Male Victim			Female Victim			Male Victim			Female Victim		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondent	.3333	9	.50000	.1538	13	.37553	.0588	17	.24254	.4286	14	.51355
Female Respondent	.0833	24	.28233	.3158	19	.47757	.0000	18	.00000	.0500	20	.22361

The ANOVA performed to examine judgements regarding CAS involvement, as well as Psychiatric/Psychological Treatment, did not yield any significant results. No main effects were observed for gender of the respondent, gender of the alleged perpetrator or gender of the perceived victim, and no significant interactions were observed.

4.4 Judgements Concerning Whether a Crime has Occurred as a Function of Participant Personality, Participant Gender, Gender of Perpetrator and Gender of Victim

A secondary purpose of the current research was to examine whether or not personality differences may interact with the other factors under study (participant's gender, gender of perpetrator, gender of victim) in judgments of whether or not a crime has occurred. To do so, the

preceding ANOVAs were repeated separately within the group of high then low authoritarians and high then low believers in a just world. The sex role analyses were not completed due to small N sizes and incompatibility in combining the different groups. For both the authoritarian and belief in a just world scales, the scores were divided based on the median split of the study sample.

4.4.1 Authoritarianism

Among low authoritarians (egalitarian individuals), a main effect was observed for the gender of the subject, $F(1, 56) = 6.240, p < 0.05$, such that 50% of male respondents judged a crime to have occurred compared to 25% of female respondents. This main effect was qualified by a significant two-way interaction between gender of subject and gender of perpetrator, $F(1, 56) = 4.405, p < 0.05$, such that egalitarian male subjects with a female perpetrator were more likely than egalitarian female subjects with a female perpetrator to judge that a crime had occurred (see Table 7 for means, standard deviations, and tests of the significance of differences among means). No significant three-way interaction was observed.

Table 7: Means and Standard Deviations for judgements of criminality as a function of sex of subject and sex of perpetrator victim for Egalitarian Respondents

	Male Perpetrator			Female Perpetrator		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondents	.5000 _a	10	.52705	.6667 _a	18	.48507
Female Respondents	.3684 _a	19	.49559	.1176 _b	17	.33211

Note: Means with common subscripts do not differ significantly at the .05 level by t-tests.

The ANOVA conducted for high authoritarians did not yield a main effect for gender of subject, nor were any two-way interactions significant, however there was a significant three-

way interaction between gender of subject, gender of perpetrator and gender of victim, $F(1, 62) = 6.538, p < 0.05$. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Means and Standard Deviations for Judgements of Criminality as a function of sex of subject, sex of perpetrator and sex of victim for High Authoritarians

	Male Perpetrator						Female Perpetrator					
	Male Victim			Female Victim			Male Victim			Female Victim		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondent	1.0000	3	.00000	.3333	9	.50000	.6250	8	.51755	.8000	5	.44721
Female Respondent	.4167	12	.51493	.8333	12	.38925	.5556	9	.52705	.5000	12	.52223

As can be seen, male respondents judging a male perpetrator with a female (versus male) victim indicated a crime to have occurred 33% of the time. Female respondents judging the same scenario answered in the opposite direction, indicating a crime to have occurred 83% of the time. High authoritarian males judging a scenario with a female perpetrator and female victim were more likely to indicate a crime had occurred than when the perpetrator was male with a female victim (80% versus 33% respectively). Males were uniform in their judgement that a crime had occurred in the case of a male victim and male perpetrator. This analysis must be interpreted with considerable caution due to the very low N (three participants) in one cell of the analysis.

4.4.2 Belief in a Just World

Two ANOVAs were conducted to examine differences in judgements of criminality for high versus low believers in a just world. For low believers in a just world no main effects were

observed, however a significant interaction was present for gender of subject and gender of perpetrator, $F(1, 57) = 4.913, p < 0.05$, such that male subjects judging a female perpetrator were much more likely to indicate that a crime had occurred compared with female subjects judging a female perpetrator. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for Judgements of Criminality as a function of Gender of subject and Gender of perpetrator for low believers in a just world.

	Male Perpetrator			Female Perpetrator		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondents	.3750 _a	8	.51755	.6667 _b	15	.48795
Female Respondents	.5000 _a	22	.51177	.2500 _c	20	.44426

Note: Means with common subscripts do not differ significantly at the .05 level by t-tests.

The second ANOVA was conducted to examine individuals with a strong belief in a just world. Again, no main effects or two-way interactions were observed, however a significant three-way interaction was present between gender of subject, gender of perpetrator and gender of victim, $F(1, 61) = 12.281, p < 0.01$. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for judgements of criminality as a function of sex of subject, sex of perpetrator and sex of victim for high believers in a just world.

	Male Perpetrator						Female Perpetrator					
	Male Victim			Female Victim			Male Victim			Female Victim		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondent	1.0000	5	.00000	.3333	9	.50000	.5556	9	.52705	.8571	7	.37796
Female Respondent	.3333	12	.49237	.7778	9	.44096	.5556	9	.52705	.3333	9	.50000

It can be seen that male respondents with a strong belief in a just world were more likely than female respondents, judging a scenario with a female perpetrator, to indicate that a crime had been committed when the victim was female (versus male). When the perpetrator was male, female respondents were more likely than male respondents to judge a crime had been committed when the victim was female.

4.4.3 Sex Role

As was mentioned previously the analyses for the sex role of the participant were not completed. The small N size of several of the groups did not allow for any meaningful analysis. Also, due to incompatibility issues between the different dispositions and behavioural expectations of sex typed males and sex typed females; the two groups were unable to be combined. Doing so would create ambiguity with the expected responses as sex typed males are very different from sex typed females.

4.5 Judgements Concerning Intervention Recommendations as a function of Participant Personality, Participant Gender, Gender of Perpetrator and Gender of Victim

In continuing to analyze whether or not personality differences interact with the other factors under study (participant gender, gender of perpetrator, gender of victim), intervention strategies were examined. To do so, for each measure of personality, four separate ANOVAs were conducted for each intervention strategy that was available to recommend for the research participants. As was previously mentioned, the BJW Scale and Balanced F-Scale were divided based on the median split. Again, issues with N sizes and theoretical incompatibility of concepts

prevented the completion of analyses regarding sex roles. See Appendix 6 for descriptive statistics regarding the breakdown of participants for sex role.

4.5.1 Authoritarianism

Four separate ANOVAs were conducted. The first examined whether personality differences interacted with the study factors for individuals who recommended no intervention was appropriate. For both egalitarian and high authoritarian individuals, no significant main effects or interactions were discovered.

A second ANOVA examined whether personality differences interacted with the study factors for individuals who recommended psychiatric treatment as the best course of intervention. No significant main effects or interactions were found for individuals recommending psychiatric treatment as the best course of intervention.

A third ANOVA examined whether personality differences interacted with the study factors for individuals who suggested criminal justice involvement would be an appropriate intervention strategy. A main effect was found for the gender of the subject for egalitarian individuals, $F(1, 56) = 10.301, p < 0.001$, such that 32% of egalitarian men compared to 3% of egalitarian women recommended the involvement of criminal justice authorities. No significant interactions were found for egalitarian and high authoritarian individuals recommending criminal justice intervention. There were also no main effects for high authoritarian individuals, however, gender of perpetrator was trended toward statistical significance, $F(1, 62) = 3.869, p = 0.054$.

A fourth ANOVA examined whether personality differences interacted with the study factors for individuals who recommended referrals to the CAS watch list. No significant main effects or interactions were found for egalitarian individuals. However, a significant main effect

was found for gender of the perpetrator for high authoritarian individuals, $F(1, 62) = 4.307, p < 0.05$. As such, 38% of high authoritarians with a female perpetrator compared to 17% of high authoritarians with a male perpetrator recommended CAS intervention.

4.5.2 Belief in a Just World

The same four ANOVAs were repeated examining personality differences in individuals scoring low or high in BJW Like authoritarianism, there were no significant main effects or interactions for low or strong believers in a just world for individuals recommending no intervention or psychiatric treatment.

A third ANOVA revealed a main effect for gender of the victim for low believers in a just world, $F(1, 57) = 4.258, p < 0.05$. This finding reflects that low believers in a just world are more likely to recommend criminal justice involvement when the victim is female (22%) as compared to male (3%). This main effect was qualified by a significant interaction between gender of the subject and gender of the perpetrator for low believers in a just world, $F(1, 57) = 5.135, p < 0.05$. The means and standard deviations for the interaction are presented in Table 11. It can be seen that for low believers in a just world, female respondents are more likely than male respondents to judge that a crime had been committed when the perpetrator was male (as compared to female).

Table 11: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for recommendations of criminal justice intervention as a function of Gender of subject and Gender of perpetrator for low believers in a just world.

	Male Perpetrator			Female Perpetrator		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondents	.0000 _a	8	.00000	.0500 _a	20	.22361
Female Respondents	.2667 _b	15	.45774	.1364 _a	22	.35125

Note: Means with common subscripts do not differ significantly at the .05 level by t-tests

A main effect of gender was also found for gender of the subject for strong believers in a just world, $F(1, 61) = 6.009, p < 0.05$. As such, 27% of male subjects compared to 13% of female subjects with strong belief in a just world scores recommended criminal justice intervention as the most appropriate strategy for the given situation. This main effect was qualified by a significant three way interaction between gender of the subject, victim and perpetrator, $F(1, 61) = 7.230, p < 0.05$. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 12.

Table 12: Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for recommendations of criminal justice intervention as a function of gender of subject, gender of perpetrator and gender of victim for high believers in a just world.

	Male Perpetrator						Female Perpetrator					
	Male Victim			Female Victim			Male Victim			Female Victim		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
Male Respondent	.6000	5	.54772	.2222	9	.44096	.0000	9	.00000	.4286	7	.53452
Female Respondent	.1667	12	.38925	.3333	9	.50000	.0000	9	.00000	.0000	0	.00000

As can be seen in Table 12, for high believers in a just world, males are more likely than females to indicate the need for criminal justice involvement when the perpetrator and victim were male. Men are again more likely than women to recommend criminal justice intervention when they are judging a female perpetrator offending against a female child. Male and female subjects were equally likely to recommend criminal justice authorities intervene when the offender was female and the victim was male. Also, female subjects were slightly more likely than male subjects to recommend criminal justice intervention when the perpetrator was male and the victim was female.

The final ANOVA revealed that there were no significant main effects or interactions for low believers in a just world when recommending a referral to the CAS watch list. However, a significant main effect was found for gender of the perpetrator for high believers in a just world, $F(1, 61) = 4.346, p < 0.05$. Thus, individuals with strong beliefs in a just world were more likely to recommend CAS involvement with a female perpetrator (41%) compared to a male perpetrator (20%).

Chapter 5

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Now we turn to the qualitative analysis component of the current research. As previously noted, responses to the open-ended question, “Please explain, in as much space as necessary, why you chose the course of action/intervention that you did in the previous question”, was subjected to a thematic analysis which identified the recurring presence of five categories and eight sub-categories (themes) in regard to the reasoning subjects used in making a decision about the alleged criminal behaviour of the adult male or adult female cousin in the vignettes provided. This section outlines the five categories of reasoning invoked--normal behaviour, prevention, victim rights, negative impact of punitive sanctions and gender. This largely descriptive chapter begins with an overview of the categories and sub-themes that emerged from the analysis and then discusses how they are conditioned by gender (of the respondent, alleged offender, and perceived victim).

5.1 Overview of Categories and Themes:

The thematic analysis identified five categories and eight sub-categories or themes concerning reasoning behind decision making in the current research context. The first category to become apparent during the analysis was labelled 'normal behaviour'. This category encompasses two sub-themes, caregiver duties (behaviour is part of the caregiver's responsibilities) and defiant children (children are not always compliant with regular hygiene activities). The second category which is discussed is 'prevention'. This grouping consists of three sub-themes, which are based on different approaches to preventing future incidents of abuse. The themes include the need to watch or supervise the alleged offender, to offer treatment and education and to treat the offender who is suffering from a serious mental disorder.

'Rights of the victim' is the third category which emerged from the analysis. Again, this category is comprised of three sub-themes: the child's defiance to the action (child protested against the adult), the rights of children as human beings and the damaging effects of such behaviour on the child. The fourth and fifth categories, 'the negative impact of punitive interventions' and 'gender' did not have sub-themes.

The following sections expand upon each category and associated themes individually, analyzing the data with reference to the gender of the respondents, as well as the gender of the alleged offender and that of the alleged victim. Respondents' indications as to whether or not a crime occurred will also be used to understand the common categories and themes emerging from the survey comments. Examples of the respondent comments will be used to help illustrate the prominent categories and themes (further information concerning the frequency and percentages of the categories of explanation offered by participants appears in Appendix #6).

5.2 Normal Behaviour

The first category, 'normal behaviour', relating to the perception that the vignette merely illustrated normal behaviour among the individuals involved, emerged only when respondents indicated that a crime had not occurred ($n=41$). A relatively equal percentage of all male and female respondents (29% versus 33%) made comments of this nature. Remarks in this category seemed to spread across vignettes with male and female offenders (31% to 32%), as well as vignettes with a male victim and female victim (30% to 33%). This category manifested itself in two themes, caregiver duties and defiant children, in which the behaviour of both the adult and child in the scenarios provided, are understood to be normal.

With respect to caregiver duties, several participants indicated in their comments that caring for a child requires routine diaper changing, which includes the application of some form of cream or powder to prevent the child from developing a rash and that in doing so, no inappropriate or criminal behaviour was occurring. The notion that rubbing cream on a child during a diaper change is not, in any way, criminal was expressed by two female respondents:

Rubbing cream in a child's genital areas during a diaper change is not, should not be considered sexual assault or criminal. (D-1)¹⁰

Her actions are part of a normal diaper changing routine, not indecent or criminal at all. (B-6)

The normalcy of applying cream during a diaper change was reiterated by the following female participants:

It's normal for people to put cream on children after changing their diaper in order to prevent diaper rash. (A-27)

¹⁰ Letter and number combination following quoted text refers to the survey number.

I feel like rubbing baby cream on a child's private area is normal procedure when changing a diaper and that no harm was meant.
(C-30)

Respondents also indicated that in order to correctly change a child's diaper contact must be made with the genital region of the child, which does not indicate sexual abuse, as the following female subject explained:

When caring for children it is necessary to have to sometime[s] touch them in order to wash or clean them as well as apply cream.
(C-5)

A male respondent reaffirmed this view:

Diaper changing and cream applying requires some touching. (C-10)

Another theme in this category is the common occurrence of children resisting and saying "no" to even marginally unpleasant activities such as bathing, dressing and diaper changing. As one male subject stated:

They squirm, scream, kick and sometimes say 'no', but this does not mean the child has been abused... (D-14)

This notion is reiterated by a female respondent who indicated her own personal experience in caring for children:

Children are often reluctant when having their diapers changed. I find this most often with younger boys. So, when they say "no", I continue changing their diaper simply because it has to be done and because his saying "no" is due to the fact that he doesn't like his diaper changed. (C-34)

Another facet of this theme, as explained by a male respondent, is the notion that children may not understand the reasoning behind applying cream and therefore do not understand or misinterpret the action:

A child does not necessarily understand the need for a cream to be placed while circumstances may require this kind of touching, it is not 'inappropriate' if it is to help the child for medical reasons (B-14).

Finally, one male participant indicated how failing to engage in regular diaper changing practices, including the application of cream could also be construed as abuse:

...if their diaper was not changed/cleaned properly they could get a rash or even worse infection. A scenario that may also be considered as abuse/neglect. (D-14)

Thus, included in the category of 'normal behaviour' is the belief that the application of cream and the touching of the genitals is normal procedure, while at the same time it is common for children who may not understand the purpose to resist this activity. The distribution of comments did appear in several different scenarios of subject, victim and offender gender. While this category only emerged in comments made by respondents who indicated that no crime had occurred, the next theme to be discussed, prevention, is present in cases where the respondent indicated a crime had occurred, as well as in instances where the respondent indicated no crime occurred.

5.3. Prevention¹¹:

The category of "prevention" is applied to respondents who indicated that their reasoning was based upon prevention of future incidents of child sexual abuse as the ultimate goal of intervention. Underpinning this category is the belief that proper treatment of sexual abusers is necessary, while at the same time ensuring that the safety of children is maintained. Individuals providing "preventive" reasoning made allusions to the need to balance the rights

¹¹ While the current research did not examine crime prevention literature, the researcher recognizes that it may offer an interesting analytic framework.

and needs of the accused with the need to ensure a safe society. Making up this category are three themes. While substantially different in content, they all seek to prevent future instances of sexual abuse against children.

Prevention related responses were present in situations where respondents suggested that a crime had occurred (46.8%) and to a smaller extent in situations in which it was judged that a criminal act had not taken place (21.5%). Both men and women responding to the situation in the vignette made comments regarding this theme (33% and 35% respectively). However, a few more respondent's comments fit into this category when the alleged offender was female rather than male (38% versus 30%) and when the alleged victim was male rather than female (36% to 32%). In other words, when the offender was female and victim was male, several more respondents, both male and female made comments indicating the need for prevention.

The first theme that emerged comes from the judgment that the adult male or female in question is suffering from a mental illness which requires evaluation or treatment. Included in this theme is the belief that other interventions, especially the Criminal Justice System (CJS), would do little to help resolve the problem behaviour and prevent future abuses. A female respondent articulated this position:

...involvement in the CJS would not help solve the problems or causes behind Dave's behaviour. If he is placed in treatment there is a greater chance that incidences (sic) such as the one mentioned...will not continue to occur. (C-11)

The inherently punitive (and implicitly not rehabilitative) nature of the criminal justice system and even the Children's Aid Society was discussed by a male participant in terms of the harm that could occur:

She might be psychologically and emotionally sick. The other options are just punitive and therefore will not help treat Lisa. They might make her health even worse. (D-23)

The punitive nature of the Criminal Justice System and its inability to help an individual with sexual tendencies towards children was reiterated by a female subject:

I believe that sending this man to authorities would not solve the problem (only punish it). Evaluation and treatment may get to the root of the problem and stop it from reoccurring... (A-14)

The second theme to emerge from this category is centred on the notion that through treatment or evaluation individuals can learn which behaviours are, and are not, appropriate when dealing with children, as well as help the individual to change their behaviour in order to prevent future cases of sexual assault from occurring. In this sense, intervention is seen as a way to educate both the authorities and the adult as to the nature of their intentions and/or behaviour.

As one female respondent indicated:

...maybe the referral will help the treatment specialist find any latent behavioural tendencies in Dave that would suggest that he is likely to offend again and be seen as a threat to society. (C-25)

Another female subject discussed how psychological intervention can help educate the adult concerning their misconceptions about child care behaviour:

I indicated that she should seek psychological treatment because she obviously is not aware that what she did is wrong. (D-26)

Approaching the situation from a prevention and treatment standpoint, rather than a criminal justice or punitive orientation, can be beneficial for both the adult and children in his care, as discussed by a female participant:

I believe it could be beneficial for the adult cousin as well as for the children he cares for to determine whether this adult cousin has any abnormal or criminal tendencies towards children. (C-26)

The third theme of this category moves away from psychological treatment and evaluation as the method to prevent future incidents of child sexual abuse from occurring, to the need for supervision to maintain and ensure the safety of children. Respondents indicated that in order to prevent future abuses, the criminal justice system needs to be involved, as exemplified by a male respondent, "...to prevent any further child molestations, he should be charged" (A-16). Other participants indicated the need to make people aware of the potential child abuser to ensure that other children are not harmed:

I feel that he should be placed on a list of potential child abusers, so that he can be identified and so that other people can be aware of the way he is. But doing nothing would be horrible because... [it] would allow him to keep doing it and victimizing other children. (A-24, female)

Several respondents indicated that since the case was ambiguous, it would be necessary to monitor the individual, not only to ensure they are not abusing children, but also to make certain that if it does occur in the future there is already a record of such behaviour. One female respondent reasoned that:

He should not go to court for this but he should be kept an eye on in case he does it again and the parents of the child should file a report in case it does happen again. (C-32)

The purpose and benefits of maintaining a preventive watch on the alleged child abuser was also illustrated by a female subject:

I think it would be best to... report it to social services so that she can be on 'watch'. If this were to happen again with someone else and if it were to be reported to the authorities then, at least there was already a report made on her as opposed to having it be the child's word against hers. (D-34)

Finally, several participants suggested that some form of supervision of the alleged child abuser was a minimally invasive tactic in order to maintain and ensure the safety of children.

One female respondent simply stated:

I would choose to have the woman be placed under the CAS watch list for safety concerns only. (B-17)

Yet another female subject reaffirmed that:

Because the adult does care for other children maybe putting her on the CAS watch list could be a minor precaution. (D-33)

It can be seen in the accounts research participants provided for their decisions that for some, the issue of prevention was of the utmost concern; however the means to this end differed amongst respondents. Several subjects indicated the way to prevent future incidents is to treat the individual, rather than punish them, as they are suffering from a mental illness. Others also indicated the need for treatment, but also evaluation in order to educate the individual, as well as authorities, as to the occurrence of such behaviour, the root causes, and appropriate behaviour when interacting with children. A final group of respondents commented on the need to supervise and maintain watch over such individuals, rather than offering treatment, to ensure the safety of children. While this group struggled with balancing the rights of the alleged offender through offering treatment rather than punishment, the next category, 'rights of the victim', focuses on the belief that the violation of the child in question is of the utmost importance.

5.4 Rights of the Victim:

The respondents in this category focused on the seriousness of the actions and the awareness of the child in question as to what was occurring. Remarks made in this category emerged most often when respondents' judgments indicated that a crime had occurred (36%). A couple more males than females (21% versus 17%) reflected on the rights of the victim.

Comments of this nature came up in scenarios where the offender was male (20%) and female (18%). As well, both male and female respondents indicated the rights of the victim when the victim was male (18%) as female (20%). Like the previous category, this category also has multiple themes.

The first theme focuses on the opposition of the child to the actions of the adult and their subsequent reporting. For several participants, the child saying “no” to the behaviour in question indicated a crime had occurred and warranted some form of intervention. One male respondent simply indicated, “If the child was saying “no”, then it was a crime” (B-22). While another male subject stated:

The child kept saying “no”. Thus, the babysitter was out of line in her actions. (B-33)

The notion that the child felt uncomfortable with the adult’s actions and vocalized their opposition and reported the incident to their parents also alludes to their discomfort and their belief that they were violated. One female respondent commented on this idea:

...the child obviously felt violated/uncomfortable if he kept telling Dave to stop and felt the need to repeat this behaviour to his parents. (C-24)

In the same manner, a male subject discussed his opinion on the incident:

I believe that there was a crime committed because the child obviously was [being] touch[ed] in a different way than he was used to and for him to say “no” and tell his parents the next day displays at least something was done inappropriately. (D-19)

The same unease with the child’s opposition to the behaviour and thus their perceived violation was reaffirmed by a female participant:

The fact that the child told his parents indicated that he was violated especially because he kept saying ‘no’. (D-34)

Alongside the notion that the child was aware of violation and was able to vocalize their opposition to the adult caregiver, as well as to their parents the next day, is the idea that despite the young age of the child, the allegation of sexual abuse should be believed. A male respondent described his position on this issue:

The child is only 3 but I do believe that even at that age they should be respected and maintain the rights that are attributed to all Human Beings. (B-3)

Alternately, a female participant, while not entirely convinced that sexual abuse occurred, was swayed to suggest that intervention was appropriate based on the child's age and inability to fabricate a lie:

...it is not for certain that he touched the child inappropriately...however, the child doesn't seem old enough to make something up. (C-33)

It is also important to note that several subjects discussed the seriousness of the behaviour in question indicating that they would rather the innocent adult be subjected to punitive measures, than allow for children to be endangered. One male respondent explained this position:

As physical, psychological and especially sexual abuse and assault have a variety of damaging effects on their victims, it is important to eliminate as much of these types of offences and their perpetrators from society as possible... I would rather have an individual go to trial and have to defend themselves than have a child predator loose in society. (B-23)

Thus, this category consists of individuals who commented that the child saying 'no' in response to the application of cream indicated that the child was able to state their discomfort repeatedly to their adult caregiver and at the same time felt violated to the extent that they notified their parents the next day. Also included in this category was the belief that the child

should be believed, despite their age. The next category to be discussed, 'negative impacts of punitive interventions', places the rights of the accused at the forefront of the discussion, rather than the rights of the victim.

5.5 Negative Impacts of Punitive Interventions:

This category suggests the need to prevent undue hardships on the alleged offender that can result from labelling and stigma, which are attached to the serious charge of sexually abusing a child. This category emerged when respondents suggested a crime occurred (10.9%) and did not occur (10.8%). Male and female respondents both made comments of this nature (10% versus 11%). Responses regarding the negative impacts of punitive interventions arose in scenarios of both male and female offenders (10% versus 12%). However, it appeared that several more respondents made comments regarding this theme when the victim was a male child rather than a female child (16% versus 5%). In other words, when the victim was male and not female, participants more often raised the negative impacts of punitive interventions.

Several subjects made reference to the need to establish, without a doubt, the guilt of the accused offender prior to taking action, as the stigma attached to sexual offences is extremely powerful. One such respondent insisted:

I would not charge this person and attach that stigma to him without being certain that he had molested the child and not simply did what was necessary in the course of changing a diaper. (C-5, female)

Yet another participant made reference to the negative stigma:

...it would not be fair to arbitrarily interpret such action as 'sick' or 'criminal' without further evidence, and the stigma associated with a charge of child molestation is incredibly powerful. (C-12)

Furthermore, a female respondent lamented how intervening in the scenario provided will have negative, life altering consequences on the adult:

Recommending that this girl be watched, her life will be changed dramatically. If she is always watching kids, she would no longer be able to do so...they require more info...before they should even judge the cousin. (D-28)

The negative effects on the adult that are associated with many of the interventions were further commented on by a male subject:

Labelling a person may become serious at a latter (sic) time, therefore precaution must be taken. Placing her on an official CAS watchlist (sic) entails many things, mostly negative..." (D-5)

A female participant implicated the seriousness of the charge and the possible long term negative impacts associated with intervention when she explained:

...due to the nature of the charge... evaluation could turn out detrimental to the cousin just because the charge is one that is considered extremely serious today. (D-12)

This category encompassed the negative impacts, such as the social stigma and labelling that can result from a charge of sexually abusing a child. It also includes the belief that the interventions available are too harsh and punitive to be proportionate to the behaviour in question. It was also demonstrated that this category emerged in comments most frequently when the victim was male. In the next section, gender, the fifth and final theme category will be discussed.

5.6 Gender:

As mentioned previously, comments which reflected gender-related reasoning for their decision making emerged in relation to the traditional gendered roles of child care as well as the

stereotype of the hyper-sexualized male. Remarks regarding gender appeared slightly more often when it was suggested that a crime had occurred (6.3%) compared to when a crime had not occurred (3.1%). It is important to note that this theme became apparent in only one context, that of the male adult and female child. Of all respondents, 10% indicated gender related comments when the alleged offender was male and never when the offender was female. Also, 10% of all respondents indicated such comments when the victim was female and never when the victim was male. Female respondents were slightly more likely than male respondents to implicate gender in their comments (6% to 4% of all male and female respondents respectively).

On the one hand, the belief that child care is a role traditionally relegated to females was affirmed by several comments by male and female respondents. One female respondent stated that:

If the parents are uncomfortable with an adult male changing their daughter's diaper, than they should have hired a female babysitter. (A-8)

Another female respondent commented that:

He shouldn't be changing the diaper. He should have left it for the mother when she returned. (A-1)

While the previous respondent was questioning the male adult's ability to care for the child, this female respondent questioned the parents' reasoning in leaving the child with a male adult:

Well the parents obviously knew that her diaper would need to be changed eventually, so I don't understand why they would leave her in his custody/care. (A-24)

This is also reaffirmed by a male participant who stated:

I don't know why they would have hired a male babysitter in the first place. (A-32)

On the other hand, the assumption that all males are essentially hyper-sexualized beings and by extension sexually aggressive towards others, was referred to in this male respondent's comment:

I feel that he is a 35 year old man, and, I think that is probably has occurred before, perhaps in a similar situation when he was in a position of trust and authority. (A-16)

It is also important to discuss how gender of the respondents, offender and victim, coloured the reasoning provided by participants. Throughout this chapter the emergence of categories and themes were discussed based on the frequency of comments in relation to the gender of the respondent, alleged offender and victim. Many responses were not coloured by the participant's gender.

This gender-related reasoning category differentiated the roles of men and women, defining child care as a traditional gender role and included the gendered belief that males are inherently sexualized beings. This section also examined gender as an omnipresent theme which became apparent in the distribution of comments across categories based on the gender of respondents, offenders and victims. The final section of this chapter will briefly examine the quantitative and qualitative findings together.

This chapter presented the qualitative findings of the current research. Comments made by participants ranged from indicating that touching the child's genitalia is required in caregiving routines such as diaper changing, to suggesting different methods of prevention, to indicating the need for treatment and support rather than punishment and labelling, to stereotypically gendered explanations for decision making in the context at focus. The next section will present a discussion of both the qualitative findings of the current chapter, as well as the quantitative results presented in the preceding chapter.

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the quantitative and qualitative findings that were presented in the previous two chapters. Drawing upon the theoretical framework outlined earlier and in light of the findings detailed, we will discuss four main areas. In the first three sections, I will reflect on the apparent gender difference that emerged in judgements of criminality and recommendations for intervention, touching on the ways in which men and women “read” gender, but also speaking to the ways that relying on gender alone as a means of understanding decision-making is inadequate. From there, I will expand the discussion to consider how gender and personality may interact to influence decision-making in alleged cases of sexual abuse of children. I will then turn the discussion away from gender and personality to comment on the study in terms of the specific characteristics of the research participants.

6.1 Gendered Judgements of Criminality

This section will present how gender difference manifested in the ways in which men and women in the research study made judgements regarding the criminality and disposition of

an alleged offender. In doing so, I will draw upon previous research in the area, as well as on the theoretical framework which outlined gender roles and sexual scripts.

The current findings suggest that whether an individual has lived their life as a man or as a woman may lead them to judge the identical scenario in very different ways. Certain combinations of participant gender, offender gender and victim gender were more likely than others to evoke responses that suggested criminality. First, when looking at the gender of the decision-maker and gender of the alleged offender, men were twice as likely as women to make a judgement indicating that the adult female cousin committed an illegal sexual act with the child. Notably however, when a male offender was involved, men and women were equally likely to judge his behaviour as criminal. Thus, when comparing men and women to each other, we see that they are relatively equal in judging a male offender as criminal. However, they judge women who offend in very different ways; Men were much more likely to view the behaviour as criminal than women were. In looking at male and female respondents, we see that men viewed women as the most criminal group, while women viewed men as the most criminal. Second, a similar gender difference also became apparent in relation to the gender of the perceived victim of the sexual abuse. Men were more likely than women to make a decision indicating that a crime had been committed when the victim was male. However, men and women were relatively equal in judging the criminality of the situation when a female victim was involved.

These two findings lead to distinct scenarios where men and women are likely to 'see' criminality. Women indicate a criminal act in situations where the offender is a man and the victim is a girl, while men respond more harshly when the offender is a woman and the victim is a boy. This finding suggests the possibility that individuals are more easily able to see members

of their own sex as victims who have been wronged, rather than as offenders who have committed the offence.

This finding appears to indicate that men and women may hold much more rigid expectations of gender for the opposite sex, while maintaining less defined definitions for themselves, thereby making it easier for them to identify those individuals as criminal, who fall outside their standardized version of what it means to be male (dominant, sexually aggressive) or female (docile, nurturing, sexually passive)¹². Thus, the ways in which men and women are 'reading' the performances of the alleged offender suggest that it may be much easier for them to identify transgressions of gender roles and sexual scripts for members of the opposite sex. In this case, men judging women as criminal are labelling the women as sexually deviant, which is a direct contradiction to the accepted sexual script which precludes the recognition of an active or aggressive female sexual being.

While men were much more readily able to view a woman as a perpetrator, women were stuck with the notion of the traditional offender and victim (male offender, female victim). In light of changing gender stereotypes, especially regarding women as offenders, as was discussed in the literature review (more cases of female offending, harsher decisions), it is important to reflect on what these decision-making patterns could imply. As was seen from the results of the quantitative analysis, three way interactions between the gender of the decision-maker, gender of the perpetrator and gender of the victim, there are very specific scenarios in which gender appears to influence decisions regarding sexual abuse. Men and women judging a situation were easily able to recognize the 'traditional' offender/victim scenario in that both men and women

¹² Previous research in this area has suggested the opposite; that male and female professionals are often harshest on their own sex, as they may feel more qualified to judge such transgressions (Kalichman, Craig & Follingstad, 1990; Hetherington & Beardsall, 1998)

saw the male perpetrator and female victim to be in need of intervention. However, men unlike women, recognized the female perpetrator and male victim as in need of intervention more frequently. The studied showed that very rarely did women identify this scenario of offender-victim to warrant any form of intervention. This finding may be indicative of two shifts in thinking, one by men and the other by women, occurring simultaneously. In the past several decades, women's rights groups have been pushing for equality in all realms of social/public life, as well as private life. This has resulted in an increase of women in positions of power in occupations within the justice system which has traditionally been a male dominated, patriarchal institution. Thus, women failing to recognize the female offender in instances where men are identifying the female offender may be indicative of a belief that women who have gained access to power and positions of authority need to maintain those positions of power. By not identifying the female offender, women may be protecting the new position of power, insofar as it may be a conscious or unconscious decision whereby not recognizing the potential female perpetrator of sexual assault women are trying to maintain their moral/ethical high ground.

Men on the other hand are also responding to the change in scene regarding women's roles and occupations within the social realm and work force. Women have been expecting and fighting for equality in all areas of their lives for several decades. Men's identification of women as sexual offenders in need of intervention, especially in cases where the victim is male, may be indicative of men transferring the 'demand of equal treatment' to an area where women have often been overlooked as offenders, and males are dismissed as victims. By recognizing the situation as potentially criminal men are responding to the cry for equality, as if they were saying, "Women want to be treated equally, then we will treat them equally in terms of the law as well and we will also be recognized as victims".

This changing landscape of decision-making is extremely complex and is not as simple as men believe one thing, while women believe another. Men and women are responding to very specific situations of sexual abuse as criminal and in need of intervention. This change is contrary to previous research that has not examined the intricacies of how men and women differ in decision-making in cases of sexual abuse. While previous studies, such as Hetherington and Beardsall's (1998) study examined the different ways in which men and women respond to alleged cases of sexual abuse of children. Their study failed to probe into the differences to see that while men and women do judge scenarios differently, it is very specific scenarios where the difference emerges, while others they are in agreement regarding the criminality of such behaviour. While this study offers some speculation as to the intricacies of these interactions, it is imperative that the complexities are further examined in more natural settings than were used in the current study

6.2 Gendered Recommendations of Intervention

6.2.1 Punitive Intervention Strategies for the Female Offender

The intervention strategies recommended by men and women for the provided scenarios also displayed a gender difference. Not surprisingly since women were less likely to perceive women as offenders, they were also less likely to recommend intervention. If women do not 'read' the action (or performance) of the alleged offender as stepping outside of the bounds of accepted gendered behaviour, it makes sense that they would not recommend any type of intervention for that woman. However, men were much harsher in their recommendations for intervention. They were twice as likely as women (for both male and female offenders) to advise that involvement of criminal justice authorities would be appropriate intervention. Men

recommended referral to the criminal justice system the most frequently when the perpetrator and victim were female.

There are a number of possible explanations for this finding. The simplest and that is arguably essentializing, is that men are more punitive. Alternately perhaps men are viewing women as the most deviant when they assault a child of the same sex, because the women are transgressing the boundaries of not only the accepted gender roles, but also of heterosexual norms¹³. A third hypothesis for this finding can be found in the work of Crew (1991) who states that for those women who step “sufficiently outside the bounds of traditional sex role expectations she may lose the privileges normally provided by chivalry or paternalism” (60). It is this “Evil Woman Hypothesis” that argues that those women who violate the gender role expectations, as passive, docile, nurturing individuals, are punished more harshly for their violation of not only legal norms but gender norms as well (Nagal & Hagan, 1983; Erez, 1992). Furthermore, under the “Evil Woman Hypothesis”, women who are charged with certain offences may actually be treated more harshly than men who committed similar acts. This sentiment can be connected with the prior discussion on specific scenarios deemed to be criminal by men and women. As was discussed, male respondents judged situations involving a female perpetrator the most harshly. In turn we now see that they are also more punitive towards women inasmuch as they are recommending criminal justice intervention. Thus, it is even more apparent that they are abandoning notions of a chivalry hypothesis towards the treatment of women towards the ‘Evil Woman Hypothesis’ focusing on equal treatment of women as

¹³ This finding is contrary to previous research in the area conducted by Hetherington and Beardsall (1998) who found that study participants were more likely to recommend criminal justice intervention (incarceration) for the male offender than the female offender.

calculating offenders in need of punishment, as has been the standard for men in similar situations.

6.2.2 Minimum Intervention: The Case of the Male Victim

In looking specifically at the male victim a gender difference is also apparent. Males and females were the least punitive towards the scenario of a female perpetrator with a male victim. The male victim allegedly or possibly assaulted by a female adult is the group which received the fewest recommendations for criminal justice involvement. Again we can hypothesize. Perhaps this is reflective of traditional views that 'female on male' sexual assault does not occur, or that a woman cannot 'actually' sexually assault a man, and even that the man (boy in this case) is 'lucky' to have the experience, as he is being 'taught' about sex from a caring and experienced older woman (Denov, 2002). Alternately, and turning to the qualitative comments, participants whose reasoning included the 'negative impacts of punitive sanctions' is the suggestion that when the victim is male, we can tolerate giving the offender 'the benefit of the doubt' that they were honest and innocent in their actions towards the child and therefore do not deserve the potential negative effects of a formal sanction. While the preceding section presented and discussed the gender bias present in decision-making for men and women, the next section will discuss the genesis of this gender difference by more closely examining the concept of 'reading gender'.

6.3 "Reading Gender"

The gender partialities that emerged from the current study at the basic level of main effects and two-way interactions support previous research findings, however the complex

three-way interactions that surfaced present alternate ways of thinking about the problem of decision-making in sexual assault cases against children. Hetherington and Beardsall (1998) found that males were more likely to 'see' the female offender, while females were not, which was corroborated in the current study. Furthermore, the ways in which the women in the current study perceive the situation reaffirms what Denov (2004) termed the 'symbolic offender' and 'symbolic victim', in that *only* men can be true offenders and *only* women can be true victims. This way of thinking is not only the dominant framework from which professionals work, but it is also the way in which society has come to understand the crime of sexual assault (Lazar, 1998). It is difficult for individuals to perceive women as the perpetrators of sexual assault, when they are traditionally viewed as sexually passive and nurturing individuals. However, this does not explain or help us to understand why men are able to view women outside the 'proverbial' gender box that precludes males as victims and females as offenders.

Heatherton and Beardsall (1998) postulated that this difference in viewing women as offenders was due to a gender bias that stems from beliefs that preclude the recognition of incidents of female perpetrated sexual abuse on the one hand and stereotypes that hinder the identification of women as sex offenders on the other hand. While the current research supports this finding, the gender bias first identified in Hetherington and Beardsall's work is further examined here. Perhaps, the difference may be understood in the ways in which male and female respondents view the traditional gender roles and the sexual scripts that they have accepted. As was previously mentioned, 'reading' gender is an interpretive process, in which individuals make sense of the performances of others according to the gender roles and the sexual scripts that they have accepted. Today, this is reflected in men being independent, dominant, sexually active and physically and emotionally strong, while women are emotional,

docile, nurturing, dependent and sexually passive. Thus in each vignette, the adult male and female were performing a role, in which their gender was on display. In this sense, it can be hypothesized that male respondents are 'reading' the performance of the adult female cousin in the vignettes as falling outside the accepted definitions of what it means to be a woman, and are therefore categorizing the behaviour as criminal. On the other hand, women are 'reading' and interpreting the same performance in a way that aligns the behaviour with accepted notions of femininity and being a woman. Edwards (1998) stated that professionals dealing with female offenders often employ processes which align the women's behaviour with traditional gender roles. It can be argued that in interpreting the gendered performance of the adult female cousin, women are employing processes which interpret the ambiguous sexual assault as nothing more than a care giving nurturing role:

Her actions are part of a normal diaper changing routine, not indecent or criminal at all. (Female, B-6)

Thus, the behaviour that is seen as deviant and criminal by men is transformed into what is considered natural and normal for women.

This idea of what is natural and normal for women can be extended to understand how women are reading the gendered performance of the male adult cousin. The idea of natural roles of men and women became apparent in only one situation, that of the male offender and female victim, which was judged most harshly by female participants. The belief that certain behaviours are traditionally part of the female domain became clear in the comments of the study participants who indicated their suspicions of a male occupying the traditionally 'female' role:

...However, I don't know why they would have hired a male babysitter in the first place (Male, A-32).

It is clear that men and women judged the alleged male and female offenders differently. This difference may be attributed to the ways in which men and women read the gendered performances of the other, which suggests that both men and women adhere to a rigid gendered code for their opposite sex, however remain less strictly defined with their own gendered codes. Yet, reading gender does not appear to adequately make sense of the difference in the ways in which men and women respond to situations of child sexual abuse. If gender and gender role socialization are the guiding force in the decision-making process, then it would stand that all men and all women would be judging and responding to the situation in the same way, as they have been socialized to the same gender roles and sexual scripts. However, we did not find this to be true. In the next section, I will discuss the ways in which personality may be interacting with the gender of the decision-maker to inform their behaviour.

6.4 Personality and Decision-Making

In the previous sections we sought to make sense of how gender affects decision-making in cases of sexual abuse against children. In this section I will discuss how different personality characteristics interact with gender to guide or inform decision-making. As was noted in the previous chapter, the personality of the participant may affect judgements of whether or not a crime has in fact occurred, as the individual's personality traits (authoritarianism and "belief in a just world") is interacting with the situation (i.e. male versus female offender).

Overall, different personality traits of the participants interacted with the study factors in the decision-making process. The quantitative results which have been previously presented and discussed are further qualified by examining the personality traits of the respondents. As the interactional strategy to studying personality suggests, the individual's personality is interacting

with the situational features to influence social behaviour. It is in this context that we can make sense of the previous findings. It was found that men were more likely to think that a crime occurred when a woman had committed the alleged offence, while women judged oppositely. Only egalitarian respondents (those who do not hold rigid and strict moral beliefs) and individuals with a low “belief in a just world” (those who do not believe that the world operates on a karmic standard) were likely to respond to study materials in this manner.

Additionally, it was discussed that men and women judged the criminality oppositely; men judged a crime to have occurred when a woman was offending against a boy, while women judged a crime to have occurred with when a man was offending against a girl. While, the small frequencies and totals in some the cells (see Table 8 and Table 10) indicate that caution must be exercised in interpreting the results, for both high authoritarians and high believers in a just world, the situations involving specific combinations of offenders and victims are replicated. What is interesting to note, is that high authoritarian males were harshest on female perpetrators offending against a female victim. While this finding replicates the finding of all the study males, it is contrary to the characteristic of the high authoritarian personality. High authoritarians hold rigid traditional views of women, which would suggest that they would be unlikely to recognize or ‘read’ the behaviour of the woman as criminal, as they view women in terms of passivity and nurturance. It can be suggested that in this scenario, that high authoritarian males’ decision-making is guided less by their personality, but by the situation, in that the punitive nature of authoritarian personality is still present, however the specific situational factors are overriding the characteristic which holds traditional views of women.

Thus, it can be see that an individual’s personality appears to play a role in their decision-making. Men who are egalitarian and have a low “belief in a just world” are more apt

to judge the alleged women as having committed the illegal act. As authoritarianism is marked by an individual's adherence to traditional beliefs and morality, it can help us to understand why men who do not adhere rigidly to such traditions are more easily able to read and interpret a woman's behaviour as criminal, as such behaviour lies outside what is socially accepted. On the other hand, women with a strong "belief in a just world" and who are high authoritarians are more punitive towards male offenders with a female victim, which adheres to the accepted script of sexual offending and therefore accepted as true by this group of women. Unlike in previous research (Hetherington & Beardsall, 1998), the finding that a decision-maker's sex role (femininity, masculinity or androgyny) influenced their judgements of criminality and intervention were not supported with the current research.

Thus, we can see how the decision-making process is conditioned not only by the gender of the adjudicator, but also the alleged offender and perceived victim. This process also appears to be contingent upon the individual's personality interacting with the situational features, as not all participants 'read' the performance in terms of the gendered schema that they have accepted.

6.5 Sex Role and Decision-Making

While the main effects and interactions of respondent sex role, gender of victim and gender of the alleged perpetrator could not be examined because of the small frequencies in each cell, alongside an incompatibility to combine groups (i.e. sex typed males are different from sex type females, and androgynous individuals are different from undifferentiated individuals), it is interesting to examine the basic descriptive statistics of the BSRI. Men were almost equally masculine and undifferentiated (38% and 34%), while they were rarely feminine (9%) or androgynous (19%). Women were most likely to rate as feminine or androgynous (38%

and 28% respectively). Several women rated as masculine (20%) and undifferentiated (14%). The breakdown of male and female respondents into categories other than the traditional masculine and feminine sex roles provides interesting insight into their subconscious beliefs surrounding what it 'is' to be male or female. For both men and women, more respondents fit into a sex role that is not the traditional sex role for that gender. For example 62% of men did not classify as masculine, while 62% of women did not classify as feminine. While not able to make inferences into how the sex roles of the participants interacted or influenced the decision-making process, the inclusion the BSRI in this study may offer commentary on the changing perceptions and stereotypes of gender and what it means to be male and female. Conducting future research regarding sex roles and decision-making as it relates to gender is an important step in understanding the changing dynamics of gender, as well as the gender difference regarding female offender of sexual abuse.

6.6 Intervention Strategies and Study Participants

It is important to note factors which may have influenced the current research findings. While exactly half of the participants, both male and female, stated that no crime had occurred, only 52 of the 67 participants suggested that no intervention would be acceptable. This suggests that while the participants may not have viewed a crime to have occurred, or that there was not enough evidence to support a charge of child sexual assault, they did believe that some form of intervention would be beneficial, reflecting a measure of unease with the situation. At the same time, 67 participants indicated that a crime had occurred, while only a third of those participants believed the criminal justice system could adequately deal with the offender and victim.

These findings may be reflective of the participants included in the current research. The respondents for this study were drawn from a sample of third year university students enrolled in a mandatory criminology course. Thus, judgements, intervention recommendations and explanatory comments made regarding the criminality of the alleged offender, strategies of intervention that did not include the justice system and therefore comments indicating the overly punitive and ineffective nature of the criminal justice, as well as comments which advocated for sensitivity towards the mentally ill offender, despite the potential seriousness of the crime may have been influenced by advanced training in a critically oriented criminology department. In this sense, comments alluding to protecting the rights of victims may have been similarly influenced. One participant commented on being trained:

As a criminologist I would be inclined to be cautious, but as a future parent I would want it to be investigated thoroughly and to see if this has happened with other children as well (Female, A-15).

Such critical training in the field of criminal justice would allow for a different perspective of the alleged offence in the provided scenarios. Individuals working on the front line, with several years of experience may not have displayed the same sensitivity towards the offender in their explanatory comments in terms of perceiving the criminal justice system to be overly punitive or indicated such low levels of criminal justice involvement or criminality of the offender in certain situations. Instead, such workers may have provided insight into the need for structural reform, or the lack of resources to adequately investigate such claims. Different participants may have yielded more punitive answers, reflecting years of experience with victimized children, insomuch as individuals working in child protection may become jaded to the harm that they have witnessed as a result of sexual abuse. The next section will expand upon

the need for future research in this area, taking into account the limitations of the current research.

The current study demonstrated that there exists a significant gender difference that has developed out of the ways in which men and women read the gendered performance of others, which has enabled men to recognize the female offender and male victim significantly more frequently than women. Alternately, women are much more eager to criminalize the male offender with the female victim. This difference is further defined by an individual's personality, especially in relation to authoritarianism and "belief in a just world". The next and final section will present the conclusion and implications of the current research.

CONCLUSION

In light of the limited knowledge regarding those factors which may or may not affect decision-making in sexual abuse cases against children, especially regarding female offenders, this thesis sought to address this lack of research. Starting with a liberal feminist framework that focused on the socialization of gender roles throughout life and sexual scripts, as well as an interactional personality perspective, I examined how individual difference (personality) conditioned how males and females 'read' the actions of male and female perpetrators to make judgements regarding alleged cases of sexual abuse of alternately male and female children. Thus, participants responded to randomly distributed vignettes that depicted an alleged scenario of child sexual abuse against either a three year old male or female child.

The responses of my participants regarding the criminality of the adult offender in question were not always consistent with the literature. Most notably, analysis revealed that men and women are not more punitive towards their own gender, as has been previously found, but harshest on members of the opposite gender. When asked to make a decision regarding the

criminality of the situation presented to them, men and women judged the situations quite differently. Men easily perceived criminality in situations involving a female offender and male victim, while women perceived criminality in situations involving a male offender and a female victim. Also, men were harshest in situations in which a female adult was offending against a female child. Both men and women were reluctant to indicate criminality or punitive interventions with offenders of their own gender. This is suggestive of the idea that men and women are responding to situations in different ways, indicating that gender alone is not adequate in understanding how they make decisions regarding the sexual abuse of children. Additionally, in examining the responses of individuals with specific personality traits we were able to see how individual difference conditioned responses. Using the interactional approach to personality, we can see how different traits interact with situational features to inform social behaviour. We most clearly saw this reflected in authoritarian males judging female perpetrators offending against a female child. Thus, while the concept of 'reading gender' was introduced as a way to make sense of how individuals respond to the actions of others, it was found that solely employing a gendered framework was not sufficient in understanding decision-making.

The current research suggests that there may be a gender bias within front line criminal justice workers, and therefore by extension the criminal justice system. This implies that statistics which report on sexual abuse prevalence may be conditioned by the biases of front line workers who "see" criminality conditioned by their gender and personality.

It is hoped that this research will alert those involved in child protection to the biases that may exist in their working practices. The current research may also encourage those dealing with child sexual abuse to become more aware of their own gender stereotypes and biases, when it comes to offenders and victims of sexual assault, resulting in professionals making

judgements not on the subjective interpretation of gender roles and sexual scripts but on the objective facts of the case. This may include some form of formal training for professionals in the area of child protection, which offers insight into gender biases and skills to recognize and manage their own biases. It may also call for a change in the structure of decision-making in cases of sexual abuse, whereby a checks and balances system is instilled to ensure that a case is being view objectively, rather than on a subjective interpretation of the facts based ideas of gender, especially in scenarios where a female offender and/or male victim is involved.

There are several areas in which future research can expand upon the current project. As this study employed analogue “proof of concept” research with a specific group of participants and found significant results, future research should be conducted which undertakes to examine actual front line workers who are responsible for making such decisions regarding alleged offenders. Such future consideration should attempt to examine not only veteran workers, but also newly trained workers to examine they ways in which judgements and perceptions of situations change or remain the same. Also, despite the significant gender bias that was found relating to child sexual abuse, we are unable to generalize this gender bias to all types of sexual assault, including offences against adults. Thus, it would be necessary to conduct future research which examines decision-making and gender in the context of adult sexual assault, as well in different contexts which vary the level of acquaintance of the victim and offender from close family relative to strangers. The level of interaction seen in the current study may not be as apparent, or may be more pronounced based on the age of the victim, as well as the level of acquaintance. For example, individuals reporting on a case of adult stranger sexual assault may view the scenario much differently than in a case of an assault occurring within the family.

Future research considerations should also look at the role of religion, or an individual's level of religiosity on decision-making in cases of sexual abuse against children, as many individuals' sexuality (and the way they view sexuality) is not only governed by the cultural sexual scripts ascribed to them, but also the sexual scripts proscribed by their religion. Another point of departure for future research would be to conduct the study with a large sample size, so as to be able to more fully examine the role of certain personality characteristics on decision-making in alleged cases of sexual abuse against children.

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Appendix 1

VIGNETTE 1:

Please imagine that you are a children's aid worker. You have just been given a case file that details an incident involving an adult male and a female child. It is your job to make a decision as to what happens with the case. Your file includes this information:

Sarah, a 3 old child, was alone at home with her mother's 35 year old male cousin, Dave. Her parents had left Sarah in the care of Dave while they attended dinner at a friend's house. It was not the first time Dave had cared for Sarah. Over the course of the evening, Sarah's diaper needed to be changed. While changing her diaper, Dave rubbed cream over her vagina and anus area. During this time, Sarah kept saying "no". When Sarah's parents arrived home later that night, Sarah was asleep in her bed. The next day, Sarah told her parents that "Dave touched my 'gina'". When Sarah's parents asked what she meant, Sarah touched between her legs indicating where he had touched her. Sarah's parents immediately called Children's Aid Society to report Dave, indicating concern as he often cared for not only their daughter but other children as well. In talking with Dave, he admits to changing her diaper but not to touching her.

Your supervisor asks you to make a decision regarding the case. Based on the above information, please answer the following questions.

Demographic Information:

1. What is your gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

Questionnaire:

2. Based on the above situation, has a crime occurred?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

3. Based on the above situation, for the adult cousin, what course of action/intervention, if any, would you recommend? (please choose one)
 - c. No course of action/intervention
 - d. Referral to criminal justice authorities (police/crown attorney)
 - e. Recommendation for adult to be placed on CAS watch list
 - f. Referral to psychiatric/psychological facility for evaluation or treatment

VIGNETTE 2:

Please imagine that you are a children's aid worker. You have just been given a case file that details an incident involving an adult female and a female child. It is your job to make a decision as to what happens with the case. Your file includes this information:

Sarah, a 3 old child, was alone at home with her mother's 35 year old female cousin, Lisa. Her parents had left Sarah in the care of Lisa while they attended dinner at a friend's house. It was not the first time Lisa had cared for Sarah. Over the course of the evening, Sarah's diaper needed to be changed. While changing her diaper, Lisa rubbed cream over her vagina and anus area. During this time, Sarah kept saying "no". When Sarah's parents arrived home later that night, Sarah was asleep in her bed. The next day, Sarah told her parents that "Lisa touched my 'gina'". When Sarah's parents asked what she meant, Sarah touched between her legs indicating where she had touched her. Sarah's parents immediately called Children's Aid Society to report Lisa, indicating concern as she often cared for not only their daughter but other children as well. In talking with Lisa, she admits to changing her diaper but not to touching her.

Your supervisor asks you to make a decision regarding the case. Based on the above information, please answer the following questions.

Demographic Information:

1. What is your gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

Questionnaire:

2. Based on the above situation, has a crime occurred?
 - g. Yes
 - h. No

3. Based on the above situation, for the adult cousin, what course of action/intervention, if any, would you recommend? (please choose one)
 - a. No course of action/intervention
 - b. Referral to criminal justice authorities (police/crown attorney)
 - c. Recommendation for adult to be placed on CAS watch list
 - d. Referral to psychiatric/psychological facility for evaluation or treatment

VIGNETTE 3:

Please imagine that you are a children's aid worker. You have just been given a case file that details an incident involving an adult male and a male child. It is your job to make a decision as to what happens with the case. Your file includes this information:

Connor, a 3 old child, was alone at home with his mother's 35 year old male cousin, Dave. His parents had left Connor in the care of Dave while they attended dinner at a friend's house. It was not the first time Dave had cared for Connor. Over the course of the evening, Connor's diaper needed to be changed. While changing his diaper, Dave rubbed cream over his penis and anus area. During this time, Connor kept saying "no". When Connor's parents arrived home later that night, Connor was asleep in his bed. The next day, Connor told his parents that "Dave touched my 'pee-pee'". When Connor's parents asked what he meant, Connor touched between his legs indicating where he had touched him. Connor's parents immediately called Children's Aid Society to report Dave, indicating concern as he often cared for not only their son but other children as well. In talking with Dave, he admits to changing his diaper but not to touching him.

Your supervisor asks you to make a decision regarding the case. Based on the above information, please answer the following questions.

Demographic Information:

1. What is your gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

Questionnaire:

2. Based on the above situation, has a crime occurred?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

3. Based on the above situation, for the adult cousin, what course of action/intervention, if any, would you recommend? (please choose one)
 - a. No course of action/intervention
 - b. Referral to criminal justice authorities (police/crown attorney)
 - c. Recommendation for adult to be placed on CAS watch list
 - d. Referral to psychiatric/psychological facility for evaluation or treatment

VIGNETTE 4:

Please imagine that you are a children's aid worker. You have just been given a case file that details an incident involving an adult female and a male child. It is your job to make a decision as to what happens with the case. Your file includes this information:

Connor, a 3 old child, was alone at home with his mother's 35 year old female cousin, Lisa. His parents had left Connor in the care of Lisa while they attended dinner at a friend's house. It was not the first time Lisa had cared for Connor. Over the course of the evening, Connor's diaper needed to be changed. While changing his diaper, Lisa rubbed cream over his penis and anus area. During this time, Connor kept saying "no". When Connor's parents arrived home later that night, Connor was asleep in his bed. The next day, Connor told his parents that "Lisa touched my 'pee-pee'". When Connor's parents asked what he meant, Connor touched between his legs indicating where she had touched him. Connor's parents immediately called Children's Aid Society to report Lisa, indicating concern as she often cared for not only their son but other children as well. In talking with Lisa, she admits to changing his diaper but not to touching him.

Your supervisor asks you to make a decision regarding the case. Based on the above information, please answer the following questions.

Demographic Information:

1. What is your gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

Questionnaire:

2. Based on the above situation, has a crime occurred?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

3. Based on the above situation, for the adult cousin, what course of action/intervention, if any, would you recommend? (please choose one)
 - a. No course of action/intervention
 - b. Referral to criminal justice authorities (police/crown attorney)
 - c. Recommendation for adult to be placed on CAS watch list
 - d. Referral to psychiatric/psychological facility for evaluation or treatment

Appendix 2

Bem Sex Role Inventory – Sample of Scale

Directions

On the next page, you will find listed a number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use those characteristics to describe yourself, that is, we would like you to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 7, how true of you each of these characteristics is. Please do not leave any characteristic unmarked.

Example: sly

Write a **1** if it is *never or almost never true* that you are sly.

Write a **2** if it is *usually not true* that you are sly.

Write a **3** if it is *sometimes but infrequently true* that you are sly.

Write a **4** if it is *occasionally true* that you are sly.

Write a **5** if it is *often true* that you are sly.

Write a **6** if it is *usually true* that you are sly.

Write a **7** if it is *always or almost always true* that you are sly.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never or almost never true	Usually not true	Sometimes but infrequently true	Occasionally true	Often true	Usually true	Always or almost always true

1. Defend my own beliefs	
2. Affectionate	
3. Conscientious	
4. Independent	
5. Sympathetic	

Appendix 3

Just World Scale

The Just World Scale is a 20-item measure designed to assess individual differences in the extent to which people believe that the world is a place where good people are rewarded and bad people are punished.

Below are several statements, please circle the response that corresponds with the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement. Please be sure to circle a response for each statement.

1. I've found that a person rarely deserves the reputation he has.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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2. Basically, the world is a just place.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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3. People who get "lucky breaks" have usually earned their good fortune.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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4. Careful drivers are just as likely to get hurt in traffic accidents as careless ones.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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5. It is a common occurrence for a guilty person to get off free in American courts.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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6. Students almost always deserve the grades they receive in school.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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7. Men who keep in shape have little chance of suffering a heart attack.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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8. The political candidate who sticks up for his principles rarely gets elected.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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9. It is rare for an innocent man to be wrongly sent to jail.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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10. In professional sports, many fouls and infractions never get called by the referee.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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11. By and large, people deserve what they get.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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12. When parents punish their children, it is almost always for good reasons.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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13. Good deeds often go unnoticed and unrewarded.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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14. Although evil men may hold political power for a while, in the general course of history good wins out.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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15. In almost any business or profession, people who do their job well rise to the top.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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16. American parents tend to overlook the things most to be admired in their children.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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17. It is often impossible for a person to receive a fair trial in the USA.

Complete	Moderate	Slight	Slight	Moderate	Complete
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Agreement	Agreement	Agreement	Disagreement	Disagreement	Disagreement
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18. People who meet with misfortune have often brought it on themselves.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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19. Crime doesn't pay.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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20. Many people suffer through absolutely no fault of their own.

Complete Agreement	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Complete Disagreement
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Rubin, Z., & Peplau, L. A. (1975). Who believes in a just world? Journal of Social Issues, 31(3), 65-89.

Appendix 4

The Balanced F Scale (Cherry & Byrne, 1977)

Instructions to Participants:

The following sets of items are an attempt to assess the opinions of college students about a number of important personal, academic and social issues. The best answer to each statement is your *personal opinion*. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same way you do.

Mark your opinion about each statement beneath each statement, by circling your level of agreement or disagreement with it. Please circle a response for each statement.

- 1. There is hardly anything lower than person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.**

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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- 2. An insult to our honour should always be punished.**

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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- 3. Books and movies ought not to deal so much with the unpleasant and seamy side of life; they ought to concentrate on themes that are entertaining or uplifting.**

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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- 4. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country.**

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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- 5. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.**

Strong Support	Moderate	Slight Support	Slight	Moderate	Strong
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- Agreement	Support – Agreement	– Agreement	Opposition – Disagreement	Opposition – Disagreement	Opposition - Disagreement
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6. Young people sometime get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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7. The findings of science may someday show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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8. It is highly unlikely that astrology will ever be able to explain anything.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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9. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the Canadian way of life.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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10. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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11. A person who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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12. Insults to our honour are not always important enough to bother about.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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13. It's all right for people to raise questions about even the most sacred matters.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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14. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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15. There is no reason to punish any crime with the death penalty.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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16. Anyone who would interpret the Bible literally just doesn't know much about geology, biology or history.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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17. In this scientific age the need for a religious belief is more important than ever.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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18. When they are little, kids sometimes think about doing harm to one or both of their parents.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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19. It is possible that creatures on other planets have founded a better society than ours.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support – Agreement	Slight Support – Agreement	Slight Opposition – Disagreement	Moderate Opposition – Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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20. The prisoners in our corrective institutions, regardless of the nature of their crimes, should be humanely treated.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support - Agreement	Slight Support - Agreement	Slight Opposition - Disagreement	Moderate Opposition - Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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21. The sooner people realize that we must get rid of all the traitors in the government the better off we'll be.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support - Agreement	Slight Support - Agreement	Slight Opposition - Disagreement	Moderate Opposition - Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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22. Some of the greatest atrocities in man's history have been committed in the name of religion and morality.

Strong Support - Agreement	Moderate Support - Agreement	Slight Support - Agreement	Slight Opposition - Disagreement	Moderate Opposition - Disagreement	Strong Opposition - Disagreement
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Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

Service de subventions de recherche et d'éthologie Research Grants and Ethics Services

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that the University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (REB) has examined the application for ethical approval for the research project **Decision-Making in Alleged Cases of Sexual Abuse against Children (File # 11-07-04)** submitted by Emily Sand and supervised by Christine Bruckert of the Department of Criminology and William Fisher of the Department of Psychology at the University of Western Ontario. The members of the REB found that the research project met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards, and accordingly gave the research project a Category Ia (Approval).

This certification is valid for one year from the date indicated below.

Catherine Paquet
Assistant-Director Interim (Ethics)
For the Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB
Peter Beyer

January 9, 2008
Date

Appendix 6

Frequencies and Percentages of Participant Sex Role

BSRI Category	Gender	Number of Participants	Percent
MASCULINE	Male	20	15%
	Female	16	12%
FEMININE	Male	5	4%
	Female	31	23%
ANDROGYNOUS	Male	10	7%
	Female	23	18%
UNDIFFERENTIATED	Male	18	13%
	Female	11	8%
Total		134	100%

Frequencies and Percentages of Participant Sex Role by Gender

BSRI Category	Gender	Number of Participants	Percent
MASCULINE	Male	20	38%
FEMININE	Male	5	9%
ANDROGYNOUS	Male	10	19%
UNDIFFERENTIATED	Male	18	34%
Total		53	100%
MASCULINE	Female	16	20%
FEMININE	Female	31	38%
ANDROGYNOUS	Female	23	28%
UNDIFFERENTIATED	Female	11	14%
Total		81	100%

Appendix 7

Frequencies and Percentages of Respondent's Comments

Category	Males	Females	Total N
Normal Behaviour	15 (29%)	26 (33%)	41 (32%)
Prevention	17 (33%)	27 (35%)	44 (34%)
Rights of Victim	11 (21%)	13 (17%)	24 (18%)
Negative Impacts	5 (10%)	9 (11%)	14 (11%)
Gender	3 (6%)	3 (4%)	6 (5%)
TOTAL	51 (100%)	78 (100%)	129 (100%)

*** Total respondents does not equal N=134 as several respondents did not complete the qualitative component of the survey*

Table 1: Frequencies and Percentages of Male and Female Respondent's Comments

Category	Male Offender	Female Offender	Total N
Normal Behaviour	19 (31%)	22 (32%)	41 (32%)
Prevention	18 (29%)	26 (38%)	44 (34%)
Rights of Victim	12 (20%)	12 (18%)	24 (18%)
Negative Impacts	6 (10%)	8 (12%)	14 (11%)
Gender	6 (10%)	0 (0%)	6 (5%)
TOTAL	61 (100%)	68 (100%)	129 (100%)

*** Total respondents does not equal N=134 as several respondents did not complete the qualitative component of the survey..*

Table 2: Frequencies and Percentages of Respondent Comments based on Gender of the Alleged Offender

Category	Male Victim	Female Victim	Total N
Normal Behaviour	21 (30%)	20 (33%)	41 (32%)
Prevention	25 (36%)	19 (32%)	44 (34%)
Rights of Victim	12 (18%)	12 (20%)	24 (18%)
Negative Impacts	11 (16%)	3 (5%)	14 (11%)
Gender	0 (0%)	6 (10%)	6 (5%)
TOTAL	69 (100%)	60 (100%)	129 (100%)

*** Total respondents does not equal N=134 as several respondents did not complete the qualitative component of the survey.*

Table 3: Frequencies and Percentages of Respondent Comments based on Gender of the Alleged Victim

Category	Crime Occurred	No Crime Occurred	Total N
Normal Behaviour	0 (0%)	41 (63%)	41 (31.78%)
Prevention	30 (46.8%)	14 (21.5%)	44 (34.1%)
Rights of Victim	23 (35.9%)	1 (1.5%)	24 (18.6%)
Negative Impacts	7 (10.9%)	7 (10.8%)	14 (10.85%)
Gender	4 (6.3%)	2 (3.1%)	6 (4.65%)
TOTAL	64 (100%)	65 (100%)	129 (100%)

*** Total respondents does not equal N=134 as several respondents did not complete the qualitative component of the survey.*

Table 4: Frequencies and Percentages of Comments When a Crime did and did not Occur