THE PSYCHOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING AND TREATMENT OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS

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SECTION A: PREFACE

A.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE PREFACE

The preface is an introduction to the overall thesis. A brief developmental professional history is given as a background to the area of study chosen for the thesis. Following this, the three main sections of the thesis are introduced and briefly summarised.

A.2 PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND TO THE THESIS

My interest in working with offenders began when I was around thirteen years old. This, perhaps somewhat odd, choice of career was largely inspired by a television program, entitled 'Within These Walls'. The program focused on the story of a very determined and confident, yet sensitive and empathic woman who was a governor in a male prison in England. As a rather timid, confused and naive teenager, this character, I now realise, represented the epitome of what I was not, and no doubt reflected the self I hoped to one day become. This experience helped me set forth on the personal and professional journey that has culminated in the current piece of work.

Somewhere around the age of 15 I discovered that there was a profession where, not only could you work in prisons, but you could also have a role in helping people understand why they were there. This seemed extremely interesting and rewarding, and I went straight from A levels to an undergraduate psychology degree at Ulster University. In the third year of this course, students had to complete a placement;

there was a great deal of choice in clinical, business and academic settings, and I, no doubt still inspired by my old heroine, choose to go to the psychology department of Ashworth Hospital in Liverpool. Ashworth is one of the three maximum security hospitals for offenders in England.

Those few months at Ashworth had a huge impact on my life, both personally and professionally. Ashworth was, and, from what I can gather, still is, a political and social powder keg. Every day there was a new drama and staff and patients alike appeared to survive in a constant state of heightened arousal. In retrospect, 15 years later, I have a greater psychological understanding of the dynamics of this institution and why I found them appealing, but, even without this insight, the placement represented an incredibly gripping and stimulating experience . I returned to university for my final year with complete certainty that I wanted to be a psychologist and that I wanted to work with offenders.

After a comparatively dull year as a psychology assistant working with the elderly and in rehabilitation, I applied for a job as a trainee prison psychologist, and, in 1987 I began working in Feltham Young Offenders Institution in Middlesex. By a strange coincidence, on the plane between Belfast and London I read with distaste and anger a newspaper article about a gang of adolescents who raped a woman in London. On arriving at Feltham I was told that I would be working on the 'sheltered/protected' unit. This unit was specifically for either very vulnerable or notorious offenders, and, it transpired that the 'tea boy' on the unit, a rather esteemed position in the prison

culture, was in fact one of the gang of rapists about whom I had been reading previously.

Thus began one of the many shocks to my world view that Feltham YOI had to offer; I discovered that sex offenders are not all the intrinsically unpleasant, evil monsters portrayed by the media. In fact, the 'tea boy' appeared quiet, likeable, compliant and passive; consequently, I had a great deal of difficulty reconciling the horrific offence for which he had been convicted with his everyday presentation. Indeed, during the four years I spent at Feltham it struck me many times that, contrary to the more recidivist, acquisitive offenders, whose 'selves as offenders' were often very obviously apparent in their behaviour and interpersonal interactions, sex offenders, child abusers especially, were often quite difficult to associate with their crime. These experiences contributed to an ongoing interest in attempting to comprehend what 'creates' a sex offender.

Whilst working at Feltham YOI, I completed an MSc in Applied Legal and Criminological psychology and became a Chartered Forensic Psychologist. At this stage, and indeed until the present time, the prison psychology service was almost exclusively Cognitive Behavioural in its focus; hence my training and supervised counselling work at this time was exclusively cognitive behavioural, but, I realise in retrospect, extremely basic. Whilst having some theoretical knowledge helped immensely in my work with sex offenders, it did not particularly help in answering the question so many sex offenders asked, that is, 'why did I do it?'. Indeed at this time, psychological work with sex offenders was very much in its infancy, and my

impression was that therapists were largely encouraged to view the 'why' question as an attempt by the offender to seek 'excuses' for his behaviour. Consequently, other than identification of cognitive distortions that may have contributed to the offence, examination of the why issue was largely avoided.

I left the prison psychology service in 1991, but, after a brief foray into working in the field of substance misuse, I returned to forensic psychology around seven years ago, when I took up my current post at the Bracton Medium Secure Unit, Bexley Hospital. Coming from the very strict cognitive behavioural background in the prison system, the Bracton Clinic was something of a culture shock. The institution has very strong links with the Tavistock Clinic, and as such, is one of the few forensic services to offer a psychodynamic/psychoanalytic approach to work with offenders. In supervision I was consistently and constantly encouraged to think about why individuals may have carried out their offence, and, initially, I found this extremely difficult and challenging. In order to increase my clinical skills and confidence in this area I began thinking about further training. I did consider psychotherapy training, but decided against this for two reasons; firstly, I did not feel that it offered the scientist/practitioner emphasis pivotal in psychological training, and secondly, I felt that I needed to gain a more general experience of therapeutic models before I could confidently specialise in one. For these reasons I enrolled on the MSc in Counselling Psychology at City University.

Although there was little input of a psychodynamic nature, the course exposed me to other therapeutic models where the 'why' question was extremely important. Perhaps

the constructivist model was particularly appealing to me for this reason and I began to incorporate this approach into my work. These various influences have, I think, shaped me as a practitioner who values many theoretical models and my current post encourages this integrational means of working with offenders.

As my confidence and experience has developed, so has my role within the agency. I am currently responsible for the psychological input to the five female patients at the Bracton clinic, I write risk assessments for the courts and for social services and I co-run a community based program for sex offenders. A key component of the program is a thorough assessment, and on the basis of this assessment, a report is prepared for the court outlining a-psychological formulation for the offence, a risk assessment and an indication of the individual's motivation for treatment.

While a great deal of recent work has been carried out on who sex offenders are, treatment efficacy with this group and risk prediction research, there still remains much less emphasis on attempts to understand why sex offenders offend. Notable exceptions are Marshall et al (1997) and Houston (1998). The current thesis is an attempt to use a number of theoretical models in order to shed light on offending behaviour, specifically, sexual offending, and to offer suggestions for clinical work with this extremely challenging and high profile client group.

A.3 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

Following this section (section A), the thesis is divided into three further sections. I have placed the case study first in the thesis as it introduces some of the issues that are explored further in the research and critical review sections. Its placement is also intended to introduce the reader to the subject of sexual offending at a micro/individual level initially. The critical review of the literature is presented next as this looks in depth at the application of a theoretical model, that is, Attachment Theory, to sex offenders, as demonstrated by four brief client studies. The research component is presented last, largely because it explores and tests out some of the questions raised in the previous sections and because it moves the reader on to considering the subject of sexual offending at a more macro/group level.

A brief outline of each of the sections is presented below:

<u>Section B: Case Work</u>

The case study explores a treatment intervention with a very high risk child sexual abuser. This case study was included as it highlighted some of the difficult ethical and professional dilemmas often encountered in working with sexual offenders. Furthermore, it was cited as an example of a client where more than one theoretical model appeared to be necessary in treatment.

Section C: Critical review of the Literature

The title of this section is 'Attachment theory: its application to sexual offenders and implications for counselling practice'. This paper aims to outline the basic concepts behind the psychodynamic model of Attachment Theory and to examine the application of this theory to the assessment and understanding of the sexual offender. Four brief client studies are included in order to demonstrate some of the key issues. Furthermore, the paper aims to explore how Attachment Theory can be applied to engage therapeutically with individuals who have experienced early difficulties in attachment relationships, particularly sexual offenders.

Section D: Research

The title of the research section of the thesis is 'Sex offenders and their personal construct systems: Differences and similarities between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls'. The research has four main aims:

a. To examine the demographic backgrounds of child sexual abusers

b. To examine the ways in which child abusers construe various states of 'self'

c. To examine how child sexual abusers construe significant others

d. To compare and contrast men who sexually abuse boys and men who sexually abuse girls

The main tool used within the study is a constructivist technique, that is, the repertory grid. Specific research questions, based on previous research or clinical hypothesis are explored and the findings from the research are applied to risk prediction and psychological treatment with the client group.

SECTION B: CASE STUDY

B.1 INTRODUCTION

This case study is an account of a treatment intervention with a high risk child sexual abuser. It was included in the thesis for two reasons; firstly, it raised a number of the difficult treatment dilemmas that can occur quite regularly when working with sex offenders. Secondly, it is an example of a client with whom it appeared necessary to use more than one theoretical model of treatment.

B.2 THE REFERRAL

Neil was referred to the Forensic Clinical Psychology Department at Bexley and Guys Hospitals by his Probation Officer. At this stage he was forty-seven years old and had just been released from custody. The referral letter stated that Neil had virtually completed a sex offender treatment program whilst he was in prison. The prison service's sex offender treatment program (SOTP) is a cognitive behavioural, standardised group work program, managed by prison psychologists, but administered, usually, by prison officers. Neil's probation officer had included some of Neil's progress reports from the prison treatment program, and these were exceptionally positive.

The reason for the referral to the service for which I work, was that Neil had not had enough time during his sentence to complete the relapse prevention component of the treatment program, and, consequently Neil's probation officer was requesting that this work was carried out in the community. She stated that Neil's parole licence was due to expire within the next few months, but Neil had assured her that he would be keen to continue seeing a psychologist when his licence expired.

Actuarial research predicted that Neil represented a great risk to children. Indeed, according to the current sex offender research (e.g. Quinsey et al 1995), because Neil had a number of previous sexual convictions and because his offences were against male victims, he fell into the highest risk of re-offending group.

B.3 THE INITIAL INTERVIEW

Neil was a tall, gaunt man. He appeared extremely anxious, his hands shook and he reported chain smoking in an effort to calm himself. At this interview his mood was rather low. He had been out of prison for approximately two months and was experiencing great difficulties settling back into society. He had just moved from a probation hostel to a council flat and was currently unemployed. He informed me that he had little contact with people other than his family of origin, and he found this contact difficult, largely because of unresolved feelings towards them, and, because he believed that they trivialised his offending, thus minimising his potential risk.

Despite these more general concerns, Neil clearly wanted to use the session to talk about his fears of re-offending. He talked emotionally and graphically about recurrent nightmares where his victims would appear and they would bring their own victims, until Neil was faced with a sea of damaged and angry young men, who all blamed him for their difficulties. The prison sex offender treatment program had very firmly lodged the notion of risk in his mind, and, in order to minimise his risk of re-offending, Neil was relying exclusively on an avoidance strategy. In fact, he had come out of prison only to literally imprison himself in his own flat, 'bolting out' (as he put it), only when absolutely necessary.

Dilemma Number 1:

This raised the first dilemma with Neil. On one hand he was becoming almost agoraphobic in his fears around leaving his flat. I felt under some pressure to help him break this cycle before it became any more entrenched than it already was. On the other hand, I was concerned that a thorough assessment had not yet been carried out and I was extremely reluctant to encourage Neil back into the community, without being very clear of the triggers for his offending. While thorough assessment is extremely important for all clients, because of their potential risk, it is arguably even more important for sex offenders. Indeed, research and clinical work suggests that sex offenders have a pattern, or cycle of offending (see Eldridge 1998), and, assessment identifying 'the cycle and the way it operates....is a major task of intervention and relapse prevention' (Eldridge 1998, pg 28). I also felt that it was extremely important to have a formulation on which future clinical decisions could be based.

I explained this dilemma to Neil and after some discussion, we agreed that over the next few weeks we would focus on assessment. However, if a crisis arose, or Neil felt that he needed to interrupt this process, he would do so. We ensured there was a space for this to occur by agreeing to set aside the first ten minutes of each session to 'check in'.

Neil and I spent the final part of the first session discussing confidentiality. This was in line with the British Psychological Society's guidelines on confidentiality (British Psychological Society 1993).

B.4 SALIENT BACKGROUND DETAILS

Much of the information included in this section was reported by Neil over our first three meetings. However, it is important to stress that assessment was, and still is, ongoing with this client.

Neil spent his early childhood with his mother, his grandmother, and his sister, who was five years his senior. His mother and grandmother were extremely strict, in fact Neil was forbidden to play and was slapped if he was noisy. Neil was not allowed to ask questions about his father, but in overhearing conversations between his mother and grandmother, he learned that his father was an 'ogre' who had gone off with another woman. When Neil was fourteen his mother and father met again by chance. One year later his parents were reconciled and Neil's father moved back into the family home. Neil reported feeling 'confused and angry' at the sudden change in his family. From the beginning, Neil's relationship with his father was turbulent and his father became increasingly violent towards Neil until he left home at the age of sixteen.

Neil reported two incidents of sexual abuse in his childhood. The first occurred when his sister forced him to perform oral sex on her when he was around ten years old. This abuse continued for about six months and Neil reported hating it, and hating his sister. He felt unable to tell his mother about the incidents as he believed that he would be punished for lying. The second incident occurred when Neil was between thirteen and fourteen years old, and the abuse involved mutual masturbation with a male teacher. Neil construed this abuse in a very different light. The teacher was

someone he respected and who had previously given him a lot of attention. He felt that the abuse enabled him to receive the love and affection that was glaringly absent at home. When the teacher 'dumped him' (his words) for a younger boy, Neil felt rejected, hurt and angry. Since he believed, at the time, that their sexual contact was consenting, Neil did not report the teacher.

In general, Neil found school problematic. He was a loner and had great difficulty mixing with other children. He was bullied on an ongoing basis, and his teachers felt that he under-achieved. On leaving school he had a number of casual, manual jobs before beginning a gardening business. This business blossomed and Neil clearly got a great deal of enjoyment and satisfaction from his job.

As an adult, Neil had two sexual relationships with women. Each lasted around one year and in both cases the woman ended the relationship in a very abrupt and humiliating manner. Neil also had difficulty in forming and maintaining relationships with men, and consequently he was very socially isolated and lonely.

At the age of twenty-seven, Neil became a scout leader in an attempt to decrease his isolation. In retrospect however, he believed that there was also a more sinister reason for this decision. Since his late teens Neil had been aware that he was sexually attracted to young boys, and, during his time as a scout leader he befriended and sexually abused a number of the boys. He was very clear that the offences generally occurred at times when he felt particularly depressed, for example, following the break-up of a relationship. After offending for around five years, Neil was convicted

for indecent assault on five boys and was given a twelve month prison sentence. At this stage he apparently believed that he could control his urges to offend. Consequently, he did not seek treatment.

Upon his release from prison, Neil's life continued in a very similar vein. He was still socially isolated with virtually no adult friends and he was still very aware of his sexual attraction towards boys. He did have a brief relationship with a woman, however, again, this ended with him feeling rejected and humiliated.

When Neil was forty-five, thirteen years after his first sentence ended, he was again convicted of indecent assault against two brothers; they were fifteen and thirteen years old when they disclosed to their family. The children were the sons of a business colleague and the abuse occurred over a two year period. Pre-sentence probation reports and a psychiatrist's report from the time noted that Neil was 'highly motivated to confront his offending behaviour', and that he 'displayed genuine remorse for the harm he inflicted on his victims'.

Neil served a one and a half year custodial sentence and during his sentence he participated in the Prison Service's Sex Offender Treatment Programme. As noted previously, reports from this program were extremely positive and stressed a clear commitment to treatment.

B.5 INITIAL FORMULATION

There are a number of factors that are relevant to understanding Neil and his sexual abuse of young boys. These are presented tentatively below:

a. As a child, Neil had extremely fraught relationships with both of his parents. He perceived his mother as rejecting and unprotective. He experienced little emotional warmth from his father, and instead was bullied and physically abused.

b. Such early experiences leave the child ill equipped to form healthy relationships with peers (e.g. Bowlby 1969), and Neil demonstrated this tendency in early childhood and adolescence.

c. These feelings of isolation progressed into adulthood, and it is of note that Neil's adult relationships with women culminated in feelings of abuse, rejection or humiliation. Eventually, he learned to avoid these risks by withdrawing from adult heterosexual relationships entirely. Children represented a somewhat less threatening option for sexual interest (e.g. see Marshall 1997).

d. Neil's first experience of sexual abuse by his sister, reinforced his belief that women were dangerous and not to be trusted.

e. The second incident of abuse was perhaps even more damaging as it was this experience that led to entrenched feelings of ambivalence and confusion. Through his contact with this teacher, Neil felt that he received the love and affection largely absent from his life. Thus, for many years Neil did not feel that this abuse was harmful.

f. This construction of the events may well have encouraged Neil's belief that his advances towards his own victims were 'loving' and 'not harmful'. Indeed, it is of note that Neil 'seduced' his victims in a manner very similar to that employed by his

perpetrator and he consciously choose boys that reminded him of himself when he was abused by his teacher.

g. While Neil could refrain from sexual offending for lengthy periods of time, he appeared to be most at risk when he felt depressed and worthless.

B.6 INITIAL TREATMENT STRATEGY

Dilemma Number 2:

Given the formulation above, I felt that there were many issues that could be covered in the sessions with Neil, and I was torn between a more exploratory approach addressing the issues presented in the formulation, or the alternative of a relapse prevention approach, which would, hopefully, provide Neil with strategies, but would do very little in terms of helping him gain insight into why he had offended. On balance, I felt it was best to opt for the relapse prevention approach for a number of reasons. These were as follows:

a. Neil had already completed an intensive cognitive behavioural treatment program whilst in prison and through this he appeared to have gained at least some insight into the reasons behind his offending behaviour.

b. Neil was now back in the community with access to children and it could therefore be argued that the highest priority was to ensure that he had strategies for dealing with high risk situations.

c. As yet, there appears to be very little research to suggest that insight ***alone*** *lowers risk of recidivism in sex offenders. However, there is theoretical research to support the use of relapse prevention programs with this client group (see section 1.8 relevant research on the theoretical perspective).*

d. I was concerned that Neil's parole license was due to expire very shortly. In practical terms this could mean that he could opt to have no further contact with any professional services.

On balance, it was arguably more pressing to work with Neil on devising relapse prevention strategies, initially. If he did decide to attend sessions voluntarily when his license expired, we could then move on to the more exploratory material.

Again, I briefly discussed this dilemma with Neil and, again, we reached a 'compromise' whereby, we would begin by focusing on relapse prevention, but if other issues arose that appeared to be outside of the remit of relapse prevention, these would be explored and addressed accordingly.

We agreed on an initial contract of fifteen weekly sessions and review.

C.7 RELEVANT RESEARCH ON THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Currently, world-wide, there is general consensus that a cognitive behavioural approach is most effective in preventing recidivism amongst child sexual abusers (e.g. Thornton 1992 and Beckett et al 1994 in the United Kingdom, and Marshall et al 1991b in the United States). It has also been found that the ability to interrupt the cycle of offending is important in preventing re-offending; therefore, a Relapse Prevention programme is a key component of treatment (Barker and Morgan 1993).

Relapse Prevention is based on a cognitive behavioural model. It was developed in the field of substance misuse by Marlatt (1978) and Pithers et al (1983) modified the model in order to apply it to sexual offending. In short, the Relapse Prevention model proposes that sexual offending is not an impulsive behaviour; reactions to certain triggers influence whether or not a sex offender will re-offend, and the identification and management of these triggers is therefore imperative.

There are two main aims of Relapse Prevention. These are as follows:

1. To provide the client with a systematic process for appraising his thoughts, feelings and behaviour.
2. To provide tools with which to control the urge to re-offend, by:
    a. Teaching the client to respond to early warning signals that can place them in high risk situations; and
    b. Teaching the client to cope effectively with high risk situations.

Relapse Prevention, although still at the early stage of evaluation, has been shown to reduce the risk of re-offending in child sexual abusers (e.g. Pithers and Cumming 1989) and to increase the number of coping strategies individuals have at their disposal (Jenkins-Hall 1989) and (Laws 1989).

B.8 THE COUNSELLING PROCESS

As stated previously, the first two to three sessions of counselling were spent largely on assessment and on completion of the offending cycle. Neil took a great deal of responsibility for completion of the cycle, and he worked on it between meetings.

Neil arrived at our third session extremely agitated and anxious. A few days earlier, on returning from a meeting with his probation officer, Neil had been queuing at a bus stop when a young boy joined the line. This was the first close contact Neil had had with a boy since leaving prison. Although he stated that he had not been sexually aroused by the boy, Neil experienced what sounded like a panic attack and he literally fled from the bus stop. This situation and his reaction to it had clearly terrified Neil and had left him with an intense sense of failure. The conclusion he had reached was that he should never leave his flat again.

I attempted to explain to Neil that his only current technique to prevent re-offending was avoidance, thus, when he did come into accidental contact with a boy, he had no coping strategy. This lack of a coping strategy led to panic, a decrease in self-efficacy and feelings of failure and depression. In turn, such feeling have been shown to lead to an increased probability of reoffending (see Marlatt and Gordon 1985). Neil appeared to understand this on a cognitive level, but he continuously returned to the point that because he was such a high risk offender he must **never** be allowed to be near children, and he cited the incident at the bus stop as further evidence to support this theory.

In an attempt to move the conversation on, I explained to Neil that in Relapse Prevention theory, it has been noted that if there is not a balance in a client's life between things he must do and things he wants to do, he is likely to experience a sense of deprivation and resentment and may try to indulge or comfort himself by lapsing or relapsing (see Thompson 1989). It is therefore extremely important that clients attempt to achieve some enjoyable and positive activities in their lives. Consequently, I felt it was very important for Neil to gradually begin building a life back for himself, but in order to do so, he would have to begin leaving his apartment.

As we explored this issue further it became clear that there were other dynamics at play; Neil appeared to believe that he had no 'right' to a life. He explained that he had ruined the lives of his victims and should be punished for this. One way to punish himself was to keep himself confined. This raised a further dilemma for me.

Dilemma Number 3:

It was clear that many people in society would argue very strongly that Neil should keep himself locked up and isolated from children. If I began attempting to encourage Neil to venture out, would I, like his family, be minimising his offending and placing him in situations where he was clearly telling me felt unable to cope. The fear of 'getting it wrong' with any client is often frightening enough, however, with sex offenders the fear is magnified. I imagined newspaper headlines reporting on how a psychologist had encouraged a high risk sex offender to 'take walks in the park!'

I discussed this dilemma in supervision. Fortunately I have a supervisor who has many years of experience in working with very high risk offenders. It was also at this point that the importance of a full assessment became evident. Neil had grown up in a very punitive and punishing environment. Such children may internalise this experience and become self-punishing. This process is known as introjection (Jacobs 1994). It was also important to note that two of the key triggers for Neil's offending were feelings of depression and loneliness. And, while Neil's avoidance strategy might lower his risk of reoffending in the short term, in the long term it was likely to increase his feelings of depression and loneliness, thus increasing the probability of future offending. Given Neil's history suggested that he could abstain from sexual contact with boys for many years at a time, arguably, the long term risk was of more concern than the short term. This exploration helped me think through the issues and alleviated much of my anxiety.

In the next meeting with Neil, we discussed these issues, and, while on a cognitive level Neil understood the concepts, he remained extremely anxious about spending time outdoors. I attempted to reassure Neil by stressing that he would only begin going out when he felt absolutely ready for this step. This felt very important given the formulation that in Neil's past women had been construed as 'dangerous' and unsupportive. I clearly did not want to be yet another woman who forced him into dangerous situations and then abandoned him. We agreed that before we even thought about him leaving his flat 'for recreational purposes', we would have in place a comprehensive list of strategies and plans for dealing with risky situations or scenarios. This is a vital component of Relapse Prevention (Macdonald and Pithers

1989). We spent a substantial part of the next few sessions identifying what could be high risk scenarios for Neil. A homework task was to devise a detailed plan for dealing with each of these high risk scenarios. As recommended, these plans comprised both cognitive and behavioural strategies (e.g. Eldridge 1998).

When Neil felt quite confident with his plans, he spontaneously indicated that he would like to begin going out more. We explored this carefully as I was anxious that Neil may have been attempting to please me and be the 'ideal client'. On balance however, it did appear that Neil had been thinking through the issues and had came to the realisation that avoidance for the rest of his life was rather unrealistic. In order to begin the process, Neil and I agreed on a behavioural experiment based on exposure principals (Hawton et al 1989). Initially this involved Neil spending five minutes each day reading his newspaper outside of his flat. He also agreed to keep a diary of thoughts and feelings on doing so, and to continue to devise a thorough and clear plan on what to do if he did encounter a child as he read his paper.

Neil returned to the next sessions with detailed records. Although he found being outside very difficult initially, by the third week he was spending twenty-five minutes each day outside. He had also had a couple of friendly chats with an elderly woman. This became very important for Neil as it was the closest he had come to social contact since leaving prison. Neil was conscious that he avoided being outside at times when he knew that children were more likely to be around. I felt it was important to encourage this, as a common route to relapse involves clients 'testing out' their resolve by deliberately placing themselves in high risk situations (Eldridge

1998). The exposure technique helped brake down Neil's self-imposed imprisonment and gradually going out became less and less of an issue in the sessions.

It was of note that, as this means of self punishment abated, Neil's punitive conscience became more apparent in other ways. Not only did he tend to berate himself almost constantly, he very clearly expected me to berate him also. For example, he regularly came to sessions explaining that he had to tell me something that 'would make me see red'. Often, these were issues in his past that portrayed him in a negative light, and often they were issues about which he had already told me. Indeed, it has been suggested that forensic patients often have a sado-masochistic presentation, that can lead the therapist to feel punitive and sadistic towards them (see Stoller 1975).

In order to overcome some of these potential difficulties in the counselling relationship, I attempted to maintain a very balanced, boundaried approach with Neil and I tried to ensure that I gave him positive feedback whenever possible. Empathy also appeared to be a very necessary ingredient, and, contrary to many sex offenders whose presentation does not make empathy a particularly natural emotional response, Neil was likeable and warm and hence being empathic was not as difficult as it often can be with this population.

A further point of note was that, in his past, Neil had consistently experienced women as rejecting. I hypothesised that if Neil came into contact with a woman who behaved differently and did not reject him, he would engineer situations that would cause them

to ultimately reject him. In Personal Construct Psychology this is an example of the Kellian concept of hostility, that is, 'the continued effort to extort validation evidence in favour of a type of social prediction which has already been recognised as a failure' (Fransella and Dalton 1995 pg 38).

Perhaps the most clear example of this occurred after we had been working together for around fifteen sessions. Neil arrived at a meeting with a lengthy document he had written. This document was an account of his life that was extremely self punishing and punitive and did make rather disturbing reading. Neil also left me a letter at the end of the session informing me that after I had read this document, I would discover what a 'dreadful person' he was and 'would not want to see him again'.

Dilemma Number 4:

The 'self punishment' and Neil's tendency to encourage others to reject him, appeared to be extremely important issues to address in counselling, especially given their likely relevance to Neil's lack of 'appropriate' adult relationships. However, so far as I was aware, the Relapse Prevention model has very little guidance on how to deal with issues such as these. Thus, it appeared that exploration of these issues would necessitate a departure from the theoretical model. I discussed this dilemma in supervision and it was agreed that these issues were too important to ignore and that I should shift the focus of the sessions towards a more explorative, dynamic approach.

A change in treatment strategy was rather difficult at this point in the counselling. I was very conscious that Neil might be 'looking out' for some changes in my behaviour towards him at the next session given that I had now read his document. Consequently, I was very concerned that he would interpret any change as being related to my response to his writing. I felt that the best way to deal with this situation was to bring it into the open. I explained to Neil that I had been thinking about some of the issues he had raised over the past weeks and I suggested that as he had now completed a very full relapse prevention plan, perhaps we could move on to more general issues. I raised the issue of Neil writing to me and his prediction of my response and made a very tentative interpretation concerning Neil setting himself up to be rejected. He became very thoughtful over this issue and spontaneously connected it to feelings of inadequacy with women in general. This enabled me to ask him what it felt like seeing a woman therapist, given his experiences of women in the past. Gradually, we were able to begin exploring these issues and in order to do so we agreed to extend the counselling contract for another ten sessions.

Towards the end of these sessions a significant development occurred. During the week, Neil had found an old photograph of one of his victims. While looking at the photograph he became sexually aroused. Neil was extremely upset, disappointed and angry with himself over this incident. He felt it demonstrated that his self control was slipping and that he had therefore failed. This 'crisis' appeared to call for a shift back towards relapse prevention again. I reminded Neil of the distinction between lapses and relapses and stressed that this situation represented a lapse, that is, 'any occurrence of the wilful and elaborate fantasising about sexual offending or any

return to sources of stimulation associated with the sexual offence pattern, but short of performance of the offence behaviour' (George and Marlatt, 1989, pg 6). In Relapse Prevention, lapses are viewed as unavoidable learning experiences rather than disastrous events. What is crucial in terms of future risk, is how the individual construes the lapse. This concept was extremely important for Neil as we had already identified that feelings of failure and depression were important triggers for his offending. In keeping with the dynamics previously mentioned, Neil was very concerned that if he began believing that lapses were unavoidable he would stop berating himself for them and so might become blasé about them. We spent a long time discussing this issue and I found that I constantly needed to remind myself of the model and my formulation, in order to legitimise encouraging Neil to rethink the very tight rules that he had set for himself.

At the end of the twenty-five contracted sessions, Neil had a clear Relapse Prevention plan and we had begun to think about the dynamics underlying his offending. However, given that there were more long term issues involved, for example, his dearth of social contacts, his difficult family dynamics and his ongoing risk, as recommended by Eldridge (1998), I thought that it was important to schedule follow-up sessions. Initially these were monthly, but they have recently shifted to three monthly. Neil is clear that the frequently of sessions can be reviewed if either of us think this is advisable. In keeping with the guidelines of the clinicl for which I work, I foresee follow-up sessions continuing indefinitely.

B.9 DISCUSSION

The theoretical issues

As noted previously, this case study was presented as it demonstrates some of the theoretical and professional dilemmas encountered in working with sex offenders. Perhaps the most difficult issue was the shifting between theoretical models and I am conscious that I used a psychodynamic formulation, a relapse prevention model, and a dynamic explorative approach in working with this client. As discussed throughout the paper, all of these decisions were justifiable on clinical grounds.

My main concern was that these shifts could make me appear inconsistent, thus hindering the therapeutic alliance. However, on the contrary, they may well have encouraged the alliance in a number of ways. For example, they demonstrated to Neil that I was flexible and keen to respond to the issues he raised, as opposed to having my own fixed agenda. Secondly, in having open conversations about the dilemmas with Neil, I was able to encourage a more collaborative approach. Thirdly, given that Neil's relationship with women in the past often appeared to have hidden agendas, the open dialogue perhaps encouraged Neil to be more trusting of the therapeutic relationship. Perhaps the best 'test' of this relationship, is that Neil still voluntarily and regularly attends sessions, well over a year after the expiry of his parole licence. This is extremely important since there is some indication that length of engagement in therapy is positively correlated with decreased risk of reoffending (eg Thornton 1992).

Evaluation of client outcome

There were a number of clearly observable behavioural changes in Neil over the course of counselling. Firstly, he no longer imprisons himself; recently he began an adult education class, he has become an active member in his tenants association and he has social contact with two men in his block of flats. He was careful to inform me that these men do not have children. Secondly, when he does leave his building he no longer experiences feelings of panic. Thirdly, Neil has a thorough and clear relapse prevention plan and he regularly and spontaneously refers to this. This plan has allowed Neil to become his own monitor and therapist.

In terms of less behaviourally observable changes, Neil has gradually become more psychologically insightful; for example he is now well aware of his tendency to 'beat himself up', as he calls it, and he has made some links between his ambivalence regarding his own abuse and his offending. Furthermore, counselling, perhaps for the first time, has given Neil the opportunity to engage in a boundaried, non-abusive, non-rejecting relationship with a woman.

Clearly there are still concerns about Neil; he needs to continue to work on finding age appropriate sources of sexual stimulation, even if these remain exclusively in the realm of fantasy. Also, there are issues concerning his 'construction' of his own abuse and his masochistic tendencies. I envisage that these issues will be raised throughout the course of our follow-up sessions. Clearly however, the most important issue is whether Neil will re-offend and, as he often gloomily reminds me, a definitive answer to this question may only be possible when he is dead.

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SECTION C

ATTACHMENT THEORY:

ITS APPLICATION TO SEXUAL OFFENDERS

AND IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING PRACTICE.

C.1 INTRODUCTION

Very recently, a handful of clinicians and researchers in the field of sexual offending began to examine the role of primary attachment relationships in the etiology of sexual offending. Although empirically this work is in its very early stages, it is both impressive and enlightening, in that it helps to account for certain well established clinical characteristics found in sexual offending populations.

Given this very recent focus on applying attachment theory to the understanding and assessment of sexual offenders, it is perhaps not surprising that as yet there has been no published work on the application of attachment theory to the treatment of sex offenders. In fact 'there has been little on the application of attachment theory to clinical practice with adults' in general (Sable 1997, pg 172). Clearly if faulty attachments are at the root of sexual offending, and if attachment theory, with its emphasis on interpersonal relationships, can offer any clues on how therapists can best engage clients with interpersonal difficulties, it is essential that this knowledge is applied to therapeutic work with sexual offenders. This is particularly important since it has been found that sexual offenders who begin treatment, but do not engage and subsequently drop out, are actually at higher risk of re-offending than those who do not begin treatment (Hanson and Bussiere, 1998).

This paper aims to outline the basic concepts behind attachment theory and to examine the application of attachment theory to the assessment and understanding of the sexual

offender. Finally, it aims to explore how attachment theory can be applied in attempting to engage therapeutically with individuals who have experienced early difficulties in attachment relationships, particularly sexual offenders.

C.2 INTRODUCTION TO ATTACHMENT THEORY

Attachment theory is based on the work of the British psychoanalyst, John Bowlby. In brief, Bowlby's theory is an integration of ethnology, object relations theory, and concepts from systems theory, cognitive psychology, and information processing to explain defences (Sable 1997). At the root of attachment theory is the child's innate tendency to seek closeness and affection from its mother. Through these encounters children learn about themselves, their capabilities, and what they can expect from others.

When parents are responsive the child learns that others are reliable and that they are worthy of care and comfort. This equips the child with a secure base from which to explore, in the knowledge that he can return to the accessible and responsive attachment figure if he needs to (see Bowlby 1988 and Holmes 1994). Over the years there has been much research that has provided support for Bowlby's theory (see Brazelton 1973, 1982). For example, it has been shown that children who have strong attachment bonds with their parents have few, if any, emotional problems, are warm towards others, rarely engage in antisocial behaviours (Grossman and Grossman 1990), and are resistant to stress (Egeland and Sroufe 1981). Also, it has been found that these features endure into adolescence and adulthood (Feeney and Noller 1990 and Jacobson and Wille 1986).

Initially, because it was possible to study systematically, Bowlby focused on actual separation from the primary carer (Bowlby 1969a); the early infant observation studies, for example Robertson and Bowlby (1952), found that children had a sequence of responses to separation; first they would protest, then they would become despairing, then depressed, and lastly, if separation was extended over a long period, the child would become emotionally detached. This detachment, or 'defensive numbing' (Bowlby 1979, pg 11), could persist after the parent returned, thus inhibiting bonding.

Later, Bowlby began to consider a wide range of parenting behaviours, and it has been found that disruptive or poor quality attachments can also result from death of a parent (Bowlby 1980), adoption or multiple fostering (Marshall et al 1997), physical or sexual abuse (Lamb et al 1985), emotional rejection (Bell and Ainsworth 1972), and threats to abandon or withhold love (Bowlby 1980).

Bowlby (1969) stated that since the child has many of its first experiences of intense emotion within its early attachment relationships, the quality of these relationships determines the child's ability to regulate his emotions, arousal and behaviour at times of high stress. Indeed there is neurobiological evidence to support this, that is, it has been found that between 10-18 months is a crucial stage in the maturation of a system in the prefrontal cortex of the brain that regulates affect over the remainder of life (Schore 1994). If the child's expression of anger and frustration is met with sensitivity and without retaliation, the child's distress is reduced, consequently the secure child learns to identify, express and control his emotions. If however the parent responds with retaliation, or

responds inconsistently, the result can be deficits in affect regulation such as the inability to control anger and the inability to feel empathy for others (see Allen 1995 and Holmes 1996). Adding further support for Bowlby's original proposition, it has been found that insecurely attached children are less likely to have elaborate models for regulating emotional experiences (see Ainsworth et al 1978), and are more likely to experience fluctuating and unpredictable affective states, for example, extreme anger (Cassidy 1993).

While securely attached children learn to expect responsiveness from others, insecurely attached children have insecure expectations from relationships. That is, they are less likely to trust others and they tend to construe themselves as unworthy and undeserving of love and affection (see Main et al 1985). Ainsworth et al (1978) proposed that there were two types of parenting, specifically mothering, that led to insecure attachment. Using direct observation studies of young children and their mothers, they demonstrated that if the mother is insensitive and shows little emotion or physical contact with the child, the child will become avoidant in relating to others. If the mother is very inconsistent in her responses to the child, or reverses the parent/child roles, the child will respond to others in an ambivalent manner (Ainsworth et al 1978, and Bell and Ainsworth 1972). Avoidant children tend to display hostile/antisocial behaviour and a lack of empathy for others, while ambivalent children display impulsivity, attention seeking behaviour and neediness, alternating with a great reluctance and fear of engaging (Sroufe 1988).

According to attachment theory, the patterns of relating formed in childhood continue into adulthood. In brief, the avoidant person decides that relationships are not worth the risk.

The anxious/ambivalent person however longs for relationships but is unable to fully engage in them for fear of rejection. Whilst the avoidant person appears quite obviously distanced from others, the anxious/ambivalent person superficially appears to have good relationships, however at times of stress, they are likely to withdraw and to sabotage the relationship (see Ainsworth et al 1978). In general however, it has been consistently found that children with insecure attachments have difficulties in interpersonal relationships, not only in childhood (Erickson et al 1985), but also in adolescence (Main et al 1985), and in adult life (Feeney and Noller 1990).

Bartholomew (1990), and Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) extended the attachment model. They proposed that securely attached individuals have a positive view of themselves and a positive view of others. Ambivalently attached individuals have a negative view of themselves, but a positive view of others. Avoidantly attached individuals see themselves and others negatively. Finally, they proposed that there was a fourth style of relating; these individuals have no single strategy to deal with separation, and they display an array of contradictory behaviours (see Main and Solomon 1990). They have a positive view of themselves but a negative view of others. Consequently, they were termed 'dismissive'.

Bowlby (1969a, 1980) and Ainsworth et al (1978) with direct observation studies of young children and adults, and the object relation theorists eg Winnicott (1965), Kohut (1977) and Kernberg (1967), all hold the view that psychopathology and very serious offending has at its root, disruptions or adverse experiences with attachment figures,

leading to unmet attachment needs (see Muir 1995). The greater the difficulties in the early attachment relationship, the more severe the psychological difficulties for the individual (Sable 1997). Thus, serious offenders are more likely to have experienced severe and/or prolonged mistreatment, or discontinuations in care, than those suffering from depression or anxiety (Sable 1997). Again there is some research evidence that supports this hypothesis (see McClurg et al in press), and this will be considered in more detail later in this paper.

There are of course mediating factors for early attachment relationships. For example, it has been found that positive relationships with people other than parents can offset the difficulties of insecure attachments (eg Herman et al 1989 and Rutter 1988), and children can change from insecure to secure attachment if their family circumstances change (see Holmes 1997). Also Herman et al (1989) found that there were certain predisposing factors in children that made them more vulnerable to disruptive attachments. Babies clearly differ in temper, irritability, frustration and tolerance, and attachment is therefore influenced by the 'goodness of fit' between a mother, with her own attachment history, and the unique temperament of her child. It is also important to stress that traumas which set the foundation for dysfunction and difficulties in interpersonal relationships may not be limited to very early in life (see Westen et al 1990).

In summary therefore, whilst it is acknowledged that other factors play a significant and mediating role, clinically and empirically, there is much support for the idea that disruptions in early relationships lead to a variety of psychological and interpersonal

difficulties in later life. In general, the more severe these early disruptions, the more severe the later difficulties.

C.3 ATTACHMENT THEORY'S APPLICATION TO THE ASSESSMENT OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS

The current treatment approach of choice for sexual offenders is based on a cognitive behavioural model (see Barker and Beech 1993). Recently, however, some clinicians in the field, primarily Marshall et al (1993), proposed a model that emphasises the role of early attachments in the etiology of sexual offending. The basic premise is that certain factors, for example, socio-cultural influences (Marshall 1984b), exposure to antisocial sexual beliefs (Marshall 1989b), and certain kinds of conditioning experiences (Laws and Marshall 1990), produce a vulnerability that increases the chances that an individual will offend sexually. Marshall et al (1993) suggest that a key vulnerability factor is poor early attachments that then lead to loneliness and extreme alienation. 'This alienation, in conjunction with the various other influences, may produce such a degree of vulnerability that an opportunity to offend is all but irresistible' (Marshall 1993, pg 111).

Childhood Attachments in Sexual Offenders

There is a large and consistent body of research evidence which demonstrates that many sex offenders experience severe disruption in their primary attachments. For example, Tingle et al (1986) found that child abusers subjectively reported having a very distant relationship with their father. They were also frequently abandoned by parents, and those not actually abandoned, reported few, if any, displays of physical affection from their

parents (see Tingle et al 1986). Craissati and McClurg (1996) found that in a sample of child sexual abusers, as children, 63% experienced emotional neglect/abuse within the home, and 40% had been physically abused, usually by their father. 51.5% of the sample had been sexually abused, often by their parents. These incidences of neglect and abuse from the primary attachment figures are strikingly consistent throughout the literature, and across very diverse populations of sex offenders (eg Tingle et al 1986, Wolf 1984, Quinsey 1986 and Finkelhor 1984).

As yet there has only been one published study that has directly examined the primary attachment relationships of sex offenders. This study found that child sexual abusers obtained much less 'healthy' scores on a standardised test of parental bonding than an obsessive compulsive sample, and a depressed sample (McClurg et al in press). Also, child abusers were significantly more likely to rate both parents as less caring and more overprotective, more intrusive and more infantalising, than a comparison group (see McClurg et al in press). It has been found that low care and high overprotection (affectionless control category), is the most pathogenic of four possible styles of parenting (see Parker 1983). It is therefore of note that 50% of the child abusers placed at least one of their parents in the affectionless control attachment category (McClurg et al in press).

It can be concluded that, in general, many sex offenders experience poor quality attachment relationships with their parents, and that these relationships make the child more vulnerable to, or are at least highly correlated with, various abusive experiences in childhood.

Adolescent Attachments in Sex Offenders

Early attachment difficulties result in three interrelated factors that can leave an adolescent more vulnerable to sexual offending. These are as follows:

1. Marshall (1993) states that if an adolescent boy has had disruptive early attachment relationships he will reach adolescence poorly equipped to develop relationships with peers. Again there is much research evidence to support this theory. For example Seidman et al (1992) and Fagan and Wexler (1988) found that, as juveniles, sex offenders tended to be socially isolated. Also, Tingle et al (1986) found that 86% of adult rapists and 74% of child molesters had few, or no friends, when they were young. Craissati and McClurg (1996) found that 45% of child abusers reported being bullied by peers during adolescence.

2. Adolescence is the time when young boys go through radical changes in terms of hormonal influences on behaviour, particularly of aggressive and sexual needs and their expressions (Sizonenko 1978). Marshall (1993) states that difficulties in peer relationships coupled with these developing sexual and aggressive drives, cause frustration and anger.

3. Alongside this, developmental research has shown that child abuse, neglect and lengthy separation or losses, can interfere with a child's cognitive functions, specifically the capacity to consider another's perspective (Fonagy et al 1996). Fonagy et al (1996) states that this inability to empathise began in childhood as a way to avoid awareness that a care giver wanted to harm, rather than to protect.

Given these factors, it is not surprising that a disproportionate number of first-time sexual offences occur in adolescence (Abel and Rouleau 1990). The majority of these predisposing factors can be seen in the following case study:

Shaun was fourteen years old when he was sentenced to a secure training order for the sexual abuse of his younger sister. Shaun's mother (Mrs R) reported that Shaun's father had been physically abusive towards her throughout her pregnancy with Shaun. She stated that Shaun witnessed violence within the home from when he was around one week old. Shaun's father had also physically abused Shaun since he was a baby. Mr and Mrs R separated when Shaun was around four years old. His father had further sporadic contact with Shaun over the years, however the pattern was that he would appear and make numerous promises to Shaun that he failed to keep. He would then disappear again for months on end.

Following the divorce, Mrs R formed a relationship with John who had a history of sexual offences against children. Social services became involved with the family at this time as it became known that Mrs R regularly left John to care for Shaun. John was eventually arrested for further sexual offences that occurred outside of the family. And although Shaun never made allegations of sexual abuse against John, social services suspected that abuse had occurred.

Mrs R reported that she had 'never felt very close' to Shaun, and she stated that since he was a baby, Shaun had been 'withdrawn and bad tempered'. Mrs R volunteered

however that she had always felt very close to Shaun's younger sister, Kate, and, according to the family social worker, the difference in Mrs R's treatment of the children was very obvious and blatant.

Shaun began displaying various behavioural problems, like fighting, bullying other children and non attendance at school, when he was around eight years old. Mrs R felt unable to cope with Shaun and he was placed in a children's home when he was nine years old. Despite being in the home for five years, staff reported that they 'hardly knew' Shaun. He refused to talk to them, expect when absolutely necessary. It was noted that Shaun did not appear to have close relationships with any of the other children either.

When Shaun was 14 he locked his younger sister in her bedroom and indecently assaulted her. His sister was also severely physically hurt during the attack. Perhaps not coincidentally, it was this sister who did have a close relationship with their mother. It was noted in previous reports that Shaun did not appear to have any empathy towards his sister following the offence. Because of his age, Shaun was sentenced to a secure training order.

Staff at the unit were very concerned by Shaun's behaviour. He did not interact verbally with staff or with the other trainees. It was also reported that Shaun tended to push boundaries with members of staff who attempted to engage him, for example he would pretend to slap them. Because of their concern, Shaun was referred for psychological assessment.

Initially Shaun refused to see me, but then after some encouragement from staff on the unit, he agreed. He was reluctant to see me on his own, and he indicated that he would like one of the unit staff to remain with us. Shaun was withdrawn and extremely uncommunicative throughout the session. If it was possible to answer a question with one or two words, he did so. He did not respond at all to questions that required more than a few word answers.

In summary, from his very first weeks, Shaun experienced, at best, ambivalent parenting, and at worst, extremely abusive and non-protective relationships with his primary attachment objects. Because of these early relationships, it is likely that Shaun grew up with the expectation that he would be rejected and/or abused by anyone he allowed to get close to him. Over the years he built up very rigid defense mechanisms to help him cope with these past experiences, and to protect him from forming further attachments. In Shaun's case the most apparent of these defense mechanisms was extreme avoidance. His offence was carried out within the context of a severe lack of peer relationships and possibly a great deal of resentment and anger towards a 'favoured child' within the family. Following the offence there was a noticeable lack of empathy towards the victim.

Adult Attachments in Sex Offenders

It has been found that if parental attachments are poor, then the self esteem of the child will suffer, and low self esteem will continue into adulthood. Indeed it has consistently

been found that child sexual abusers have very low self esteem (eg Marshall et al 1995, and Hall 1989). Clearly it could be argued that this is a consequence of their offending and not an antecedent to it. It is of note however that it has been found that the variable that significantly predicted sex offenders' self esteem on a multiple regression analysis, was the maternal rejection score (Marshall and Mazzucco 1995). That is, those with a high maternal rejection score had lower self esteem.

Although the preferred level may differ across individuals, intimacy is regarded as a basic human need (Dahms 1972). Marshall et al (1993) proposed that in adulthood, as in adolescence, the insecurely attached individual will be unable to form effective, intimate relationships. Indeed Craissati and McClurg (1996) found that 65% of adult child sexual abusers reported that they had had social contact with a friend less than once per year. Garlick (1991) with an incarcerated British sample, found that child molesters had lower scores on the UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russell et al 1980), and poorer levels of intimacy on Tesch's (1985) Intimacy Questionnaire, than a matched group of non-sexual offenders. Seidman et al (1994) replicated these results for a New Zealand population, and Bumby and Marshall (1994) had similar findings for a Canadian population. Howells (1981), using a repertory grid technique, found that child sexual abusers construed children as attractive, because they were more subsmissive and less threatening than adults.

It is of note that a consistently found consequence of prolonged emotional loneliness in adults is increased anger and aggression (see Diamant and Windholz 1981). Check et al (1985) found that in a laboratory study, men rated as lonely were more aggressive towards

females and were more accepting of violence towards women. Clearly this research has important implications for men who offend sexually against adult women.

Hudson and Ward (l997) expanded on Marshall's original hypothesis. They suggest that with sex offenders, attachment styles not only have important implications for interpersonal relationships in general, they also have implications for the nature of the offence, particularly the degree of violence used, and for the manner in which the victim is construed by the offender. The following case studies help demonstrate the various patterns.

1. The securely attached individual has high self esteem. He construes himself and others as warm and trustworthy and therefore he has little difficulty in achieving high degrees of intimacy in relationships.

Out of 200 sex offenders referred to a community sex offender program over the past five years, not surprisingly, none appear to fit this typology (see Craissati and McClurg 1996).

2. The ambivalently attached individual construes himself in a negative light and others in a positive light. Consequently he has a great need to seek the approval and affection of others. Especially if the individual has had a traumatic early sexual experience, this need for intimacy can become sexualised and can lead to sexual preoccupation, or a 'desperate or manic love style' (Alexander 1992, pg 189).

Because of their positive view of others it is unlikely that these individuals will offend in an overtly violent way.

George was referred to the Challenge Project, a community based assessment and treatment project for sexual offenders (see Craissati and McClurg 1996) for indecent assault against his 13 year old niece. He was 24 at the time of the referral.

George was the third child in a family of four. He was taken into care when he was three, but moved back home a year later. His childhood was characterised by extremely erratic and inconsistent mothering. At times George was completely ignored and was locked in his bedroom for hours while his brother and sisters played around the house. He talked about how his mother would play 'mind games' with him. On one occasion she gave him an enormous bowl of Corn Flakes, as he had been refused food the night before. When George began to eat, he discovered that his mother had covered them with salt. When he complained, his mother told him he was ungrateful and forced him to finish everything in the bowl. On other occasions his mother was over-intrusive. For example she frequently talked to George, even when he was a young child, about her sexual relationship with his father. She told him of how his father wanted to sexually assault George's sisters. George's father was emotionally very distant from the children and George clearly felt that his father had no time for him. His father was also very physically abusive towards George.

George had an uncle who was a regular visitor to the home. This man had sexually abused George's mother when she was a child. During his visits to the home his uncle would go into George's room and physically and sexually abuse him. Apparently George 's parents were well aware of the abuse but they did nothing to stop it. When George was eleven he was taken back into care. Indeed he stated that he deliberately misbehaved in the hope that he would be taken away from his parents and given to someone who would care for him. .

Whilst in care George became involved in sex play with other boys. He stated that through this, for the first time in his life, he felt close to someone. In adolescence and early adulthood George had numerous very short term sexual relationships with both males and females. He described himself as 'incredibly promiscuous'.

In the years leading up to the sexual abuse, George had a very warm and loving relationship with his niece, Elaine, and he would make great efforts to ensure that she liked him. Indeed this was confirmed by the legal statements. His childhood however left him ill-equipped to deal with feelings of love and closeness, and these feelings became sexualised when Elaine turned twelve. George stated that he battled with these feelings for a number of months, but they became overwhelming and he began inappropriately touching Elaine. George was never physically violent. He talked about being 'obsessed with Elaine' and of how he romantically fantasised about their future together when Elaine reached sixteen. As the abuse escalated, George found himself fantasising about penetrating Elaine. He stated that this scared him so much that it 'brought him to his

senses', and he told Elaine's mother, and the police, about the abuse. George's version of the abuse and its disclosure was verified in the victim statements.

George was extremely concerned about his offending. He became very emotional when he talked about how he had 'ruined Elaine's life'. He frequently berated himself and referred to himself as 'a pervert'.

George was given a probation order with a condition to attend the Challenge Project, a group treatment project for sex offenders. Throughout the eighteen months of therapy, George was motivated and completely co-operative. He demonstrated a very clear need to be liked, both by the group leaders and by the other men on the group. He regularly needed reassurance that he was doing well. When his condition of treatment expired, George carried on with the project on a voluntary basis.

3. The avoidantly attached individual has a negative view of himself and a negative view of others. He is extremely socially isolated and is unempathic as a result of his negative view of others. He tends to express aggression indirectly.

Brian was referred to the Challenge Project following an offence of indecent assault on a nine year old girl. At the time of the referral he was fifty-two years old.

Brian was the eldest child in a family of four siblings. He stated that his mother's life revolved around cigarettes, and that cigarettes were more important to her than he was.

His mother was extremely cold towards him and he felt that he was largely ignored by her. Brian stated that his father was 'hardly there'. Apparently he was a long distance lorry driver, and even when he was at home, he was too tired or too preoccupied to spend time with Brian.

While walking home from school one day at the age of eleven, Brian was approached by a man who began talking to him. This man befriended Brian over a number of meetings and Brian said that he looked forward to their meetings; 'he gave me the attention I did not get at home'. The man went on to sexually assault Brian on three separate occasions. Brian felt unable to tell his parents as he thought that they would not believe him, and he would get into trouble.

When Brian was around 19, his mother died of cancer. One year later his brother also died. This clearly had a very profound effect on Brian and within a few months he was convicted of an indecent assault on a young girl and was sent to a psychiatric hospital. On leaving hospital he went to live with his father and his father's new wife.

Brian eventually left the family home when he was around 38. This was triggered by his father and stepmother moving to Norfolk, and Brian feeling unable to settle there. He returned to London, but did not make contact with his father for some time. Eventually when Brian did telephone, his father and step-mother claimed not to remember him! Brian reported feeling 'absolutely gutted' by their rejection of him, and was so hurt that he never made contact with them again. Brian also lost contact with his two sisters.

Brian very clearly described himself as a loner. He said that he had never had a 'real friend', but claimed that this did not really bother him. He informed me that he had had a girlfriend, on further questioning however it transpired that he only saw this woman once every year, and their relationship had never been sexual. Indeed Brian reported that he had never had a consenting sexual encounter.

Brian met the victim of the offence, Amy, when he moved to a new neighbourhood. He reported that she befriended him and began visiting him in his flat. Brian stated that Amy would come to his flat and refuse to leave until he had given her money; 'she was a very determined girl, and I was held over a barrel by her'. Brian did admit to sexually abusing Amy, but he felt that she was at least partly responsible. Consequently he blamed her for his predicament. Occasionally Brian would admit that he was also 'disgusted' with himself for the abuse.

Brian was given a probation order with a condition to attend the Challenge Project. Throughout his time on the group he remained unspontaneous and would only engage when asked a direct question. He often failed to complete homework tasks. The more insightful members of the group frequently challenged Brian on his lack of motivation and empathy for Amy, but this appeared to make him more resistant. Brian clearly struggled to control his temper, and he frequently 'ranted' to his probation officer about how angry he was with the group.

As an exercise to promote victim empathy, all men on the group were required to write an 'apology letter' to their victim. It should be stressed that these letters are never actually sent. The following extract from Brian's victim apology clearly shows his anger towards Amy and his complete lack of empathy.

"Amy,

I do not wish to see you ever again or for us to get together for I hate you and I hate your family. If we ever did come face to face I won't be responsible for my actions, so it's best if you and your family keep well away from me and not look for trouble, or it will come looking for you. O:K,

Brian".

4. The dismissing individual has a positive view of himself and a negative view of others. He places a lot of value on independence as a means of remaining invulnerable. He tends to blame the other person for difficulties in relationships and is therefore angry and potentially very violent towards others.

Steve was referred to the Challenge Project (see Craissati and McClurg 1996) following an extremely violent rape of an adult woman.

Steve was the youngest child in a family of four. His father left the family home just before Steve was born, and Steve reported that he had never asked about the reason for his departure, as he was never interested. He stated that his father appeared

unexpectedly at the home when he was around twelve, but Steve told him to go away, ' I told him I didn't need him'.

Steve's mother was the sole provider for the family, and as a consequence, was extremely busy and preoccupied. Steve reported that as a child he felt that his mother did not have any time for him. When he was ten, his mother remarried. Steve acknowledged that he resented his step-father's presence, and he clearly felt that the limited amount of time and attention that his mother did have, was now devoted to his stepfather.

When Steve was ten, he and a school friend were taken by someone Steve described as 'a well known local tough man' to a flat. The man attempted to indecently assault both boys, but Steve got away and ran and hid in the kitchen. Steve talked about how he saw and heard his friend being anally raped by this man, and about how helpless and terrified he felt throughout the ordeal. Neither boy felt able to disclose the abuse as they had been told they would be killed if they did.

Steve became verbally and physically threatening towards his mother and step-father when he was around eleven, and as a result was sent to a boarding school. He stated that he did well at school, and was top of the class. He admitted to bullying other children however, as 'they were pathetic' (his words), and at the age of 15 he was expelled for hitting a teacher with a chair. He maintained that the teacher deserved this as he had been picking on Steve.

Steve stated that as an adolescent he had had a few casual sexual relationships. Although he wanted to have sex with these woman he felt that he did not want to lose his independence by beginning a relationship with them. At the age of seventeen he had his first long term sexual relationship. He informed me that 'if someone got too close, I'd push them away, and Diane realised this and used it to keep me with her'. Since Diane refused to be 'pushed away', Steve reported that he behaved more and more physically and emotionally abusive towards her to ensure that she would leave him. After one year, Steve had sex with Diane's 'worst enemy', knowing that Diane would discover this. When she did, she told Steve that she had had enough, and ended the relationship.

Despite his engineering of the break-up, Steve felt extremely angry with Diane for leaving him. He began drinking heavily and was using a variety of drugs. Following a 12 hour binge on alcohol and ecstasy, Steve decided to rob a shop that belonged to a man against whom he had a grudge. When he got to the shop the man's niece was also there. The woman was Asian and Steve reported that he 'hated Asians' and that he did not think of her 'as a real person'. During the course of the robbery, Steve found himself becoming sexually aroused. He stated that he 'was feeling extremely angry, and someone had to pay'. The woman was raped while her uncle was forced to watch, and Steve, aged 18, was sentenced to eight years in custody. Pre-sentence reports note that Steve had 'absolutely no understanding of the impact of the offence on the victim'.

In summary, as a child Steve was completely abandoned by his father. His mother was preoccupied in providing for the family and consequently unable to meet Steve's

emotional needs. His claim to his mother's affection was further displaced by the arrival of his step-father, and he was subsequently banished to boarding school. These early experiences of rejection led to an intense need to protect himself from subsequent intimate relationships. Alongside this, as a child Steve had been subjected to a terrifying sexual assault that made him feel completely powerless and unprotected. The offence can be formulated as an extreme attempt to redress the balance of power. Fueled by overwhelming anger at Diane and at his primary attachment objects for rejecting him, and disinhibited by alcohol, drugs and the dehumanisation of the victim, Steve re-enacted his own abuse, but this time with himself in the position of power (see Porter 1986).

Steve had already completed a sex offender treatment program while in the prison system. However he was rather scathing of this, and claimed that 'I had to find my own answers'. He was also rather reluctant to engage in further counselling, as he felt that he would gain little from this. Steve did however participate in a relapse prevention group, but he was scathing of the content of the program and of the other group member's insight into their offending.

Alongside the clinical evidence, there is also some research evidence to support the above sex offender attachment typologies. For example, avoidant and dismissive sex offenders have been found to score higher than secure and ambivalent sex offenders on the Fear of Intimacy Scale (Descutner and Thelen 1991). Also secure and ambivalent sex offenders, who would be predicted to have a more positive working model of others, have been

found to have lower anger expression scores on the State Trait Anger Expression Inventory (Spielberger 1988) than the avoidant and dismissive sex offenders (Hudson and Ward 1997). Finally, dismissive sex offenders were found to be most accepting of rape myths. They had a generally negative view of victims of sexual assault (see Hudson and Ward 1997).

It must be stressed however, that as with all models and theories, there will be many exceptions and it is vital that clinicians do not attempt to force every client into the Attachment Model. There are clearly limitations of Attachment theory in its contribution to our understanding of child sexual offenders; that is, Attachment Theory has little to say on the role of thought processes in the dynamics underlying a sexual offence, for example, it does not explain why some sex offenders believe that children seek out sexual contact with adults. Nor does it help in understanding the offender's victim preference, for example, why do some men only offend against female victims.

Summary

Bearing the above limitiations in mind, it can be concluded that there is both clinical and empirical evidence to support the view that many sex offenders have had extremely disruptive childhood relationships, and these have led to the formation of unhelpful styles of attachment, that in turn have led to loneliness and isolation in later life. The patterns of attachment can also be observed in the nature of the sexual offence and in how the offender construes his victim. Attachment theory therefore offers a clear and valid

theoretical framework that can aid therapists in the assessment and understanding of sexual offenders.

C.4 ATTACHMENT THEORY'S APPLICATION TO COUNSELLING PRACTICE

The aim of this section is to discuss the potential contribution of attachment theory to counselling practice, specifically to counselling sexual offenders. This will be considered under three subheadings:

The general clinical applicability of Attachment Theory

Attachment Theory's application to the counselling of insecurely attached sex offenders

Attachment Theory's application to existing sex offender treatment programs

The general clinical applicability of Attachment Theory

As discussed previously, it has consistently been found that many sex offenders have extremely troubled histories with much abuse and trauma. Clearly the counsellor cannot expect to change the client's past; they cannot take away the abuse or the neglect. Eagle (1997) states that a positive therapeutic outcome with insecurely attached clients is that the client 'remains insecurely attached (although perhaps less so), but is better able to understand its origins, the defences he or she has erected, the impact of his or her attachment style on feelings of well-being and on the nature of his or her relationships, and is generally more capable of reflecting upon his or her mental states.....and is capable of more adaptive and appropriate actions' (Eagle 1997, pg 225).

Although there is a huge body of research literature on attachment, it is important to note that the clinical applicability and usefulness of therapeutic interventions influenced by Attachment Theory have yet to be demonstrated. In general, there are five important factors in what will be described as 'attachment influenced counselling'. These are as follows:

1. The therapeutic relationship

It follows that if adult intimate relationships are based on patterns of attachment, then the same will be true of the counsellor - client relationship. Hence the therapeutic relationship is of vital importance in attachment influenced counselling. Indeed Bowlby (1988) stated that unless the client is able to perceive the therapist as a trustworthy figure, 'therapy cannot even begin' (Bowlby 1988, pg 140). In support of this assumption, it has been found that, regardless of treatment model, the quality of the counsellor - client relationship is the most important factor in 'successful therapy' (see Grencavage and Norcross 1990 and Sloane et al 1975). It is also of note that Grotstein (1990) and Guidano and Liotti (1983) found that clinicians with knowledge of Attachment Theory were rated as being more able to facilitate the therapeutic relationship.

In attachment influenced counselling, the main role of the counselling relationship is to provide the client with a secure base, a positive attachment experience, from which he/she can begin to explore his inner and outer world. But unlike the psychoanalytic schools, attachment influenced counselling views the counsellor - client relationship as a 'real'

relationship. The counsellor is not a blank screen, and there is a great emphasis on congruence. This is particularly important for clients whose primary attachment figures have been incongruent (Biringen 1994). Again, at odds with analytic theory, Bowlby (1977b) believed that the therapist should be active in providing the client with information, but not advice. Bowlby (1977b) however did believe that transference was extremely important as it could be used to demonstrate to the client how a current relationship, that is, his relationship with the therapist, is influenced by early attachment relationships.

2. Focus on past and present relationships

Although Attachment Theory is extremely concerned with the individual's relationship with his parents, attachment influenced counselling places equal emphasises on the client's current relationships. As with the therapeutic relationship, current relationships can be used to demonstrate to the client how he/she interacts with others and how these patterns may have been formed in earlier relationships (Birtchnell 1997). Also, current relationships offer a concrete and ongoing opportunity to alter expectations about relationships and about the self (see Alexander 1992).

3. Concentration on real life experiences

Unlike the psychoanalytic schools that tend to focus on primitive fantasy and/or the client's inner world, attachment influenced counselling places its emphasis on real life experiences. As such, there is a focus on encouraging actual change in the environment in which the client lives (Birtchnell 1997). This is based on the belief that even if the client's

inner-world is changed, but they are still lonely and isolated in their outer-world, they are likely to relapse.

4. Separations and breaks in counselling

As it is hypothesised that separations activate the client's attachment response system, breaks in the counselling process are given much focus in attachment influenced counselling. These breaks are seen as a useful means of helping the client gain insight into how he/she deals with separations from attachment figures. Clearly this will be particularly important with clients who are insecurely attached.

5. Endings in counselling

The termination of counselling is crucial in attachment influenced counselling, and endings need to be managed very sensitively and carefully in order to avoid feelings from old attachment relationships, like loss or abandonment. The ending in attachment influenced counselling is not so final as in other Psychodynamic therapies. Indeed Pedder (1988) compares the ending of therapy to an adolescent leaving home; they might need to come and go on a number of occasions, and the therapist should be accepting of this. However, as noted later in this paper, comings and goings from counselling need to be managed particularly carefully when working with ambivalently attached clients. In attachment influenced counselling it is acknowledged that the attachment relationship between the counsellor and client continues long after formal therapy has ended, and the client takes with him a representation of the therapeutic relationship that can be used as a model for forming future relationships and solving subsequent difficulties (Sable 1997, pg 177).

Attachment Theory's application to counselling insecurely attached sex offenders.

It is of note that currently, the literature contains virtually nothing on the application of Attachment Theory to working with sexual offenders specifically. More generally, Holmes (1997) states that the nature of the attachment between the counsellor and the client, and the therapeutic strategies required, differ according to the client's presumed attachment style. Clearly however, the counsellor will also have an attachment style that may fit, or may be at odds, with that of the client. The client studies, continued from the previous section, demonstrate the very different ways insecurely attached sex offending clients engage in counselling. Recommendations for engaging insecurely attached individuals in counselling are noted.

The ambivalently attached client (George)

When his condition of treatment expired, George carried on with the group on a voluntary basis. Throughout the counselling, George demonstrated a very clear need to be liked and to be reassured. It was noted that George became extremely emotional, and other group members often appeared distressed when he talked about his overwhelming feelings towards his mother, whom he continued to see regularly. Breaks in the group were difficult for George and he frequently returned from them in some sort of crisis. The last session on the group was also extremely difficult as George introduced a new and rather worrying piece of information. It was subsequently decided to offer him further individual sessions to address this issue.

In general there are five main clinical issues in working with ambivalently attached individuals. These are as follows:

1. As demonstrated by George, Holmes (1997) states that the main dynamic in counselling ambivalently attached individuals, is dependency. The ambivalent individual is generally preoccupied with attachment concerns and so is likely to suffer from intense real and/or anticipated separation anxiety (Eagle 1997). Indeed because of the need for attachment, combined with the tremendous fear of separation, it has been stated that ambivalent attachment makes the therapeutic relationship akin to 'walking a tightrope' Summers (1988, pg 348). These issues must be sensitively raised and explored. Sable (1997) states that the ambivalent client can make appeals for extra contact through coercive behaviours, and the counsellor should gently use these episodes to point out how the client can alienate those with whom they are trying to seek contact.

2. As noted previously, the ambivalently attached child does not feel able to express anger directly to its primary attachment object for fear of losing the object completely. With this in mind, Holmes (1997) recommends that in working with an ambivalently attached individual a key issue should be around the expression of appropriate anger. The message that the client needs to take away from counselling is that he or she can get angry and can protest, and the counsellor will survive (Holmes 1997).

3. Related to this issue, it is of note that many group members, and indeed the group therapist, felt overwhelmed and powerless when George talked about his intense feelings

towards his parents. Indeed Holmes (1997) states that the counsellor can often feel stifled and rendered helpless by the distress of an ambivalently attached client. However, in order to help the client work through these issues, the counsellor needs to be willing and able to tolerate extremely strong emotions (Farber et al 1995).

4. West and Keller (1994) state that a major difficulty for ambivalently attached individuals is that they cannot break free from a lost attachment relationship; 'the inability to break free from an enmeshed dependency on an ambivalently regarded parent, necessarily compromises the individual's ability to form authentic ties to new attachment figures' (West and Keller 1994, pg 321). Again George demonstrated this dynamic in his need to constantly, both physically and metaphorically, revisit, his relationship with his mother. West and Keller (1994) suggest that a central therapeutic task should be to encourage the client to relinquish the fantasy of recovering the lost relationship; a lost relationship that was in itself a fantasy.

5. As noted, there were some important issues raised by George at the very end of his contact with the group. In retrospect, this could be viewed as a successful attempt to ensure that counselling continued. Given the forensic issues involved, there is no doubt that further counselling was the 'safest' course of action. Holmes (1997) however states that, in general, in ending a counselling relationship with an ambivalent client, because of the likely dependency, the counsellor needs to be sensitive, yet extremely consistent and definite. Endings will clearly be an ongoing and sensitive issue in George's individual sessions.

The avoidantly attached client (Brian)

Brian had a great deal of difficulty in engaging with the group. He was rarely spontaneous and he missed a number of the sessions, narrowly escaping being breached because of his extremely sympathetic probation officer. Over the course of the year, Brian rarely displayed any emotion other than indirect anger. Also he appeared to be disinterested in any of the other group members. Consequently, he was very unpopular and was regularly attacked and scapegoated by the other men. Brian used his last session in the group to say how glad he was to be leaving, and other groups members shared the sense of relief at his departure.

There are a number of important clinical issues to note when working with an avoidant client. These are as follows:

1. It has been found that avoidant individuals are more likely to reject offers of counselling, self disclose less and make less use of counselling, than do secure and ambivalent clients (Dozier 1990). Brian clearly demonstrated these tendencies.

2. Because the avoidant client's primary need is to avoid intimacy, the sessions may feel very empty and perhaps difficult for the counsellor to recall (Holmes 1997).

Consequently Holmes (1997) states that the first stage in working with an avoidant

individual must be to establish emotional contact. As such, any evidence of real intimacy should be reinforced.

3. Holmes (1997) states that empathy is the key ingredient in counselling avoidant individuals. Unfortunately it is extremely unlikely that Brian found the group an empathic experience.

4. As avoidant individuals present in a manner that encourages others to reject them, the counsellor needs to be especially careful that the therapeutic experience is not also rejecting. Even if the counsellor is aware of the difficulties this type of client has with intimacy, group members are unlikely to have knowledge of these dynamics. As such, there is a risk that rather than demonstrate empathy, group members will reject the avoidant individual. Clearly this is what occurred with Brian. It is of note, that despite a remarkable lack of evidence to support its superiority with this client group, the current pervasive culture is that sex offenders are treated in groups (eg Beckett et al 1994). There could well be an argument however for working with extremely avoidant clients, like Brian, in the perhaps more sheltered environment of individual counselling. This could well be an important area for further research, linking sex offenders, attachment style and treatment outcome.

5. Finally, in contrast to working with an ambivalently attached individual, the ending of the therapeutic relationship with an avoidant individual requires an empathetic, 'following strategy', that allows for much leaving and re-entering therapy (Holmes 1997).

In summary therefore, Attachment Theory has a great deal to offer counsellors who are working therapeutically with insecurely attached sexual offenders. Clearly, in terms of engagement and treatment outcome, there is also much capacity for future research in this area.

Attachment Theory's application to existing sex offender treatment programs

Over the past ten years, there has developed a perhaps unusual global consensus on how sex offenders should be treated, and currently sex offender treatment programs throughout the world, in prisons and in the community, are remarkably similar in content. With very few exceptions, treatment is cognitive behavioural and is carried out within a group setting (Thornton 1992, Beckett et al 1994, Craissati and McClurg 1997). A typical treatment program would include a module on victim empathy, a module on cycles of offending and a module on relapse prevention (see Beckett et al 1994). And, regardless of any other variable, all subgroups of sex offenders, that is, men who sexually abuse boys, men who sexually abuse girls, and adult rapists, go through the same basic treatment program (see Thornton 1992 and Beckett et al 1994), although high risk offenders may have to complete additional modules.

This practice of putting all sex offenders through the same basic program is maintained, despite the findings that adult rapists and men who sexually abuse boys respond less well than men who abuse girls, both in terms of questionnaire measures, and in terms of reconviction data (see Barker and Beech 1994 and Craissati and McClurg 1997).

Furthermore, Beckett et al (1998), according to their scores on a number of standardised measures, divided all sex offenders into two groups: high or low sexual deviance. They found that only around 50% of the high deviance group showed a positive treatment effect. Therefore, around half of the most disturbed, and hence arguably the most insecurely attached group of sex offenders, are **not** responding to the current treatment offered. These pieces of research demonstrate that a different treatment approach, or at the very least revisions to the existing treatment approach, needs to be applied with certain groups of offenders. Although Hudson and Ward (1997) and Marshall et al (1997) suggest that applying Attachment Theory to the assessment and treatment of sex offenders will enhance existing treatment programs, in practice this suggestion has not as yet been taken any further.

There are a number of ways in which attachment theory could be applied to existing sex offender treatment programs. These are considered below:

1. To encourage engagement in therapy

It has been found that sex offenders who begin cognitive behavioural treatment but do not engage and subsequently drop out, are at higher risk of reoffending than matched sex offenders who do not enter treatment (Hanson and Bussiere 1998). It is therefore of utmost importance that therapists pay particular attention to engaging sex offenders in the therapeutic relationship. Clearly attachment theory, with its emphasis on interpersonal relationships, and the previously noted guidelines for therapists attempting to engage difficult individuals, could well have a lot to offer in this respect. Perhaps most poignant is

the finding the clinicians with knowledge of Attachment Theory are more able to facilitate the therapeutic relationship (Grotstein 1990).

2. Work around empathy

a. As noted earlier, a significant proportion of current treatment focuses on encouraging sex offenders to feel empathy for their victims. As discussed previously, attachment theory would predict that avoidant and dismissive men would find it more difficult to feel empathy in general. Clearly this could be an important area for future research, but it could also have clinical implications, in that arguably more focus should be placed on this issue when working with avoidant and dismissive individuals.

b. Attachment theory could also help explain why, despite very direct work on encouraging empathy, a substantial number of sex offenders do not appear to have increased levels of empathy post-treatment (see Beckett et al 1998). As noted earlier insecure attachment can interfere with an individual's cognitive functions, specifically the capacity to consider another's perspective (Fonagy et al 1996 and Schore 1994). Clearly therefore 'teaching' insecurely attached sex offenders victim empathy may not be a straightforward process. Arguably there may well be a group of sex offenders who need to have their own victimisation experiences worked through in an empathic, supportive relationship before they can begin to feel any real empathy for their victim. Most current programs do not offer sex offenders this opportunity (see Beckett et al 1994), and indeed this

practice may be actively discouraged as it could be thought to encourage rationalisations for offending.

c. Finally, because it is very simple to spot the socially desirable response on the questionnaires currently used to evaluate shifts in victim empathy in treated sex offenders (Beckett et al 1994), there is an argument for using more subtle techniques. Fonagy et al (1991) have devised a questionnaire based on Attachment Theory that assesses the individual's capacity to understand mental states and the feelings of themselves and others. Arguably this questionnaire may contribute to our understanding of sex offender treatment efficacy.

3. Relapse Prevention

As noted, there is much evidence to support the view that sex offending is at least partly related to loneliness and lack of intimacy (Marshall et al 1995). By applying the principals and insights of Attachment Theory in counselling, clinicians can help sex offenders become more aware of how they behave in relationships, thus empowering them to develop more healthy interpersonal relationships with peers, and thereby reducing the risk of reoffending. Again this is an important potential area of sex offender treatment that may benefit from further emphasis.

4. Treatment Modality

Finally, as stated, the vast majority of sex offenders are currently treated in groups. As discussed previously, Attachment Theory could help clinicians assess whether an

extremely insecurely attached individual, particularly one with a highly avoidant attachment style, would be better dealt with in the more sheltered and less rejecting environment of individual counselling. Again this is an area that could be extremely useful for future research.

In summary therefore, given that only around half of the most deviant sex offenders respond to the current accepted treatment approach, it is vital that treatment approaches are amended and/or extended in a way that increases treatment efficacy. Clearly attachment theory could have important implications for these revisions.

C.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Attachment Theory has much to offer the Psychologist working with sex offenders. Not only does it provide a useful theoretical model for guiding assessment and formulation, it also has important implications for treatment, and it may well have the potential to improve the treatment efficacy of current programs for sex offenders. Given the high priority of sex offender work, both in terms of therapeutic resources, and in terms of the protection of society, it is crucial that these potential contributions are realised, and that they are fully utilised in the very near future.

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SECTION D:

SEX OFFENDERS AND THEIR PERSONAL CONSTRUCT SYSTEMS:

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN MEN WHO ABUSE BOYS AND MEN WHO ABUSE GIRLS

ABSTRACT

The limited research that there has been in this area, suggests that there are underlying differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls and these differences may be reflected in the differing recidivism rates. Furthermore, although there has been a great deal of recent research on treatment efficacy and risk assessment, research that focuses on sex offenders' constructions of self and others is sparse. Exploration of these two issues could increase our knowledge of the dynamics underlying sexual offending and provide useful contributions towards the psychological treatment of this population.

Two groups of child sexual abusers were identified; one group offended against girls exclusively and the other group offended against boys. Background information was obtained by means of a clinical interview. Participants also completed two questionnaires and a Repertory Grid.

The majority of the men reported experiencing abusive and troubled childhoods. As adults, many of the men were socially isolated. There were a number of significant demographic differences between the subgroups, for example, the men who abused boys were more likely to report experiencing penetrative sexual abuse in their own childhood.

There were very few significant differences (at alpha 0.01 level) between the subgroups on the Repertory Grid data. The general results from the grid showed that, contrary to previous research, around half of the sample had fairly positive self esteem. Many of the men construed their parents negatively. And, although a small subgroup of subjects, mainly men who abused boys, construed women negatively, half of the sample idealised adult women. Almost 40% of the men identified with their victim and a similar proportion idealised their victim. Men who did not distinguish between their victim and children in general were more likely to be recidivist offenders. Finally, the majority of the men construed other child abusers very negatively. This was at odds with how they construed themselves at the time of their offending.

The grid results suggest a great deal of variance and individuality in the dynamics underlying sexual offending. Implications for treatment and risk assessment are discussed throughout.

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1 Background

The Criminal Justice Act of (1991) states that treatment programs must be set up in the community and in prisons, to address sexual offending. Given that in 1990 as many as 7.5% of the sentenced male prisoners in custody had been convicted of sexual offences (Home Office 1990), and 1200 men began a probation order following convictions for a sexual offence (Home Office 1992), psychology and probation services have been required to allocate a disproportionate and substantial amount of their time and resources to the assessment and treatment of sex offenders (Barker and Beech 1993). Because of the very serious concerns raised by sex offenders in our society, because of the treatment resources currently being devoted to them, and because of the lack of treatment efficacy with specific subgroups of sex offenders (Beech et al 1998) it is crucial that we develop a much more clear and comprehensive understanding of the aetiology of different types of sexual offences. It is only then that those working with these populations can offer tailor made, effective and appropriate interventions

2.2 Differences and similarities between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls

Historically there has been a tendency to view all sex offenders as a homogeneous group (Quinsey 1977), and this trend no doubt contributed to the confusing and contradictory findings of many studies with sex offending populations. More recently, researchers and clinicians have begun to distinguish between various subgroups of sex

offenders, and it was found that men who offend sexually against adults have very different demographic, offending and clinical profiles from men who offend against children (Abel and Rouleau 1990). It also became clear that there were various subgroups within these two groups of offenders; for example, Knight and Prentky (1990) identified four subgroups of rapists. Despite this trend however, as yet, there is a lack of research specifically designed to look at differences and similarities between men who exclusively abuse boys and men who exclusively abuse girls. On the contrary, these subgroups continue to be amalgamated in research (eg Marshall et al 1999) and treatment programs continue to provide homogeneous interventions for them.

What indirect research there has been in this area however, suggests that there are rather striking differences between these two subgroups of child abusers. For example, men who offend against boys tend to have more victims and offences commonly occur only once with the same victim; men who abuse girls however tend to have few victims, but they abuse their victims for longer periods (McConaghy 1998). Men who offend against boys generally begin offending in adolescence whereas those who offend against girls do not begin their sexual offending until they are in adulthood (McConaghy 1998). Furthermore, it has been found that men who offend against boys are more socially isolated generally and they are less likely to have ever been involved in an adult sexual relationship, than men who have abused girls (Young 1982). This is particularly important as it has been found that social isolation and the lack of a long term adult sexual relationship is highly correlated with recidivism in child abusers (Thornton 1999 and Beech et al 1998).

Craissati and McClurg (1996) identified a distinct subgroup of child sexual abusers who were significantly more likely to have offended against boys; these subjects were also significantly more likely to have had a history of child sexual abuse themselves, and this factor correlated highly with a number of other factors, for example, emotional abuse as a child, a greater number of victims, and offences involving anal intercourse. Abuse of boys also correlated with more distorted beliefs regarding the sexualisation of children; that is, men who abused boys were more likely to believe that children were not harmed by sexual abuse and that children often actively sought out sexual contact with adults. Again this is extremely relevant, as it has been found that distorted attitudes towards children is related to increased risk of re-offending (Thornton 1999).

It has been found, that in **untreated** sex offender samples, the rates of recidivism for men who offend against girls is between 10-29%. However for men who offend against boys, the rate goes up to between 13-40% (Marshall and Barbaree 1990a). Quinsey et al (1995) found that 18.3% of men who offended against girls re-offended, compared to 35.2% of men who offended against boys. Furthermore, whilst clinical variables such as denial and low treatment motivation (Hanson and Bussiere 1998), and lack of victim empathy (Quinsey et al 1995), are not related to an increased risk of reoffending, abuse of a male victim is (Thornton 1999 and Hanson and Bussiere 1998).

For sex offenders who have been **treated**, it has consistently been found that again, the risk of sexual recidivism is higher for those who offend against boys than for those who offend against girls (Beckett et al 1994 and Marques et al 1994). Contrary to this general finding however, one treatment program did report more successful outcomes with men who abused boys (see Marshall and Barbaree 1990). Clearly, one possible

explanation for these conflicting results could be that the Marshall and Barbaree (1990b) program was more successful in targeting the specific dynamics that motivate men to offend against boys.

In conclusion therefore, the rather limited and indirect research that there has been in this area, suggests that there are major underlying differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls. Furthermore, it is likely that these differences help account for the different recidivism rates and the differences in treatment efficacy found for the two groups. It is therefore extremely important that any underlying differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls are identified and analysed in order to help workers develop a better understanding of the dynamics motivating their offences. Only then can programs be designed that specifically target men who exclusively abuse boys, alongside specific programs for men who exclusively abuse girls. This may well lead to higher rates of treatment efficacy than the homogeneous treatment programs currently running for sex offenders. One of the main aims of the current study is to identify similarities and differences between these two groups of offenders.

2.3 Personal Construct Psychology, Repertory Grids and Sex Offenders

Personal Construct Psychology is a highly detailed and complex psychological theory. The following is intended merely as a very brief introduction that serves to contextualise subsequent references to the theory. Personal Construct Psychology is based on the work of George Kelly (Kelly 1955). The underlying philosophy is that we all have our own very individualised construct system that helps us make sense of ourselves and others. This construct system enables us to make predictions about how we, and those around us, will behave. Although one end of the construct may be submerged and outside of our conscious reach, constructs are always bi-polar.

The constructs that are most carefully protected are the constructs that relate to self. If an individual construes himself as 'a law abiding, family man', but finds himself feeling sexually attracted to his daughter, his construction of self may become invalidated. In response to invalidation, the individual experiences what Kelly (1955) terms 'threat', that is 'the awareness that we are facing imminent, comprehensive change in our core-role construing' (Fransella and Dalton, 1990, pg 37) When an individual experiences a dislodgement from his core role, for example, the 'law abiding, family man' who goes on to indecently assault his daughter, it is likely that he will experience 'guilt' (see Winter 1992).

'Anxiety' in Kellian terms is when we are 'confronted by events which we find difficult to interpret or predict' (Fransella and Dalton 1990), our construct system is not prepared for these events. For example, if an indvidual is questioned by the police for the first time, he is likely to experience anxiety.

The Repertory grid is a constructivist technique which is designed as a structured assessment of personal construing. It is a means for making sense of an individual's way of construing the world. Although fairly uncommon, Repertory grids have been used in the assessment of child sexual abusers.

In completing a Repertory grid, the respondent is asked to list a number of role elements or states. For child abusers, examples of elements might be 'me when I abused my victim', 'my victim', 'children in general', 'adult women' etc. The examiner then asks the respondent to state in what important way two of the elicited elements are alike, and thereby different from the third (triadic method of construct elicitation). The experimenter then elicits the contrast pole of this construct by asking the respondent to describe how the third element is different from this (Winter 1992). Winter (1992) also states that it is possible to use a grid where the constructs and elements are supplied rather than elicited. This method is particularly useful in comparing two groups of participants.

It has been suggested that the Repertory grid has a number of advantages over questionnaire measures, particularly in the assessment of child sexual abusers. These are as follows:

1. As can be seen from Appendix 1 and 2, questionnaire measures for sex offenders are not at all subtle and it is therefore very easy for the respondent to recognise the socially desirable response (Lelkowitz 1975 and Horley and Quinsey 1994). Given that questionnaires are generally administered when

child sexual abusers are being assessed for their suitability to take part in a community based treatment program as an alternative to custody (Craissati and McClurg 1996), it could be argued that they have even more to invest in giving the socially desirable response than other populations. The Repertory grid is substantially more subtle than many questionnaire measures, and it has been suggested that because of it's subtlety, child sexual abusers find it more difficult to recognise the socially desirable response (Houston and Adshead 1993).

2. Questionnaire measures are not personalised in any way; questions relate solely to adults and children in general and so may not tap into the offender's unique thoughts and feelings about himself and his victim (Lanyon 1986). The Repertory Grid overcomes the problem of personalising the subject's responses, as the grid is specifically designed to measure the respondent's unique construing. This is important, as it is 'very likely that the idiosyncratic way in which an offender perceives his world, has an important influence on his offending' (Shorts 1985, pg 238).

3. Furthermore, the questionnaires generally used with sex offenders tend to be limited to a focus on sexual behaviour or attitudes. They give the researcher little opportunity to investigate thoughts and feelings about other issues in the individual's world (Horley and Quinsey 1994). Repertory Grids are designed in such a way that they can investigate more general construing.

4. Questionnaires can often be difficult to understand. This is especially true of a questionnaire which is very commonly used in the assessment of sex offenders (eg Beckett et al 1994 and Thornton et al 1999), i.e. The Multiphasic Sexual Inventory (Nichols and Molinder 1984, see appendix 2). This problem becomes compounded by the fact that many convicted child abusers have lower than average IQs (Christie et al 1979) and many have literacy problems (Bard et al 1987 and Craissati and McClurg 1996). The manner in which Repertory Grids are elicited however, ensures that they are both understood by, and meaningful to, the respondent.

5. It has been argued that the Repertory Grid may be able to reveal aspects of construing which are at low levels of cognitive awareness (Winter 1992). In the area of child sexual abuse, where the offender may be so completely unaware of why he has offended, it is vital that the therapist gains access to this 'hidden' material. Indeed Ward and Keenan (1999) state that 'it is important to investigate the nature of the sex offender's beliefs about their victim(s) and people in general and to develop detailed descriptions of the **core** ideas' (Ward and Keenan 1999, pg 836).

In summary therefore, although not widely used, Repertory Grids may well have many advantages over questionnaires in the assessment and understanding of child sexual abusers. The current study makes use of the Repertory Grid technique.

2.4 How Sex Offenders Construe themselves

Horley and Quinsey (1994, 1995) used Repertory Grids to compare a sample of fifty-seven child sexual abusers, with a sample of non sexual offenders and a community sample. It is of note that Horley and Quinsey (1995) found that men who offended against boys construed themselves as more immature and passive than men who offended against girls. Horley and Quinsey (1994) also found that in general, child molesters rated themselves as 'less sexually attractive', 'softer' and 'less clean' than did the other two groups. Clearly this negative image may well reflect society's view of child abusers; for example, a study by Segal (1983) found that community volunteers rated photographs of child abusers as less physically attractive than photographs of other offenders.

Horley and Quinsey (1994) also found that the child abusers reported a rather asexualised ideal self. That is, their ideal selves were rated as less seductive, erotic and sexy than the other two groups. The child abusers also described their ideal self as more submissive and less spontaneous. Shorts (1985), in a case study of an adult rapist, found that this client construed himself as someone who did not attract the opposite sex and he perceived himself to be very different from other adults. Indeed it has consistently been found that child sexual abusers have a very poor self image, compared with non sexual offenders and non offenders (eg Lanyon 1991 and Marshall et al 1999). Furthermore, Beech et al (1988) found that feelings of inadequacy distinguishes more deviant child molesters with more victims, from less deviant child molesters with fewer victims. Finally, Marshall et al (1999) states that 'self esteem should be an important target for research with sex offenders' (pg 962).

One of the key theories of child sexual abuse states that abusers **must** feel emotionally congruent with children before they can offend (see Finkelhor 1986). Indeed, in a single case study using a Repertory Grid, it was found that the only people with whom a child abuser identified his self and his ideal self, were children (Needs 1988). Furthermore, Houston and Adshead (1993) and Houston (1998) found that child sexual abusers construed their ideal and actual self as more similar to children and their victims, than to their adult partners.

It has consistently been found that around 50% of child sexual abusers have themselves been abused (eg Finkelhor 1984, Quinsey 1986 and Craissati and McClurg 1996), with men who offend against boys being more likely to have a history of sexual victimisation themselves (Beckett et al 1994 and Craissati and McClurg 1996). Although there has been no direct research on how sexual offenders who were themselves abused construe their experiences of the abuse, it is widely recognised that victims of abuse often see themselves as responsible and guilty (eg Clarke and Llewelyn 1994). Indeed Pollock et al (1994) and (1996) found that women who had been sexually abused and went on to commit a violent act themselves, at the time of their abuse, construed themselves as 'guilty victims'. This issue could well raise important questions about current sex offender treatment programs; a major emphasis of these programs is to increase victim empathy by using the offender's own childhood abusive experiences (e.g. Barker and Morgan 1993). If however, victimised sex offenders see themselves as guilty of their own abuse, emphasising the association between them as victims and their own victim, might reinforce the notion that their own victim was also 'guilty'. If so, treatment would have the reverse effect to what was intended. Furthermore, Houston (1998) notes that many sex offenders who have

themselves been abused, use their own victimisation to help them deny responsibility for their offending. Houston (1998) goes on to state that an aim of treatment for such offenders should be to make a distinction between they way they construe their 'self as a child' and their 'self as an offender'. Clearly, the identification between 'self as victim' and 'own victim' is a very important issue that warrents further research, and thus is one of the focuses of the current paper.

Chin-Keung Li (1990) states that pedophiles regard their attraction to children as part of their **core role**, and their belief that their sexual contact with children is consenting, represents a **core** construct. Core constructs are extremely difficult to shift as they must result in the individual completely redefining himself (Kelly 1955). This constructivist idea is very similar to the psychodynamic concept of ego-syntonic, that is 'in harmony with the ego'. Both models propose than an offender who views his offence as compatible with how he views himself, is less likely to do well in treatment (see Glasser 1988 and Cox 1996). In terms of Chin-Keung Li's (1990) study, it should be noted that 'pedophiles' are a very distinct and fixated group of child abusers. They have little sexual interest in adults and they actively seek out children. Indeed Groth and Birnbaum (1978) distinguish between this type of offender and 'regressed offenders', that is, those who turn to 'available' children at times of extreme emotional and/or interpersonal difficulty (see Groth and Birnbaum 1978). It is of note that McConaghy (1998) states that fixated pedophiles generally abuse boys, while regressed offenders generally abuse girls.

In conclusion, while there has clearly been some previous research designed to examine the way in which child sexual abusers construe themselves, a general aim of

the current study is to develop this work, and to focus specifically on the differences and similarities in the construing of various states of the self element between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls.

2.5 How Sex Offenders Construe Others: Introduction.

One theory that is proposed to help account for child sexual abuse (see Marshall 1993 and Marshall et al 1997) is as follows:

a. As children, child sexual abusers have severe attachment difficulties in their relationships with their parents.

b. As predicted by Attachment Theory (Bowlby 1969), difficulties in early attachment relationships lead to difficulties in forming relationships with peers and these difficulties continue into adulthood.

c. In the absence of intimate adult relationships, potential child abusers turn to children to fulfil their intimacy needs.

While there is some evidence that indirectly supports this theory, there is a severe lack of research focusing directly on how child abusers construe these significant others eg their parents and adult women. What there is, will be considered below.

2.6 How do Child Sexual Abusers construe their Parents?

There is much evidence to suggest that many sex offenders experience severe disruption in their primary attachment relationships, for example, they are frequently abandoned by parents and there is a lack of physical affection (see Tingle et al 1986). Many sex offenders report unstable and un-nurturing home environments, with around 50% of child abusers reporting emotional neglect and physical abuse within the home

(Craissati and McClurg 1996 and Finkelhor 1984). However, there is very little research that directly considers how child sexual abusers actually view their parents. Furthermore, Smallbone and Dadds (1998) note that what research there is, tends to ignore subgroupings and systematic differences within sex offenders.

It is of note that one of the very few studies to focus on sex offenders' views of their mothers, found that the only developmental history variable related to sexual recidivism, was a 'negative relationship with mother' (Hanson and Bussiere 1998). That is, child abusers who viewed their relationship with their mother negatively, were more likely to re-offend sexually. Unfortunately this study did not go into any further detail in describing what a 'negative relationship with mother' actually meant.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the only model of therapy with sex offenders to have placed any real emphasis on the role of the mother, is the psychodynamic school. And although largely unsupported by research, they propose two 'classical types' of mothers' of sex offenders. The first, is extremely domineering, intrusive and often seductive (Bak 1968); for example, Cox (1996) quotes a child sexual abuser who states that *'I wanted to live so that I had my life and she (mother) had hers....but it became her life. She pulled me back with a rope....and this stopped heterosexual adventures, and the rope, like a dog lead, only allowed friendships with children'* (Cox 1996, pg 309). The second type of mother is completely emotionally uninvolved with the child, for example, '*Mum said she was going down the road for a loaf of bread and the bugger never came back...I'm less value than a loaf of bread.....I hate women'* (Cox 1996 pg 309).

A study by Smallbone and Dadds (1998) compared the childhood attachment relationships of sex offenders with two control samples. Results showed that the sex offenders reported significantly less secure maternal attachments than did property offenders and a non-offending control sample. The sex offenders were more likely to regard their mothers as 'not understanding', 'not sympathetic' and 'not accepting' towards them. Furthermore, the intrafamiliar child molesters rated their mother as significantly more 'unloving', 'unresponsive', 'inconsistent', 'rejecting' and 'abusive' than did any of the other groups. Intrafamiliar abusers' especially difficult relationships with mothers is of note, since these men are more likely to offend against females rather than males (eg McConaghy 1993). Smallbone and Dadds (1998) conclude that 'these results provide at least tentative evidence for the specificity of insecure maternal attachment with regard to sexual offending', (Smallbone and Dadds 1998 pg 568).

Smallbone and Dadds (1998) also found that sex offenders reported less secure childhood paternal attachments than did the non offenders. However there was no difference between the sex offenders and the property offenders in terms of paternal attachment. When the sub-groups of sex offenders were compared, it was found that adult rapists had the most difficult paternal relationships, with these men describing their fathers as uncaring, unsympathetic, abusive and violent.

The only other study to examine the primary attachment relationships of sex offenders found that child sexual abusers obtained much less 'healthy' scores on a standardised test of parental bonding, than an obsessive compulsive sample and a depressed sample (McClurg et al, in press). Child abusers were significantly more likely to rate both parents as less caring, more intrusive and more infantalising.

In summary, although clearly very important in terms of our understanding of sexual offending, there is little empirical evidence to inform us on how child abusers construe their parents. As stated previously, this is one of the aims of the current study.

2.7 How do child sexual abusers view adults?

Although the preferred level differs across individuals, a common psychological phenomenon is the individual's wish to form intimate relationships with others (Glasser 1988). Smallbone and Dadds (1998) found that sex offenders scored lower on a measure of adult attachment, than did a control group of property offenders. Furthermore, it has been found that men who offend against boys are more socially isolated and less likely to have been in an adult sexual relationship, than men who abuse girls (Young 1982). As stated earlier, social isolation and the lack of a long term adult partner, is highly correlated with increased rates of recidivism in child abusers (Thornton 1999, and Hanson and Bussiere 1998).

If an individual views adult relationships as invalidating, he might begin to avoid contact with adults (Needs 1988). This is what Kelly (1955) would describe as a constrictive strategy. Cox (1996) states this hypothesis more emphatically; 'defective capacities for relinquishment and/or attachment, underlie the specific psychopathology of the majority of sex-offenders' (Cox 1996 pg310). Finally (Marshall 1993) proposes that child molesters view adults as less 'passive and submissive than children', and Ward and Keenan (1999) hypothesise that child abusers regard adults, especially women, as 'untrustworthy', 'rejecting' and 'likely to take advantage of men'. Thus, they avoid adults and form relationships with children.

It is of note that Marshall (1993) works within a cognitive behavioural framework, Needs (1988) proposed a constructivist model, and Cox (1996) is a psychoanalyst. Therefore, with somewhat unusual consistency, three different schools of therapy suggest a common theory to help account for sexual offending against children. This degree of consistency is especially surprising since the theory is largely unsubstantiated empirically, as very few studies have actually attempted to examine how child sexual abusers view adult women. Indeed, Stermac, Segal and Gillis (1990) and Horley and Quinsey (1994) stress that child abuser's attitudes towards adult women are largely unknown.

There are a few notable exceptions however. For example, using grids, Seidman et al (1994) found that child abusers demonstrated a lack of identification with other adults. Houston and Adshead (1993) found that some child abusers construed themselves as more similar to their child victims, than to adult partners or friends. This appears to be related to Finkelhor's (1986) idea of emotional congruence, that is, that child abusers tend to feel more emotionally connected to children than to adults. This is an extremely important concept as it has been found that emotional identification with children increases the risk of re-offending in child abusers (Wilson 1999).

Horley and Quinsey (1995), using Repertory Grids, found that child sexual abusers described women as 'more frigid', 'less erotic', 'less seductive' and 'less sexy' than non sex offending control groups. Howells (1979) and Horley (1988) found that child sexual abusers tended to describe women, but not men, in terms of sexual and appearance related constructs. Horley and Quinsey (1994) in a comparison of child abusers, violent non-sexual offenders, and a non-offending control group, found that

child abusers construed women as 'frigid' and spouses as 'less erotic', 'seductive' and 'sexy' than did the other two groups. Landfield and Epting (1987), in a single case study, reported that an exhibitionist could not actually think of any acquaintances to fit his role elements and only included women in the grid when specifically prompted. Shorts (1985), in a case study of an adult rapist, found that this man placed all of his 'self' elements as very isolated from the females on his repertory grid. In summary therefore, there is evidence to suggest that some child abusers feel very distant from adult women, and others appear to construe them as rather unattractive.

It has recently been suggested that some child molesters, as well as adult rapists, have extremely hostile attitudes towards women and that child sexual abusers are largely accepting of 'rape myths' pertaining to adult woman (Thornton et al 1999). Indeed Thornton et al (1999) suggest that these attitudes towards adult women should be carefully assessed, as it has been found that hostile attitudes towards women is correlated with increased risk of reoffending in child abusers (Thornton 1999).

It may well be that men who abuse boys are more socially isolated and less likely to have had an adult heterosexual relationship (see Young 1982), because they find adult women more threatening, rejecting, and untrustworthy, than do men who offend against girls. Again however, there has been no research to test out this theory. Furthermore, it could be that men who abuse boys have more negative feelings towards adult women, because their relationship with their mother was more difficult than for the men who abused girls. Again this hypothesis has not been previously tested, hence it is a focus for the current paper.

2.8 How do Child Sexual Abusers view children and their victims?

Horley (1988) notes that 'one's prior cognitions about children as potential sexual partners will play a role in subsequent sexual behaviour involving children' (Horley 1988 pg 542). Given this, it is again surprising that very little attention has been paid to how child abusers think about children.

As stated earlier, a common hypothesis is that child sexual abusers, in an attempt to achieve intimacy, seek out children, as they are construed as more 'passive and submissive' than adults (see Marshall 1993 and Needs 1988). However, there has been very little empirical study in this area, and what there has been is often contradictory. This research will be considered below.

Howells (1979) used a Repertory Grid technique with ten mentally ill patients who had sexually offended against young girls. He found that constructs such as domineering-passive and dominant-submissive were extremely important to these men in terms of their construing of others. While adults were described as domineering, children were described as passive and undemanding. These results should be treated cautiously however, as the number of subjects in this study was very low, and findings from mentally ill sex child abusers may not generalise to non mentally ill child abusers.

Houston and Adshead (1993) also found that dominance and control were important discriminating constructs for five out of six of the child abusers they studied. However, contrary to Howells (1979), Houston and Adshead (1993) found that their subjects construed victims as dominant and not easily controlled by others, whereas they construed themselves as being the opposite, that is, somewhat dominated by their

victims. Clearly this finding is at odds with the Marshall (1993) theory, that is, that child abusers seek out children as they are construed as passive and submissive.

Indeed, it is of note that Horley (1988) was also unable to replicate Howells' (1979) findings. That is, the sex offenders in Horley's (1988) study did not regard children as passive and submissive. It is of note that Horley's (1988) population, unlike Howells' (1979), included men who had abused boys, and Horley (1988) hypothesised that men who vary in gender preference construe their victims in different ways; that is, the domineering - submissive construct may not be as important for men who abuse boys as it is for men who abuse girls.

Horley and Quinsey (1994) went on to test this hypothesis. They compared three groups of adult males; group one had all sexually offended against a child under 13 years of age (incest offenders were excluded), group 2 were all non-sexual violent offenders and group 3 were non-offenders. Group 3 subjects were recruited from the community while Groups 1 and 2 were incarcerated at the time of the study. Contrary to expectations however, Horley and Quinsey (1994) found that there were no detectable differences between men who abused boys and men who abused girls. The dominant-submissive construct was no more important to those who offended against girls. Furthermore, boys and girls were not described differently by any of the groups. Indeed Horley and Quinsey (1994) concluded that 'over all relatively few differences were found among the three populations sampled in this study, in terms of how children were construed' (Horley and Quinsey 1994 pg 177).

It should be noted however that the subjects in the Horley and Quinsey (1994) study represent a rather extreme group of child molesters. That is, they were more likely to have physically injured their victims, and all were given custodial sentences. Horley and Quinsey (1994) highlight this issue and suggest that their study should be replicated with a sample of non-incarcerated child abusers. Finally, it should also be noted that the study only included men who had abused children under the age of thirteen. This could also have had an impact on the findings.

Chin-Keung-Li (1988) in a study of 25 pedophiles found that over half of the men distinguished children from adults in terms of constructs relating to physical beauty and attractive personality. In another study, Horley and Quinsey (1995), again using Repertory grids, found that for men who abused girls, constructs relating to appearance, for example, attractive-unattractive, were most important. Those who abused boys placed more emphasis on emotional internal constructs, e.g. mature-immature, passive-not passive.

Although somewhat different from the classical cognitive distortions described by Beck (1976), it is often reported that child abusers hold distorted beliefs about their victims and these beliefs are also termed cognitive distortions (see Abel and Rouleau 1990). Their underlying structures, that appear to resemble schema, are termed implicit theories (Ward and Keenan 1999). Typical examples of these beliefs/theories in sex offenders include 'children like to have sex with adults' and 'children are not harmed by sex with adults' (Ward and Keenan 1999). It has been suggested that the purpose of these beliefs is that they 'allow' the offender to carry out their offences, and they

also help the offender to justify any negative feelings he may have had about his offending (see Houston 1998).

Perhaps not surprisingly therefore, it has been found that cognitive distortions are closely related to risk of re-offending, with recidivist child molesters being distinguished by their sexualised view of children and feelings of sexual entitlement (Beech et al 1998 and Thornton 1999). It has also been found that men who offend against boys are more likely to have higher scores on a test measuring cognitive distortions regarding children (see Beckett et al 1994). Craissati and McClurg (1996) not only found a correlation between abuse of boys and high scores on a cognitive distortion scale, but they concluded that these perpetrators tended to move towards the 'victim stance'. That is, they were more likely to view themselves as victims. This result may well be related to the finding that the men who abused boys were significantly more likely to have been sexually abused themselves (Craissati and McClurg 1996). And, it has been noted that 'premature exposure to sexual activity could leave a child believing that it was normal for adults and children to engage in sex with each other' (Ward and Keenan 1999 pg 831), thus perhaps making these individuals less responsive to treatment.

It has been suggested clinically, that child abusers who have themselves been abused, identify with their victim and often 'choose' victims who remind them of themselves when they were abused. Groth and Birnbaum (1978) also suggest that one of the dynamics underlying abuse of boys is the offender's identification with the child. Needs (1988) hypothesises that the child functions as a 'proxy image' of themselves and is abused in order to let the offender gain insight into his own past reactions to

abuse, or to gain insight into the mind of his perpetrator. However this is all very speculative, and there is no direct research to support these theories. Indeed Cox (1996 pg 332) states that 'one of the least understood, but most pressing, problems (in therapy with sex offenders) is the relationship between the offender and his victim'.

It is of note that, using a single case study design, Houston (1998) found that a recidivist sex offender viewed his victim as very similar to children in general. However a incest offender with only one victim viewed her as very different from children in general. If the offender has a unique view of his victim that differs wildly from his view of children in general, it could be argued that his risk of re-offending is lower than the offender who views his victim as very similar to children in general (see Cox 1996). This is an aspect of risk assessment that has been largely overlooked, but is one of the focuses of the current study. .

2.9 How do child sexual abusers view other child abusers?

To date there has been no research to examine how child sexual abusers construe other child sexual abusers. However, a study of sexually abused females construed sexual offenders as 'unaffectionate, evil, unloving, aggressive, violent, manipulative, powerful and persecuting' (Sanderson 1990, pg 123).

Houston (1998) states that 'many sex offenders tend not to see themselves as such, which is one way in which many clients avoid the guilt of behaving in a way which is incompatible with their core role' (Houston 1998, pg 152). Indeed Houston (1998) cites the example of a man who abused two friends of his granddaughter who

construed his 'self when offending' at the opposite pole to a 'typical sex offender'. Also Shorts (1985), in a case study of an adult rapist in a maximum security hospital, found that the client did not see himself as similar to rapists in general This construction did shift somewhat after treatment however. This distancing of self from sex offenders in general is also often clinically apparent with sex offenders who deny that they were sexually aroused during their offence, and/or deny sexual intent.

A further, and final, aim of the current study is to investigate how child sexual abusers regard other sex offenders.

2.10 Summary of the General aims of the current study

As stated previously, the current study has four broad aims. These are as follows:

1. To examine the demographic backgrounds of child sexual abusers

2. To examine the ways in which child abusers construe various states of 'self', for example, 'self when I was abused', 'self when I abused', 'self now' 'ideal self'.

3. To examine how child sexual abusers construe significant others, specifically, early attachment figures, adult women, their victim(s) and children. This will placed within the context of the Marshall et al (1997) model for understanding child sexual offending.

4. To identify similarities and differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls.

In the results section, specific research questions pertaining to these four aims will be raised. All of these questions are based on previous research findings and/or clinical hypothesis. The rationale for each question is noted throughout.

3. METHOD

3.1 Introduction

To recap briefly, the current research has four main aims:

a. To examine the demographic backgrounds of child sexual abusers

b. To examine the ways in which child abusers construe various states of 'self'.

c. To examine how child sexual abusers construe significant others.

d. To compare and contrast men who sexually abuse boys and men who sexually abuse girls.

3.2 Participants

Over an eighteen month period (August 1998 to January 2000), data was gathered on every man referred to an inner London sex offender treatment program. Although the project is multi-disciplinary, the main input in terms of assessment and treatment comes from the forensic clinical psychology service. Referrals come from the probation service.

The program has two main aims:

a. to provide group and/or individual treatment for sexual offenders, resident in the Greenwich, Lewisham and North Southwark catchment areas

b. to provide psychological assessment, and to prepare reports for the court for sex offenders living within the catchment areas.

Only male perpetrators were included in the study, as it was thought that the inclusion of the very small number of convicted female perpetrators referred (n=2), would confuse and distort the results.

All men **convicted** of sexually abusing male children exclusively (n=17) and all men **convicted** of sexually abusing female children exclusively (n=20), were pulled from the total sample of sex offenders referred over the eighteen month period. Previous sexual convictions were also taken into consideration; thus if an individual had a history, however distant, of sexual abuse against boys **and** girls, he was excluded from the study. Four men who had abused both boys and girls were excluded from the study.

The men were matched in terms of age (means of 41.4 years for the men who abused boys and 41.9 years for the men who abused girls). Also, there was no difference between the groups in terms of the number who had previous convictions ($X2 = 3.4$, $P = .07$).

3.3 Procedure (part 1)

The research was granted full ethical approval by Bexley Hospital's Research Ethics Committee.

In Greenwich, Lewisham and North Southwark, when an individual was charged and found guilty of child sexual abuse, the court passed his case to the local probation service for the preparation of assessment reports, prior to sentencing. Each offender

was allocated to a community probation officer who was also a sex offender specialist. The offender was placed on bail while the assessment reports were being prepared.

As part of the general assessment procedure, the probation officers/sex offender specialists covering Greenwich, Lewisham and North Southwark, automatically referred **all** child sexual abusers for psychological assessment. The Senior Probation Officers with each team carried out monthly checks to ensure that no relevant cases were missed.

Along with the referral letter, the allocated probation officer sent the police records, the legal depositions, including witness statements, and when available, previous reports, to the program Psychologist. The offenders were then informed by their probation officer, that they would be required to attend a series of assessment interviews. Each man was sent a standardised appointment letter from the psychologist, asking him to attend an assessment interview. The interviews were held in a private interview room in an outpatient clinic at Guy's Hospital.

3.4 Instructions to participants

The men met with the psychologist at the initial session and the following points were covered in the instructions to the potential participants:

1. All of the men were informed that the main purpose of the meeting was to prepare a report which would be presented to the court; consequently any information they

gave during the interview could not be confidential. Clearly the lack of confidentiality is not ideal for research purposes, however for ethical and practical reasons, this 'flaw' is present in the vast majority of studies on sex offenders.

2. The men were also informed that a research project was being carried out and they were given a brief oral explanation of the project; that is, they were informed that the main purpose of the research was to explore differences between various subgroups of offenders in terms of how they viewed their world. It was explained that findings from the research could be used in order to guide future treatment programs.

3. It was explained that if they decided to participate in the research it would require the completion of a number of questionnaires and a pen and paper assessment grid. They were told that although there was a great deal of variation, the average completion time for the questionnaires and the grid was around two hours.

4. It was stressed that, whilst the information they gave during the clinical assessment could not be confidential, their responses to the questionnaires and the grid was completely confidential and would be used only for research purposes. It was also stressed that the questionnaire and grid data was not analysed until after the court report was completed. Participants anonymity was assured.

5. All potential participants were told that they had the absolute right to refuse to participate in the research. They were assured that if they decided not to participate, it would not bias the report or impact on their chances of being offered treatment at

the project. The refusal rate amongst the men was zero however, and it is possible that despite the assurance of the psychologist, the men believed that unwillingness to participate might have a negative effect on the recommendations made to the court.

6. When a man did agree to participate, it was stressed that he could refuse to give information on issues he did not wish to discuss, or, that he could choose to leave parts of the grid or questionnaires uncompleted.

3.5 Procedure (part 2)

The clinical interview was completed first. This generally took around two hours to complete and was carried out, either by a forensic clinical psychologist, or by a forensic counselling psychologist.

After a brief break, those subjects who had previously indicated that they would take part in the interview were introduced to a psychology assistant familiar with the program, the questionnaires and the repertory grid. These measures were not administered by the clinician as it was important that the research and court report were construed as two separate processes by the participants. Alternatively, the men could be given an appointment by the assistnat to return the next week in order to complete the questionnaires and repertory grid.

In order to ensure complete confidentiality the subjects completed the grid and the questionnaires at a private interview room in Guys Hospital. The psychology assistant remained with the participants throughout; in order to help answer any

practical questions they may have had over completing the grid and the questionnaires. If subjects had a reading difficulty, the assistant read the questionnaires and grid to them and recorded their responses.

The exception to this was the Multiphasic Sex Inventory (see 3.6.3 for description). Given the very sexualised content of this questionnaire, the questionnaire was pre-recorded and the participant listened to the tape and marked either the true or false response options on the questionnaire response sheet. The assistant also administered the Schonell Graded Word Reading test (see section 3.6.1 for description). It should be noted that for the completion of the grid, subjects with more than one victim were instructed to complete the grid in relation to the victim they felt was most 'significant' to them. The definition of 'significance' was left to the participant.

The court report was completed, usually within one week from the final appointment with the offender. In order to ensure the findings could not bias the court report, the clinician did not have access to the research results until after the report had been completed. A research schedule comprising the data from the semi-structured interview was also completed for each of the participants. This information was put into a Windows data file. The questionnaires were analysed and this information was also recorded on a Windows data file. Finally, the Grid data was put in a text file.

3.6 Measures

3.6.1 The Schonell Graded Word Reading Test

This is a standardised psychological test which involves reading aloud a list of words of increasing complexity. It provides an estimate of pre-morbid IQ that is comparable with the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (Revised Version) full scale IQ Score.

This test was administered in order to determine if there were any differences in IQ between men who abused boys and men who abused girls.

3.6.2 The Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory

This is a measure of general hostility and anger (Buss and Durkee 1957). The respondent is required to answer true or false to a number of statements. This questionnaire has been used previously with sex offending samples (eg Craissati and McClurg 1996). It was administered in the current study in order to determine if there were any differences in anger between men who abused boys and men who abused girls. (See Appendix 1).

3.6.3 The Multiphasic Sex Inventory (MSI)

This questionnaire is designed specifically for use in sex offender populations (see Nichols and Molinder 1984). It comprises 300 questions and is made up of a number of sub-tests. These are noted below:

A Social Sexual Desirability Scale measures 'normal' sexual interest and drives and helps identify individuals who respond to the MSI in a socially desirable way.

A Sexual Obsessions Scale measures an individual's tendencies to exaggerate his problem and it also assess the individual's preoccupation with sex.

A Lie Scale measures the openness or dishonesty regarding the individual's sexually deviant thoughts and behaviours.

A Cognitive Distortions and immaturity scale measures cognitive distortions.

A Justifications Scale measures the degree to which an individual attempts to justify his sexually deviant behaviour.

A Treatment Attitudes Scale measures the individual's openness for treatment.

A Child Molest Scale is designed to identify the type of offender (pedophile) who manipulates and coerces a victim to comply with his demands.

A Sexual Dysfunction Scale identifies the individual who feels socially/sexually inadequate.

A Sexual Knowledge Scale assesses subjects' knowledge on sexual matters.

Respondents are required to answer true or false to a number of statements. This questionnaire was used in order to determine if there were any differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls in relation to general sexual practices and beliefs. (See Appendix 2).

3.6.4 The Repertory Grid

The Repertory grid is a constructivist technique, which is a derivation of Kelly's (1955) Role Construct Repertory Test (see Introduction section 2.3). The constructs included in the grid were supplied by the researcher and were based on clinical knowledge of the population and/or were drawn from previous research with this

population. The elements were chosen because of their relevance to the research questions posed. Although in general it is preferable for subjects to elicit their own constructs and elements, it is acceptable to supply grids when the aim is to compare groups (see Ryle and Breen 1972). Participants were asked to rate each element (where appropriate) on the 20 bi-polar constructs. The grid comprised 13 pages, one page for each element and each page had the bi-polar constructs placed at opposite sides of the page with a 1 - 7 rating scale between them. Participants were asked to mark the appropriate number for each element/construct combination.

The grid was given for three reasons:

a. To explore how child sexual abusers construe various states of 'self'

b. To explore how child sexual abusers construe various significant others

c. To determine if there were any differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls in terms of how they construe themselves and others.

The grid comprised the following elements and constructs:

Constructs	Elements
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	Self now
Lonely - Not	Ideal self
Likes sex - Doesn't	Me when I was abused
Gets on well with parents - Doesn't	Me when I abused
Low self esteem - High self esteem	Mother
Mature for age - Immature	Father
Assertive - Not assertive	Women
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	Children
Honest - Dishonest	Child sexual abusers
Quiet - Extroverted	My partner

Angry - Not angry

Dangerous - Safe

Easy to control - Not easy to control

Domineering - Submissive

Affectionate - Not affectionate

Miserable - Happy

Friendly - Not friendly

Demanding - Undemanding

Sexually provocative - Not provocative

Likes people - Does not like people

My ideal partner

Victim

Ideal child

3.7 Analysis of Data

The demographic/background data file included around 80 variables for each participant, while the grid data file included around 260 variables for each participant. The demographic/background data file was analysed by examining frequencies, means and measures of variability (either ranges or standard deviations). It is of note that because participants were informed that they could refuse to give information on certain areas, data is missing for some of the participants on some of the variables. Where this was the case, the participant was excluded from the analysis when percentages were calculated.

Nominal data, for example, whether the participant had been physically abused or not, was analysed using the Chi-square test when this test was appropriate (that is, when the expected frequency in each cell was greater than 5). Interval data was analysed using unrelated t tests. The participants' scores on the Multiphasic Sex Inventory were compared with other clinical populations using one sample t tests.

The Repertory Grid data for each subject was put into a text file and that data was analysed using the Higginbotham and Bannister (1983) computer program. In brief, this program examines the correlation relationships between constructs and the correlation relationships between elements. It also offers an analysis of the importance (in terms of accounting for variance) of the constructs and elements.

It should be noted that since a large number of comparisons were made on a small number of participants, there was an increased risk of type 1 errors occurring, that is, rejection of the null hypothesis when it is true. In order to minimise this risk, statistical significance was set at the 0.01 alpha level throughout.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The general demographic and background results will be reported initially. This will be followed by a general summary of the Repertory Grid results. The data will then be developed and analysed in terms of the research questions. As noted in the methodology section, since a large number of comparisons were made on a small number of participants, there was an increased risk of type 1 error (that is, rejecting the null hypothesis when it is valid). In order to overcome this difficulty, statistical significance was set at the 0.01 alpha level.

It should also be noted that where data was missing from a subject on a variable, the subject was excluded from the analysis when percentages were calculated. This accounts for what may appear to be discrepancies and inconsistencies in percentage calculations.

4.2 Demographic and Background Information

4.2.1. Pertinent Research Questions

The following research questions are particularly pertinent to this data.

1. Do child abusers report difficulties within their family of origin and early childhood? Research in this area tends to suggest that men who offend against boys have particularly difficult early lives, for example greater exposure to abusive experiences (see Introduction section 2.2).

2. Do child abusers report social isolation? Again, previous research would tend to suggest that men who offend against boys are particularly socially isolated (see Introduction section 2.2).

3. Other than the gender of the victim, are there any clear differences in the offending behaviour of men who abuse boys versus men who abuse girls? Previous research would tend to suggest that those who abuse girls are more likely to abuse within the family (see Introduction section 2.2).

4. Does psychometric testing reveal any differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls. Previous research would suggest that men who abuse boys are more likely demonstrate distorted beliefs regarding the sexualisation of children (see Introduction section 2.2).

The following information was obtained during the clinical assessment interviews.

4.2.2 Childhood Experiences

Eight of those who abused girls (40%) and eight of those who abused boys (47%) reported that their parents had divorced or separated ($X2 = .19$, $P = .66$). Of these, the men who abused boys tended to be somewhat younger at the time of their parents' separation (mean age is 5.8 years, versus 10.7 years, $t = 1.92$, $P = .07$).

High numbers from both groups, that is, 15 of those who offended against girls (75%) and 14 (82.3%) of those who offended against boys, reported substantial emotional neglect within their family of origin. The difference between the groups was not statistically significant ($X2 = .006$, $P = .94$). 6 of those who abused girls (30%), and

5 of those who abused boys (29%) reported being physically abused within their family of origin (X2 = .006, P = .94). For those who abused girls, the physical abuse tended to begin when they were slightly older (9.8 years, versus 7.1 years, t = 1.46, P = 0.16).

10 of those who abused girls (50%), and 11 of those who abused boys (65%) reported that they had been sexually abused as children. This difference did not reach statistical significance (X2 = .30, P= .58). Furthermore, there was no difference between the groups in terms of their age when the sexual abuse began (10 versus 10.3 years, t = 0.18, P = 0.86), and there were no distinct patterns in terms of who carried out the abuse; both groups were just as likely to have been abused within their family of origin. The major difference between the groups was in the nature of the abuse. Of the 11 men who abused boys and who had themselves been abused, 9 (82%) had experienced penetrative sexual abuse as a child. However, only one (10%) of the 10 men who had been abused and went on to abuse girls, experienced penetrative abuse as a child. This difference was statistically significant (X2 = 9.15, P <.01).

In terms of childhood disturbances, 6 of those who abused girls (30%) and 12 of those who abused boys (70.5%) reported being bullied as a child (X2=4.9, P <.03). Indeed, those who abused boys were somewhat more likely to report two or more childhood difficulties, such as, running away from home, self harm and being miserable a lot (76.5% versus 40%, X2=4.4, P = .036). It is also of note that none of those who abused girls, compared with 4 (23.5%) of those who abused boys, had contact with psychological/psychiatric services as children. This difference approaches statistical

significance (X2 = 5.2, P = .02). The men who abused boys were also more likely to report experiencing difficulty in making friends as children, (53% versus 30%), but the difference was not significant (X2=1.6, P = .19).

In terms of their psychosexual development, only 3 of the men who abused girls (17.6%) reported engaging in sex play with other boys when they themselves were boys. Of the men who abused boys however, 9 (64.3%) reported engaging in sex play with others boys when they were boys. This difference is statistically significant (X2 = 7, P <.01).

Finally, two of those who abused girls (10%) had literacy difficulties compared with four of those who abused boys (23.5%) (X2 = 1.24, P = .27).

4.2.3 Summary of Childhood experiences data

In conclusion, it would appear that high numbers of subjects from both groups experienced negative and abusive childhood experiences. Many reported bullying and difficulties in making friends. Although there was a trend for those who abused boys to have more childhood difficulties, for example self harm, being bullied difficulty in making friends, the differences did not reach statistical significance at the .01 alpha level. Men who abused boys suffered particularly extreme forms of sexual abuse in childhood and this may be related to their greater likelihood to report sexualised behaviour with peers as children.

4.2.4 Adulthood and Social Integration

Only 8 of those who offended against girls (40%) and 7 of those who offended against boys (41.1%), reported close contact with their family of origin prior to the offence (X2 = .20, P = 0.65). Furthermore, only 5 of those who offended against girls (29.4%) and 4 of those who offended against boys (20%), reported close contact with friends (X2 = 0.159, P = 0.7) prior to the offence. Social isolation was therefore common in both subgroups.

The groups reported no substantial difference in age on commencing their first heterosexual relationship (t =.04, P = .97); on average, those in the men who abused girls group were 17.5 years, and those in the men who abused boys group were 17.47 years. However, those in the men who abused girls group reported more long term adult sexual relationships (mean of 1.2 versus a mean of 0.6). This difference approached significance (t = 2.14, P = .04). Furthermore, only 3 (17.6%) of the men who offended against boys had been married. However, 14 (82.4%) of the men who offended against girls had been married. This difference is statistically significant (X2 =10.14, P =.001). At the time of their offence, 11 (55%) of the men who abused girls, versus 1 (6%) of the men who abused boys, had biological children living with them. This difference is also statistically significant (X2 = 10, P = .001).

In adulthood, only 2 (10%) of the men who abused girls, versus 8 (47%) of the men who abused boys, reported experiencing sexual contact with another adult male. This difference is statistically significant (X2 = 6.4, P =.01). There did not appear to be a great deal of difference between the groups in terms of their use of pornography. Five

from each group (29.4 % of the men who abused boys and 25% of the men who abused girls) admitted to using adult pornography prior to the offence. Two men from each group (11.8% of the men who abused boys and 10% of the men who abused girls) admitted to using child pornography prior to their offence. Seven of those who abused girls (39%), versus 11 of those who abused boys (65%), admitted that they had been engaging in sexual fantasies about children prior to their offences. This difference however, is not statistically significant (X2=2.3, P = .13).

Only 4 of the men who abused girls (20%), versus 8 of the men who abused boys (47%) admitted to abusing alcohol or drugs. This difference fails to reach statistical significance however (X2 = 3.6, P = .057). 10 (50%) of the men who offended against girls, versus 4 (23.5%) of the men who offended against boys, had a regular and stable employment history. This difference did not reach statistical significance however (X2 = 2.7, P = >.05).

4.2.5 Summary of adulthood and social integration data

In summary, those who offended against girls reported a slightly more stable adult history; they were more likely to have been married, to have had longer term relationships and they were somewhat more likely to have been in regular employment, than were the men who abused boys. Men who abused boys were more likely to have engaged in adult sexual relationships with other men and they were somewhat more likely to have a history of substance misuse. The majority of men in both groups appeared to lack contact with their family of origin and with friends prior to the offence.

4.2.6 Offending Behaviour

The relationship between the perpetrator and their victim is shown in Table 1. It is of note that 17 (85%) of those who abused girls, abused within the family (their children or other relatives). However, those who abused boys were significantly more likely to abuse outside of the family, that is, acquaintances and strangers (82.3%), (X2 = 17.4, P < .01). The average age of the girls abused was 9.6 years. The boys abused tended to be slightly older (mean = 10.8 years), but the difference was not significant (t = 1.2, P = .240). Those who abused girls tended to do so for slightly longer (19.6 months versus 15 months, t = .53, P = .602).

	Men who abused girls (% of group total)	**Men who abused boys (% of group total)**
Father	8 (40%)	0
Step-father	3 (15%)	1 (6%)
Relative	6 (30%)	2 (12%)
Acquaintance	3 (15%)	11 (65%)
Stranger	0	3 (17%)

Table 1: Relationship between perpetrators and their victims

There was no difference between the groups in the numbers who reported physically threatening their victims (15% of the men who abused girls and 11.7% of the men who abused boys, X2 = .12, P = .73). 6 of the men who abused girls (30%) and 2 (11.8%) of the men who abused boys reported verbally threatening their victims (X2=2.0, P = .15). It is of note that 4 of the men who abused girls (20%) versus 10

(59%) of the men abused boys reported offering their victim(s) bribes at the time of the offence. This difference is statistically significant (X2 = 5.9, P = .01). This finding may be accounted for by the fact that those who abused girls were more likely to abuse children within their care, whereas those who abused boys were more likely to abuse acquaintances/strangers, where bribes may well be more 'necessary'.

It is of note that the two groups were equally likely to carry out penetrative abuse of their victim, that is, 6 men who abused boys (30%) and 5 men who abused girls (29.4%), (X2 = 1.4, P = .49).

4.2.7 Summary of offending behaviour data

In summary therefore, the main differences between the groups in terms of their offending behaviour were that men who abused boys were more likely to abuse children outside of the family and these men were also more likely to admit to offering their victims bribes.

4.2.8 Psychometric Testing

This information was obtained after the clinical interview using a battery of psychometric tests (see Methodology section 3.6 for full descriptions).

IQs were estimated using the Schonell Graded Word Reading Test. Those who abused girls had an average full scale IQ of 101.4. Those who abused boys had an average full scale IQ of 99.1 (t = .49, P = .627). Both of these scores fall within the average range of intellectual ability (90-110).

The Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory is a measure of general hostility and anger. The men who abused girls had an average score of 31.16 on this test, while the men who abused boys had a mean score of 37.8 (t = 1.33, P = .193), indicating somewhat higher levels of anger. However, both groups' mean scores fell within the 'medium range' indicating that there was not a great deal of general hostility and anger reported.

The other test administered was the Multiphasic Sex Inventory (MSI) and the results are shown in Table 2. It is of note that there were no significant differences between the groups on any of the MSI subtests. The norms or 'normal range scores' are taken from (Nichols and Molinder 1984) and are based on samples of untreated sex offenders. (See Methodology section 3.6 for a description of the subtests).

Both groups scored lower than would have been expected on the Social Sexual Desirability Scale, thus indicating a tendency to respond in a socially desirable manner and to deny an interest in sex (see Nichols and Molinder 1984). Both groups also scored higher than the norms on the Lie Scale. This indicates 'dishonesty regarding the sex offender's sexually deviant thoughts and behaviours' (Nichols and Molinder 1984, pg. 27). Both groups also scored higher than would have been expected on the Justifications Scale. This indicates a high degree of justification for their sexual offending. The Child Molest Scale is designed to identify pedophilic type child sexual abusers. Both groups scored lower than the published norms on this scale, indicating less tendencies towards pedophilia. Finally, both groups showed

elevated levels of sexual dysfunction and a lack of sexual knowledge compared with other groups of untreated sex offenders.

MSI Sub-test	**MAG's Mean Score**	**MAB's Mean Score**	**2 tailed significance**	**Published Norms**
Social sexual desirability	25.3	21.1	0.094	30.8 *
Sexual Obsessions	5	5.27	0.86	3 - 9
Lie Scale	7	6.8	0.85	5 *
Cognitive Distortions	7.1	8.6	0.27	3.9 - 8.8
Justifications	6	7.9	0.329	1.9 - 5.6 *
Treatment Attitudes	3.4	3.9	0.44	4
Child Molest Scale	12	13.9	0.5	15 *
Sexual Dysfunction	4.7	6.2	0.4	2 *
Sexual Knowledge	14.9	14.6	0.9	17 *

Table 2: Subjects' scores on the MSI

4.2.9 Summary of significant differences between the subgroups

Variable	Total Sample	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls
Experienced penetrative sexual abuse as a child	11 (out of the 21 sexually abused) (52.4%)	9 (out of the 11 sexually abused) (82%)	1 (out of the 10 sexually abused) (10%)
Engaged in childhood sex play with other children	12 (32.4%)	9 (64.3%)	3 (17.6%)
Adult sexual contact with other adult males	10 (27%)	8 (47%)	2 (10%)
Married	17 (45.95%)	3 (17.6%)	14 (82.4%)
Living with biological children	12 (32.4%)	1 (6%)	11 (55%)
Victim from within the family	20 (54%)	3 (17.6%)	17 (85%)
Bribing the victim	14 (37.8%)	10 (50%)	4 (20%)

Table 3: Statistically significant differences between the groups (P < .01)

Table 3 is an overall summary of the significant differences identified between the two subgroups in terms of the demographic, background data collated. The overall differences could perhaps be summarised by two factors; that is, men who abuse boys

are more likely to have engaged in sexualised acting out and they also appear to be less integrated within a family system. In all other aspects, the two groups did not appear to be substantially different.

4.2.10 Conclusions in terms of research questions posed

In terms of the research questions, the following observations can be made:

Question 1: Do child abusers report difficulties within their family of origin and their childhood?

The vast majority of subjects tended to report difficult and abusive childhood experiences. The men who abused boys were somewhat more likely to suffer sexual and emotional abuse, furthermore, this group was significantly were more likely to have suffered very extreme forms of sexual abuse. In keeping with previous research in this area, there was a trend for men who abused boys to report more general childhood difficulties likely bullying, running away from home, self harm and difficulty in forming relationships.

Question 2: Do child abusers report social isolation?

In keeping with the previous research in this area, both groups of subjects reported isolation from friends and family of origin. Also, in keeping with other research, men who abused boys were somewhat, although not significantly, more likely to report an absence of long term relationships and lack of a stable employment history. In general they appeared rather less socially integrated.

Question 3: Other than the gender of the victim, are there are any clear differences in the offending behaviour of men who abuse boys versus men who abuse girls?

As noted earlier, for the purpose of the study, the two groups were matched for number of previous convictions (see Methodology section 3.2). In terms of the details of their offending, it was found that men who abused boys were more likely to abuse outside of their family. This is consistent with previous research. A new finding, as this issue has not been addressed in previous research, was that the men who abused boys were more likely to admit to bribing their victims.

4. Does psychometric testing reveal any differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls?

Psychometric testing in the current study did not reveal any substantial differences between the two groups. Contrary to previous research, men who abused boys did not appear to be any more distorted in their beliefs about children than did those who abused girls. Both groups scored higher than would be expected on the Lie and Justifications scales and both tended to respond in a socially desirable manner.

4.3 General summary of the Repertory Grid results

4.3.1 Description of Grid and it's analysis

As noted in the methodology (section 3.6.4), elements and constructs were provided for the subjects in light of previous research with this population. The Repertory Grid comprised the following elements and constructs for each subject:

Constructs	Elements
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	Self now
Lonely - Not	Ideal self
Likes sex - Doesn't	Me when I was abused
Gets on well with parents - Doesn't	Me when I abused
Low self esteem - High self esteem	Mother
Mature for age - Immature	Father
Assertive - Not assertive	Women
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	Children
Honest - Dishonest	Child sexual abusers
Quiet - Extroverted	My partner
Angry - Not angry	My ideal partner
Dangerous - Safe	Victim
Easy to control - Not easy to control	Ideal child
Domineering - Submissive	
Affectionate - Not affectionate	
Miserable - Happy	
Friendly - Not friendly	
Demanding - Undemanding	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	
Likes people - Does not like people	

All subjects completed the Repertory Grid and the grids were analysed using The GAB Computer Program for the Analysis of Repertory Grid Data (Higginbotham and Bannister 1983). In brief, this program examines the relationships between an individual grid's elements and constructs. (See methodology section 3.7).

The grid summary data for subject 1 who offended against boys is presented in Table 4 and the grid summary data for subject 1 who offended against girls is presented in Table 5. These are employed as examples to demonstrate the summary data tables. The Tables for the remainder of the subjects can be found in the Appendix section.

4.3.2 Grid analysis for a subject who abused boys

Table 4 shows the key constructs for Subject 1 who had offended against boys. The Principal construct is the construct that accounts for most variance; that is, the construct that the individual finds most useful in discriminating between elements. Thus it can be seen from the Table 4 that whether or not elements were honest or dishonest was the most meaningful way in which this subject discriminated between them. The construct Assertive - Not assertive was the construct that most highly positively correlated with the Honest - Dishonest construct. That is, for this subject, if an element was construed as honest, it was likely to have also been construed as assertive. The constructs Mature for age - Immature and Low self esteem - High self esteem were also highly correlated with these two constructs, and Component 1 is a 'cluster' of constructs, comprised of the construct that accounts for most variance,

SUBJECT: BOYS.1

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		*
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't		**
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (4)	
Mature for age - Immature	** (3)	
Assertive - Not assertive	** (2)	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	*	
Honest - Dishonest	!	
Quiet - Extroverted		!
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		**
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		**

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 44%

TABLE 4: Grid summary data for Subject 1 who offended against boys

plus the constructs that significantly correlate with this construct. Most constructs in this subject's cluster appear to be related to issues of openness/truthfulness. Thus, for this subject, Component 1 could perhaps best be described as a 'true to their self' cluster.

The principal construct of component 2 is made up of the construct which, of those not significantly correlated with the principal construct from component 1, accounts for the highest variance. In this subject's case, this is the Quiet - Extroverted construct (see Table 4). The remainder of component 2 is made up of the constructs that correlate with component two's principal construct. For example, for this subject, these constructs are, Makes friends easily - difficulty making friends, lonely - not, domineering - submissive and likes people - does not like people. This suggests that issues relating to social isolation/integration are also very important for this subject.

Table 4 shows that for subject 1 of the men who abused boys, Component 1 accounted for 44% if the grid's variance. The higher the percentage of variance accounted for by the first principal component, the more simplistic, tightly organised and unidimensional is the individual's construing. Ryle and Breen (1972) found that the mean percentage of variance of the first component in a grid comprised of sixteen elements and sixteen constructs, was 39.4%. The grid used in the current study is of a similar size. Therefore, it can be concluded that for the subject presented in Table 4, the grid was of average complexity.

SUBJECT: GIRLS.1

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	** (3)	
Lonely - Not	** (4)	**
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	**	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	! (1)	
Mature for age - Immature	**	
Assertive - Not assertive	**	*
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		!
Honest - Dishonest	**	
Quiet - Extroverted	**	
Angry - Not angry	**	*
Dangerous - Safe	**	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy	** (2)	**
Friendly - Not friendly	**	*
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	**	*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 84%

TABLE 5: Grid summary data for Subject 1 who offended against girls

4.3.3 Grid analysis for a subject who abuses girls

Table 5 shows the summary of the grid data for Subject 1 who had offended against a girl. In this case the Principal construct for component 1 was low self esteem - high self esteem, and the construct that positively correlated most highly with this was miserable - happy. In other words, if an element was construed as having low self esteem, it was also very likely to be construed as miserable. Makes friends easily - difficulty making friends, and lonely - not lonely, also correlated highly with these constructs. As with the previous subject, this suggests that this subject is also rather preoccupied with social integration/isolation and the impact this has on self esteem.

The principal construct for component 2 was vulnerable - not vulnerable, and the constructs that correlate highly with this are, lonely - not and miserable - happy. Therefore, if you are lonely, you are also likely to be vulnerable and miserable.

For this subject, Component 1 accounts for 84% of the total variance. This means that this subject is rather unidimensional in how he construes his world as most of the constructs are highly correlated.

4.3.4 Summary of group grid data

Since there were too many subjects in the study to analyse each grid separately, the grid data for each of the men was collated to represent group data. The results of this process are noted below:

The four constructs that accounted for most variance were noted for each subject. Table 6 shows the results. It can be seen that the 'miserable - happy' construct was the most useful for the total sample in terms of discriminating between elements. Almost 50% of the subjects used this construct in their top four most discriminating constructs. 'Low self esteem - high self esteem' was the second most discriminating construct for the whole sample (scored in top four for 43.2% of the subjects).

For the men who abused girls, the most discriminating construct appeared to be 'miserable - happy', with 'friendly - not friendly' scoring as the second most important group construct in terms of discriminating between elements. Other important discriminators for the men who abused girls were 'low self esteem - high self esteem', 'dangerous - safe', 'makes friends easily - difficulty making friends' and 'honest - dishonest'. Perhaps this cluster of constructs could best be summarised as related to 'likeability'.

For the men who abused boys, the most discriminating construct for the group was 'lonely - not lonely'. This construct was an important one for over 50% of the sample. 'Low self esteem - high self esteem' was also used to discriminate, as was 'miserable - not miserable' and 'likes people - does not like people'.

In terms of differences between the groups, the 'lonely - not lonely' construct was somewhat more important in terms of discriminating between elements for those who abused boys than for those who abused girls ($X2 = 5.99$, $P < .05$). In relation to the research questions, this may suggest that issues around loneliness are somewhat more

important to those who abuse boys. The 'makes friends easily - difficulty making friends' construct was somewhat more useful in terms of discriminating between elements for the men who abused girls ($X2 = 4.68$, $P < .05$). Also, the 'dangerous - safe' construct was more discriminating for the men who abused girls ($X2 = 4.68$, $P < .05$), as was the 'friendly - not friendly' construct ($X2 = 4.3$, $P < .05$). Clearly these constructs could also be viewed as being related to sociability, however, as opposed to the men who abused boys, the most useful constructs for men who abused girls may be more related to 'likeability' rather than loneliness.

Constructs particularly related to offending, for example, 'angry - not angry', 'sexually provocative - not', 'easy to control - not easy to control', 'vulnerable - not vulnerable' and 'likes sex - does not like sex', were relatively unimportant for both groups of subjects. Interestingly, the 'dominering - submissive' construct was also unimportant in terms of discriminating between elements.

As stated earlier, Component 1 is made up of the construct accounting for the greatest proportion of variance plus the constructs that are positively correlated with this construct. The higher the percentage of variance accounted for by the first component, the more tightly organised and simplistic is the individual's construing. The mean percentage of variance of the first component in a grid made up of 16 elements and 16 constructs was 39.4 (Ryle and Breen 1972b). The grid used in the current study was similar in size. The mean percentage of variance accounted for by component 1 for the total sample was 53.25%. This indicates that overall, the subjects' grids were rather more unidimensional than would be expected from the

CONSTRUCT	MEN WHO ABUSED BOYS (%)	MEN WHO ABUSED GIRLS (%)	TOTAL SAMPLE (%)
Makes friends easily-Difficulty making friends	1 (5.8%)	7 (35%)	8 (21.6%)
Lonely - Not	10 (58.8%)	4 (20%)	14 (37.8%)
Likes sex - Doesn't	1 (5.8%)	1 (5%)	2 (5.4%)
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	1 (5.8%)	4 (20%)	5 (13.5%)
Low self esteem - High self esteem	9 (52.9%)	7 (35%)	16 (43.2%)
Mature for age - Immature	3 (17.6%)	2 (10%)	5 (13.5%)
Assertive - Not assertive	5 (29.4%)	2 (10%)	7 (18.9%)
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	3 (17.6%)	1 (5%)	4 (10.8%)
Honest - Dishonest	6 (35.3%)	7 (35%)	13 (35.1%)
Quiet - Extroverted	2 (11.8%)	2 (10%)	4 (10.8%)
Angry - Not angry	3 (17.6%)	2 (10%)	5 (13.5%)
Dangerous - Safe	1 (5.8%)	7 (35%)	8 (21.6%)
Easy to control - Not easy to control	1 (5.8%)	1 (5%)	2 (5.4%)
Domineering - Submissive	0	1 (5%)	1 (2.7%)
Affectionate - Not affectionate	4 (23.5%)	4 (20%)	8 (21.6%)
Miserable - Happy	7 (41.2%)	11 (55%)	18 (48.6%)
Friendly - Not friendly	3 (17.6%)	10 (50%)	13 (35.1%)
Demanding - Undemanding	0	3 (15%)	3 (8.1%)
Sexually provocative - Not	1 (5.8%)	0	1 (2.7%)
Likes people - Does not like people	7 (41.2%)	4 (20%)	11 (29.7%)

Table 6: Constructs accounting for the greatest percentage of variance (top four constructs for each subject)

general population. The grids of the men who abused boys were very slightly more complex and loosely organised than the grids of the men who abused girls (49.53% versus 53.25%), however this difference was not statistically significant.

Element	**Men who abused boys (%)**	**Men who abused girls (%)**	**Total sample (%)**
Self now	5 (29.4)	2 (10)	7 (18.9)
Ideal self	9 (52.9)	11 (55)	20 (54)
Me when I was abused	3 (17.6)	0	3 (8.1)
Me when I abused	3 (17.6)	1 (5)	4 (10.8)
Mother	2 (11.8)	3 (15)	5 (13.5)
Father	3 (17.6)	2 (10)	5 (13.5)
Women	4 (23.5)	2 (10)	6 (10.8)
Children	0	2 (10)	2 (5.4)
Child sexual abusers	1 (5.8)	2 (10)	3 (8.1)
My partner	2 (11.8)	3 (15)	5 (13.5)
My Ideal Partner	11 (64.7)	13 (65)	21 (64.9)
Victim	1 (5.8)	5 (25)	6 (10.8)
Ideal child	7 (41.2)	14 (70)	21 (56.7)

Table 7: Elements accounting for greatest percentage of variance (top 3 for each subject)

The three **elements** that accounted for most variance were noted for each subject and Table 7 shows the results. For example, for the total sample, the element 'self now' was in the top three most useful elements in terms of accounting for variance, for 7 subjects, 5 men who abused boys and 2 men who abused girls.

It can be seen from Table 7 that the 'ideal partner' element was the most useful in terms of accounting for variance for the total sample. 64.9% of the subjects had 'ideal partner' in their top 3 most discriminating elements. 'Ideal child' was the second most discriminating element for the total sample (scored in top three for 56.7% of the subjects). Ideal self was also an important element. Indeed the three 'ideal' elements were extremely important to the group in general. In brief, this suggests that many of the subjects use their concept of 'ideal' in making sense of their world. In practical terms this could mean that the subjects tend to subconsciously compare themselves and others with some idealised concept.

For men who abused boys, the most discriminating element was 'ideal partner'. This was followed by ideal self and ideal child. For the men who abused girls, the most discriminating element was 'ideal partner'. This was closely followed by 'ideal child' and 'ideal self'. There were no significant differences between the subgroups in terms of the applicability of the elements.

'My victim' and 'children' were relatively unimportant in terms of accounting for variance.

4.3.5 Summary of subgroup comparisons for the general grid data

There were two main differences between the subgroups in terms of the overall summary grid data. These are as follows:

1. Whether or not people were lonely was a somewhat more important discriminator for the men who abused boys.

2. Whether or not people made friends easily, were dangerous and were friendly were more somewhat more important discriminators for the men who abused girls.

Although there were no significant differences between the groups (at the .01 level), there was a suggestion that the men who abused girls were more preoccupied with issues relating to 'likeability', whereas the men who abused boys were more concerned with issues related to loneliness.

It should be noted that both subgroups rated the 'ideal' elements as extremely important in terms of discriminating between constructs. This could have very useful implications for understanding the interpersonal functioning of child abusers.

4.4 Child abusers' construction of self and significant others

4.4.1 Introduction

Although many research questions were posed, they can be largely subsumed under two headings. These are as follows:

The way in which child abusers construe their self

The way in which child abusers construe other people

The specific questions were addressed, either because of findings from previous research, or because they form the basis of clinical, and as yet untested, assumptions. A brief rationale is stated for each question.

4.4.2 Child abusers' construction of self

a. Do child abusers consider their current self to be similar to self when offending?

Other than a few single case studies (e.g. Houston 1998), there has been no previous research to explore shifts in how child abusers view themselves at the time of their offence and at post conviction. This is an important question in terms of risk prediction as it could be hypothesised that a shift between these two self elements may contribute to a decreased risk of future offending.

This question was answered using the repertory grid data and tallying the number of subjects where the 'self now' and the 'self when I offended' elements were positively and significantly correlated. It can be seen from Table 8 that 37.8% of the total sample had a significant and positive correlation between these two elements. Out of the men who abused boys, (47%) had significant correlations between these elements. 6 (30%) of the men who abused girls had a significant positive correlation between these elements. This could suggest that these men see their offending as part of their core self. It is of note that none of the men had a significant negative correlation between 'self now' and 'self when offending' (see Table 8).

b. Do child abusers consider their ideal self to be similar to self when offending?

Again there has been no previous research in this area. However, clinically it could be a very important issue. For example, those who see incompatibility between these two elements, may experience more cognitive dissonance in terms of their offending, and this could be used therapeutically. Furthermore, a discrepancy between ideal self and self when offending, might contribute to decreased risk of re-offending.

This question was answered using the repertory grid data and tallying the number of subjects where the 'ideal self' and the 'self when I offended' constructs were correlated. It can be seen from Table 8 that only 7 of the total sample (18.9%) had a positive significant correlation between these elements, indeed,4 men had a significant negative correlation (10%). For the men who abused boys, 3 (17.6%) had a significant and positive correlation between 'ideal self' and 'self when I offended', while a further 3 (17.6%) had a significant and negative correlation. 4 (20%) of the men who abused girls had a significant and positive correlation and one (5%) had a significant and negative correlation (see Table 8). In conclusion, most of the men see their ideal self as very different from self when offending. However, somewhat worryingly, around 20% of the sample saw little difference between these two elements. It would be of interest to follow up these subjects in an attempt to determine if those who see little difference between these elements, i.e. perhaps those whose offending reflects their core self, are at greater risk of future offending.

c. Do child abusers appear to have high self esteem?

Previous research has tended to suggest that child abusers have particularly low self esteem (eg see Marshall et al 1999).

This question was answered using the repertory grid data and tallying the number of subjects where the 'self' and 'ideal self' are significantly correlated (.05 or above). 18 (48.6%) had a significant positive correlation between these elements. 7 (41%) of the men who abused boys had a significant and positive correlation between the self and ideal self. One of these subjects (5.8%) had a significant negative correlation between the constructs. 11 (55%) of the men who abused girls had a significant and positive correlation between the 'self' and 'ideal' self elements (see Table 8). The difference between the groups was not statistically significant. Contrary to previous research, this finding suggests that around 50% of the sample had fairly high self esteem. This issue is addressed in the Discussion section (see section 5.4)

d. Do child abusers construe a distance between self when abusing and child sexual abusers in general?

Since most sex offenders are treated in group settings, this is an important question. Furthermore, this information could be used clinically as a means of assessing the level of 'denial' in relation to the offence. For example, an offender who places a great deal of distance between these two elements may be attempting to portray his offence as something of an aberration. This question has not been addressed in previous research.

Only 3 of the total sample (8.1%), one of the men who had abused boys and two of the men who had abused girls, demonstrated a significant and positive correlation between the 'self when offending' and the 'child sexual abusers' elements (see Table 8). In other words, the majority of subjects saw themselves when abusing as dissimilar to other child sexual abusers.

	Men who abused boys (%)	**Men who abused girls (%)**	**Total sample (%)**
Self and self when offending	8 (47)	6 (30)	14 (37.8)
Ideal self and self when offending	3 positive (17.6) 3 negative (17.6)	4 positive (20) 1 negative (5)	7 (18.9) 4 (10)
Self and ideal self	7 positive (41) 1 negative (5.8)	11 (55)	18 (48.6)
Self when abusing and child sexual abuser	1 (5.88)	2 (10)	3 (8.1)

Table 8: Significant correlations between elements

e. Do child abusers perceive themselves as dangerous and not easy to control at the time of their offence?

While the general public appears to see sex offenders as dangerous and out of control, again, with the exception of a single case study (Houston 1998), there has been very little research to examine how child abusers construe themselves when they are offending. How offenders construe themselves at this stage in their lives could have important treatment implications.

It can be seen from Table 9, that at the time of their offence, less than half of the total sample rated themselves as falling at the 'dangerous' end of the 'dangerous - safe'

construct. Slightly more subjects in the men who abused boys group rated themselves as 'dangerous', however the difference between the groups was not significant.

	Men who abused boys	**Men who abused girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	3.65	3.65	3.65
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	1,3,7	4	4
Number scoring less than 4 (%) i.e. 'dangerous'	10 (58.8%)	8 (40%)	18 (48.6%)

Table 9: Subjects' scores on the dangerous (1) safe (7) construct

Table 10 shows that only the minority of the total sample (35%) rated themselves as 'not easy to control' at the time of the offence. Again, the men who abused boys were slightly, although not significantly more likely to rate themselves as falling at this end of the bipolar-polar construct.

	Men who abused boys	**Men who abused girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	4.1	3.8	3.94
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	7	4	4
Number scoring higher than 4 (%)	8 (47%)	5 (25%)	13 (35%)

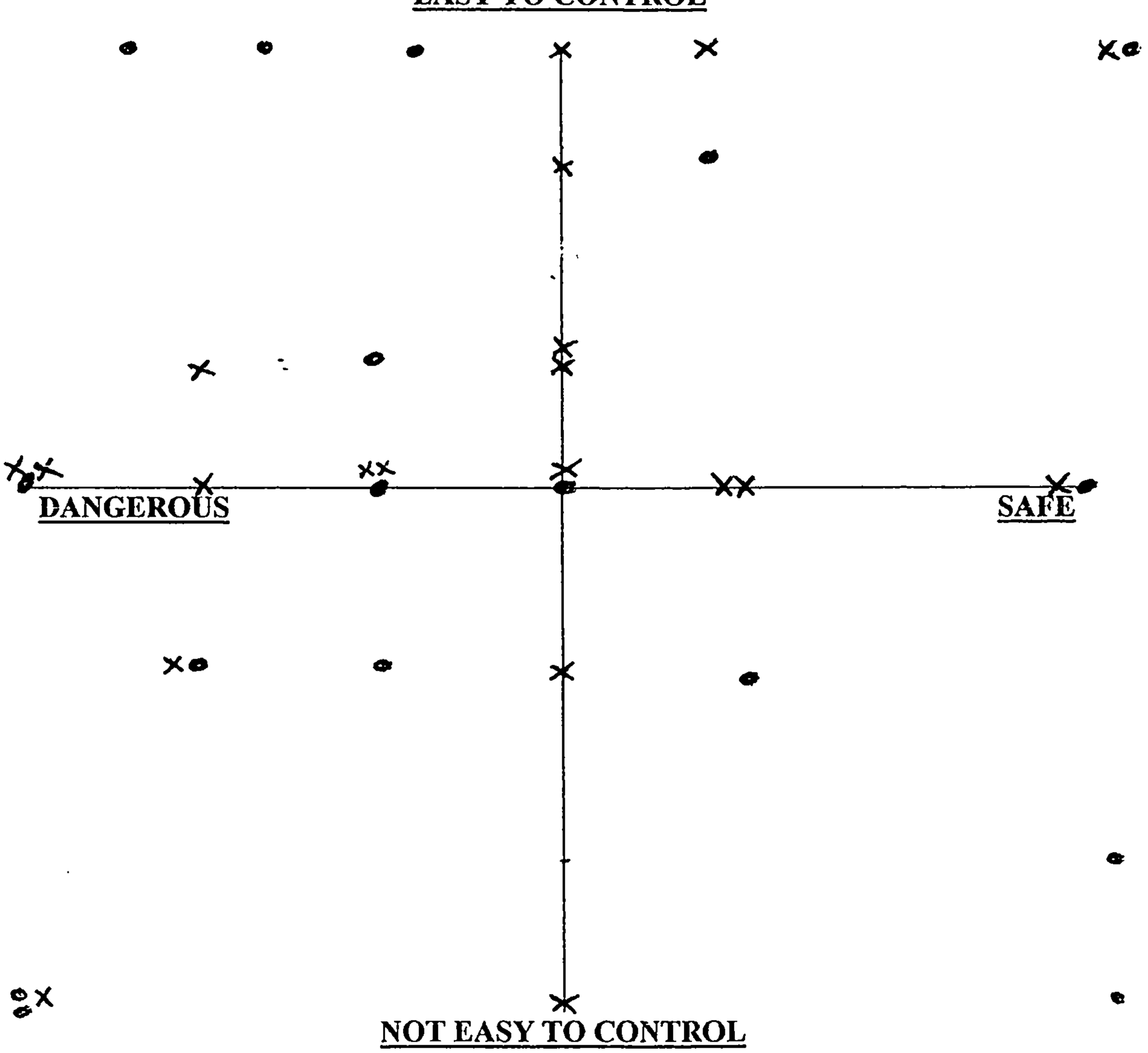
Table 10: Subjects' scores on the easy to control (1) not easy to control (7) construct

Graph 1 shows how the subjects viewed themselves at the time of their offending on the 'easy to control - not easy to control' and 'dangerous - safe' constructs. It is of concern that only 6 of the subjects, 2 who had abused girls and 4 who had abused boys saw themselves as 'not easy to control' and 'dangerous' at this time. Indeed, 4 of the men, 2 who abused boys and 2 who abused girls regarded themselves as 'safe' and 'easy to control' at the time of their offending.

GRAPH 1: How subjects viewed themselves when they offended

● = Men who abused boys

X = Men who abused girls



f. Do child abusers identify with their victim?

Although there has been no research to investigate this issue, there is a clinical assumption that child abusers identify with their victim. Furthermore, it has been suggested that one of the underlying motivations for the sexual abuse of boys, is identification with the victim (see Groth and Birnbaum 1978).

This question was answered by using the Repertory Grid data and tallying the number of subjects whose 'self' element positively and significantly correlated with their 'victim' element. Table 11 shows that 14 of the men (37.8%), had a positive and significant correlation between these two elements. For the men who abused boys, 5/17 (29.4%) had a positive correlation between 'self' and 'victim'. For the men who abused girls, 9/20 (45%) had a positive correlation between 'self' and 'victim'. This difference is not significant. Thus, some individuals do appear to identify with their victim and this could well be an important dynamic underlying their offending. However, this is not the case for all offenders (see Discussion 5.4).

g. Do child abusers identify their ideal self with their victim?

Again, in the absence of research, there is clinical speculation that some child abusers idealise their victim, and that at least in part, the offence is motivated by a subconscious resentment of their idealised status.

This question was answered by using the Repertory Grid data and tallying the number of subjects whose 'ideal self' element positively and significantly correlated with

their 'victim' element. Table 11 shows that 43% of the subjects had a significant correlation between these two elements. 35% of the men who abused boys and 50% of the men who abused girls had a positive correlation between 'ideal self' and 'victim'. This difference is not significant.

h. Do child abusers identify themselves when they were sexually abused, with their own victim?.

Rather than exploring whether the total sample identified with their victim, this question was taken a stage further and only the responses of those who had been sexually abused in childhood were considered. Clinically, it is hypothesised that some males who were abused in childhood are compelled to re-enact their abuse, this time with themselves in the role of perpetrator. As such, they may seek out victims who remind them of themselves when they were abused (eg Needs 1988).

This question was answered by using the Repertory Grid data and tallying the number of subjects whose 'self when I was abused' element positively and significantly correlated with their 'victim' element. Table 11 shows that 6 (28.6%) of the men who had been abused demonstrated a positive correlation between these two elements. For the ten men who abused boys and were themselves sexually abused, 2/10 (20%) had a positive correlation between 'self when I was abused' and 'victim'. For the men who abused girls 4/11 (36%) had a positive correlation between 'self when I was abused' and 'victim'. In conclusion therefore, the majority of subjects did not appear to construe self when abused as similar to their victim. This has important

implications for treatment that will be considered further in the discussion section of this paper.

	Men who abused boys (%)	**Men who abused girls (%)**	**Total sample (%)**
Self and Victim	5 (29.4)	9 (45)	14 (37.8)
Ideal self and Victim	6 (35)	10 (50)	16 (43)
Self when abused and Victim	2/10 (20)	4/11 (36)	6/21 (28.6)
Self and children in general	4 (23.5)	6 (30)	10 (27)
Ideal self and children in general	6 (35.3)	9 (36)	15 (40.54)

Table 11: Positive and Significant correlations between elements

I. How do child abusers construe self when they were abused?

As yet, there has been no research to investigate this issue. This is surprising given the potential links between sexual abuse and sexual offending.

This questions was answered by noting the scores on the relevant constructs for the subjects who had a history of sexual victimisation in childhood. Therefore, responses are based only on those subjects who responded to this portion of the grid. It is of note that during the clinical interview only 11 of the men who offended against boys reported being sexually abused during childhood. However one additional subject responded to this portion of the grid. Furthermore, ten of those who abused girls reported being sexually abused in childhood, however only 8 of these men responded to this portion of the grid. Table 12 shows the results.

It is of note that the majority of subjects construed themselves as immature, not sexually provocative, not liking sex and vulnerable at the time when they were sexually abused. It is of concern however that there were a number of subjects who did not appear to construe themselves in this way. Furthermore, only 60% of the subjects felt that they were miserable at the time of their own abuse. The men who abused boys tended to rate themselves as somewhat more immature than the men who abused girls ($X2 = 4.44$, $P < .05$). Other than this, there was little difference between the groups on these measures.

	Men who abused boys	**Men who abused girls**	**Total sample**
Number scoring at the immature end of the construct (%)	11 (91.6)	4 (50)	15 (75)
Number scoring at the not sexually provocative end of the construct (%)	7 (70)	7 (87.5)	14 (77.7)
Number scoring at the does not like sex end of the construct (%)	9 (75)	5 (62.5)	14 (70)
Number scoring at the vulnerable end of the construct (%)	9 (75)	8 (100)	17 (85)
Number scoring at the miserable end of the construct (%)	6 (50)	6 (75)	12 (60)

Table 12: How subjects construed themselves at the time of their abuse

J. Do child abusers identify 'self' with 'children in general?'

It has been proposed that a precondition of sexual abuse is that the abuser feels emotionally congruent with children (eg Finkelhor 1986). This hypothesis, thus far, has only been tested in very small research samples.

Ten of the total sample (27%) had a positive and significant correlation between the 'self' and 'children' elements. 4 of these were men who had abused boys (23.5%) and 6 were men who had abused girls (30%) (see Table 11). The difference between the groups was not significant. Thus, overall, it would appear that the majority of the subjects did not closely identify with children in general.

K. Do sex offenders identify their ideal self with children in general?

This question was addressed in order to examine whether child abusers tend to idealise children in general.

It was found that 15 of the total sample (40.54%), had a correlation between the 'ideal self' and 'children in general' elements. 6 of these were men who had abused boys (35.3%) and 9 (45%) were men who had abused girls (see Table 11). This suggests that just under half of the sample tended to idealise children.

L. With whom do child abusers most strongly identify?

As stated earlier, the few single case studies in this area tend to suggest that child abusers tend to identify more strongly with children and their victim, than they do with adult partners.

The element with which 'self now' correlated most highly was noted. Table 13 shows the results. For the total sample, the element most commonly closest to 'self' was 'ideal self' (27% of the sample). Three of the men had no significant and positive correlations between the 'self' and any other element. Only 2 of the subjects rated themselves as closest to either their mother or their father. It is also of note that none of the men rated themselves as closest to their partner, although 5 (13.5%) of the total sample rated themselves as closest to their victim. In terms of the two subgroups the element most frequently closest to 'self' for the men who abused girls, was 'ideal self'. This was followed by 'ideal partner' (20%). For the men who abused boys, the element most frequently closest to 'self' was also 'ideal self'. This was closely followed by 'women' (23.5% of the sample).

	Men who abuse boys	**Men who abuse girls**	**Total Sample**
No-one	1 (5.8)	2 (10)	3 (8.1)
Ideal self	5 (29.4)	5 (25)	10 (27)
Child sexual abusers	1 (5.8)	0	1 (2.7)
Women	4 (23.5)	2 (10)	6 (16.2)
Victim	2 (11.7)	3 (15)	5 (13.5)
Me as abuser	2 (11.7)	2 (10)	4 (10.8)
Children	1 (5.8)	1 (5)	2 (5.4)
Father	1 (5.8)	0	1 (2.7)
Mother	0	1 (5)	1 (2.7)
Partner	0	0	0
Ideal Partner	0	4 (20)	4 (10.8)

Table 13: Elements that are most significantly correlated with self now

In conclusion therefore, only a small proportion of the sample rated themselves as closest to their victim or to children in general. The largest group rated themselves as closest to their ideal self and this could suggest high self esteem or alternatively, a

lack of 'connectedness' with others. This lack of intimacy may also be reflected in the absence of identification with partners. Indeed, none of the men rated themselves as closest to their partners. This was especially relevant for the men who abused girls as these men were more likely to have had adult partners.

4.4.3 Summary of Child abusers' construction of self

In summary, a number of points are worth noting. These are as follows:

1. The lack of a discrepancy for many of the subjects between themselves when offending and current or ideal self was a rather worrying finding. As noted, this 'distance' could be an important addition to risk assessment tools for sex offenders. Also, it could be used in order to assess treatment efficacy.

2. The findings challenged the clinical assumption that **all** child abusers have low self esteem.

3. Many of the men had little insight into their offending; they saw themselves as very distinctive from other child abusers and they were unable to construe themselves as 'dangerous' at the time of their offending.

4. A proportion, but by no means all, of the men identified with their victim. Men who had been abused themselves, were no more likely to identify with their victim than men who had not been abused. Furthermore, contrary to expectations, the men who abused girls were slightly more likely to identify with their victim.

5. A substantial proportion, but by no means all, of the men, idealised their victim.

6. The majority of the subjects did not identify with children in general.

7. There were no significant differences between the two subgroups in terms of their construction of 'self' elements.

8. A great deal of individual difference was noted amongst the subjects in terms of their construction of self and there was no overall 'group result'.

4.4.4. Introduction to Child abusers' construction of others

As stated earlier, the following theory is proposed to help account for child sexual abuse (eg see Marshall et al 1997).

a. As children, child sexual abusers experience severe difficulties in their relationships with their parents.

b. These difficulties lead to later problems in forming intimate relationships with adult partners.

c. In the absence of intimate adult relationships, child abusers turn to children who are perceived as less threatening than adult women.

The research questions asked in this section stemmed from this theory of child sexual abuse. The subjects' construing of their parents will be considered initially. This will be followed by examination of the subjects' construing of adult women. Then, perceptions of children and the victims will be considered. Finally, the subjects perceptions of child sexual abusers will be considered.

4.4.5. How do child abusers construe their mothers?

As stated earlier, it has been suggested that many child sexual abusers have severe difficulties in their relationships with their mothers, (Marshall et al 1997 and Cox 1996). The demographic information collated in the current study appears to suggest that the majority of subjects experienced a great deal of abuse in their childhood (see section 4.2.2). Such abuses are often indicative of breakdown in the attachment

relationship, and at the very least suggest a lack of protection in the parental relationships. As stated earlier however, there is a great lack of information on how child abusers construe their parents.

4.4.5.1 Do child abusers construe their mothers as domineering, sexually provocative, not affectionate, angry and dangerous?

It has been hypothesised that mothers of child abusers are either domineering and sexually intrusive and/or rejecting and uncaring (see Bak 1968 and Cox 1996). The subjects scores for their mothers on the relevant constructs were noted and Tables 14-18 show the results.

	Men who abuse boys	**Men who abuse girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	4.2	4.1	4.14
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	5	4	4
Number scoring less than 4	7 (41.2%)	5 (25%)	12 (32.4%)

Table 14: Subjects' ratings for mothers on the Domineering (1) Submissive (7) construct

	Men who abuse boys	**Men who abuse girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	5.6	5.9	5.8
Range	1-7	4-7	1-7
Mode	7	7	7
Number scoring less than 4	3 (17.6%)	0	3 (8.1%)

Table 15: Subjects' ratings for mothers on the Sexually provocative (1) not sexually provocative construct (7)

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	3.7	3.6	3.63
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	1	4	1
Number scoring more than 4	8 (47%)	5 (25%)	13 (35%)

Table 16: Subjects' ratings for mothers on the affectionate (1) not affectionate (7) construct

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	4.8	4.5	4.6
Range	4-7	2-7	2-7
Mode	4	4,5,7	4
Number scoring less than 4	7 (41.1%)	9 (45%)	16 (43%)

Table 17: Subjects' ratings for mothers on the angry (1) not angry (7) construct

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	5.6	5.8	5.74
Range	3-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	7	7	7
Number scoring less than 4	2 (11.8%)	3 (15%)	5 (13.5%)

Table 18: Subjects' ratings for mothers on the Dangerous (1) not dangerous (7) construct

As can be seen from the Tables 14-18, 1/3 of the total sample rated their mother at the domineering end of the construct, with the men who abused boys being somewhat more likely to do so (41.2% versus 25%). Only 3 of the subjects construed their mother as sexually provocative and these were all men who had offended against boys. Around 1/3 of the total sample construed their mother as not affectionate. It is of note that almost 1/2 of the men who abused boys construed their mother as not affectionate. Furthermore, almost 50% of the total sample construed their mother as

angry, and there was little difference between the subgroups on this measure. A small number of subjects (5 in total) construed their mother as dangerous.

Overall therefore, these results lend some support to the clinical hypothesis noted earlier. There were no significant differences between the subgroups in terms of how they construed their mother.

4.4.5.2 Do child abusers identify self with their mother?

It has been suggested that healthy psychological development is correlated with a feeling of 'connectedness' and identification with a parent (see Bowlby 1969).

Eight of the men who abused boys (47%) and 8 of the men who abused girls (40%), that is, 43% of the total sample, had a significant and positive correlation between 'self' and 'mother' elements (see Table 19). Therefore, less than half of the sample appeared to identify strongly with their mother.

	Men who abuse boys (%)	**Men who abuse girls (%)**	**Total sample (%)**
Self and father	4 (22.5)	5 (25)	9 (24.3%)
Self and mother	8 (47)	8 (40)	16 (43.2)
Number who **did not** identify self with either parent	10 (58.8)	10 (50)	20 (54)

Table 19: Correlations between self and parents

4.4.6 How do child abusers construe their fathers

4.4.6.1 Do child abusers identify with their fathers?

Four of the men who abused boys (23.5%) and 5 (25%) of the men who abused girls, that is, 24% of the total sample, demonstrated a significant and positive correlation between their self and father elements. It was of note however that 10 of the men who abused boys (59%) and 10 of the men who abused girls (50%), that is, 54% of the total sample, did not identify with either of their parents (see Table 19).

4.4.6.2 Do child abusers construe their fathers as not affectionate, angry and domineering?

Although there is very little research in this area, it has been found that sex offenders in general construe their fathers as uncaring and violent (see Smallbone and Dadds 1998). In the current study the subjects' ratings of their fathers on the relevant constructs were examined. Tables 20 - 22 show the results.

	Men who abuse boys	**Men who abuse girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	4.1	4.2	4.17
Range	1-7	1-7	
Mode	1,3,6	4	4
Number scoring more than 4	7 (41%)	6 (30)	13 (35)

Table 20: Subjects' ratings of fathers on the Affectionate (1) Not affectionate (7) Construct

	Men who abuse boys	**Men who abuse girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	4.6	3.6	3.9
Range	3-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	4	1	7
Number scoring less than 4	6 (35%)	6 (30%)	12 (33.2%)

Table 21: Subjects' ratings of fathers on the angry (1) not angry (7) construct

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	4	3.75	3.8
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	4	4	4
Number scoring less than 4	5 (29.4)	5 (25%)	10 (27%)

Table 22: Subjects' ratings of fathers on the domineering (1) submissive (7) construct

It can be seen from Tables 20-22, that around 1/3 of the total sample rated their father at the not affectionate end of this construct. Furthermore, around 1/3 of the total sample rated their father as angry and domineering. There was very little difference between the subgroups in terms of how fathers were construed.

4.4.7 Summary of the subjects' construing of their parents

In summary, it can be concluded that in general, the subjects' parents were rated rather negatively. This adds indirect support to the Marshall et al (1997) theory, that is, that child sexual abusers, as adults, appear to have experienced difficulties in their relationships with their parents. It was of note that there were no significant differences between the two subgroups in terms of their construction of their parents.

4.4.8 How do Child Sexual Abusers construe adult women?

In order to further explore the Marshall et al (1997) theory, the subjects' responses to the "women" element were noted.

4.4.8.1 Do child abusers construe women as similar to their ideal partner?

It has been suggested that child sexual abusers turn to children as they perceive relationships with adult women as threatening and/or invalidating (eg Marshall et al 1997 and Needs 1988).

15 (40%) of the total sample had a positive and significant correlation between the 'women in general' and 'ideal partner' elements. Of these, 6 (37%) had abused boys and 9 had abused girls (45%). This difference is not significant.

4.4.8.2. Do child abusers perceive adult women as domineering, dishonest and dangerous?

Ward and Keenan (1999) suggest that child abusers regard adult women as untrustworthy, rejecting and likely to take advantage of men. The subjects' ratings of women on relevant constructs were noted and the results are presented in tables 23 - 25.

	Men who abused boys	**Men who abused girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	5	3.7	4.1
Range	1-7	1-5	1-7
Mode	5,6,7	4	4
Number scoring more than 4 (%) i.e. submissive	12 (70.6%)	3 (15%)	15 (40.5%)

Table 23: Subjects' ratings of women on the Domineering (1) Submissive (7) construct

As can be seen from Table 23 the men who abused boys tended to construe women at the submissive end of the bipolar construct more often than did men who abused girls (70.6%) versus (15%). This difference is statistically significant ($X2 = 11.6$, $P < .01$).

	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls	Total sample
Mean	2.8	2.5	2.7
Range	1-6	1-7	1-7
Mode	1	2	1
Number scoring more than 4 (%) i.e. 'dishonest'	3 (17.6%)	2 (10%)	5 (13.5%)

Table 24: Subjects' ratings of women on the honest (1) dishonest (7) construct

As can be seen from Table 24, 13.5% of the total sample rated women at the 'dishonest' end of this construct. There was little difference between the two groups on this measure.

	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls	Total sample
Mean	5.2	5.7	5.3
Range	1-7	4-7	1-7
Mode	7	7	7
Number scoring less than 4 (%) i.e. 'dangerous'	4 (23.5%)	0	4 (10.8%)

Table 25: Subjects' ratings of women on the dangerous (1) safe (7) construct

As can be seen from Table 25, out of the total sample, four subjects, all men who had abused boys, rated women at the 'dangerous' end of this construct.

4.4.8.3. Do child abusers perceive women as sexually provocative and not affectionate?

The ratings of women on these constructs were noted and the results are presented in Tables 26-27.

	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls	Total sample
Mean	4	3.7	3.85
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	3,7	4	4
Number scoring less than 4	7 (41.1 %)	5 (25%)	12 (32.4%)

Table 26: Subjects' ratings of women on the Sexually provocative (1) Not Sexually provocative (7) construct

As can be seen from Table 26, 32.4% of the total sample construed women at the 'sexually provocative' end of this bi-polar construct. The men who abused boys were somewhat more likely construe women as 'sexually provocative'. It can be seen from Table 27 that 10.8% of the total sample rated women at the 'not affectionate' end of this construct. These were all men who had offended against boys.

	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls	Total sample
Mean	2.9	2.6	2.7
Range	1-7	1-4	1-7
Mode	1	4	1
Number scoring more than 4	4 (23.5%)	0	4 (10.8%)

Table 27: Subjects' ratings of women on the Affectionate (1) Not affectionate (7) construct

4.4.8.4 Do child abusers tend to idealise adult women?

This issue was explored for two reasons. Firstly, previous findings in the current study suggested that the 'ideal' elements were especially important to the subjects in terms of accounting for variance. Secondly, there appeared to be only somewhat limited evidence to suggest that the subjects found adult women especially 'distasteful'.

It can be seen from Table 28 that around 50% of both subgroups had correlations between women and two of the idealised elements: 'ideal self' and 'ideal partner'. It is of particular note that none of the subjects had a negative, significant correlation between women and the two ideal elements. This may suggest that rather than avoiding intimate relationships with women because they are construed as 'untrustworthy' and 'likely to take advantage of men', as Ward and Keenan (1999) hypothesised, a substantial proportion of child abusers may have difficulty in forming relationships with women because they are 'idolised'.

	Men who abused boys (%)	**Men who abused girls (%)**	**Total sample (%)**
Women and ideal self	8 (47)	8 (40)	16 (43)
Women and ideal partner	6 (35)	9 (45)	15 (40)
Total number of subjects with correlations between women and ideal elements	9 (53)	10 (50)	19 (51)

Table 28: Significant and Positive Correlations between women and the ideal elements

4.4.9 Summary of how child abusers construe adult women

There appeared to be two quite distinct subgroups in terms of how child abusers construed adult women. A small group of the subjects, interestingly, mainly men who abused boys, did construe adult women in a negative light. Contrary to this however, around half of the sample tended to idealise adult women and the men who abused boys were significantly more likely to construe women as 'submissive'.

4.4.10 How do Child Sexual Abusers construe children?

In order to further explore the Marshall et al (1997) theory, the subjects' responses to the children element were noted.

4.4.10.1 Do child abusers construe children as similar to their ideal partner?

14 (37.8%) of the total sample had a positive and significant correlation between the 'children' and 'ideal partner' elements. Of these, 7 (41.2%) had abused boys and 7 (35%) had abused girls. The difference was not significant.

4.4.10.2 Do child abusers construe children as sexually provocative and liking sex?

It has been suggested that cognitions about children as potential sexual partners are important in terms of understanding sexual behaviour involving children (eg see Horley 1988). There is also evidence to suggest that child abusers have distorted beliefs regarding the sexualisation of children (eg Ward and Keenan 1999).

Subjects ratings on the relevant constructs were noted and the results are shown in Tables 29-30.

	Men who abused boys	**Men who abused girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	5	5.8	5.5
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	7	7	
Number Scoring less than 4	4 (23.5%)	1 (5%)	5 (13.3%)

Table 29: Subjects' ratings of children on the sexually provocative (1) Not sexually provocative (7) construct

	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls	Total sample
Mean	5.5	5.6	5.6
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	7,6	7	7
Number scoring less than 4	1 (5.9%)	2 (10%)	3 (8.1%)

Table 30: Subjects' ratings of children on the likes sex (1) Does not like sex (7) construct

It can be seen that only 5 of the total sample (13.3%) rated children as sexually provocative. Four of these were men who had offended against boys. Likewise, only 3 of the total sample (8.1%) construed children as liking sex.

4.4.10.3 Do child abusers construe children as submissive, vulnerable, mature and easy to control?

It has been hypothesised that child abusers construe children in this 'passive' like manner, for example see Marshall (1993) and Howells (1979).

The ratings for each subject was noted on the relevant constructs and Tables 31 - 34 show the results. It can be seen that around 1/3 of the total sample construed children as submissive and more of the men who abused boys construed children in this manner (53% versus 25%). This difference was not significant however. Again, around 1/3 of the sample rated children as vulnerable. There was no difference between the subgroups on this measure. 1/3 of the total sample rated children as easy to control and the men who abused girls were slightly more likely to do so (40% versus 23.5%). Finally, it is of note that the men who abused boys were somewhat more likely to construe children as mature ($X2 = 4.55, P < .05$).

	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls	Total sample
Mean	4.87	4.17	4.4
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	4	4	4
Number scoring more than 4	9 (53%)	5 (25%)	14 (37.8%)

Table 31: Subjects' ratings of children on the Domineering (1) Submissive (7) construct

	Men who abused boys	Men who abused girls	Total sample
Mean	4.43	3.77	3.9
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	7	1	7
Number scoring less than 4	6 (35%)	8 (40%)	14 (37.8%)

Table 32: Subjects' ratings of children on the Vulnerable (1) Not vulnerable (7) construct

	Men who abused boys (%)	Men who abused girls (%)	Total sample (%)
Mean	3.93	3.16	3.24
Range	1-7	1-5	1-7
Mode	4	4	4
Number scoring less than 4	4 (23.5%)	8 (40%)	12 (32.4%)

Table 33: Subjects' ratings of children on the Easy to control (1) Not easy to control (7) construct

	Men who abused boys (%)	Men who abused girls (%)	Total sample (%)
Mean	3.31	4.3	4
Range	1-6	3-7	1-7
Mode	1.4	4	4
Number scoring less than 4	7 (41.2%)	2 (10%)	9 (24.3%)

Table 34: Subjects' ratings of children on the Mature (1) Immature (7) Construct

Finally, as noted previously, for 27% of the subjects, there was an identification between the 'self' and 'children' elements. Furthermore, 40.5% of the subjects had a

correlation between the 'ideal self' and 'children' elements, suggesting a tendency to idealise children (see section 4.4.2.J and 4.4.2.K).

4.4.11. How do Child Abusers construe their victims?

4.4.11.1 Do child abusers differentiate their victim from children in general?

Although no previous research has been carried out in this area, this question has important implications for risk prediction in that it could be argued that child abusers who construe their victim as very different from children in general, represent less of a risk to children in general.

For 15 of the total sample (40%), their ratings of their own victim's positively and significantly correlated with their ratings of children in general. Of these, 5 (29.4%) had abused boys and 10 (50%) had abused girls (see Table 35). This is a rather surprising finding given that the men who abused girls were more likely to abuse children with whom they had family relationships. Thus, it could be assumed that they would see these children as more 'unique' than did the other subgroup who tended to abuse strangers or acquaintances.

It is of concern that almost half of the sample did not distinguish between their victim and children in general. Furthermore, it was of note, that of the 15 men who had positive and significant correlations between their victim and children elements, 11 (73.3%) had offended against more than one child. This suggests that those who do

not make a distinction between their victim and children in general, may be more likely to be recidivist offenders.

4.4.11.2 Do child abusers perceive their victim as similar to their ideal partner?

12 of the total sample (32.4%), had a positive and significant correlation between the 'victim' and 'ideal partner' elements. Of these, 4 were men who had abused boys (23.5%) and 8 (40%) were men who had abused girls (see Table 35).

	Men who abused boys (%)	**Men who abused girls (%)**	**Total sample (%)**
Victim and children in general	5 (29.4)	10 (50)	15 (40)
Victim and ideal partner	4 (23.5)	8 (40)	12 (32.4)

Table 35: Significant and positive correlations between elements

4.4.11.3 Do child abusers construe their victim as sexually provocative, dangerous or vulnerable?

As noted earlier, Horley (1988) suggests that one's cognitions about a child will play an important role in any sexual behaviour involving that child.

Subjects ratings on the relevant constructs were noted for the victim element and Tables 36-38 show the results.

	Men who abuse boys	**Men who abuse girls**	**Total sample**
Mean	5.12	4.6	4.7
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	7	7	7
Number scoring less than 4	4 (23.5%)	4 (20%)	8 (21.6%)

Table 36: Subjects' ratings for their victim on the Sexually provocative (1) Not sexually provocative (7) construct

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	4.9	5.85	5.6
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	7	7	7
Number scoring less than 4	2 (11.8%)	2 (10%)	4 (11%)

Table 37: Subjects' ratings for victims on the Dangerous (1) Safe (7) construct

As can be seen from Tables 36-38, almost 1/4 of the total sample construed their victim as sexually provocative. There was very little difference between the two subgroups on this measure. Only around 1/10 of each of the groups construed their victim as dangerous. On the contrary, the majority of subjects construed their victim as vulnerable (see Table 38). More of those who abused girls construed their victim as vulnerable (47% versus 70%), however this difference was not significant.

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	3.1	3.2	3.17
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	1	3	1
Number scoring less than 4	8 (47%)	14 (70%)	22 (59.5%)

Table 38: Subjects' ratings for victims on the Vulnerable (1) Not vulnerable (7) construct

Finally, as noted previously, 37.8% of the men appeared to identify with their victim and 43% had a significant and positive correlation between 'ideal self' and 'victim' elements, indicating a tendency towards idealisation. 28.6% of the subjects who had been sexually abused themselves appeared to identify with their victim.

4.4.12. Summary of how Child Sexual Abusers construe children and their victim(s)

In summary, it is of note that a small sample of the men rated children as sexually provocative and liking sex. A substantial proportion of the men, although by no means all, construed children as rather passive and easy to control. Around 40% appeared to have a somewhat idealised construction of children. There were no significant differences in terms of how the two subgroups construed children.

In terms of victims, a small subgroup of the men appeared to construe their victim as rather seductive in that they were seen as 'sexually provocative' and/or 'dangerous'. Around half of the sample tended to idealise their victim. Finally, there was a suggestion that men who did not differentiate between their victims and children in general, were more likely to be recidivist offenders. Again, there were no significant differences in terms of how the two subgroups construed their victim.

4.4.13 How do child abusers construe child abusers in general?

There can be very little doubt over how child abusers are perceived by the general public. However, there is no research to examine how child abusers construe other child abusers. Since most of these men will be treated in group-work programs with other child abusers, this is an important clinical question to address.

Subjects' ratings of the child abusers element were noted. The results are presented in Table 39-40.

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	2.87	2	2.3
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	8	8	8
Number scoring less than 4	8 (47%)	16 (80%)	24 (64.8%)

Table 39: Subjects' ratings for child sexual abusers on the dangerous (1) not dangerous (7) construct

	Men who abuse boys	Men who abuse girls	Total sample
Mean	4.8	5.3	5.2
Range	1-7	1-7	1-7
Mode	6,7	7	7
Number scoring more than 4	10 (58.8%)	14 (70%)	24 (64.9%)

Table 40: Subjects' ratings for child sexual abusers on the honest (1) dishonest (7) construct

It is of note that the vast majority of subjects construed child abusers as dangerous, and the men who abused girls were somewhat more likely to construe child abusers as dangerous ($X2=4.3$, $P<.05$). The majority of subjects also construed child abusers as dishonest, and those who abused girls were also somewhat more likely to construe child abusers in this manner. This has various implications that are raised in the discussion section of this paper.

4.4.14

In the absence of an overall group or subgroups finding, analysis returned to the individual participants. Graph 2 shows a plot of the data for subject 1 who had offended against boys and Graph 3 shows a plot of the data for subject 1 who had offended against girls. The horizontal axis represents the construct from component 1 that accounts for the greatest proportion of variance and the vertical axis represents the construct from component 2 that accounts for the greatest proportion of variance. The elements are plotted in relation to these constructs.

In terms of these subjects' construction of self, it can be seen that both of the men appeared to have reasonably high self esteem in that their 'self now' and 'ideal self' elements were close together on the plot. Also, both men had distance between the 'self now' and 'self when I abused' elements, perhaps meaning that neither of these men saw their offending as part of their core self. Thus it could be hypothesised that these men where less likely to reoffend than the 37.8% of subjects who had significant correlations between these elements. While the man who abused boys appeared to identify strongly with his victim, the man who abused girls saw the 'self' and 'victim' elements as quite different. This reflects the variation in the group findings for this issue (see section 4.4.2.f). Similarly, while the man who abused boys appeared to idealise his victim, the man who abused girls placed some distance between the ''victim' and 'ideal self' elements, again reflecting the differences within the group as a whole. Finally, the man who abused boys appeared to identify 'self

now' and 'ideal self' with 'children', however, the man who abused girls placed some distance between the two self elements and children.

In summary, in terms of the self element, the plots appear to suggest that the man who abused boys fitted many of the clinical hypotheses previously discussed; he identified with his victim, he had a somewhat idealised view of his victim and he identified with children in general. The man who abused girls did not appear to fit any of these hypotheses. Clearly other questions need to be asked in order to understand the reasons behind his offending.

In terms of these subjects' constructions of others, the plots show that, interestingly, both subjects construed both parents as extremely similar. However, while the man who abused boys appeared to construe his parents in a positive light, the man who abused girls saw his parents as closest to the 'child abusers' and 'me when I abused' elements, suggesting somewhat more negative feelings towards parents. Also, the man who abused boys, in keeping with around 50% of the group in general, appeared to have a rather idealised view of women, the man who abused girls however, had some distance between the 'women' element and the 'ideal' elements. The man who abused boys appeared to construe his victim and children in general as very similar, while the men who abused girls placed some distance between these elements. As discussed previously, it could be hypothesised that the man who abused boys would be more likely to reoffend as his victim was not construed as 'unique' from other children.

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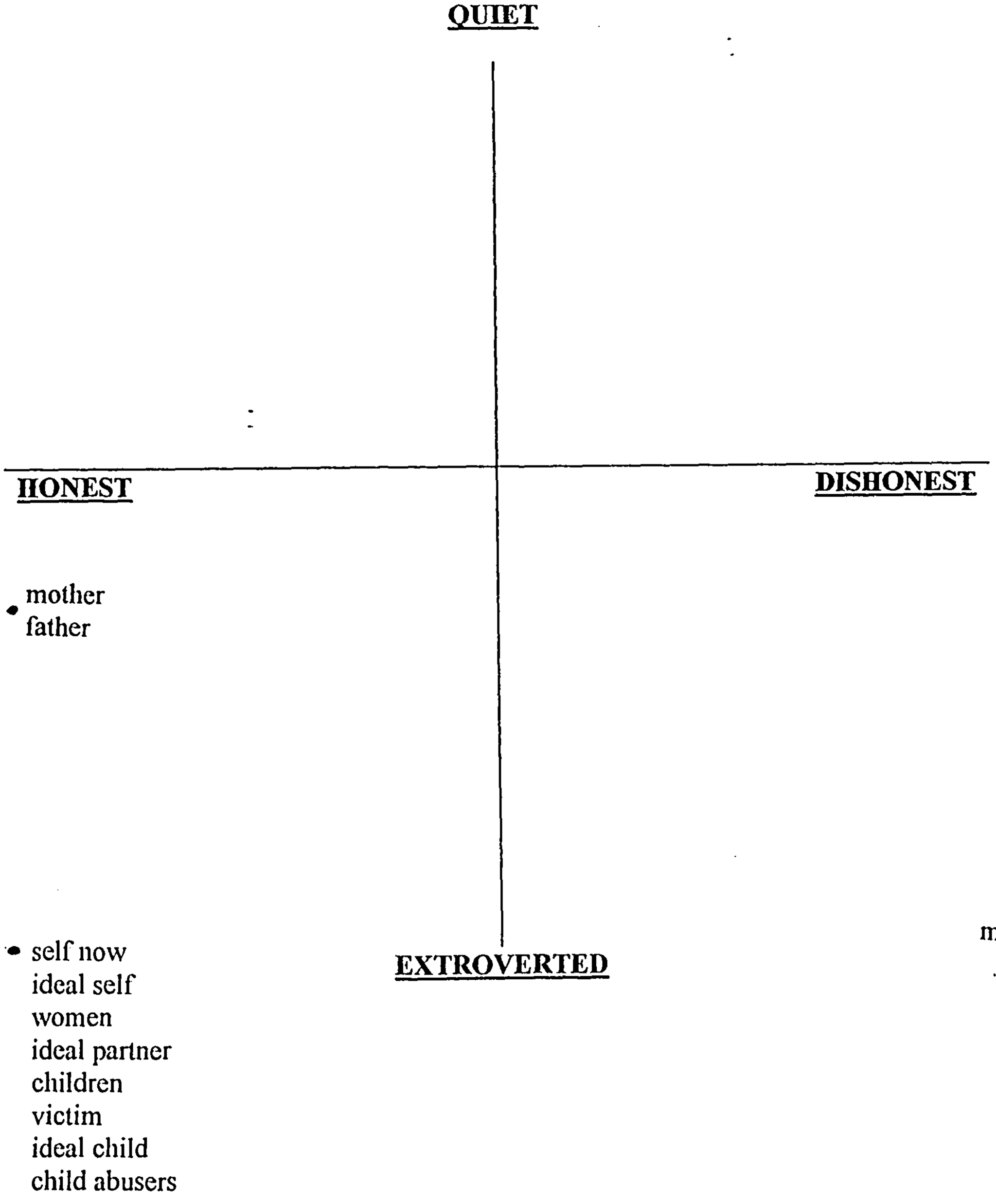
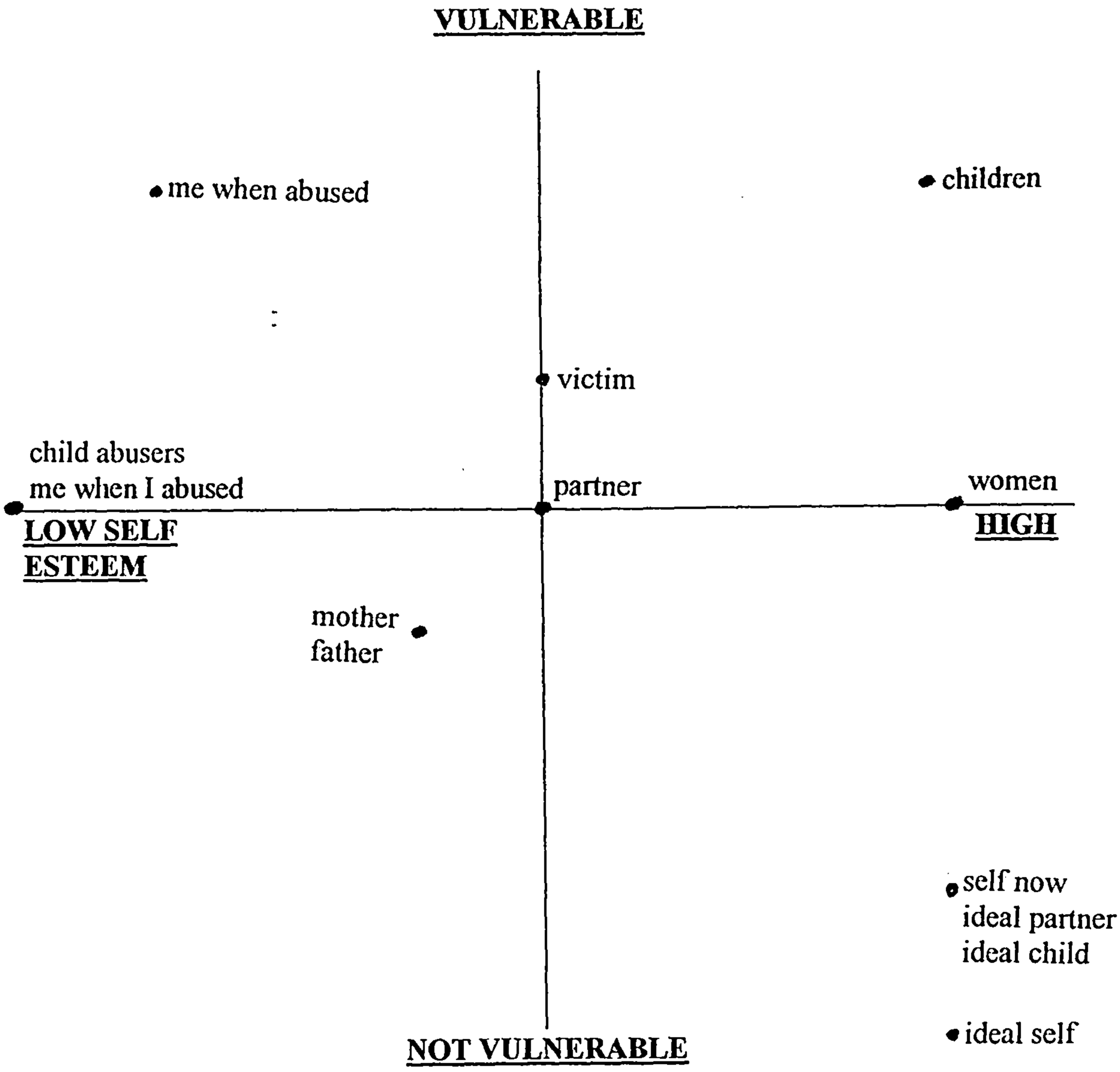
GRAPH 2: Principal Components Grid for Subject 1 who abused boys

Plot of Elements on the Principal Constructs



GRAPH 3: Principal Components Grid for Subject 1 who abused girls

Plot of Elements on the Principal Constructs



Interesting, the man who abused girls saw himself when he abused as similar to other child abusers, suggesting a lack of denial for his offence. The man who abused boys placed some distance between these elements, perhaps suggesting a greater denial of the offence. Also it is of concern that this man appeared to have a rather idealised view of child sexual abusers.

From the plots it can by hypothesised that both men had very different motivations underlying their offending. For example, the man who abused boys presented a more 'disturbed' psychological picture, with close identification with children, a lack of distinction between the 'victim' and 'children' elements and an idealisation of child abusers. As noted earlier, the man who abused girls did not appear to 'fit' in terms of many of the common clinical hypotheses, other than perhaps difficulties in his parental relationships. Clearly there are other dynamics at work in his offending for which the usual hypotheses relating to children may not apply. In summary, it should be noted that these two subjects' presentations are further evidence of the individuality amongst child sexual abusers.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction to the discussion

In this section, the text will be divided as follows: First, the demographic findings from the study will be considered and placed within the context of previous research in this area. Second, the findings on how child abusers construe themselves will be explored within the context of previous research. Third, the findings on how child abusers construe others are considered. Differences and similarities between men who abuse girls and men who abuse boys are noted throughout and implications for psychological treatment and risk prediction with these populations are addressed. Possible issues for future research in the field will be raised throughout the text. Finally, the methodological difficulties and drawbacks with the current study will be addressed.

5.2 Demographic and Background Information

Previous research suggests that child sexual abusers report difficulties within their family of origin and in their early childhood (eg Tingle et al 1986 and Finkelhor 1984). In keeping with these findings, the current sample of child sexual abusers reported high incidences of emotional neglect, physical abuse and sexual abuse; for example, it was found that more than half of the men in the current sample had been sexually abused themselves and a substantial proportion reported childhood difficulties, such as being bullied, running away from home and self harm.

The very limited previous research that compares men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls, suggests that men who offend against boys have particularly difficult early lives, for example, Craissati and McClurg (1996) and Beckett et al (1994). In the current study, there was also a trend for the men who abused boys to report more general childhood difficulties. Furthermore, it was found that men who offended against boys were somewhat more likely to have been sexually abused in childhood themselves.

Previous research has not considered the nature of the sexual abuse in terms of differences between men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls. This variable was explored in the current study, and it was found that the men who abused boys were significantly more likely to have experienced penetrative sexual abuse as a child ($X2 = 9.15$, $P < .01$). It was also noted that the men who abused boys were significantly more likely to have engaged in sex play with other boys when they were children. It could well be that because of the very extreme nature of their own abuse, the men who abused boys were more 'sexualised' and/or more damaged/confused by their own abusive experiences. Thus they may have felt more compelled to act out sexually at an earlier age than the men who abused girls. Indeed McConaghy (1998) notes that men who abuse boys are more likely to begin sexual offending at an earlier age than men who abuse girls.

In summary therefore, while both subgroups tended to report difficult childhood experiences, the men who abused boys appeared to have had the most difficulties in their early years. This history of early trauma may help shed some light on why men

who abuse boys have been found to be at higher risk of recidivism (eg Hanson and Bussiere 1998) and it is therefore worthy of further investigation. Furthermore, it has been found that those who abuse boys are less likely to respond to treatment (see Marques et al 1994). Most treatment programs however do not address childhood traumas and perhaps, given their more damaged childhoods', this aspect of treatment is especially necessary for men who abuse boys. Clearly this would have to be approached sensitively and carefully as many sex offenders may attempt to use their own trauma as a means of avoiding full responsibility for their offending.

It has been found that there are high levels of social isolation in child abusers (eg, Marshall 1993 and Marshall et al 1997), with men who abuse boys being particularly socially isolated (eg Young 1982). This is a very important variable since social isolation is highly correlated with recidivism in child abusers (eg Thornton 1999 and Beech et al 1998). The current study also found high levels of social isolation amongst the two subgroups; both subgroups reported a lack of contact with their family of origin and with friends prior to the offence. Isolation was particularly striking amongst the men who abused boys; for example, even in early childhood more of these subjects reported difficulties in making friends with peers, and significantly fewer of these men had been married or involved in a long term relationship. This finding has important clinical implications; although both groups may well benefit from input on issues relating to interpersonal relationships, those who abused boys may benefit most from this type of treatment intervention.

Although it has been found that men who abuse boys are at higher risk of reoffending (eg Thornton 1999), in general, there has been very little research in terms of other differences in the offending behaviour of men who abuse boys and men who abuse girls. What research there is suggests that men who abuse boys are more likely to offend outside of the family (eg Craissati and McClurg 1996). This view was supported in the current study with men who abused boys being significantly more likely to abuse strangers and acquaintances, while those who abused girls were more likely to abuse family members. As opposed to preference, this finding may merely reflect the lack of social and familial contact noted for the men who abused boys. Interestingly, it was found that the men who abused boys were more likely to admit to bribing their victims and this may be related to the fact that their victim was more likely to be a stranger or acquaintance, thereby making bribes more 'necessary'. However, it could also reflect a replication of their own abuse where bribes may have been offered by their perpetrator as part of the 'grooming' process. This finding may well warrant further research as it could help contribute to our understanding of the parallels between sexual victimisation and subsequent sexual offending.

It has been suggested that men who offend against boys have more distorted beliefs regarding the sexualisation of children (eg Thornton 1999). The current study however found that there were no detectable differences between men who abused boys and men who abused girls on the Cognitive Distortions scale of the Multiphasic Sex Inventory. Neither were there substantial differences in the subjects' ratings of children on the 'sexually provocative - not sexually provocative' and the 'likes sex - does not like sex' constructs of the repertory grid. In fact, if anything, the men who

abused boys were slightly more insightful in that they were somewhat more likely to rate themselves when offending as dangerous and not easy to control. This discrepancy could be accounted for by the fact that some of the previous studies (eg Craissati and McClurg 1996) do not control for number of previous offences. Indeed, the men who abused boys in the Craissati and McClurg (1996) sample were more likely to have been recidivist offenders. Thus, the correlation may be between cognitive distortions and number of offences, and gender of victim may have been a confounding variable in the Craissati and McClurg (1996) study. This issue would benefit from further exploration, with future research controlling for the number of victims/sexual offences.

5.3 General Repertory Grid results

It was of note that the most important construct in terms of its power to discriminate between elements was the 'miserable-happy' construct. Indeed almost 50% of the subjects used this construct in their top four most discriminating constructs. Indeed, Houston (1988) in a single case study of a child sexual abuser, also found that constructs related to being happy were most important. Another important discriminating construct for the group was 'low self esteem - high self esteem'. This is of note given the previously reported links between low self esteem and sex offending (eg Lanyon 1991 and Marshall et all 1999). Of course, given the absence of a control group from the current study, it is impossible to know whether these two constructs are 'uniquely important' to child abusers.

As noted previously (see Introduction section 2.8), there has been some rather contradictory previous research that considered the importance of the 'domineering - submissive' construct to child sexual abusers. Briefly, Howells (1979) found that this construct was extremely important to this population, but Horley (1988) was unable to replicate this finding. The current study also found that the 'dominant - submissive' construct was relatively unimportant in terms of accounting for variance. Horley (1988) initially hypothesised that the reason this construct was less important for his sample, was that his sample also included men who abused boys. Howells' sample was made up of men who abused girls only. Thus, Horley (1988) hypothesised that the domineering - submissive construct is not as important for men who abuse boys as it is for men who abuse girls. When this was investigated further however (Horley and Quinsey 1994), it was found that the dominant - submissive construct was no more important to those who offended against girls. It is of note that the current study, using a community sample, as opposed to an incarcerated sample, reached the same conclusion. Thus, it is likely that Howells' (1979) finding was influenced by the fact that his sample was made up of mentally ill child sexual abusers.

Given that one of the key issues in the current research was to explore whether men who abused boys were more socially isolated than men who abused girls, it was of note that the 'lonely- not lonely' construct was somewhat more discriminating for men who abused boys than for men who abused girls. This suggests that the men who abused boys may in fact be somewhat more preoccupied with issues of isolation. For

the men who abused girls, the constructs 'makes friends easily - difficulty making friends', 'friendly - not friendly' and 'dangerous - safe' were somewhat more useful in terms of discriminating between elements. While these constructs are also related to sociability, they appear to be more related to behavioural observations rather than the more emotional issue of loneliness. This is of note as Horley and Quinsey (1995) also found that men who abused boys were more likely to view people in terms of emotional expression. This difference between the subgroups would benefit from further exploration.

The most important elements in terms of discriminating were the three ideal elements, that is, 'ideal partner', 'ideal child' and 'ideal self'. This could suggest that child abusers frequently use an idealised image in order to make sense of their world. In other words, it may be that child abusers tend to subconsciously compare themselves and others with an idealised image; thus, they and others may consistently be construed as inadequate. This hypothesis could help explain why child abusers have often been found to have low self esteem (eg Lanyon 1991 and Marshall et al 1999). Furthermore, it could help explain their high levels of social isolation. Again, this issue would benefit from further investigation as it has important implications for understanding the interpersonal functioning of child sexual abusers.

Finally, in terms of the general grid findings, it was noted that the grids of the subjects as a group were somewhat more unidimensional and simplistic than that of a 'normal' sample (see Ryle and Breen 1972b). This suggests that some child sexual abusers

may have a rather simplistic and 'tight' way of viewing the world (Kelly 1955). This could have two important treatment implications:

a. Denial is an extremely important issue in sex offender treatment, and it has been found that tight construers tend to show higher levels of psychological denial (eg Cating et al 1992). Thus if a sex offender is a tight construer, levels of denial could appear exacerbated. In assessment it may be important to determine how likely the individual is to show psychological denial in general, as this could have implications for their acceptance of their offending.

b. A key component of sex offender treatment involves increasing victim empathy. This can often be a rather abstract concept and if many child abusers have a concrete and simplistic construct system, a real understanding of abstract notions may be particularly difficult. Often reports from treatment programs state that a client has no real victim empathy. Arguably the client may simply not have the cognitive capacity to think at this abstract level. Hence, there may be a need for the therapist to be more imaginative and creative in how they address this issue with certain clients.

5.4 Child abusers construction of self

Other than a few single case studies (eg Houston 1998), there has been no previous research to examine how child sexual abusers construe themselves when they are offending. The current study found that less than half of the sample believed they were dangerous at the time of their offending and only 35% of the sample believed that they were 'not easy to control'. These results further illuminate the 'denial' and

lack of insight some of these subjects appear to have had into their offending, and they are thus in keeping with the results from the psychometric testing.

It was of interest that the majority of child abusers in the current sample (91.9%) saw themselves when offending as very different from child abusers in general. This could well represent a defence mechanism. In personal construct psychology it could be seen as a means to alleviate guilt when the individual has behaved in a way which is at odds with their core role (see Houston 1998). Similar defence mechanisms have been noted in previous research with this client group. For example, Houston (1998) cites a man who abused two children who construed his 'self when offending' at the opposite pole to 'a typical sex offender' (Houston 1998, pg 152). This finding does have some implications for the treatment of these subjects, especially since most sex offenders are treated in groups with other sex offenders. For example, this dynamic is likely to manifest itself in a need for individuals to contrast themselves and their offending with that of other group members. For future research it would be of use to explore any post treatment shifts in the positioning of the 'self when offending' and 'child sexual abusers' elements.

Again, there has been no previous research to explore if there are shifts in how child abusers see themselves currently, in relation to how they construed themselves when they were offending. Clearly this is an extremely important issue for risk prediction, since a substantial shift could indicate a decreased risk of re-offending. It was therefore of concern to note that almost 40% of the subjects perceived very little difference between themselves currently and themselves when they were offending. It would be of interest to follow up these subjects in order to determine if a lack of

shift between the 'self now' and 'self when offending' elements was in fact correlated with an increased risk of recidivism.

Fewer subjects, that is 18.9%, saw their ideal self as similar to their self when offending. It would also be of interest to explore if this correlation had an impact on compliance with treatment and treatment efficacy. For example, it could be hypothesised that those with very little distance between their self when offending, their current self and their ideal self would be highly resistant to treatment, as they represent the group where offending is seen as a core role construct, for example, the more fixated (primarily attracted to children) type offenders (see Quinsey 1986). It is of note that Kelly (1990) states that challenge of a core role construct is extremely threatening and responses to threat can be increased cynicism, withdrawal and deadening of affect (Seyle 1956). Thus, it is very likely that such offenders would require particularly skilled and sensitive management in therapy. Indeed, this issue could help explain why current treatment programs appear to be somewhat less effective for recidivist pedophiles (eg Becker and Quinsey 1993 and Thornton 1999).

Previous research has suggested that men who sexually abuse children have a very poor self image (eg Lanyon 1991 and Marshall et al 1999). It has already been noted that the issue of self esteem was important for the subjects in the current study, as the construct 'low self esteem - high self esteem' was found to be the second most useful construct for discriminating between elements. In keeping with the previous research, it was found that around half of the sample saw their 'self' and 'ideal self' as dissimilar, indicating a tendency towards low self esteem. However, contrary to

previous research, it was found that the element closest to 'self' for 27% of the subjects was 'ideal self'. Furthermore, around 50% of the current sample had a positive and significant correlation between the 'self' and 'ideal self' elements on the Repertory Grid, indicating a relatively positive self image. Since many of the past studies on self esteem and sex offenders rely on an overall group mean score, it is likely that the variance amongst the group is somewhat lost. The findings from the current study suggest that it is misleading to assume that **all** sex offenders have low self esteem.

Although as yet no research has been carried out in this area, clinically, it has been suggested that child abusers, especially those who have themselves been abused, identify with their victim. This dynamic has been especially implicated in the abuse of boys (see Groth and Birnbaum 1978). When taking into account the total sample, that is, inclusion of the men who were not abused, it was found that 37.8% of the men identified with their victim. Out of the subjects who had been sexually abused themselves, 28.6% construed 'themselves when sexually abused' and their 'victim' elements as similar. Interestingly, and contrary to expectations, the men who abused girls were somewhat more likely to identify their self when abused with their victim. Clinically this is an important issue as some sex offender treatment programs attempt to increase the perpetrators empathy for their victim by using the perpetrator's own childhood abusive experiences. Clearly this may be a very helpful treatment strategy for offenders who do identify with their victim. However, for those who construe themselves as different from their victim, attempting to heighten empathy in this

manner may be a rather abstract task. Again, this issue highlights the need for thorough and individualised assessment prior to embarking on treatment programs.

It was of concern that in terms of the 'self when sexually abused element' , 22% of the subjects placed themselves at the 'sexually provocative' end of the bi-polar construct, 40% rated themselves as 'not miserable' and 30% rated themselves at the 'liking sex' end of this construct. Clearly, for these individuals, their construction of their own victimisation would need to be thoroughly addressed before any attempt was made to encourage victim empathy by making links between 'self when abused' and 'victim'. For example, if these men saw themselves as 'liking sex' at the time of their abuse, emphasising the association between them as victims and their own victim, might merely reinforce the notion that their own victim liked sex. This could well lead to an increase, rather than the intended decrease, in cognitive distortions.

Despite a glaring lack of research evidence, it is generally 'assumed' that child sexual abusers identify with children in general. Indeed, Finkelhor (1986) states that one of the four preconditions for sexual abuse, is that the abuser feels emotionally congruent with children. In fact, only 27% of the current subjects had a positive and significant correlation between the 'self' and 'children' elements. Furthermore, only two of the subjects placed themselves as closest to the 'children' element. This assumption that child abusers identify closely with children, may therefore be one that we need to question and explore in further research.

In summary, it is of note that in terms of how child sexual abusers construe themselves, there was very little difference between the two subgroups. In fact, there were no significant differences at the .01 level. Also, it is of note that there were no overall 'group' findings. On the contrary, what was consistently found, in keeping with Person Construct Psychology, was that there was a great deal of variability throughout the group. This reinforces the view that, while there is clearly much overlap in the dynamics underlying sexual offending, highly individualised assessments are vital in the understanding of a sex offender.

5.5 How do child abusers construe others?

As noted earlier, a number of clinicians and researchers have suggested the following broad formulation of child sexual abuse (eg Marshall 1993, Needs 1988 and Cox 1996):

1. Early difficult attachment relationships.
2. These result in an inability to form close relationships with others and adult women are perceived as threatening and rejecting.
3. Children are construed as a less threatening alternative for intimacy

These issues will be addressed one by one in the following section:

1. Do child abusers have difficult relationships with their parents?

As noted earlier in the section on demographic information (see 5.2), the majority of subjects experienced a great deal of abuse in their childhoods, and such abuses often indicate difficulty in the attachment relationship, for example, an inability on the

parents part to protect. There is clinical speculation that mothers of child abusers are either domineering and interfering or rejecting and uncaring. Indeed it was found that around 1/3 of the total sample rated their mothers as domineering, just under half of the sample rated their mother as angry and 13.5% rated their mother as dangerous. This type of mothering appears to reflect the type described clinically by Bak (1968) and Cox (1996). One third of the men rated their mothers as not affectionate and perhaps this group reflect the more emotionally unavailable mother described by Cox (1996). Overall, the findings certainly tend to support the view that child sexual abusers, as a group, have very difficult maternal relationships.

In terms of paternal relationships, 1/3 of the sample rated their fathers as not affectionate, 1/3 rated their father as angry and almost 1/3 rated their father as domineering. Finally, it was noted that over half of the sample (54%) did not identify with either of their parents, indicating what Bowlby (1969) would describe as a lack of 'connectedness' with the family of origin.

It should be stressed that these findings do not necessarily 'prove' difficult early attachment relationships. That is, these constructions of parents are taken from the offenders as adults. It may well be a leap to automatically assume that, as children, the subjects would have construed their parents in similar, negative ways.

Furthermore, in the absence of a control group it is impossible to conclude that non sex offenders would display substantially different patterns of relating to parents.

However, overall the findings supported the hypothesis that child sexual abusers have troubled relationships with their parents and this is in keeping with the limited research that there has been in this area previously (eg McClurg and Craissati, in press). Relationships with parents is clearly a particularly important clinical area as it is these early relationships that lay the groundwork for subsequent interpersonal difficulties (eg see Bowlby 1969). It is of note however that as yet, early attachment relationships are given very little focus, if any, in most current sex offender treatment programs.

2. Do child abusers construe adult women negatively?

It has already been noted at various points throughout that social isolation is a particularly important concept for this group. Ward and Keenan (1999) suggest that child abusers perceive adult women as untrustworthy, rejecting and likely to take advantage of them. Horley and Quinsey (1994) found that child abusers construed women as 'frigid' and finally, Thornton et al (1999) suggest that child abusers have extremely hostile attitudes to women. In keeping with this, the current study found that 13.5% rated women at the 'dishonest' end of the construct and 10.8%, all men who had abused boys, rated women as 'dangerous'. Furthermore, 10.8% of the group, again, all men who had abused boys, rated women at the 'not affectionate' end of the construct. Thus, there appears to be some support for the theory that **some, although by no means all,** child sexual abusers, perceive women negatively. These negative views appeared to be particularly apparent in very small subgroup of the men who abused boys. Again, it should be stressed that in the absence of a control group, it is impossible to be sure if these findings are unique to a sex offending population.

It must be stressed that hostile attitudes towards women were by no means apparent in the majority of subjects. For example, it was found that around 50% of both subgroups had correlations between women and the idealised elements, indicating a tendency towards idealisation of women. This finding is unique to the current study and there may be a number of factors that could account for it. First, all of the workers involved in the project from which these subjects were recruited were women. For various reasons, this may have led to a more favourable rating of females. Second, the previous studies that have examined child abusers' constructions of adult women have largely been based on incarcerated populations eg Thornton et al (1999) and Horley and Quinsey (1994), it could well be that particularly negative constructions of women are 'encouraged' by the very macho environment prevalent in prisons.

Although the switch between idealisation and denigration is often a rather swift one, this current finding is extremely important, as it suggest that rather than fearing closeness with women because they are construed negatively, a large proportion of child abusers may avoid intimate relationships with adult women because they are 'idealised'. Again, this has important implications for therapy. In terms of content it suggests the need for 'realistic' discussions around attitudes to women. In terms of process, it may suggest the need for female therapists who are able to model being balanced, 'human' and, perhaps, fallible.

Following on from this, it has been suggested that men who abused boys may be less likely to have had adult heterosexual relationships because they find adult women more threatening and rejecting than do the men who abused girls (see Introduction section 2.7). In fact, the men who abused boys were significantly more likely to rate women at the submissive end of the 'submissive - domineering' construct ($X2 = 11.6$, $P < .01$).

Overall, in terms of gender of victim differences, perhaps what these results suggest is a greater variance in how men who abuse boys construe adult women. The men who abused girls appeared to be somewhat more uniform in their constructions around women.

3. Do children represent a less threatening alternative to adults?

It should be noted that there are two, perhaps slightly contradictory, theories on how children are perceived by child sexual abusers. The first theory suggests that child abusers construe children as more malleable, passive and less threatening than adults. Indeed, Howells (1979) using a repertory grid technique found that child sexual abusers construed children as passive and undemanding. However, Horley (1988) was unable to replicate this finding. The current study found that 1/3 of the sample construed children as submissive. Also, around 1/3 of the men rated children as easy to control and over 1/3 rated children as vulnerable. These findings appear to offer some support to the theory that at least **some** child abusers construe children as passive and non-threatening. In keeping with Horley and Quinsey (1995), there

appeared to be no substantial differences between the two subgroups in relation to this issue (see Introduction section 2.8).

The second theory suggests that child abusers are very distorted in their thinking about children, and rather than being passive and submissive, children are construed as sexually aware and manipulative (eg Ward and Keenan 1999 and Abel et al 1990). It was found however, that only 13.3% of the subjects rated children as sexually provocative. Only 8.1% placed children on the 'likes sex' pole of the construct 'likes sex - does not'. This suggests that the majority of the subjects were not especially distorted in terms of their thinking about the children in general. However, it should be noted however that these results may merely reflect what the subjects perceived as the socially desirable response on the grid. Interestingly, it was found that the men who abused boys were somewhat more likely to construe children as mature ($X2 = 4.55$, $P < .05$). However, rather than being viewed as a cognitive distortion, this finding could merely reflect the enhanced degree of social inadequacy within this subgroup.

Rather than particularly hostile and distorted attitudes towards children, what was more apparent among the current sample, was an idealisation of children. For example, around 40% of the subjects had a correlation between the 'ideal self' and the 'children in general' elements.

In summary, no substantial differences were found between the two subgroups in their construct systems related to children. This finding is consistent with that of Horley

and Quinsey (1994), who also found very few differences between men who abused boys and men who abused girls, in terms of how children were construed.

It has been suggested that in therapy with sex offenders, 'one of the least understood, but most pressing, problems, is the relationship between the offender and his victim' (Cox 1996 pg 332). In keeping with the cognitive distortions theory noted earlier, it was found that 21.6% of the sample rated their victim at the sexually provocative end of the construct. 11% rated their victim as dangerous. However, in keeping with the passive/submissive theory, almost 60% of the subjects rated their victim as vulnerable.

Clinically it has been hypothesised that some child abusers idealise their victim, and that the offence is motivated by a subconscious resentment of their idealised status. Indeed it was found that just under half of the subjects construed a great deal of similarity between their victim and their ideal self constructs. Slightly more of the men who abused girls tended to demonstrate the idealisation of their victim and this may reflect the closer familial relationships between the victim and abuser for the men who abused girls subgroup. It was also noted that almost 40% of the men identified with their victim.

Thus, in summary, while a small subgroup of men construed their victim in a very negative distorted manner, a larger proportion had very different, and perhaps more complicated, feelings about their victim. Clearly issues around child abusers' feelings towards their victim is paramount to any treatment intervention and the results of the

current study again stress the necessity of a highly individualised and 'open minded' assessment approach.

In the current study 40% of the subjects viewed their victim as similar to children in general. It was of note that out of these 15 men, 11 (73.3%), had more than one victim. Indeed, Houston (1998) found that a recidivist sex offender viewed his victim as very similar to children in general, whereas an offender with only one victim viewed her as very different from children in general. This suggests that those who construe their victim as very unique may be at less risk of abusing other children. This finding has extremely important implications for risk prediction with sex offenders and thus warrants further investigation.

5.6 How do child abusers construe other child abusers?

The current study found that the vast majority of subjects construed child abusers as dangerous. Interestingly, this was at odds with how they construed themselves when they were offending. Also, the majority of subjects construed child abusers as dishonest. There was a trend for men who abused girls to more frequently rate child abusers as dangerous and dishonest. These findings raise three important issues:

a. Men who abused girls tended to have more harsh negative perceptions of child sexual abusers. This may be related to the fact that these men were more likely to have children of their own, and therefore may be more concerned over the potential risk to their own children from sex offenders. It could also perhaps reflect less ambivalence over their own sexually abusive experiences, where relevant.

b. As stated earlier, most child abusers are treated in groups with other child abusers. If an individual perceives other child abusers as dangerous and dishonest, it will be difficult for him to 'trust' the group process. This issue clearly requires further exploration and careful monitoring within sex offender treatment programs.

c. The subjects construing of child sexual abusers is very different from how these men rated themselves when they were offending. These results may therefore reflect another tendency for the subjects to distance themselves from their offending behaviour.

It should be noted that since this is the first study that explores child abusers' perceptions of other child abusers, these findings are very speculative and require further investigation.

5.7 Overall summary and conclusions

It is striking that in all of the components of the current research, there was no 'overall group result'. Neither were there very striking differences between the two subgroups. What was apparent, was a great deal of individual difference and variance throughout the groups, no doubt reflecting highly complex and individualised motivations underlying the offending behaviour. The current trend to treat sex offenders in extremely standardised group work programs can often be at odds with the need for highly individualised assessments and interventions. Perhaps our current

inclination to treat sex offenders on mass, is our defence, as therapists, against construing sex offenders as individuals.

5.8 Overall methodological considerations

Overall, the broad aims of the study were met. Indeed, the study also overcame some of the methodological difficulties found in previous studies, for example, the subjects were all taken from a community sample, thus overcoming the possible social effects of incarceration. Furthermore, the study did not focus exclusively on a treatment sample, and it had a very consistent method for obtaining research data across participants. Numerous implications for the psychological assessment and treatment of sex offenders were raised throughout and there were some possible aids to our current knowledge of risk prediction with this population. Finally, the study demonstrated the utility of an assessment technique that is very rarely used with offending populations, yet which may well have many advantages over the more regularly employed questionnaires. For example, it has been argued that repertory grids can reveal aspects of construing which are at low levels of cognitive awareness (Winter 1992).

A major flaw with the study however, was that the number of participants was low; hence there were concerns over how representative the group may be. Low numbers also precluded the use of multivariate analysis and statistical significance had to be set at a very stringent level, perhaps masking some potentially important differences between the subgroups. It should be noted however that the problem of sample size is a very common one with this population.

A second difficulty, which is again extremely common with this population, is that the groups were made up of men who had been **convicted** of child sexual abuse. However, it is well known that convicted sexual offenders represent only the tip of the iceberg as the majority of sexual offences remain undetected (Abel and Rouleau 1990). It may well be incorrect to assume that convicted sexual offenders are representative of sexual offenders in general. This factor also has implications for the sub-grouping of the subjects, that is, it is possible that some of the men who abused boys could also have unconvicted episodes of abuse against girls and vice versa.

It should also be noted that some of the men in the group were recidivist offenders and some, so far as we are aware, had offended for the first time. It is likely that there are substantial differences between these two groups of offenders that could have masked any gender of victim differences. This issue should be addressed in future research in this area, especially given that recidivist offenders are more likely to have abused males. For example, it could be important to compare men who had abused one boy only with men who had abused one girl only, and likewise to compare men who had abused multiple boys with men who had abused multiple girls.

The lack of confidentiality noted in the method section of this paper (see method, section 3.4) could well have led to a reporting bias. The issue of confidentiality is a problem with the vast majority of studies on child sexual abusers and indeed for ethical and practical reasons it is often impossible to guarantee confidentiality with this population. However, although the participants in the current study were

informed that the information obtained over the course of the clinical interview was not confidential, they were assured that their responses to the questionnaires and the repertory grid were completely confidential and would be used for research purposes only (see methodology section 3.4.4). As noted throughout however, this reassurance may have had little impact on the subjects' inclination to make socially desirable responses.

It should be noted that the elements and constructs used in the current study were supplied by the researcher. Ideally, it is best if participants can provide their own constructs and elements. However, Winter (1992) argues that supplied constructs and elements are defensible when comparing two groups of participants.

Finally, the current study did not include a control group. There were major difficulties with the use of a control group in this study. For example, if a non-sexual offending control group had been used it would have been virtually impossible to obtain the data under the same controlled research conditions. On balance, in the future, it would be extremely useful to compare the two subgroups responses on the grid with a group of non offenders or with a group of non-sexual offenders.

The study has perhaps raised more questions than it has answered and there is clearly much need and much potential for future research in this area. It is imperative that these questions are addressed in order to ensure that we offer effective psychological interventions to this potentially dangerous, yet often vulnerable, client population.

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BHI

Please read each of the following statements carefully and decide if it is true (T) or false (F) for you. If it is true for you, circle T. If it is false for you, circle F. Be sure to put your name and the date on your answer sheet. Thank you.

T F 1. Unless somebody asks me in a nice way, I won't do what they want.
T F 2. I don't seem to get what's coming to me.
T F 3. I sometimes spread gossip about people I don't like.
T F 4. Once in a while I cannot control my urge to harm others.
T F 5. I know that people tend to talk about me behind my back.
T F 6. I lose my temper easily but get over it quickly.
T F 7. When I disapprove of my friend's behaviour, I let them know it.
T F 8. When someone makes a rule I don't like, I am tempted to break it.
T F 9. Other people always seem to get the breaks.
T F 10. I never get mad enough to throw things.
T F 11. I can think of no good reason for ever hitting anyone.
T F 12. I tend to be on my guard with people who are somewhat more friendly than I expected.
T F 13. I am always patient with others.
T F 14. I often find myself disagreeing with people.
T F 15. When someone is bossy, I do the opposite of what he asks.
T F 16. When I look back on what's happened to me, I can't help feeling mildly resentful.
T F 17. When I am mad, I sometimes slam doors.
T F 18. If somebody hits me first, I let him have it.
T F 19. There are a number of people who seem to dislike me very much.
T F 20. I am irritated a great deal more than people are aware of.
T F 21. I can't help getting into arguments with people when they disagree with me.
T F 22. When people are bossy, I take my time just to show them.
T F 23. Almost every week I see someone I dislike.
T F 24. I never play practical jokes.
T F 25. Whoever insults me or my family is asking for a fight.
T F 26. There are a number of people who seem to be jealous of me.
T F 27. It makes my blood boil to have somebody make fun of me.
T F 28. I demand that people respect my rights.
T F 29. Occasionally when I am mad at someone I will give him the "silent treatment".
T F 30. Although I don't show it, I am sometimes eaten up with jealousy.
T F 31. When I am angry, I sometimes sulk.
T F 32. People who continually pester you are asking for a punch in the nose.
T F 33. I sometimes have the feeling that others are laughing at me.

T F 34. If someone doesn't treat me right, I don't let it annoy me.
T F 35. Even when my anger is aroused, I don't use "strong language".
T F 36. I don't know any people that I downright hate.
T F 37. I sometimes pout when I don't get my way.
T F 38. I seldom strike back, even if someone hits me first.
T F 39. My motto is "Never trust strangers".
T F 40. Sometimes people bother me by just being around.
T F 41. If somebody annoys me, I am apt to tell him what I think of him.
T F 42. If I let people see the way I feel, I'd be considered a hard person to get along with.
T F 43. Since the age of ten, I have never had a temper tantrum.
T F 44. When I really lose my temper, I am capable of slapping someone.
T F 45. I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me.
T F 46. I often feel like a powder keg ready to explode.
T F 47. When people yell at me, I yell back.
T F 48. At times I feel I get a raw deal out of life.
T F 49. I can remember being so angry that I picked up the nearest thing and broke it.
T F 50. I get into fights about as often as the next person.
T F 51. I used to think that most people told the truth but now I know otherwise.
T F 52. I sometimes carry a chip on my shoulder.
T F 53. When I get mad, I say nasty things.
T F 54. I sometimes show my anger by banging on the table.
T F 55. If I have to resort to physical violence to defend my rights, I will.
T F 56. I have no enemies who really wish to harm me.
T F 57. I can't help being a little rude to people I don't like.
T F 58. I could not put someone in his place, even if he needed it.
T F 59. I have known people who pushed me so far that we came to blows.
T F 60. I seldom feel that people are trying to anger or insult me.
T F 61. I don't let a lot of unimportant things irritate me.
T F 62. I often make threats I don't really mean to carry out.
T F 63. Lately, I have been kind of grouchy.
T F 64. When arguing, I tend to raise my voice.
T F 65. I generally cover up my poor opinion of others.
T F 66. I would rather concede a point than get into an argument about it.

FORM A

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Tacoma, WA 98466

Multiphasic Sex Inventory

INSTRUCTIONS: THIS IS A SEXUAL INVENTORY CONSTRUCTED TO STUDY THE FULL RANGE OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR. ANSWER EACH QUESTION AS FRANKLY AS POSSIBLE. IF A STATEMENT IS TRUE, AS APPLIED TO YOU, CROSS THROUGH THE LETTER T. IF A STATEMENT IS FALSE, AS APPLIED TO YOU, CROSS THROUGH THE LETTER F. ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE. IF YOU ARE BOTHERED BY THE EXPLICIT NATURE OF THE QUESTIONS AND DO NOT WANT TO CONTINUE, STOP AND RETURN THE INVENTORY TO THE EXAMINER.

1. OCCASIONALLY I THINK OF THINGS TOO BAD TO TALK TO OTHERS ABOUT.
2. I HAVE HAD DESIRES TO HAVE SEXUAL ACTIVITY WITH A CHILD.
3. THE CLITORIS HAS A SMALL SHAFT AND HEAD (GLANS) WHICH IS SIMILAR TO THE PENIS.
4. I HAVE BEEN ATTRACTED TO BOYS SEXUALLY.
5. I HAVE OCCASIONALLY HAD SEX WITH AN ANIMAL.
6. I SELDOM THINK ABOUT SEX.
7. I CAN USUALLY CONTROL MY ORGASM WHILE MASTURBATING BUT JUST AS SOON AS I TRY TO HAVE SEX WITH MY PARTNER I CANNOT CONTROL MY ORGASM.
8. I HAVE USED PEEPING TO FIND THE RIGHT SET UP AND PERSON TO RAPE.
9. MY PROBLEM IS NOT SEXUAL, IT IS THAT I REALLY LOVE CHILDREN (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).
10. A WOMAN URINATES THROUGH HER CLITORIS.
11. I AM MORE INTERESTED IN THE EXCELLENT ARTICLES IN "PLAYBOY" AND MAGAZINES LIKE THAT THAN I AM IN THE CENTERFOLDS.
12. IN SOME WAYS I WAS USED BY THE PERSON WHO REPORTED ME.
13. I HAVE MANIPULATED A CHILD TO GET SEXUAL PLEASURE.
14. I EXPOSE FROM A HIDING PLACE OR FROM A LONG DISTANCE AWAY (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE EXPOSED YOURSELF).
15. I HAVE HAD ONE OR MORE AFFAIRS WHILE MARRIED.
16. DURING SEXUAL INTERCOURSE, THE PENIS CAN GET CAUGHT IN THE VAGINA.
17. I HAVE FORCED MY SEX PARTNER TO HAVE SEX WHEN THEY DID NOT WANT TO.
18. I HAVE NEVER MOLESTED A BOY.
19. IT DOES NOT INTEREST ME TO LEARN THAT A WOMAN MAY NOT BE WEARING ANY PANTIES.
20. I HAVE A BIRTH DEFECT (A TESTICLE WHICH HAS NOT DROPPED, A URINARY OPENING UNDERNEATH MY PENIS, SPINA BIFIDA, UNDEVELOPED GENITALS, ETC.) WHICH CAUSES SEXUAL PROBLEMS FOR ME.
21. MALES SHOULD HAVE AN ORGASM REGULARLY TO KEEP THE TESTICLES FROM OVERFILLING WITH SEMEN.
22. I THINK ABOUT SEX 80% OF THE TIME.
23. I HAVE REACHED ORGASM WHILE MOLESTING A CHILD (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).
24. I HAVE ATTEMPTED RAPE OR RAPED MORE THAN 10 TIMES.
25. I HAVE USED LEATHERS, WHIPS, HANDCUFFS, SHARP THINGS, ETC., IN SEXUAL ENCOUNTERS.
26. ABOUT THE ONLY WAY I CAN HAVE AN ORGASM IS WHEN I MASTURBATE.
27. ORAL SEX DISGUSTS ME.
28. MY WIFE IS INTERESTED IN SEX MUCH MORE OFTEN THAN I AM.
29. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF MY WIFE'S LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF ME.
30. I HAVE NEVER HAD THOUGHTS ABOUT FONDLING A CHILD (CHILDREN) IN MY FAMILY.
31. IT TURNS ME OFF WHEN A FEMALE ADVERTISES HER SEXUALITY.
32. AS AN ADULT, I HAVE NEVER HAD SEX WITH ANOTHER ADULT.
33. SOMETIMES I AM SEXUALLY ATTRACTED TO CHILDREN.
34. I HAVE BECOME SEXUALLY STIMULATED WHEN SOMEONE URINATES.
35. THE GLANS OF THE CLITORIS IS GENERALLY ABOUT THE SIZE OF A PEA.
36. I HAVE NOT BEEN INTERESTED IN A CHILD IN A SEXUAL WAY.
37. I HAVE REACHED ORGASM WHILE SECRETLY WATCHING SOMEONE.
38. I FEEL SO FOOLISH ABOUT CLIMAXING SO FAST THAT I AVOID WOMEN.
39. THE THOUGHT OF A WOMAN PERFORMING ORAL SEX ON ME DOES NOT INTEREST ME.
40. A MALE WITH A CIRCUMCISED PENIS HAS MORE SEXUAL SENSATION THAN A MALE WHO IS UNCIRCUMCISED.
41. I HAVE HAD TO FIGHT THE IMPULSE TO TOUCH A CHILD SEXUALLY.
42. I HAVE NEVER TAKEN A CLOSE LOOK AT A WOMAN'S SEX ORGANS (GENITALS).
43. I HAVE NEVER EXPOSED MYSELF FROM A CAR.
44. I HAVE MADE SEXUALLY SEDUCTIVE REMARKS TO STRANGERS OVER THE PHONE.
45. I AM OFTEN HURT BY THE BEHAVIOR OF OTHERS.
46. I DO NOT REALLY NOTICE IF PEOPLE ARE SEXY OR NOT.
47. I HAVE NEVER BEEN ACCUSED OF RAPE OR ATTEMPTED RAPE.
48. I HAVE NEVER BEEN ACCUSED OF A SEX OFFENSE AGAINST A CHILD.
49. LIKE FEMALES, MANY MALES GET ERECT NIPPLES WHEN SEXUALLY STIMULATED.
50. I NEED SEX OR MASTURBATION DAILY TO REDUCE TENSION.
51. MY WIFE IS REALLY NOT INTERESTED IN SEX.
52. I HAVE LOST SEXUAL FUNCTIONING AS A RESULT OF AN ACCIDENT, WOUND OR SURGERY INVOLVING MY SEXUAL OR REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS.
53. I HAVE NEVER USED A WEAPON TO SCARE A PERSON INTO HAVING SEX.
54. I HAVE NEVER ATTEMPTED TO GET A CHILD WHO IS A STRANGER TO GO OFF ALONE WITH ME.
55. I HAVE TO USE PORNOGRAPHY TO BECOME SEXUALLY STIMULATED.
56. I GET MORE EXCITEMENT AND THRILL OUT OF HURTING A PERSON THAN I DO FROM THE SEX ITSELF.
57. I GET TURNED OFF WITH A WOMAN WHO EXPOSES PART OF HER BREASTS OR LEGS TO MEN.

. IT IS VERY SENSITIVE DEEP INSIDE THE VAGINA AND THAT PART MUST BE STIMULATED FOR A WOMAN TO HAVE AN ORGASM.

. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF MY WIFE'S AND MY INABILITY TO COMMUNICATE.

. I WAS EXCITED BY HAVING INCEST WITH MY CHILD (CHILDREN) (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH YOUR CHILDREN).

.. AS A CHILD, MOST ADULTS DID NOT UNDERSTAND ME.

. I HAVE BECOME SEXUALLY EXCITED OVER THE THOUGHT OF HAVING SEXUAL ACTIVITY WITH A CHILD.

. I HAVE BEEN MARRIED MORE THAN TWICE.

-. IT WOULD INTEREST ME TO LEARN THAT A FEMALE HAS FELT PLEASURE FROM MASTURBATING HERSELF.

. I HAVE BECOME SEXUALLY STIMULATED WHILE FEELING OR SMELLING A WOMAN'S UNDERWEAR.

o. I HAVE BEEN SEXUALLY ATTRACTED TO LITTLE GIRLS.

. THE CLITORIS IS USUALLY THE MOST SENSITIVE FEMALE SEX ORGAN.

8. I HAVE NEVER BEEN MARRIED.

9. I GET SO SEXUALLY EXCITED THAT I EITHER CLIMAX JUST BEFORE I ENTER MY SEX PARTNER OR VERY SOON AFTER I GET MY PENIS IN.

0. I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO STOP MYSELF FROM LOOKING AT OTHERS IN A SEXUAL WAY.

. I HAVE NEVER GONE INTO A HOUSE OR APARTMENT TO RAPE SOMEONE.

2. AT TIMES WHEN I HAVE HUGGED AND HELD A CHILD I HAVE BECOME SEXUALLY STIMULATED.

3. I FEEL LIKE I AM A VICTIM AS A RESULT OF THE ACCUSATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE AGAINST ME.

4. MANY PEOPLE COULD INTEREST ME SEXUALLY.

5. I HAVE MASTURBATED WHILE EXPOSING (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE EXPOSED YOURSELF).

6. I HAVE NEVER RAPED OR ATTEMPTED TO RAPE A MALE.

. OCCASIONALLY I GO TO A PROSTITUTE, PEEPSHOW OR MASSAGE PARLOR.

8. I HAVE NEVER MOLESTED A GIRL.

. SOMETIMES MY ERECTION IS SO PAINFUL I CANNOT PERFORM SEXUALLY.

. I AM NOT INTERESTED IN SEX MATTERS LIKE MOST MEN SEEM TO BE.

. IT IS NOT NORMAL FOR MALES TO HAVE ERECTIONS DURING SLEEP.

. I HAVE TO FIGHT THE IMPULSE TO MASTURBATE.

. I HAVE MOLESTED 5 OR MORE CHILDREN.

-. I HAVE OR HAVE HAD A VENEREAL DISEASE.

. I OFTEN WORRY ABOUT NOT BEING ABLE TO REACH ORGASM DURING THE SEX ACT.

. I LIKE TO LOOK AT SEXY PICTURES.

. DURING SEX I HAVE ENJOYED FRIGHTENING MY SEX PARTNER SO THEY BEG ME TO STOP.

. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE OCCURRED BECAUSE OF STRESSES IN MY LIFE.

. I HAVE NEVER BEEN MARRIED BUT I HAVE LIVED WITH SOMEONE WITH WHOM I HAVE HAD A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP.

. I HAVE NEVER MOLESTED ANY OF MY OWN CHILDREN.

. I HAVE FANTASIZED ABOUT HAVING SEX PLAY WITH A CHILD.

. I AM SO AFRAID A SEX PARTNER WILL THINK BADLY OF ME OR WILL LAUGH AT ME THAT I AVOID SEXUAL CONTACTS.

. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHILE EXPOSING THAT I HAVE HAD THOUGHTS OF WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE TO RAPE SOMEONE (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE EXPOSED YOURSELF).

. IT SEEMS THAT EVERYTHING I DO AND EVERYWHERE I GO I AM CONSTANTLY THINKING ABOUT SEX.

. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE OCCURRED BECAUSE THE PERSON ASKED FOR IT.

. IT WOULD PEAK MY INTEREST TO LEARN THAT A CHILD IS CURIOUS ABOUT SEX.

. WOMEN'S GENITALS ARE LESS SENSITIVE TO PHYSICAL STIMULATION THAN THOSE OF MALES.

98. SOMETIMES I HAVE DRIVEN DOWN THE ROAD WITH MY PENIS OUT OF MY PANTS.

99. I AM STRICTLY HETEROSEXUAL (ONLY INTERESTED IN FEMALE SEX PARTNERS).

100. I HAVE NEVER PICKED UP A PERSON FOR THE PURPOSE OF FORCING THEM TO HAVE SEX WITH ME.

101. I AM TOO EASILY SEXUALLY EXCITED.

102. I KNOW I HAVE GOTTEN A RAW DEAL OUT OF LIFE.

103. I AM SATISFIED WITH MY SEX LIFE.

104. I HAVE NEVER GOTTEN INTO TROUBLE OVER MY SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.

105. I AM PRIVATELY ATTRACTED TO MEMBERS OF MY OWN SEX.

106. I HAVE NOT INDULGED IN SEX ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE UNUSUAL.

107. I'M WORRIED ABOUT SEXUAL THINGS.

108. I ENJOY FLIRTING.

109. THERE ARE TIMES THAT I LAUGH AT A DIRTY JOKE.

110. I WISH THOUGHTS ABOUT SEX DID NOT BOTHER ME.

111. I HAVE NOT EVER BEEN IN LOVE.

112. WHEN A MAN IS WITH AN ATTRACTIVE WOMAN, HE HAS THOUGHTS ABOUT SEX.

113. I HAVE PRIVATE DAYDREAMS WHICH I DO NOT SHARE WITH OTHERS.

114. I BELIEVE THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH MY SEX ORGANS.

115. IF I WERE ARTISTIC, I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW CHILDREN.

116. I GET TURNED OFF WHEN I SEE A FEMALE WEARING HER CLOTHES SO TIGHT YOU CAN SEE EVERYTHING.

117. YOUNGER WOMEN HAVE TIGHTER VAGINAS THAN OLDER WOMEN.

118. THE MORE FRIGHTENED A PERSON HAS BECOME, THE MORE SEXUALLY EXCITED I HAVE BECOME.

119. MY SEX OFFENSE WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF I HAD NOT HAD TO TAKE CARE OF THE CHILD'S PERSONAL HYGIENE (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

120. SOMETIMES I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO STOP MYSELF FROM FONDLING ONE OR MORE OF THE CHILDREN IN MY FAMILY.

121. THE THOUGHT OF OVERPOWERING SOMEONE SEXUALLY HAS BEEN STIMULATING TO ME.

122. MY PENIS IS SO SMALL THAT I BELIEVE THAT I CANNOT SATISFY A WOMAN SEXUALLY.

123. I HAVE BECOME SEXUALLY STIMULATED OVER NON-SEXUAL BODY PARTS OR ITEMS (FEET, HAIR, SHOES, ETC.).

124. SINCE THE AGE OF 16 I HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH BOTH SEXES.

125. MY SEX OFFENSE OCCURRED BECAUSE I WAS MISTREATED BY A FEMALE(S).

126. I HAVE NEVER LOOKED AT PICTURES OF CHILDREN TO STIMULATE MYSELF SEXUALLY.

127. I KNOW I AM DIFFERENT THAN OTHER PEOPLE BECAUSE SEX IS ON MY MIND SO MUCH.

128. I CAN REMEMBER SNEAKING AND PEEPING ON FEMALES AS A BOY.

129. THE THOUGHT OF A WOMAN FONDLING MY PENIS DOES NOT INTEREST ME.

130. AS AN ADULT, I HAVE TICKLED AND WRESTLED WITH LITTLE GIRLS.

131. THE "TYING OFF" OF THE TESTICLE CORDS FOR STERILIZATION IS DANGEROUS BECAUSE IT REDUCES SEX INTEREST AND DRIVE.

132. MY SEX OFFENSE WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF THE CHILD HAD NOT BEEN CURIOUS AND INTERESTED IN SEX (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

133. I HAVE ATTEMPTED RAPE OR RAPED AT LEAST ONE TIME.

134. I HAVE SUFFERED MORE HURT IN MY LIFE THAN MOST PEOPLE.

135. I HAVE NEVER BEEN CHARGED WITH INDECENT EXPOSURE.

136. THE VICTIM KNEW OR WAS ACQUAINTED WITH ME BEFORE THE OFFENSE.

137. I LIKE TO LOOK AT SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMEN.

138. I HAVE MOLESTED MORE THAN ONE CHILD.

139. I HAVE AN ILLNESS (DIABETES, ARTHRITIS, MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS, LIVER OR KIDNEY DISEASE, ENDROCINE IMBALANCE, ETC.) WHICH EFFECTS MY SEXUAL FUNCTIONING.

140. SEXUAL THINGS INTEREST ME.

141. UNLIKE MOST MEN, WOMEN ARE CAPABLE OF HAVING MULTIPLE ORGASMS.

142. THE THOUGHT OF BEING SPANKED IS SEXUALLY EXCITING TO ME.

143. X-RATED MOVIES WOULD INTEREST ME, ESPECIALLY IF I COULD VIEW THEM IN THE PRIVACY OF MY HOME.

144. I HAVE NEVER REACHED ORGASM WHILE EXPOSING MYSELF (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE EXPOSED YOURSELF).

145. IT INTERESTS ME WHEN A MALE'S ORGANS SHOW THROUGH HIS CLOTHES.

146. IF I DID NOT FANTASIZE ABOUT SEX I COULD NOT MAINTAIN MY ERECTION.

147. I WOULD NOT GO TO A TOPLESS BAR OR SHOW FOR ANY REASON.

148. MY SEX OFFENSE WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF THE VICTIM HAD NOT BEEN SEXUALLY "LOOSE" (PROMISCUOUS).

149. SOMETIMES I GET SEXUAL PLEASURE OUT OF HURTING A PERSON.

150. MY JEALOUSY FOR MY PARTNER IS SO GREAT THAT IT STOPS ME FROM HAVING AN ORGASM.

151. IN MY GROWING UP, MY PARENTS DID NOT SHOW ME LOVE AND AFFECTION.

152. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHEN I HAVE PRESSED MY PENIS AGAINST STRANGERS.

153. I DO NOT LET MY SEX PARTNER SEE ME IN THE NUDE.

154. I OFTEN DRIFT INTO DAYDREAMS ABOUT SEX.

155. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHEN I HAVE BEEN AFRAID OF WHAT I MIGHT DO SEXUALLY.

156. I HAVE NEVER USED CHILD PORNOGRAPHY TO STIMULATE MYSELF SEXUALLY.

157. I HAVE SPENT A LOT OF TIME IN PARKS AND PLACES LIKE THAT JUST LOOKING AT GIRLS.

158. I AM STRICTLY HOMOSEXUAL (ONLY INTERESTED IN MALE SEX PARTNERS).

159. ONE OF THE FIRST SIGNS OF SEXUAL EXCITEMENT IN THE FEMALE IS WETNESS OF THE VAGINA.

160. MY SEX OFFENSE OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF NOT GETTING SEX EDUCATION AS A YOUNG PERSON.

161. I HAVE FOUND IT HIGHLY EXCITING TO GO CRUISING FOR SOMEONE TO RAPE.

162. AS AN ADULT, I HAVE "HORSEPLAYED" AROUND AND PLAYED "GRAB ASS" WITH A BOY OR BOYS.

163. I HAVE CALLED UP PERSONS I DID NOT KNOW JUST TO FRIGHTEN THEM WITH DIRTY WORDS AND THOUGHTS.

164. WHEN I EXPOSE, SOMETIMES I GET AN ERECTION (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE EXPOSED YOURSELF).

165. CHILDREN TODAY ENGAGE IN MORE SEXUAL BEHAVIOR THAN WHEN I WAS GROWING UP.

166. MY SEX OFFENSE OCCURRED BECAUSE THE PERSON I WAS ACCUSED OF ASSAULTING LED ME ON ALL THE WAY.

167. I HAVE TOUCHED A CHILD'S GENITALS IN A SEXUAL WAY.

168. I HAVE FOUND IT PLEASURABLE TO FORCE A PERSON TO HAVE SEX.

169. IT FEELS GOOD WHEN I TOUCH MY SEXUAL PARTS.

70. BY STIMULATING THE CLITORIS, MANY WOMEN ARE LIKELY TO HAVE AN ORGASM.

71. I HAVE GOTTEN EXCITED OVER THE THOUGHT OF TYING SOMEONE UP AND HAVING SEX WITH THEM.

72. I HAVE HEART DISEASE, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE OR CIRCULATION PROBLEMS WHICH EFFECT MY SEXUALITY.

73. I HAVE EXPOSED MYSELF MORE THAN 100 TIMES.

74. TO HAVE A SEXUAL ORGASM MEANS THE SAME AS TO HAVE A CLIMAX.

75. MY SEX PARTNER HAS HURT MY FEELINGS SO OFTEN THAT I HAVE HAD DIFFICULTY KEEPING MY ERECTION.

'6. AS AN ADULT I HAVE MASTURBATED.

'7. I THINK I AM HOMOSEXUAL BUT AM AFRAID TO ADMIT IT.

8. DURING MY EARLIER YEARS I DID NOT SATISFY MY CURIOSITY ABOUT SEX AND I BELIEVE THAT IS WHY I COMMITTED MY SEXUAL OFFENSE.

9. MOST OF THE TIME I CANNOT GET AN ERECTION WHEN I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SEX.

180. I HAVE PURPOSEFULLY HURT SOMEONE DURING A SEXUAL ENCOUNTER.

181. IT WOULD INTEREST ME TO LEARN THAT A WOMAN WOULD WANT TO BE RAPED.

182. MY SEXUAL INVOLVEMENT WITH A CHILD WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF THE CHILD HAD NOT BEEN OVERLY AFFECTIONATE (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

183. I HAVE SECRETLY DRESSED IN WOMEN'S CLOTHES.

184. I AM SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE.

185. I DON'T LIKE TO THINK ABOUT SEX AS MUCH AS I DO.

186. THE THOUGHT ABOUT RAPING SOMEONE HAS EXCITED ME.

187. IF THE PENIS IS LARGE ENOUGH, A WOMAN WILL GENERALLY EXPERIENCE AN ORGASM.

188. CHILDREN HAVE LIKED ME AND HAVE WANTED TO BE WITH ME.

189. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF PHYSICAL PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE EFFECTED MY SEXUALITY.

190. I HAVE NEVER BEEN ACCUSED OF PEEPING.

191. I SUSPECT MY FATHER FORCED HIMSELF SEXUALLY ON MY MOTHER.

192. I HAVE CRUISED FOR PERSONS TO RAPE.

193. I AM OBSESSED WITH SEX.

194. I HAVE NEVER MADE OBSCENE PHONE CALLS.

195. IT DOES NOT INTEREST ME TO LEARN THAT A WOMAN MAY NOT BE WEARING A BRA.

196. I HAVE NEVER EXPOSED MYSELF TO A CHILD.

197. I FEEL YOUNGER WHEN I AM WITH YOUNGSTERS.

198. THE VICTIM IN MY CASE DID NOT TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT REALLY HAPPENED.

199. I HAVE NEVER THREATENED A PERSON TO MAKE THEM HAVE SEX WITH ME.

200. A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY HAS BEEN IN TROUBLE BECAUSE OF HIS OR HER SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.

201. I HAVE TIED SOMEONE UP DURING A SEXUAL ENCOUNTER.

202. I WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN SEEING A FILM ABOUT PEOPLE ENGAGING IN INTERCOURSE.

203. I HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH A SEXUAL OFFENSE MORE THAN ONCE.

204. A MALE IS CAPABLE OF HAVING AN ORGASM BEFORE HE REACHES SEXUAL MATURITY OR ADOLESCENCE.

205. THE DRUGS OR MEDICINES I TAKE MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO EITHER KEEP MY ERECTION OR TO HAVE AN ORGASM.

206. I AM OFTEN MISUNDERSTOOD BY OTHERS.

207. I WOULD NOT HAVE HAD SEX PLAY WITH A CHILD IF SHE/HE HAD NOT ENCOURAGED IT (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

208. I AM TURNED OFF WHEN A WOMAN TRIES TO FLIRT WITH ME.

209. THERE HAVE BEEN QUITE A FEW TIMES THAT I HAVE DAYDREAMED ABOUT HOW PLEASURABLE IT WOULD BE TO HURT SOMEBODY DURING A SEXUAL ENCOUNTER.

210. THE PENIS BECOMES HARD BECAUSE THE INNER BONE STIFFENS.

211. I HAVE SOMETIMES DAYDREAMED ABOUT WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE TO SEXUALLY ATTACK SOMEONE.

212. I AM NOT SHY AND BASHFUL WHEN IT COMES TO SEX.

213. MANY TIMES I HAVE WISHED I WERE FEMALE.

214. I REGULARLY HAVE HAD SEVERAL ORGASMS IN ONE DAY.

215. I HAVE GOTTEN SEXUALLY EXCITED WHEN I HAVE HAD THOUGHTS ABOUT SOMEONE HAVING A BOWEL MOVEMENT.

216. I HAVE OFTEN FANTASIZED ABOUT RAPING SOMEONE.

217. PEOPLE HAVE COMMENTED ABOUT MY LOVE FOR CHILDREN.

218. I HAVE ENTERED A FEMALE'S BEDROOM JUST TO LOOK AT HER BODY UP CLOSE.

219. I BECAME INTERESTED IN SEX AFTER HIGH SCHOOL AGE.

220. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF MY NOT HAVING A SATISFYING SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP.

221. I HAVE HAD TO FIGHT THE IMPULSE TO RAPE.

222. I HAVE NEVER SHOWN A CHILD SEXY MAGAZINES OR PICTURES OF NUDE PEOPLE.

223. I HAVE DAYDREAMED ABOUT SEX SO MUCH THAT I HAVE MASTURBATED OR HAD SEX ONCE A DAY OR MORE.

224. I LIKE SEX PLAY.

225. I HAVE MASTURBATED MYSELF WHILE MAKING AN OBSCENE PHONE CALL (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE MADE AN OBSCENE CALL).

226. I HAVE PUBLICLY EXPOSED MYSELF TO AN ADULT PERSON(S).

227. JUST BEFORE I RAPED, I BECAME SO EXCITED THAT NOTHING ELSE MATTERED (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE RAPED OR ATTEMPTED RAPE).

228. I LIKE TO SEE LOTS OF BARE SKIN.

229. I SEEM TO PREFER THE COMPANY OF CHILDREN.

230. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE RESULTED FROM PROBLEMS IN MY FAMILY.

231. AS A CHILD I WAS PUNISHED WHEN I GOT CAUGHT IN SEXUAL ACTIVITY.

232. I HAVE BEEN SO EXCITED WHILE EXPOSING THAT I HAVE REACHED OUT AND GRABBED HOLD OF A PERSON (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE EXPOSED YOURSELF).

233. I HAVE HAD AN INJURY TO MY HEAD OR BACK THAT KEEPS ME FROM HAVING A FULL ERECTION.

234. I HAVE MADE SEXUAL PENETRATION OF A CHILD USING AN OBJECT, MY TONGUE, MY FINGER OR MY PENIS.

235. I FEEL SO GUILTY AND ASHAMED AROUND MY SEX PARTNER THAT I OFTEN LOSE MY ERECTION.

236. THE CLITORIS IS DIFFICULT TO FIND BECAUSE IT IS COVERED UP BY THE VAGINA.

237. I WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN SEEING A PERSON NUDE.

238. I HAVE FOUND IT SEXUALLY EXCITING TO PLAY WITH DEATH IN A SEXUAL ENCOUNTER.

239. MY SEX OFFENSE WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF I HAD NOT TRIED TO TEACH THE CHILD ABOUT SEX (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

240. MOST OF THE TIME I AM DEPRESSED AND I DO NOT CARE IF I CAN EVEN GET AN ERECTION.

241. AFTER I DATE A PERSON, THEY OFTEN DO NOT SEEM TO WANT TO GO OUT WITH ME AGAIN.

242. I FEEL LIKE A FEMALE TRAPPED IN A MALE BODY.

243. I HAVE MASTURBATED TO THE THOUGHT OF RAPING SOMEONE.

244. IT WOULD INTEREST ME TO LEARN THAT A FEMALE WOULD WANT ME TO EXPOSE TO HER.

245. I HAVE STOLEN WOMEN'S UNDERCLOTHES.

246. MOST MEN I HAVE BEEN AROUND ARE DIRTY MINDED.

247. DURING MY ADOLESCENCE I WAS SECRETLY EXCITED ABOUT SEXUAL MATTERS BUT I WAS EMBARRASSED TO TALK ABOUT IT TO MY FRIENDS.

248. I HAVE HAD TO FIGHT THE IMPULSE TO PEEP.

249. I HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT I AM PREOCCUPIED WITH SEX.

250. SOMETIMES I HAVE CRUISED PARKS, PARKING LOTS OR LONELY STREETS LOOKING FOR SOMEONE TO HAVE SEX WITH.

251. I HAVE HAD TO FIGHT THE IMPULSE TO EXPOSE MYSELF.

252. SOMETIMES I HAVE HUNG AROUND SCHOOLS AND PLAYGROUNDS JUST TO WATCH SOME OF THE CHILDREN AT PLAY.

253. A WOMAN URINATES THROUGH THE SMALL OPENING BETWEEN HER ANUS AND HER VAGINAL OPENING.

254. THE PERSON WHO REPORTED ME WAS WILLING AND INTERESTED IN SEXUAL CONTACT WITH ME AND WAS NOT HURT BY THE EXPERIENCE.

255. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHEN THOUGHTS ABOUT SEX HAVE ALMOST DRIVEN ME CRAZY.

256. MY SEXUAL PROBLEM IS NOT AS SERIOUS AS THAT OF OTHERS.

257. I HAVE NEVER BEEN ACCUSED OF EXPOSING MYSELF.

258. I HAVE NOT FORCED SOMEONE TO HAVE ORAL OR ANAL SEX WHEN THEY DID NOT WANT TO.

259. I THINK I HAVE NEVER GROWN UP EMOTIONALLY.

260. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF MY BEING SEXUALLY ABUSED AS A CHILD.

261. THE THOUGHT OF HAVING SEX WITH MORE THAN ONE PARTNER AT A TIME DOES NOT INTEREST ME IN THE SLIGHTEST.

262. I WOULD LIKE TO BE TIED UP AND MADE TO HAVE SEX.

263. A CHILD HAS PERFORMED ORAL SEX ON ME.

264. I HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF PURPOSELY HURTING SOMEONE IN A SEXUAL ENCOUNTER.

265. I HAVE NEVER BELIEVED MY SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD WAS A CRIME BECAUSE I DID NOT HAVE INTERCOURSE OR PENETRATION WITH HER/HIM (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

266. MY SEX OFFENSE OCCURRED BECAUSE THE CHILD I HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH APPEARED AND ACTED MUCH OLDER THAN HER/HIS ACTUAL AGE (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

267. I HAVE BEATEN A PERSON DURING A SEXUAL ENCOUNTER.

268. I AM VERY SAD AND BLUE AND I AM NOT INTERESTED IN SEX.

269. SEXY STORIES ARE INTERESTING TO ME.

270. THE CLITORIS IS LOCATED AT THE TOP PART OF THE GENITAL REGION, JUST ABOUT WHERE THE "LIPS" BEGIN.

271. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR A MALE TO HAVE A SEXUAL ORGASM WITHOUT AN EJACULATION OF FLUID.

272. MY SEXUAL OFFENSE RESULTED FROM MY HAVING TOO MUCH ALCOHOL OR DRUGS.

273. BECAUSE I AM AFRAID I MIGHT FAIL SEXUALLY WITH AN ADULT, I AVOID RELATIONSHIPS WITH THEM.

274. I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO HAVE SEX WITH A DEAD BODY.

275. I HAVE FANTASIZED ABOUT EXPOSING MYSELF.

276. AN OLDER MALE (RELATIVE, FRIEND, ACQUAINTANCE OR STRANGER) TOUCHED ME SEXUALLY WHEN I WAS A CHILD.

277. I HAVE NEVER TAKEN PICTURES OF A CHILD (CHILDREN) IN THE NUDE.

278. I GOT THE IDEA TO RAPE WHILE BURGLARIZING APARTMENTS OR HOUSES (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE RAPED OR ATTEMPTED RAPE).

279. I HAVE TO FIGHT SEXUAL IMPULSES CONTINUALLY.

280. QUITE OFTEN I FEEL LIKE A CHILD LIVING IN A GROWN UP BODY.

281. I HAVE LIKED TO BATHE CHILDREN AND THEN DRY THEM OFF AND HELP THEM GET DRESSED.

282. I HAVE OFTEN LOOKED FOR SOMEONE TO EXPOSE TO.

283. MY SEX OFFENSE OCCURRED BECAUSE I THOUGHT THE VICTIM IN MY CASE NEEDED SEX.

284. I WAS CURIOUS ABOUT SEX AS A CHILD.

285. A CHILD HAS TOUCHED MY PENIS IN A SEXUAL WAY.

286. I CANNOT SEEM TO KEEP MY MIND AWAY FROM THOUGHTS ABOUT SEX.

287. I LIKE TO SEE THE LOOK ON THEIR FACES WHEN I EXPOSE MYSELF (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE EXPOSED YOURSELF).

288. I HAVE PERFORMED ORAL SEX ON A CHILD.

289. I COULD GET SEXUALLY EXCITED BY BEING TIED UP.

290. I HAVE BECOME SO MAD THAT I HAVE PHYSICALLY HURT A PERSON FOR NOT LETTING ME HAVE SEX.

291. I LOSE INTEREST IN A WOMAN IF HER DRESS IS TOO SHORT.

292. MY SEX OFFENSE WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF I HAD NOT BECOME INTERESTED IN THE CHILD'S SEXUAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT (ANSWER ONLY IF YOU HAVE HAD SEXUAL CONTACT WITH A CHILD).

293. I DO NOT BELIEVE I HAVE HAD TO OVERCOME MORE IN LIFE THAN MOST PEOPLE.

294. I HAVE NEVER PLACED MY PENIS BETWEEN A CHILD'S LEGS.

295. I THINK ABOUT THE UNATTRACTIVE THINGS ABOUT MY SEX PARTNER SO MUCH THAT I CANNOT COMPLETE THE SEX ACT.

296. I HAVE FANTASIZED ABOUT KILLING SOMEONE DURING SEX.

297. AN OLDER FEMALE (RELATIVE, FRIEND, ACQUAINTANCE OR STRANGER) TOUCHED ME SEXUALLY WHEN I WAS A CHILD.

298. I LOSE INTEREST WHEN I SEE AN OVERLY SEXY FEMALE.

299. EVEN WITHOUT ANY TREATMENT I KNOW THAT I CAN CONTROL MY SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.

300. I NEED HELP BECAUSE I AM NOT ABLE TO CONTROL MY SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.

APPDENDIX 3

Grid summary data for subject 2 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	**	
Lonely - Not	*	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	** (3)	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	! (1)	
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		**
Honest - Dishonest	*	*
Quiet - Extroverted	**	
Angry - Not angry		!
Dangerous - Safe	**	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	*	
Miserable - Happy	** (4)	**
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	** (2)	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 67.43%

Grid summary data for subject 3 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	** (2)	
Lonely - Not		!
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	*	
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	*	
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted	*	**
Angry - Not angry	*	
Dangerous - Safe	*	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		*
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		*
Miserable - Happy	!	
Friendly - Not friendly	** (4)	**
Demanding - Undemanding	** (3)	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	*	
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 63.3%

Grid summary data for subject 4 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	**	**
Lonely - Not		*
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	*	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (4)	**
Mature for age - Immature	*	
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	*	
Quiet - Extroverted		*
Angry - Not angry	*	*
Dangerous - Safe	**	*
Easy to control - Not easy to control		!
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	*	*
Miserable - Happy	** (2)	**
Friendly - Not friendly	** (3)	**
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	!	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 66.63%

Grid summary data for subject 5 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	(2)	!
Quiet - Extroverted		*
Angry - Not angry		*
Dangerous - Safe	(4)	**
Easy to control - Not easy to control	**	
Domineering - Submissive	!	
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly	*	
Demanding - Undemanding	** (3)	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 25.92%

Grid summary data for subject 6 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	** (4)	
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't	*	
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		**
Low self esteem - High self esteem		!
Mature for age - Immature	**	
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	** (3)	
Quiet - Extroverted	*	*
Angry - Not angry	**	*
Dangerous - Safe	**	
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	** (2)	**
Miserable - Happy	**	*
Friendly - Not friendly	!	
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	*	*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 83.6%

Grid summary data for subject 7 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	*	
Lonely - Not	**	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	*	*
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (4)	
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	**	*
Honest - Dishonest	*	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	**	*
Dangerous - Safe	*	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		*
Affectionate - Not affectionate		!
Miserable - Happy	!	
Friendly - Not friendly	** (3)	*
Demanding - Undemanding		*
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	** (2)	*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 68.5%

Grid summary data for subject 8 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	*	*
Lonely - Not		!
Likes sex - Doesn't	**	
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		*
Mature for age - Immature	*	
Assertive - Not assertive	** (3)	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	*	
Honest - Dishonest	**	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	**	
Dangerous - Safe	**	
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	** (4)	*
Miserable - Happy	**	
Friendly - Not friendly	!	
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	** (2)	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 75%

Grid summary data for subject 9 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	** (3)	**
Lonely - Not	** (2)	
Likes sex - Doesn't		*
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	**	
Mature for age - Immature	*	*
Assertive - Not assertive	!	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	**	
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted	** (4)	*
Angry - Not angry		*
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		*
Miserable - Happy	**	!
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	**	*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 55.3%

Grid summary data for subject 10 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	** (3)	
Lonely - Not	**	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	!	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (4)	
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive	*	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	*	
Honest - Dishonest	**	**
Quiet - Extroverted	*	
Angry - Not angry		**
Dangerous - Safe	*	**
Easy to control - Not easy to control		!
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		**
Miserable - Happy	** (2)	
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		**
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	*	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 58.52%

Grid summary data for subject 11 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		!
Lonely - Not		*
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (3)	
Mature for age - Immature		**
Assertive - Not assertive		**
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		*
Honest - Dishonest	** (4)	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	*	
Dangerous - Safe	** (2)	
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	**	
Miserable - Happy	!	
Friendly - Not friendly	*	**
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	*	
Likes people - Does not like people		*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 55%

Grid summary data for subject 12 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	**	
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	*	*
Mature for age - Immature		*
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	!	
Quiet - Extroverted		!
Angry - Not angry		*
Dangerous - Safe	** (4)	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy	** (2)	
Friendly - Not friendly	** (3)	
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	*	
Likes people - Does not like people	**	*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 64.71%

Grid summary data for subject 13 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	* (4)	*
Lonely - Not		!
Likes sex - Doesn't	!	
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		
Mature for age - Immature	** (2)	
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly	** (3)	
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 79%

Grid summary data for subject 14 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		*
Lonely - Not		*
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		! (4)
Low self esteem - High self esteem		
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	!	
Quiet - Extroverted	**	
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control		*
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	** (2)	**
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly	** (3)	
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	*	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 34.62%

Grid summary data for subject 15 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not	** (4)	*
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	** (2)	*
Low self esteem - High self esteem	!	
Mature for age - Immature	**	
Assertive - Not assertive	**	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		*
Dangerous - Safe		*
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive		*
Affectionate - Not affectionate		*
Miserable - Happy		! (3)
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 34.66%

Grid summary data for subject 16 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		** (4)
Lonely - Not	*	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	**	
Mature for age - Immature	** (3)	**
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	**	
Dangerous - Safe		! (2)
Easy to control - Not easy to control	!	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		**
Miserable - Happy	*	
Friendly - Not friendly		**
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	*	
Likes people - Does not like people		**

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 40.7%

Grid summary data for subject 17 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	*	
Lonely - Not	*	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		**
Low self esteem - High self esteem		!
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	!	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	** (4)	**
Dangerous - Safe	** (3)	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	*	**
Miserable - Happy	** (2)	
Friendly - Not friendly		!
Demanding - Undemanding	*	**
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 62.4%

Grid summary data for subject 18 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't		**
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	*	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	** (4)	
Dangerous - Safe	**	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		! (2)
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly		** (3)
Demanding - Undemanding	!	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		**
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 26.27%

Grid summary data for subject 19 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	**	
Lonely - Not	!	
Likes sex - Doesn't		*
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	*	
Low self esteem - High self esteem		
Mature for age - Immature	**	
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		! (3)
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted	**	** (2)
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe	(4) no correlation	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 29.3%

Grid summary data for subject 20 (Offences against girls)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't		*
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		*
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	** (2)	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	**	
Dangerous - Safe	** (4)	
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	*
Domineering - Submissive		!
Affectionate - Not affectionate	**	
Miserable - Happy	!	
Friendly - Not friendly	** (3)	
Demanding - Undemanding		*
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 53.3%

Grid summary data for subject 2 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		*
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't	!	
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	** (3)	
Low self esteem - High self esteem		*
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		*
Honest - Dishonest		*
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	*	
Dangerous - Safe		!
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly	* (4)	
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	** (2)	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 33.9%

Grid summary data for subject 3 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not	*	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		*
Mature for age - Immature	*	
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry -		
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive	*	
Affectionate - Not affectionate	!	
Miserable - Happy	(4) no correlation	
Friendly - Not friendly	* (2)	**
Demanding - Undemanding		*
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		! (3)

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 34.35%

Grid summary data for subject 4 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	**	
Lonely - Not	** (2)	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	**	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (3)	
Mature for age - Immature	*	
Assertive - Not assertive	** (4)	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	!	
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted	**	
Angry - Not angry		*
Dangerous - Safe		**
Easy to control - Not easy to control		**
Domineering - Submissive		**
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly		*
Demanding - Undemanding		!
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 50.24%

Grid summary data for subject 5 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	* (4)	*
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't	*	
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		!
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		*
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	** (2)	*
Honest - Dishonest	*	
Quiet - Extroverted	** (3)	
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		*
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		*
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		*
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	*	
Likes people - Does not like people	!	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 45.5%

Grid summary data for subject 6 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	*	
Lonely - Not	** (2)	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	*	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	**	**
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		**
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		!
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted	**	
Angry - Not angry	** (3)	
Dangerous - Safe	*	
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	** (4)	**
Miserable - Happy	!	
Friendly - Not friendly	*	
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 55.7%

Grid summary data for subject 7 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	*	
Lonely - Not	!	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	* (4)	
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control		**
Domineering - Submissive		!
Affectionate - Not affectionate		*
Miserable - Happy	** (2)	
Friendly - Not friendly		*
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	*	
Likes people - Does not like people	* (3)	**

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 40.4%

Grid summary data for subject 8 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not	** (4)	**
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	*	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	**	**
Mature for age - Immature	**	
Assertive - Not assertive	** (2)	**
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	**	**
Honest - Dishonest	!	
Quiet - Extroverted		!
Angry - Not angry	**	**
Dangerous - Safe	**	*
Easy to control - Not easy to control	**	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	**	
Miserable - Happy	** (3)	**
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding	**	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 71.6%

Grid summary data for subject 9 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not	*	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		!
Low self esteem - High self esteem	*	
Mature for age - Immature	**	*
Assertive - Not assertive	** (3)	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	*	
Honest - Dishonest -	** (2)	*
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		*
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		*
Miserable - Happy	!	
Friendly - Not friendly		*
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	** (4)	*

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 55.5%

Grid summary data for subject 10 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not	* (3)	**
Likes sex - Doesn't		*
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		*
Low self esteem - High self esteem	!	
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive	*	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	*	
Honest - Dishonest		**
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		*
Dangerous - Safe		! (4)
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive	*	
Affectionate - Not affectionate	*	
Miserable - Happy	** (2)	**
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding	*	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		**
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 54.6%

Grid summary data for subject 11 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not	** (2)	*
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (4)	
Mature for age - Immature	** (3)	*
Assertive - Not assertive	**	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	*	
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		!
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive	*	
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding	*	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	!	
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 75.7%

Grid summary data for subject 12 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	**	
Lonely - Not	** (4)	*
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	**	
Mature for age - Immature		!
Assertive - Not assertive		*
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	**	
Honest - Dishonest	!	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	**	
Dangerous - Safe	**	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		*
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	** (2)	
Miserable - Happy	** (3)	**
Friendly - Not friendly	**	
Demanding - Undemanding	**	
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	**	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 56.7%

Grid summary data for subject 13 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not		
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (2)	
Mature for age - Immature	!	
Assertive - Not assertive	** (4)	
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		**
Honest - Dishonest	** (3)	
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		
Dangerous - Safe		!
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate	*	
Miserable - Happy	*	
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 53.14%

Grid summary data for subject 14 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	*	*
Lonely - Not	** (3)	**
Likes sex - Doesn't	*	
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (4)	
Mature for age - Immature	*	
Assertive - Not assertive	**	*
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable	** (2)	**
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry	!	
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control	*	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		!
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 62.23%

Grid summary data for subject 15 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends		
Lonely - Not		! (4)
Likes sex - Doesn't		*
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		*
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		*
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted	!	
Angry - Not angry	*	
Dangerous - Safe		
Easy to control - Not easy to control	* (3)	
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		
Miserable - Happy		
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	** (2)	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 28%

Grid summary data for subject 16 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	**	
Lonely - Not	!	
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't	*	
Low self esteem - High self esteem	** (2)	
Mature for age - Immature	*	
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest	** (3)	
Quiet - Extroverted		**
Angry - Not angry	** (4)	**
Dangerous - Safe	**	
Easy to control - Not easy to control		**
Domineering - Submissive		**
Affectionate - Not affectionate		*
Miserable - Happy	**	
Friendly - Not friendly		
Demanding - Undemanding		!
Sexually provocative - Not provocative	*	
Likes people - Does not like people		

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 50.9%

Grid summary data for subject 17 (Offences against boys)

CONSTRUCT	COMPONENT 1	COMPONENT 2
Makes friends easily - Difficulty making friends	*	
Lonely - Not	*	**
Likes sex - Doesn't		
Gets on with parents - Doesn't		
Low self esteem - High self esteem		** (4)
Mature for age - Immature		
Assertive - Not assertive		
Vulnerable - Not vulnerable		
Honest - Dishonest		
Quiet - Extroverted		
Angry - Not angry		*
Dangerous - Safe		*
Easy to control - Not easy to control		
Domineering - Submissive		
Affectionate - Not affectionate		! (3)
Miserable - Happy		**
Friendly - Not friendly	* (2)	**
Demanding - Undemanding		**
Sexually provocative - Not provocative		
Likes people - Does not like people	!	

Key: ! Principal Constructs for Component 1 and 2
** = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .01 Level
* = Correlations with Principal Construct significant at .05 Level
2,3,4, = Constructs in order of contribution to variance

Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Component 1: 29.6%