

Dimensions of Sexual Aggression

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To my Father

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Abstract

This thesis explores sexual aggression in men, focussing primarily on the bases and manifestations of rape in western society. A multivariate, meta-theoretical approach is adopted, given the diversity, and complexity of the phenomenon drawing on general, and specific literature, both ancient and modern. There are many seminal and classic pieces of work which are often overlooked when doing contemporary research on re-defined constructs and ambiguous concepts which have their basis in much older theoretical considerations of human constructs; concepts which have puzzled philosophers and scientists for millennia. It offers a critique of clinical, forensic and offender profiling approaches adopted to discriminate sexual offenders, and proposes the use of behavioural scales to characterise them. The research and discussion reflect a facet-theoretic influence with respect to methodological orientation in the study of behaviour.

This work deconstructs the psychological perspectives on sexual aggression and re-integrates them within the proposed multi-dimensional model of sexual aggression. The approach is necessarily general, since there is neither a definitive model of human behaviour that can be applied to sexual aggression, nor a model of sexual aggression that can fully explain the differences between sex offenders. The empirical data derives from police and clinical sources and is examined for the presence of underlying components, or dimensions, within the spectrum of sexually aggressive acts. Associations between these dimensions, and clinically identified motivations are explored, revealing intuitive associations between action and intent. Statistical analyses lend support for the constructs themselves, while the conceptual model is inevitably theoretical, because statistics only simplify reality.

The resultant model is defined in terms of Context (societal and localised), Biological pre-disposition (Temperamental variation), Interpersonal style (Aggressive to Intimate and Dominant to Submissive), Motivation (Cognition and Affect), and Sexual Variation (Normal to Deviant Appetites). It is proposed that these domains are correspondent to each other within a generalised model of sexual aggression.

Introduction to Sexual Aggression

“All cruelty springs from weakness” Seneca

As a feature of human behaviour it is *ancient* phenomenon, and recorded in mythological and historical texts around the world. Such antiquity suggests that rape may have served some evolutionary function in the development of the species, while its persistence suggests that humankind has not quite left the trees. Our tribal ancestry will have impacted on contemporary forms of rape and violence, but social and cultural factors also play some role in the maintenance of aggression. While one section of the public seems prepared to lynch a suspected child molester, or rapist, another section of society is involved in carefully hiding incidents of child sexual abuse, and exploitation. The understanding and management of sexual aggression and deviation, within society, crosses religious, political, medico-legal, and scientific boundaries. **Chapter 1** is a broad introduction to sexual aggression, including a discussion of the biological (*nature*), and cultural factors, which contribute to sexual and aggressive diversity.

Although all human action takes place within a broad cultural context, the acquisition of aggressive behaviour or negative attitudes towards women, often occurs within more immediate social contexts such as the family. Social learning theory has made a significant contribution to the understanding of socially acquired traits, but is not a complete explanation for sexual aggression. The environment provides a context, but individual variations in *Personality* influences a person's disposition to act in an aggressive, or sexually deviant, way. Motivational aspects of aggression comprise a range of cognitive processes and differing mood states which are conceptually difficult to disentangle, and so are proposed as a couplet. **Chapter 2** considers the broader psychological perspectives on aggression in society, while **Chapter 3** provides an overview of more specific elements of motivation and personality which drive individual action.

Clinical perspectives, in the psychological tradition, have emphasised the underlying problems, deficits or needs associated with sex offenders, including aspects of social, cognitive and emotional function. The role of psychological treatment is to assess and

alter these maladaptive personality traits and cognitive processes. Psychiatric approaches to sexual offending have often operated under the assumption that a person can be categorized by particular sets of features, in the same way that an illness can be diagnosed by the presence of particular criteria. Unfortunately, the medical model has little to offer in the way of explanation for sexually aggressive behaviour, and it seems unlikely that rape is a diagnostic condition. More importantly, such discrimination depends on identifying meaningful characteristics on which to base the classification. Approaches to assessment and treatment are outlined in **Chapter 4**.

The literature on sexual offending reflects both an understanding of factors associated with particular behaviours, as well as attempts to classify, or typologise, sexual offenders on the basis of shared components. One area of sexual aggression that has received a great deal of attention is rape, informed by research and practise in both clinical and forensic settings. Overall the evidence suggests that sexual offenders can not be *psychiatrically* classified on the basis of a few bipolar constructs such as impulsivity, or aggression. More specific consideration is given to the theoretical distinctions made between forms and levels of aggression such as instrumental or sadistic. Often the way in which aggression is treated empirically does not correspond to the way it is understood theoretically. Sexual and non-sexual aggression share some useful theoretical concepts, but the way in which people vary is considered as continuous, rather than categorical.

While there has been a great deal of progress in identifying the core components of personality on which people vary generally, there is some way to go before psychology can offer a full scientific explanation of human aggression. The difficulty is that people can be discriminated from each other in more than one way; people can vary on a particular aspect of human function such as intelligence, or they can be “typed” according to shared characteristics. Obviously there are differences, but to what extent are these differences, more conceivable as variations on psychological dimensions, or continua, rather than discrete classes, is problematic.

Across disciplines, there are some clear, consistent themes relevant to both detection (in police investigations) and treatment, which provide a useful basis for scientific

examination. Unfortunately there are also inconsistencies in both definitions and concepts used, reflecting more fundamental differences in ideological perspectives. As a consequence, questions such as *Are sex offenders born or made?*, or *Do sex offenders vary on particular psychological constructs or do they form distinct groups?*, are still being asked, and answers still evoke dispute. Taxonomies, typologies and classification are outlined in **Chapter 5**, together with a discussion around the qualitative and quantitative aspects of aggression.

Discriminating between groups of people on the basis of shared characteristics has been a central theme of psychological science. The basis for such discrimination depends on identifying clearly defined characteristics upon which people vary. Often the discriminating characteristics used to classify sexual offenders are ambiguous and not mutually exclusive. Aggression and sadism, for example, are often considered as discrete categories, or proposed as either absent or present. Often these distinctions make little intuitive sense and create more confusion than they resolve; individuals do not fit neatly into categories, and there remains the question of how many identifiable types, truly exist.

Characteristics of an offender's interpersonal style have been explored from a behavioural science perspective, and informed offender profiling methodologies. Studies on police records of sexual assaults have revealed features consistent with more general theories of aggression and clinical observations. Patterns of behaviour based on information from victim statements can reveal underlying patterns of psychological function. Such ideas, if valid, should be consistent with more central themes of *Personality*, although sometimes these similarities are masked by semantic differences. Profiling offending behaviour has been useful in linking serious sexual assaults and for inferring possible patterns of psychological function. **Chapter 6** provides a background and critique of offender profiling as a method of discrimination, and informs the first research study of this thesis which utilises police interview data.

Understanding behaviour through psychological science is a difficult process, complicated by constructs which, thus far, do not conform to scientific laws (an exception is Guttman's law of attitude). Behaviour is often unpredictable; people do

not conform to laws of behaviour in the same way that physical matter does. There are complex interactions that take place, constantly, between a person's emotion, thought, action and context. Carrying out research into sexual offending behaviour poses many challenges at all stages of the research process; gaining access to respondents directly, or through secondary data sources can be ethically problematic and sexual offenders are notoriously unreliable in providing truthful information. Questions of motivation, the measurement of behaviour, identifying types of aggression, and the reliability of classification, also pose huge conceptual and methodological problems, and make different assumptions about the data. The multi-faceted nature of sexually aggressive behaviour necessitates a multivariate, multi-method approach, which builds on previous work. Many of the constructs of sexual offending behaviour are described almost diagnostically, recorded as being present or absent. It remains an empirical question about the extent to which these characteristics are logical, or ordered with respect to individuals. Models of behaviour have to reflect the quality of the constructs as well as the label if they are to be of any practical use. These considerations are both philosophical as much as methodological and are discussed in **Chapter 7**, together with an outline of the approach to be used in this work. The theoretical formulation and empirical verification offered in the present thesis represent an iterative refinement of previous theoretical propositions.

The first study utilises data collected by the National Crime Faculty(NCF), in the UK. This BADMAN database, as it is known, comprises information about 716 stranger, sexual assaults, derived from victim statements. The variables include 60 behavioural features, tapping a range of aggressive and sexual themes, coded as present or absent. This work offers a re-interpretation of earlier research in this area, and extends the work in the development of an empirical model, based on a number of multivariate analyses. Factor analysis and multi-dimensional scaling procedures were used iteratively to derive an interpretable solution concerning the structure of the data; to extract the core behavioural dimensions which emerge. The second stage of this study utilises the findings of stage 1 as the basis for the development of a number of scales relevant to the measurement of sexually aggressive behaviour. Using both classical, and item response theory approaches, the measurement properties of the scales are explored, revealing cumulative properties that have not been previously identified. Cumulative models are empirically robust, and demonstrate a real correspondence to

natural processes in the world that are ordered. More importantly they are not sample specific, making the findings generalisable to a wider range of samples. The findings are given in **Chapter 8**, and this work argues for a multi-dimensional model of rape behaviour, which is empirically and theoretically defensible.

The second study examines a sample of sexual offenders detained in a special hospital and as with the BADMAN study, behavioural features were coded from victim statements. In addition, clinical and forensic Information was extracted from a database developed at Broadmoor Hospital to support decision making. The aim of this study is to extend some of the theoretical ideas outlined in previous chapters such as aspects of social functioning, motivation and personality, and link them to the underlying dimensions of behaviour identified in the first study. This study is also to be found in **Chapter 8**.

The range of theoretical themes, and their relevance to the present work is provided in a discussion in **Chapter 9**. Another theme concerns methodological issues, both in the derivation of the data and the statistical approaches adopted. More emphasis is given to a discussion around the derived empirical solutions, and their theoretical interpretations. The resultant conceptual model is based on a many theoretical threads, outlined in previous chapters and is necessarily complex, reflecting the complexity of human action. It also has a direct (empirically derived) correspondence to the interpersonal circle as a means of understanding individual differences. The behavioural measures have a potentially broad application in both clinical and forensic settings, as an empirical foundation for a functional analysis of offending. They have an alternate but equally important application to offender profiling, both in terms of a model of understanding, and a psychometric means of deriving, a behavioural profile. These scales could be applied to the examination of individual offences, or variations in a series of offences, and are relevant to most forms of sexual aggression, whether that be sexual homicide or child molestation.

Aims and Objectives

A facet theoretic methodology is utilised to posit a conceptual framework within which adult sexual offending behaviour can be examined. This approach enables the constructs of sexual aggression to be proposed as discrete, but related constructs, the totality of which makes up the conceptual universe, labelled sexual aggression. These theoretical constructs can then be examined empirically, taking account of their inherent *scientific* properties, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The principal aim is to derive an empirically based model of sexual offending behaviour during the commission of the offence. Such a model would have to include features of both the offender and the offending behaviour, be supported by existing theoretical positions, and have applicability to the range of sexually aggressive actions. The thesis begins with a discussion of the conceptual domain that envelopes sexual aggression, and links theoretical ideas about aggression and sex with psychological constructs concerning personality, in terms of behaviour and motivation.

The first study examines the offending characteristics of a large sample of rapists from the BADMAN database, and statistically explore the underlying components, to discover the emergent properties of that data. The interpreted components are expected to be consistent with theoretical ideas in this area and demonstrate similarity with other offender profiling studies examining behavioural data. Primarily the work centres around the development of a set of measurement scales, which forms the basis of a methodology for empirically examining offence profiles of rape. These patterns, reflected as dimensions of behaviour, are examined in an incarcerated sample of sex offenders (in study two) for whom many other background and personality characteristics are available. Aspects of social-psychological functioning are explored together with motivational aspects which link to the underlying behavioural themes in a way that is potentially too complex to statistically model.

Chapter 1

The Biosocial Dimensions of Aggression

As with all animals humans are capable of aggression and require sexual intercourse for reproduction of the species. The process of reproduction in humans has become sophisticated; sex is not merely an act of procreation, but has become significantly associated with pleasure, and diversity in sexual practises and orientations. Rape and other forms of sexual offending cannot easily be explained as a function of biology or the environment and theoretical perspectives reflect this difficulty. How and why individuals vary with respect to sexual interest and aggressive tendencies are intrinsic to the nature nurture debate. Separating nature from nurture is extremely difficult since they do not occur in isolation; human actions take place in a social context.

Both aggressive and sexual practises have evolved within the broader context of societies, and reflect the values and beliefs of a particular social group. Aggression and sex are acceptable within socially defined limits, which can be medical, legal or religious, but outside of those limits, sex and aggression are equally unacceptable. In the context of war, or for the purposes of punishment, aggression is acceptable, while murder and rape are condemned by most societies, as both illegal and sinful. Both social and biological perspectives offer some useful insights to help explain human variations in these behaviours, but at times the theories have been diametrically opposed.

There is no simple explanation for sexual aggression because there are no single underlying causes. What distinguishes humans from most other mammals is that aggression is used instrumentally to achieve non-essential goals. Human history is a chronology of instrumental force used in war, and accounts of rape go back as far as Greek mythology. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the major themes in evolutionary and social psychology, which provide the cornerstones for understanding sexual aggression in all its behavioural forms. Biological theories of the nineteenth

century, and particularly those of Charles Darwin, Francis Galton and Herbert Spencer have influenced psychological thinking on aggression.

The Evolutionary Perspective

Very early writers on human nature, such as Hobbes (1651), posit an animalistic perspective on human behaviour in which primitive man was considered to have been in a constant state of conflict, competing for resources and dominance. He suggested that men (as the principal protagonists) were driven by “a restless desire for power” which arose from the basic insecurity of human existence. Hobbes’s ideas, about a warring, tribal ancestry in humans, had suggestions of an evolutionary origin in Man (in the generic sense of the word); it was not until the 19th century that more explicit evolutionary ideas began to emerge.

Charles Darwin's (1859; 1889) work on evolution, put humans relative to other animals, and proposed that the basic goals of animal life are directed towards feeding, fighting (aggression), fleeing and reproduction (sex). Both aggression and sex have their origins in evolutionary adaptive mechanisms, and so are embedded in human nature. Other theorists were also fuelling the evolution paradigm with observations on intelligence and character (Galton 1865; 1869; 1871) and social evolution (Spencer 1855; 1862). In Spencer’s view the world was in a constant state of evolution from a once primitive society into one of increasing sophistication; a world in which the strong survive and the weak die. Inherent in this position is that animals, which survive by overcoming the demands of the environment, are those best adapted to it - the survival of the fittest.

Evolutionary theory proposes that the environment acts on the organism in such a way as to promote genetic factors most suitable to the environment. Animals with the most adaptive biological structures for any specific environment will therefore survive and flourish. As such evolution requires there to be sufficient variation in a species to enable

adaptation to occur. Adaptations (phylogenetic variations) are driven by natural selection. The evolution of species was thought to take place through a combination of variation (in the species), selection (from environmental changes) and reproduction (continuation of the species). Darwin viewed the organism, as being the unit of selection and the variations in phenotypes was the consequence of a mixing of the parent's biological endowments. It was Mendel (1865) who provided a more accurate view of inheritance, proposing that the units of inheritance were discrete packages of information, or genes.

Given these advances in scientific thinking it was inevitable that a purely organismic view would be applied to all aspects of animal and human functioning. Thinkers of the time even suggested that culture and societal norms were also biologically based and transmitted over generations, an idea from Lamarck (1809). What this implied was that behavioural characteristics or social traits might also have a biological basis laying the foundations for the study of personality differences. Phenotypic characteristics such as ethnicity or head size, and pseudo-biological processes or structures such as 'instincts', or 'drives' have been proposed to explain the full variety of human actions including sociability (Galton 1871), aggression and sex (Darwin 1889).

Psychological thinking was heavily influenced by the biological reductionism of evolutionary theory. Early psychological theories of behaviour reflect this and explanations for aggression centred on innate drives or instincts. All behaviours were considered as simple biological responses to basic needs. Instinctivists attempted to classify all behaviours in terms of motivational instincts including fear, sympathy, sociability, as well as sex and aggression (James 1890 and McDougall 1913). James suggested that behaviour was the balance between impulses and the control of impulses. McDougall described instincts as propensities to act, which were governed by the build-up and release of pressure (McDougall 1932).

The presence of an aggressive instinct in humans has suggested by many authors (Darwin 1871; Glover and Ginsburg 1934; Lorenz 1966; Tinbergen 1953; Freud 1927; Fromm

1982). Instinctivist ideas were developed through the developing science of Ethology in the middle of the last century (Tinbergen 1953; Lorenz 1966; Eibel-Eibesfeldt 1972) supported many instinctual ideas, from observations of animal behaviour. Tinbergen (1953) noted that some features of animal aggression were prompted by the environment, triggered by specific stimuli, or 'releasers'. These releasers are the mechanisms that enable behaviour to occur, such as threat, or environmental changes, which could impact on survival. Many of these processes in animals are genetically based and give rise to fixed action patterns, in response to signs in the environment or members of the same species. Animals often weigh up the cost-benefits of aggression to determine whether they should fight or flee.

Lorenz (1966) observed that aggression, within animal species (agonistic), is concerned with dominance hierarchies and territoriality, and analogies have been made between animal and human societies. Dominance hierarchies are present in many social species of animal (de Waal 1989; Chase 1980; Ardrey 1966; Lorenz 1966; Southwick 1964) and maintain a 'pecking order' for access to biological needs, such as food and sex, based on strength. Strong males ensure that their genes are passed on through mating, and so permit the continuance of the species, using the best available genetic material. These patterns of dominance and submission help maintain the social order of the group by creating a stable hierarchy (Chase 1974; Wilson 1975) and therefore less conflict between members of the same species (agonistic). The dimension of dominance (as aggression) has been described in nearly every class of animal including fish (Wilson 1975) crabs and lobsters (Huber & Kravitz 1995) social insects (Roseler 1991) and primates (Mendoza & Barchas 1983) suggesting it to be universal dimension of animal interactions.

As with dominance hierarchies, territoriality, has also been linked to aggression in animals (Carpenter 1934; Lorenz 1966; Tinbergen 1953) and Ardrey (1966) suggested that aggression in humans comes from 'man's instinct for territoriality'. Many animals will aggressively defend their personal space, and collectively may defend against an intruder, but there are many animals and particularly primates, who share territory and

resources (Boelkins & Heiser 1970), including humans (Edney 1975). Theories of dominance and territoriality have been suggested to explain human aggression. Class systems and status hierarchies might be analogous to dominance hierarchies, and similarly acts of violence might be the extension of the innate instinct to defend the animal home, or family unit.

These stimulus response (pleasure-aversion) themes were central to many prevailing theoretical positions, and laid the foundations for behaviourism (Thorndike 1913; Skinner 1953) and social learning theory (Bandura 1971), as well as informing the theoretical ideas of Dollard, Buss and Berkowitz described below. Most authors have concentrated on defensive (reactive) forms of aggression, as it can be associated to instinctual biological mechanisms. The instrumental use of force has received far less attention, and is often explained as an innate propensity for harm doing (Fromm 1982; Berkowitz 1962; 1989), rather than a more complex product of person and situation factors. While it is true that people have an innate capacity for sexual and aggressive responses, biology does not fully human sexual aggression.

“Man is man because he has no instincts, because everything he is and has become he has learned, acquired from his culture, from the man-made part of the environment, from other human beings” (Montagu, 1968, p9).

The limitations of purely biological explanations of human behaviour resulted in an increased emphasis on social factors. It was the combination of social theories with the earlier ethological ideas, which gave rise to modern socio-biology and the contemporary perspectives in evolutionary psychology. Before moving on to these ideas it is necessary to outline some of the key ideas, which make up the social dimensions of sexual aggression.

Social Dimensions of Aggression

In the nineteenth century evolutionary theorists had reduced social functioning to underlying dispositions, portraying a static view of the person and not distinguishing between race and culture. Unaware of Mendel's laws of inheritance, evolutionists assumed that genetic weakness and social order were related themes. Natural selection was assumed to operate in the social world in which stronger societies would dominate over weaker societies and the wealthy were better than the poor. Criminality was simply seen as genetic weakness.

Although there are aspects of animal nature, which enable humans to act aggressively in a defensive way, the human use of aggression, for non-evolutionary functions, is quintessentially human. Fromm (1982) defines this type of aggression, as an instrument of power, and describes it as malignant aggression- "the specifically human propensity to destroy and to crave for absolute control" (Fromm 1982, p18). The use of instrumental aggression is largely a social evolution, rather than a biological imperative suggesting that the use of force has become a social tool for meeting non-essential needs.

It was not until the importance of learning was understood that scientific thinking began to move towards a more holistic view of the person and their environment. Social perspectives in psychology emphasise the importance of the environment in moulding personality and behaviour through experiences in a social world. Conversely it emphasises how people are influenced by the environment, can learn from it and therefore be changed. These ideas have some basis in Lamarckism but were grounded in behaviourism at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Behavioural approaches in psychology developed from the work of Thorndike, who explored instinctual mechanisms in animals. Thorndike (1913) proposed that behaviour has, both an 'energiser' (an incentive, or impulse to act), and a learning component, in terms of successful, goal-oriented, strategies. Classical learning theory proposed that

behaviour was acquired through reward and punishment (Pavlov 1927); stimuli, associated with a reward, could elicit a behavioural response. Thorndike (1913) suggested that aggression involved a similar mechanism, and that if aggression was successful in any given situation, it was more likely to be repeated, in other similar situations. In other words, the behaviour would be positively reinforced.

Dollard and colleagues (Dollard, et al. 1939) suggested that any form of frustration, causes aggression, and that frustration arises from not achieving a goal (or getting a reward). The accumulation of aggressive energy (drive) results in aggression needing to be released (similar to Freud's catharsis 1927). Dollard et al's (1939) frustration-aggression theory was a milestone in associating an emotional state to a behavioural response, albeit in psychodynamic terms. He suggested that frustration (in its broadest sense) creates aggressive energy that requires a cathartic release. A more contemporary interpretation of such a state, would be in terms of physiological tension, autonomic nervous system arousal, or anger. These early ideas form the basis of subsequent work, which was to develop these ideas further.

Buss (1961, 1971) considered aggression to be the delivery of 'any noxious stimuli to another' (Buss 1971 p9). Buss distinguished between 'angry' aggression, resulting from negative experiences, and 'instrumental' aggression, which achieved other motives (such as sex). Berkowitz (1981) also proposed that any aversion, including frustration activates a desire to hurt others:

"All aversive events, whether frustration, deprivations, noxious stimuli or environmental stressors, produce an instigation to aggression as well a desire to escape or avoid the unpleasant situation" (Berkowitz 1981 p174).

Berkowitz distinguishes between reactive aggression, as a flee or fight mechanism (from Cannon 1915), and instrumental aggression and proposes that aggression is intrinsically linked to the same rudimentary emotional response system. In addition Berkowitz viewed aggression as mediated by cognitive processes linked to evolutionary mechanisms

relating to goal attainment. Frustration results from any impediment in achieving a desired goal, but does not explain the instrumental use of force, not associated with frustration. Berkowitz has continued to revise and clarify his theoretical constructs and suggested that instrumental forms of aggression have a greater learning component than reactive aggression (Berkowitz 1993). He also suggests that instrumental aggression maps onto reactive processes linked to an appetite, or instinct for hurting other people. Biologically we are predisposed to act in particular ways, but humans have the capacity to control, or inhibit, behavioural response. Implicit to many of these theoretical positions, is the view that the environment is considered to act on the organism, and elicit appropriate reactions.

Bandura recognised the interaction between person and environment, and described it as reciprocal determinism (1977). Fiske (2000) has taken this notion further and suggested that genes and culture are complementary; genes specify particular social traits and functions. Such traits are in part determined by cultural norms of behaviour and Fiske suggests that this represents a dynamic interplay between genes and culture. Social learning and social cognitive theories have developed from classical learning theory through the work of Albert Bandura and later through the work of Mischel (1990) and Cantor (1990). This approach has demonstrated that certain aspects of behaviour, including aggression, are acquired (learned) from the behaviour of role models, such as parents, siblings or peers.

*“Most aggressive activities - whether they be duelling with switchblade knives, or vengeful ridicule - entail intricate skills that require extensive learning”
(Bandura 1983 p4).*

Aggression can take many forms and may be acquired in different ways within the home, including the television. Children may acquire aggressive habits, and Huesman and Eron (1989) suggest that visual imagery may create “scripts” for aggressive behaviour. Both Berkowitz (1984) and Huesmann (1982) suggest that aggression in films, or violent imagery, may predispose a person to act in an aggressive way in situations associated

with that imagery. These ideas suggest that scripts are laid down in memory and may be triggered by situations, which are associated with imagery from violent films. Similarly, aggressive behaviour may itself be reinforcing, when it is successful (Hartup 1974), and so will be more readily utilised subsequently; success increases the individual's perceived efficacy in their use of aggression.

Within the family, the experience of abuse may contribute to learning intrafamilial abuse, or patterns of deviant sexual interest. Sexual aggression, in the form of child abuse, may well be maintained through family and care systems (Kaufman & Zigler 1987), and in this sense is learned. Sexual abusers have often themselves been victims of physical, emotional or sexual abuse (Morrison, Erooga & Beckett 1990; Waterhouse, Dobash & Carnie 1994) although the relationship of abuse to abuser is not clear, because not all victims of abuse become perpetrators. It is not surprising, that the mistreatment of children is associated with the development of a variety of antisocial, or antinormative behaviours. McCord (1991) showed that abusive style of parenting, including punishment and neglect, were correlated with subsequent criminal behaviours both violent and non-violent. The development of antisocial behaviour is seemingly a combination of negative experiences, which might promote negative feelings towards society, or individuals, together with learned patterns of behaviour in response to situations of conflict. Such familial experiences seem to disinhibit socially appropriate behaviour.

Social learning perspectives have emphasised environmental influences, which contribute to the acquisition and maintenance of aggression. As well as the environment there are differences in how respond to, and use aggression. Not all people are violent, and if the majority were, society would become an analogue of animal societies in which strength and force would dominate over democracy. Humans have characters, temperaments, or personalities, which distinguish them from each other; these abilities are based in genetic inheritance. All aspects of social learning are confounded by genetic variations in aggressivity (as it might be called), some aspects of which may be inherited from

aggressive parents (Di Lalla and Gottesman 1991). This suggests that aggression may itself represent a trait, which varies across the population.

Aggression cannot be explained as just a function of social learning, although there are clearly some social mechanisms involved in acquisition. Social learning is probably too general a model for explaining individual differences and does not explain why people behave in ways, which are not socially acquired. Aggression is not simply the product of modelling or social learning (Pervin 1993). Individual differences in personality are of equal importance in the transaction between person and context. Individual competencies play a vital role in determining whether people act or react (Eysenck 1970; Mischel 1990) and provide the mechanisms for interpersonal transactions. In the next section these core biosocial dimensions of personality are examined from an evolutionary psychology perspective.

Biosocial Dimensions of Aggression

“The uniquely malleable human mind, together with the unique force of nature has severed our behaviour from its evolutionary roots” (Wright 1994 p 6).

Theoretical viewpoints in social science have changed over time, often re-invented, used and discarded, only to be re-invented some time later. Evolutionary theory has been revised and extended through socio-biology, sociology and evolutionary psychology. Many of the earlier theoretical tensions are still in evidence however and one central debate concerns selection, or survival of the fittest. The use of aggression in humans is a prime example of how an inherent capacity for violence can be used to influence societal and world order. Although Darwin explained variations in animals as a consequence of adaptations to environment, the processes at work in the animal world do not so readily apply to animals that have a sophisticated culture and social structure.

Darwin viewed the organism as the unit of selection; it is now clear that genes are the most important units of inheritance (Alexander 1979; Dawkins 1976). Genes underpin the biological structures and associated cognitive structures that give rise to differences within and between species. This phylogenetic approach assumes that evolved structures will have their basis in core functions that may have occurred response to natural selection (Dawkins 1986) assuming a genetic basis for all characteristics, which ignores the contribution of the organism to the selection process.

Gould and Lewontin (1979) have opposed this position on genic selectionism arguing that species survive in environments because of their ability to mould to it, termed 'inclusive fitness'. Gould (1997) continues to suggest that selection can arise from random genetic mixing and as a consequence there are traits, which may serve no current evolutionary function. These 'axaptations' are suggested in contrast to classical evolutionary theory, which argues for pre-adaptations, or mechanisms, which may serve different functions at different times. Organisms and species may also be selected or may selfishly act in their own interests to preserve their genetic endowment. In humans this could be achieved accidentally through diseases or natural disasters, or could be achieved instrumentally through murder, or genocide.

Evolution is perhaps less determined by environmental factors in modern human societies because of the way that humans have overcome the adversities of the planet. Now some authors view evolution by selection as socially constrained (Dietz, Burns and Buttell 1990; Marsden 1998; Burns and Dietz 1992). In part the social world, as with the biological, can be understood as the transmission and selective retention of rules and rule systems (Cloak 1975; Dawkins 1982). The units of cultural values and beliefs that can be transmitted across generations have been termed 'memes', distinguishing them from the biological units of inheritance, genes.

There remains a huge tension within the literature concerning the cultural or genetic determinism of behaviour (Dusak 2002; Miele 1996). Comparative studies between

humans and animals shows similarities, but also differences. Human forms of aggression and coercive sex, are not analogues to instinctual responses, but are deviations from natural forms of aggression defensive mechanism. Human levels of aggression are unsurpassed by any other species (Storr 1991) and our evolutionary success is a testament to this ability. The use of aggression can be explained through its adaptive utility (Daly and Wilson 1999) and examining what characteristics humans share with other primates has provided some useful insights.

Early studies suggested that primates are not as aggressive as humans (Washburn and DeVore 1961; Schaller 1963; Harrison 1963) and when they are it only lasts for a short time (Reynolds and Reynolds 1965). Some recent work by Wrangham and Peterson (1996) suggests that only two species of animal engage in certain forms of aggression. They identified patterns of aggression common to both humans and chimpanzees, and are described as:

Male initiated territorial aggression.

Coordinated attacks on others.

Lethal attacks between members of the same species.

In addition to understanding aggression as a pattern of animal activity, or behaviour there are more fundamental structures of personality that need to be considered. From a psychological point of view the brain is thought to have evolved in a way consistent with the demands placed upon it by the environment (Cosmides & Tooby 2002). As such personality characteristics, and subsequent behaviours may also have their basis in evolutionary functions (Buss 1988). Evolutionary psychology is concerned with understanding the functions and origins of species-typical behaviour (Tooby and Cosmides 1990). It is “the science which seeks to explain, through universal mechanisms of behaviour, why humans act the way they do” (Spriggs 1996, p2). Evolutionary psychology is in many ways the missing link between biological theories of aggression and psychological perspectives on personality. Within this paradigm core aspects of

emotion and personality traits are based in ancient evolutionary adaptations to the world environment (Tooby and Cosmides 1989).

The focus for personality theorists has been to identify the universal traits, which comprise personality structure. Individual differences in humans can partly be explained as variations on core traits. While there has been a great deal of work examining human personality, much less time has been spent examining nonhuman traits (Gosling & John 1999). Other than David Buss very few authors have attempted to identify common personality dimensions between primates and humans. Within the work that is available there are interesting overlaps on what might be considered primary traits such as extraversion. However there is great deal of conceptual ambiguity within the two themes, which are of most interest here, aggression and dominance.

Benis (1985) suggests that there are 3 core traits: Narcissism (N); Perfectionism (P); and Aggression (A). Aggression is suggested as a trait concerned primarily with power or ambition, but forms the basis of the flight and fight mechanism. Narcissism is suggested as the mechanism, for self-recognition, or vanity. Perfectionism is proposed as a trait associated with obsessive, or compulsive behaviour. The label perfectionism is to some extent incongruent with its definition since obsession and perfection are two different things. There is also some overlap in the definitions of narcissism and aggression and neither is defined particularly well. In many ways narcissism might be better interpreted as dominance and distinguished from aggression. Amongst the primary traits identified by Buss (1990) there is a distinction made between dominance and aggression.

In a cross-study review by Gosling and Oliver (1999) a comprehensive list of personality traits are identified in primates. The aim of their work was to examine the correspondence of animal traits to what are commonly accepted as the big five personality dimensions. These comprise Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness and Neuroticism (Costa and McCrae 1990). This work builds on the foundations of personality theory as described in the work of George Allport, Raymond Cattell and Hans

Eysenck. Within the Big 5 framework the dimensions are defined in terms of personal and interpersonal characteristics that may or may not be sufficient to describe personality. Extraversion, for example, is defined with respect to dominance and activity level, but across different authors there are many definitional overlaps in the constructs. **Table 1.1.** is taken from Gosling and John (1999) who suggest that in order to compare animal and human traits, dominance and activity level need to be considered in addition to the Big 5.

Table 1.1. illustrates that there are many interesting theoretical overlaps with respect to core personality traits. Aggression, extraversion and dominance are sometimes used as interchangeable concepts. Agreeableness and aggression are posited as two ends of the same dimension in the big five, while Buss distinguishes between sociability and aggression. At this stage it is useful to highlight the central personality themes relevant to sexual aggression, although a more detailed examination of personality theories are provided in a later chapter. Aggression and dominance are well supported in the literature as both related and distinct concepts. Such themes are useful for understanding human and animal aggression, as well as forming the central axes in a dimensional understanding of sexual aggression. In the next section these themes re-emerge when examining the biosocial dimensions of sexual behaviour and variety.

Table 1.1. Comparison of Animal Personality Dimensions with The Big 5.

Review of animal personality factors: Factor labels organised in terms of the Five-Factor Model (FFM) plus two potential additional dimensions (Gosling & John 1999)

Trait dimensions in the human FFM						Additional dimensions		
Species	Neuroticism	Agreeableness	Extraversion	Openness	Conscientiousness	Dominance	Activity	Study
Chimpanzee	Emotional Stability	Agreeableness	Surgency	Openness	Dependability	Dominance		King and Figueredo (1997)
	Audiovisual Reactivity		Affect-Extraversion		Task Behavior		Activity	Bard and Gardner (1996)
	Excitability-Agitation	Aggression; Affinity*	Social Play			Submission		Hooff (1973)
Gorilla	Fearfulness	Understanding	Extroversion			Dominance		Gold and Maple (1994)
Rhesus monkey	Tense-Fearful	Aggressive	Solitary	Curious-Playful				Bolig, Price, O'Neill, and Suomi (1992)
	Excitability		Sociability			Confidence		Stevenson-Hinde and Zunz (1978); Stevenson-Hinde, Stillwell-Barnes, and Zunz (1980)
	Fear	Hostility	Affiliation					Chamove, Eysenck, and Harlow (1972)
Vervet monkey		Opportunistic Self-Serving	Playful-Curious*			Social Competence		McGuire, Raleigh and Pollack (1994)
Hyena	Excitability	Sociability; Human-Related Agreeableness *		Curiosity		Assertiveness		Gosling (1998)
Dog	Emotional Reactivity	Affection	Energy	Competence				Gosling and John (1998)
	Stability vs. Excitability		Sociability	Learning and Obedience Ability		Dominance-Territoriality		Coren (1998)

Chapter 2

The Biosocial Dimensions of Sexual Variation

Sexual behaviour is both biologically and culturally determined. At a biological level the presence of sex organs enables sexual reproduction to occur. The increased size of men, and the presence of a penis enable sexual dominance and penetration, while the presence of a vagina necessarily requires some submission on the part of a woman. There are obvious physical differences between men and women associated with different reproductive and social functions but these are largely determined by hormonal variations, in that women have ova (ovaries) and oestrogen, and men have testes (testicles) and testosterone, although not exclusively.

Rape is a predominantly male behaviour suggesting that men are more prone to sexual deviation. Paternalistic and fraternalistic attitudes and practises (male sports, private clubs and social groups) may even encourage aggression and increase the frequency of rape (Otterbein 1979). There is evidence for both genetic inheritance and cultural determinism in male sexual activity. Taylor (1981), and Flor-Henry (1989) suggest that males are more prone to sexual deviation because biological maleness is a variation of femaleness and so open to greater diversity, or variety of sexual interest. Chromosomal differences between the sexes (the 23rd chromosome in females is XX and for males is XY) accounts for the primary sexual differences between men and women, and can contribute to huge variation in males, which may be a pre-disposition to sexual deviance.

Early ethological and socio-biological theories of sexual behaviour were influenced by evolutionary perspectives on sexual selection. Clearly there are principles of evolution evident in human sexual practises, and not all people like the same things. Not surprisingly such variation is likely to result in deviations, which are not necessarily sociably desirable. Unfortunately there have been very few studies that explore the full range of sexual interests in humans and those that have been done are now dated. Symons

(1979) summarised some of the key evolutionary differences in men and women as perceived at that time suggesting:

Intrasexual competition is more intense among males than females

Men incline to polygyny whereas women are more malleable.

Men experience more intense sexual jealousy.

Men are more aroused by the sight of female genitalia.

Physical characteristics such as youth are perceived as more desirable.

Men are more disposed to variety in sexual partners.

In evolutionary terms human sexual practises and phenotypic characteristics are thought to have evolved to support competition in males, and desirability in females. Diamond (1992) compared anatomical differences between humans and other apes to explore this idea. In particular he examined the relative body sizes of males and females together with the variations in the size of the genitals. The evidence suggests that while male and female chimps are similar in size, gorillas, orang-utans and human males are larger than females. This is consistent with the way that dominance hierarchies exist in these species. For gorillas and orang-utans the males are dominant and select the females with whom they wish to mate, whereas female chimpanzees mate with more than one male. Males who copulate with many females need larger testes to ensure reproductive success, and chimps have enormous testes, as such they need a larger volume of sperm in order to compete with other inseminations.

In general the male sexual imperative is perceived as different to the female need for commitment, security or intimacy before engaging in sexual relations (Simpson and Gangestad 1991). Men, are more concerned with sex per se, are less discriminating about sexual partners, and are perceived as more promiscuous (Marshall and Suggs 1971). A study examining the ideal numbers of partners that men and women reported showed that men do desire greater numbers of sexual partners (Buss & Schmidt 1993). In contrast to men, women seek traits consistent with success, power and wealth (Buss & Schmidt 1993). While there may be differences, there are also overlaps between men and

women in promiscuity and sexual interests (Gangestad & Simpson 2000) suggesting that the differences may not be so clear-cut. When psychological factors are considered the differences are even less extreme. Humans generally seek kindness, understanding, intelligence and personality (Buss and Barnes 1986).

Taking a purely biological perspective, arguments have been made for a higher libido in males, resulting in a greater generalisation of sexual objects. A certain amount of sexual deviation is therefore more likely, and can be attributed to “overspill” (Wilson 1981). This was supported by evidence that bisexual men have higher libidos than exclusively homosexual, or heterosexual, men (Wilson & Fulford 1979). Alternatively Ellis (1991) suggests that men have a higher sex drive because copulation is more reinforcing for men than women. Ellis has also suggested that rape, or forced copulation is based in evolutionary mechanisms, which favoured sexual dominance, but if this were the case then rape would be the norm, rather than the exception.

There is evidence that sexual activity in men is linked to reproductive success (Daly & Wilson 1988; Quinsey 2002) and men do seem biologically compelled to seek a fertile, younger mate. In studies examining sexual interests, men do show a preference for younger women in general (Quinsey Rice Harris & Reid 1993; Daly & Wilson 1988; Thornhill & Thornhill 1983; Symons 1977), in 34 different cultures worldwide (Buss 1989). This suggests that sexual selection may well be based in evolutionary mechanisms leading some authors to conclude that rape in humans may represent a form of sexual selection (Thornhill & Palmer 2000). Similarly Daly & Wilson (1988) have demonstrated that child abuse is more common by stepparents than natural parents suggesting that the abuse is in some way related to parental investment.

Paradoxically, there is also an element of sexual coercion and persuasion within animal courtship, including humans (Ellis 1991; Shields and Shields 1983; Tedeschi and Felson 1994). Romance and courtship rituals both play a role in convincing a woman to have sex with a man, but conversely women can use sex as a reward, or as punishment through

rejection. Barash (1977) suggested that the coercive and aggressive mating practises of animals are functionally similar to rape in humans and might therefore be based in biological mechanisms. However using this argument to support the use of the term rape in animals has been open to criticism from some (Gould 1997) and acceptance from others (Dennett 1995). Making direct comparisons between animal and human sexual practises may be misleading however as Gould points out:

“The situation can become truly insidious... when we impose a human institution upon nature by false metaphor - and then try to justify the social phenomenon as an inevitable reflection of nature’s dictates!” (Gould 1997 p433).

He goes on to say:

“Yet by falsely describing an inherited behaviour of birds with an old name for a deviant human action we subtly suggest that true rape - our own kind -might be a natural behaviour with Darwinian advantages to certain people as well” (Gould 1997 p433).

Sex in humans is not simply a biological mechanism for perpetuating the species; it has evolved to sustain relationships between men and women (Beach 1975; Wilson 1981). Sexual activity in humans has a strong association with intimacy (McClelland 1987), or attachment (Bowlby 1971) and complex social and biological processes have evolved to enable and maintain group cohesion. There would seem to be a universal mechanism for social attachments between members of the same species, a mechanism for love, sometimes mediated through sex. A woman has a great deal invested in maternity, both through pregnancy and child rearing, and a weak or uncommitted male could result in the death of both mother and offspring. More importantly sexual behaviour is constrained by social and legal processes, which have evolved to maintain ‘healthy’ human interactions.

The early socio-biological fuelled debate about inherent male and female differences and was opposed by the emerging feminist perspectives of the time. Feminist theory suggests that rape serves as a form of social control (Brownmiller 1975; Burt 1980). The feminist perspective challenges the myths of male sexuality, as driven by uncontrollable drives and

suggests that negative stereotypes of female sexuality are maintained through the media representation of women as sex objects, in film, advertising and pornography (Donat and D’Emilio 1992; Jozsa and Jozsa 1980). Freedman (1989) has suggested that excuses are made for male rape, which are socially supported, including the notion of women asking for it, if they dress provocatively. Further evidence that women are perceived as sex objects was supported by Koss, Gidycz & Wisniewski (1987) who found that as many as 50% of women experience some form of unwanted sexual contact. The legal treatment of rape supports this in many ways, and as few as 1% of rape cases result in a conviction (Deckard 1983).

In the legal context “sexual offending” incorporates a wide range of contact and non-contact, penetrative and non-penetrative sexual activities towards consenting and non-consenting adults and children. The boundaries of sexual deviation, variation, and normal sexual practise are blurred by legal definitions, which are subject to change, such as age of consent, or rape within marriage. As such the social acceptability of some sexual behaviours, varies across time and cultures, and can only be interpreted within their historical and social contexts.

Foucault suggests that the medicalisation, and psychiatric labelling, of sexual deviance have sanitised the understanding of sexuality. This pseudo-medicalisation has grown out of a classically rich language used to describe disorders of orientation and interest, but provide little explanatory power.

“The diagnostic system in use in psychiatry is presented as a general analogue of diagnosis in physical medicine. Thereby, it is proffered as a specialist language - a construct subsystem. A specialist language may be regarded as a well-defined and publicly agreed network of terms uncontaminated by lay language with clear implications for work in a professional field”. (Agnew and Bannister 1973, p70)

Psychiatric terminology is not based on a common framework of understanding, since sexual deviations are treated as symptoms of disorder. Some of the terms, such as those

describing paraphilias, are useful for defining specific behaviours, but offer little in the way of explanation. Sexual deviations are generally defined in terms of the person or object of sexual interest (philia), (e.g. child -paedophilia; adolescent - hebephilia; older adult - gerontophilia), or to particular behaviours such as sado-masochism, or sex with dead bodies (necrophilia). Rape itself can be a deviant sexual interest (Groth & Burgess 1977) and has been proposed as a distinct disorder, or type, the preferential rapist (Freund, Scher & Hucker 1983) or paraphilic coercive disorder (Abel 1989), or biastophilia (Money 1990). There are an almost infinite variety of sexual interests, or paraphilias identified suggesting that almost anything can become sexualised.

A number of other deviations, which are worth considering, occur in the context of rape and sexual homicide, and are concerned with pain, power and death. In some cases necrophilia is the motive for murder, and can involve elaborate fantasies with regard to the method of killing, and sexual activity (MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood & Mills 1983; Ressler, Burgess & Homstrom 1986; Prentky, Cohen & Seghorn 1985). In extreme cases of rape and sexual homicide, the intent is clearly associated with sadism, which is given more attention below. Necrophilia is another rare interest, which can take any number of forms defined by Wulffen (1910); these include necrosadism (in which murder precedes the act), and necrophagy (in which the corpse is eaten). What these terms might suggest is that paraphilias represent continua of activity, and medically distinguished by degrees of activity. They can therefore only be considered theoretically within a multi-dimensional framework of sexual activities, or interests.

Another disorder, which is of interest, concerns the sexual aggression, which can occur in the context of a burglary (Revitch 1983), and sometimes informally described as burglary-rapes. Stealing in the context of rape has been given the term kleptophilia (Money 1986) but may be too general a term to describe what theft actually means in the context of rape. Stealing can simply be motivated by financial gain, or can be associated with psychological functions. In some cases the excitement of the burglary and the presence of a vulnerable victim may contribute to an individual committing rape. It must

be said however that the deviant sexual interest must also be present in individuals who rape in the context of burglary. They just happen to burgle as well. Stealing may be a way of further demeaning a victim if the offender is angry and hostile, but taking a personal item from a victim can represent more of a “Trophy” (Ressler, Burgess and Douglas 1988), for individuals with a more psychopathic personality.

Psychiatric labels are a pseudo-scientific means of classifying deviant sexual interests, but do not help provide any framework for understanding sexual aggression. Most sexual deviations are in some way disorders of sexual interest, but they cannot always be clearly demarcated as disorders of personality. The medical model assumes a clear distinction between normality and deviance, rather than a continuum. Deviance is suggested as pathology, and therefore open to medical intervention, when in practise there is no pill for inappropriate sexual interest, or depot for disorders of personality. Rapists are often defined by the age of their victims, with less attention paid to the variations in aggressive and sexual acts within each offence; variations, which better, characterise the person. Many offenders are characterised by conventional (pseudo-normal) sexual behaviour and only a minority are paraphilic (Freund and Blanchard 1986). Penile Plethysmography (PPG), an assessment of penile response to sexual stimuli, has been utilised in many studies examining sexual arousal. The PPG technique has demonstrated that deviant arousal characterises the most violent and habitual rapists, (Abel, Barlow, Blanchard & Guild 1977; Becker et al 1978), and the general consensus is that the level of deviancy is indicated by the variety, or range of sexual interests.

Sexual behaviour itself is not a discrete set of actions, and conceptually overlaps with other dimensions of behaviour such as intimacy and aggression. An offender acting intimately with his victim is likely to engage in more intimate sexual activities normally associated with a loving partner, such as kissing, petting, and occasionally, cunnilingus. In the context of a rape cunnilingus can represent both sexual deviation, and/or an expression of intimacy and needs to be considered within the broader context of the interpersonal situation. The use of aggression can similarly vary, some involving only

sufficient force to ensure compliance while others involve systematic humiliation of the victim, and unnecessary force. There is an inherent polemic of dominance and submission inherent in all sexual activity (Weinberg 1995).

From a scientific point of view it is unclear as to what extent, sexual aggression represents abnormal functioning, or relates to dimensions of human functioning that may be subtle or extreme variations from “normal” functioning. Rape can incorporate the full range of sexual activity present in consensual sex (normal to deviant), and can represent a sexual deviation (Groth and Burgess 1977). The wide spectrum of sexual variations in both orientation and interest suggests that sexual deviation forms part of a continuum of sexual interests, which would incorporate dimensions of normal to deviant activity, directed towards people or objects. The picture is complex as there are dimensions of interest, such as male or female, and activity, such as oral, or vaginal. Different sexual interests may also reflect underlying temperamental, or personality differences in the choice of activities and partners. It is difficult to imagine a shy, timid person engaging in an orgy, but it is conceivable that an aggressive person will engage in aggressive forms of sexual behaviour. Studies, which have examined the behaviour of rapists, have generally focussed on the sexual acts, as opposed to the method in which the acts were conducted.

Some extreme forms of sexual aggression have come to be associated with or defined by equally extreme personality characteristics, such as sadism or sexual psychopathy. Sadism is given specific attention in the next part of this chapter because it represents an extreme form of sexual aggression. As such the development of any theoretical understanding of sexual aggression must incorporate sadism, or vice versa. By reviewing some of the literature on sadism, it is apparent that there are strong links to be made between minor and major manifestations of sexualised aggression and share common dimensions of behaviour. Given the samples used in the research section of this work, it is highly likely that sadism will be present to some degree, especially within the Broadmoor population.

Sadism

“When in his turn the Duc embuggers Augustine, his own powerful feelings for that beautiful girl are exhaled with incomparable violence: had the others not kept an eye upon him, he would have injured her, either while mauling her breasts or squeezing her neck with all his strength as he discharged. Once gain he asks the society to put her in his power” (de Sade 1785; 1989, p618).

The term sadism is used to describe many behaviours, which are aggressive and inherently sexual. There is great confusion as to what the term should truly represent, and inconsistency in the way it is applied in practise as a diagnosis. In many cases the term is used to describe cruelty, rather than sexualised coercion. In 1992 The World Health Organisation (WHO) defined sadism as:

“Preference for sexual activity that involves bondage or infliction of pain or humiliation” (W.H.O. 1992).

Earlier definitions were based on observations of rare individuals to whom the term was applied. Krafft-Ebing (1886) proposed eight types of sadism including Lust-Murder (sexual homicide) which he attributed to Jack the Ripper. Karpman (1954) suggested that the sadist “revels in the fear anger and the humiliation of the victim”, (Karpman 1954 p10). Similarly Fromm proposes that “the core of sadism is to have absolute and unrestricted control over a living being, whether an animal, a child, a man, or a woman” (Fromm 1977, p384), and that “for the sadistic character there is only one admirable quality, and that is power” (Fromm 1977, p388). These definitions reflect constructs of power, and humiliation inherent in de Sade’s work (although often de Sade was the recipient and might be more closely compared to Leopold Von Masoch).

A number of authors suggest that sadism represents eroticised power (Brittain 1970, McCulloch et al 1983) although these constructs are not treated with any scientific scrutiny. The difficulty is in defining a set of constructs, which make up the construct of

sadism. It is an elusive concept and difficult to operationalise (Marshall and Kennedy 2000; Knight Prenty & Cerce 1994), because of overlaps to normal, and consensual sexual practise. Aspects of control, aggression and sexual deviation make up both consensual and non-consensual sexual practises. To make the situation more complex, researchers have found that elements of sadism are present in the general population. Crepault and Couture (1980) who examined fantasies, found an incidence of 15% for humiliating a woman, and 11% incorporated physical violence. Rape as a sexual interest is also found in 16-20% of men (Malamuth, Haber & Feshbach 1980) and 30% of men report fantasies of bondage and rape in another study (Crepault & Couture 1980). Conversely 10 - 15% of women reported being coerced and then enjoying sexual activity (McConnaghy 1993), suggesting that some degree of coercion may be arousing.

Sadism is defined in terms of power, sex and aggression, which are the same constructs used to define sexual aggression. The distinction would seem to be in quantity of those constructs rather than a clear distinction between sadist and non-sadist. Taxonomies such as Knight and Prentky's MTC-R3 (1990), propose sadist as a distinct type, despite difficulties in defining what sadism is (Knight & Prentky 1990; 2000). Aggression as a component of sadism is also difficult to distinguish from aggression, which is motivated by anger or hostility. This has led some authors to conclude that sadism is not necessarily about the infliction of pain (Moll 1912; Ellis 1936).

Sadism is problematic for many reasons, not least of which is the psychiatric treatment of the construct, in taxonomic terms. Researchers have often attempted to define sexual offenders as sadists (in psychiatric terms) and then looked for differences to support the a priori classification, so perpetuating the confusion, which surrounds its definition. Sadism is a construct, which would benefit from a dimensional perspective since it would seem to be an extreme expression of aggression, or domination, and sexual interest. If sexuality can be considered as a spectrum of normal to deviant sexual behaviour, then sadism is an extreme expression of sexual deviation. Similarly sadism may involve a high degree of

intimacy, although such behaviours may go unnoticed in the context of sexual murder (an expression of sadism), but are evident in rape (Canter and Heritage 1990).

The core aspect of sadism is power and pleasure (both sexual and non-sexual) derived from cruelty or control over another person. The use of aggression is both instrumental in restraining the victim but can culminate in murder (Krafft-Ebing 1886; Arndt 1991), which itself can be instrumental in cases of necrophilia. Sadism can be associated with diverse sexual practises, peculiar to the individual, all of which might be considered paraphilic (Dietz, Hazelwood & Warren 1990; Ressler Burgess and Douglas 1988). It might therefore be considered as an emergent property of sexual interest and aggression, in their most extreme forms, a propensity which results from learning experiences acting on a psychopathic disposition. The concept of psychopathy is complexly linked to sadism and Kraft-Ebbings book; *Psychopathia Sexualis (Sexual Psychopathy)* is an outline of the variations in sadistic or psychopathic sexual interests.

More contemporary perspectives on Psychopathy incorporate aspects of coercion, power and sexual behaviour in the revised psychopathy checklist (PCL-R) developed by Hare and his colleagues (Hare 1980; Hare, Harpur, Hakstian, Forth, Hart & Newman 1990). This makes understanding psychopathy, and its relationship to sexual aggression, more confusing. Sexual aggression in part defines psychopathy. Similarly, sadism is often misused as a diagnosis to describe divergent forms of sexual deviance or extreme forms of sexual aggression (Marshall & Kennedy 2001.) The themes identified as distinctive of psychopathy are related to those associated with sadism (Hare, Cooke and Hart, 1998). Sadism is characterised by psychopathic (dominant and hostile) behaviour and deviant sexual interest (in harm and suffering), and psychopathy incorporates aspects of coercion, power and sexual deviance in its defining features (Hare et al 1990). In some ways, psychopathy and sadism might be considered as two sides of the same coin with both containing elements of callousness and sensation seeking.

In practise the diagnostic definition of sadism is inevitably co-occurs with diagnoses of personality disorder, and more specifically a psychopathic disorder. Blackburn's work has demonstrated consistency between psychopathy and aspects of the interpersonal circle that might define sadism; primary psychopaths are characterised as hostile and dominant. Given the propositions of Hare and Blackburn, sadists will be characterised by psychopathic (dominant, hostile) traits and deviant sexual interest. Both psychopathy and sadism should be emergent properties of the behavioural themes identified in this work as they represent extremes of common psychological constructs, both in terms of personality and in the expression of aggression and dominance.

The diversity of sexual interests and behaviour suggests that individuals are characterised by particular expressions of it, while others simply vary with respect to normal interests. Sexual aggression is a form of aggression, which incorporates sexual behaviour, but both the aggression and sexual activity can take many forms. This diversity can only in part be explained by general biological tendencies to act sexually or aggressively, and in part by cultural influences, which influence behaviour. Individual differences in personality are of equal importance in the transaction between person and context, since people vary on a number of core competencies, which dispose people to act or not react (Eysenck 1970; Mischel 1990). Such competencies represent traits of personality, and provide a structure for interpersonal transactions. More fundamentally, a person has to be motivated to commit acts of sexual aggression, but such motivations are diverse and result in huge variation in styles of assault. Examining these individual variations is a study of Motivation and Personality covered in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Motivational Dimensions of Sexual Aggression

There is a great deal of literature on what constitutes motivation but nonetheless it remains an almost metaphysical concept in psychology. Underpinning ideas on motivation are concepts of impulsivity, and arousal, the biological processes that enable behaviour to happen. Impulsivity and arousal are implicit to many psychological ideas, and most people would have some sense of what they mean, using a variety of terms. Aroused, excited, and fired-up are words, which could describe arousal or impulsivity, as a general readiness for action. These processes mediate more specific emotional states, such as fear, or anger, love or desire, and rationalisations of the emotional states (thoughts). These in turn are linked to motivation, which can be described as a mixture of thought processes (cognitions) and emotions (affect and arousal), executed through nervous system function (impulses), and skeleto-muscular action (behaviour).

In psychological terms emotion, or affect is defined with respect to underlying mechanisms such as arousal or impulsivity. Most drive theories can be explained in this way (Tedeschi & Felson 1994) and it is helpful to do so. Arousal refers to the physiological arousal of the organism, and generally implies the autonomic nervous system (ANS). The ANS is a mechanism associated with arousal, and passivity, which are complementary. These systems are referred to as sympathetic (increase arousal) and parasympathetic (decrease arousal). The ANS is also linked to impulsivity, as well as the endocrine system and has led authors to conclude that the ANS is highly complex, involving a variety of processes, including emotions, and mediated by cognitive process.

Early work demonstrated that arousal and performance were related (Yerkes and Dodson 1908) and Hebb (1955) showed that humans operate most effectively at an optimal level of arousal. When a person is under aroused they seek stimulation. A number of studies have indicated that offenders who are impulsively aggressive also have lower levels of

arousal (Fishbein et al 1989; Convit et al 1991). Raine (1997) has suggested that aggressors seek out sensation as a means to increase arousal.

A number of researchers have utilised sexual arousal in the assessment of deviant sexual interests. The PPG has been widely used in the assessment of deviant sexual arousal (Perkins 1993; Abel, Barlow, Blanchard & Guild 1977) and have been useful in the assessment of deviant arousal and its relationship to sexual recidivism (Hanson & Bussiere 1998; Rice, Quinsey & Harris 1991).

The ANS is an important aspect of emotionality associated with sexual interests, but can be described as a general set of processes, which underpin the full range of emotional expression. In studies of aggression, it is commonly associated with anger and associated physiological arousal, including increased heart rate and sweating. The specific processes of arousal are not entirely clear however and (Eliot 1964) demonstrated that the heart rate and skin conductance (as different measures of ANS function) were not related. Cattell (1972) has likewise suggested that up to 6 measures of ANS would be needed, to reliably measure the construct, something that is rarely seen in practise.

What distinguishes sexual aggression from more general forms of it is that heightened arousal may serve both aggressive and sexual aims, a conclusion reached by McCulloch (1984). Hence a number of motivations may be associated with increased arousal and hence it is difficult to separate arousal from the emotions. As well as anger, there is a range of anxiety states related to increased arousal, namely, nervousness, anxiety or neuroticism. The underlying anxiety trait identified by Eysenck (1947) is distinguished from state anxiety, experienced at a particular moment in time (Spielburger, Gorsuch & Lushene 1970).

Motivation in sexual aggression is not easily understood with reference to specific instinctual responses or arousal. Aggression has survival functions (defence), and social functions (dominance, security). Biologically, humans have mechanisms for flight or fight

(Cannon 1915) that relate to aggression, but there is little support for any instinctual mechanism for instrumental aggression. Instinct theories propose that aggression is the motivation, rather than attributing it to any cognitive or emotional state. A number of authors distinguish between motives, which are instinctual, and relate to survival needs (sex, food, safety), and those, which evolve as individual preferences (appetites). Motivational theories reflect these distinctions between instincts and desires, proposing them as conceptually distinct.

Impulsivity

A recurrent theme in motivation concerns impulses, impulsivity, or impulsiveness and this construct is worth some attention since it is used to mean different things by different authors. Impulsiveness is an inherent capacity to act spontaneously, and is not necessarily associated with any particular action. What is confusing is that the construct is sometimes incorporated within personality, as a component of behaviour, or central nervous system, or both. Impulsivity can also refer to motivation, with different impulses representing different motives; overall the picture is confused and cannot be resolved here.

William James (1890) made the distinction between thought and action as a balance between 'impulses' and the 'control of impulses', although philosophers worldwide have debated the duality of mind and body for many centuries. This impulsiveness is a basic tendency to act or react, and must be based in nervous system mechanisms. As such it represents a function of both physiology and personality, because the impulse to act is mediated by cognitive processes, which may precipitate, or inhibit, different types and strengths of nervous system response. This underlying variation in human nervous system response was suggested by Spencer (1864) as "nerve force" and Neblitsyn (1928) described strength and weakness of nervous system response. This strength of nervous system paradigm persists to the present day (Gray 1964; Strelau 1983).

Tomkins (1962) also describes something called density of neural firing, which could refer to impulsivity, and he viewed each emotion as having a separate neuronal response. Researchers suggest a basic action response mechanism and a number of authors have given a great deal of attention to this area largely by Barratt (1994; 1972) with contributions from others also (Eysenck & Eysenck 1977; Schalling, Edmon & Asberg 1983; Gerbing et al 1987). Behavioural actions can take two broad forms, those, which are instinctual, and those, which are determined by choice or motivation. From a neurophysiological perspective motives are described as “excitatory potentials” (Klein 1982; Weiner 1980). Contemporary ideas consider motive as a disposition rather than a drive, and motivation, as the desire to act.

Theoretical considerations indicate that impulsiveness is not a unitary dimension and Barrett (1972; 1994) suggests that impulsiveness consists of 3 sub-factors:

Motor impulsiveness - action without thought.

Cognitive impulsiveness - decision making.

Nonplanning impulsiveness - risk-taking.

As such impulsiveness is a very sophisticated, biologically based construct of the person, and although it is reasonably well established theoretically, it is difficult to specify what it is, in any precise way. Eysenck treats Impulsivity as a trait rather than as a primary personality dimension, such as Psychoticism or Extraversion (described below). As a psychological trait there is some question about Barrett’s conceptualisation of the construct (Luengo 1984). Barrett suggests that cognitive impulsivity exists clinically, but is difficult to measure psychometrically, having intuitive associations to cognitive ability (intelligence and speed of processing), which inevitably impacts on all behavioural responses.

The relationship of impulsivity to sexual aggression is equally complex, and in part defines the construct. Knight and Prentky (1991), in their continuously revised Massachusetts Treatment Centre (MTC) classification of rapists include impulsivity

within each of their proposed rapist types. This suggests that as a construct it does not typify any particular form of sexual aggression but that it is present to a greater or lesser extent across the group. Rape and aggression involve impulsiveness to varying degrees, perpetrated on the spur of the moment, or after careful deliberation. As a criminal offence, it is always a risk, and so in Barrett's terms, impulsive. Although there are offenders who minimise that risk, through preparation, or in their awareness of police procedures.

In the context of the offence, impulsiveness might apply to a variety of sexual and non-sexual behaviours and so difficult to distinguish from aggression or sexual deviation. Impulsiveness is also considered to be a facet of psychopathy; the PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist Revised, Hare et al., 1990), a rating scale for psychopathy, includes an item called Impulsivity consistent with Barrett's risk-taking dimension. In many ways, all behaviour is impulsive, but the motivational origin can be external or internal, and mediated by emotion and cognition. Potentially impulsiveness is an inherited aspect of nervous system function, and so underpins all aspects of an individual's functioning.

The impulsivity construct is implicit in human behaviour, but theoretically proposed in more than one way, resulting in different applications of the term. In neurophysiology it is considered to be motivational, as an action potential, or excitatory potential (Klein 1982), driven by the emotions. As a multi-dimensional construct it needs to be considered with respect to various functions and various neural pathways, consistent with evolutionary theory and psychological aspects of human activity and action. Within the offending literature the concept is associated with an offender's emotional regulation, or self-control and is associated with violence (Newman & Wallace 1993) and anger (Novaco 1994).

Impulsivity relates to many aspects of physiological and psychological functioning and there are strong arguments for making intuitive links between motivational factors, and behavioural actions. Extreme aggression for example, may be motivated by hostility, or anger, or even a cruel intent, in the case of sadism. However it would be naive to suggest

that a specific motivation was associated with a specific style or modus operandi, since more than one motivation can operate at one time. Sexual aggression is often polymotivated (to use a neologism), and any theoretical stance, or model, has to reflect this. As such motivations for sexual aggression are a complex interplay of cognition and emotion, a motivational couplet.

Affect and Cognition

The splintering of motivations and the constructs used to define them, requires that affect and cognition be given separate attention. Rape has been linked to many possible motivations that vary across authors, which collectively can only be described under general terms of Affect and Cognition.

Tomkins (1962) viewed affect as promoting motivation, by arousing an organism to response to needs.

“Emotions have been seen in this way for many decades, readying an organism for fight or flight” (Cannon 1915).

Emotions play a complex role in all human behaviour, as a motivator for some actions, and a consequence of others. The themes concerning fundamental negative and positive states of emotion are consistent with the language used in everyday use to express them. Associations between emotions and behaviour in the context of sexual aggression are likely to be extensions of normal emotional experience. How offenders vary on these core human dimensions will clearly have a correspondence to styles of offending whether highly aggressive, or highly intimate.

To say with any certainty what the full range of emotional experience is, would be highly speculative, and assume that there is a comprehensive understanding of what constitutes emotion. Fortunately many emotions are common to many people and so there is a

common sense of what emotions are. Emotions, such as fear, anger, desire and love are such examples, and are shared by most sections of the population. Within sexual aggression it is apparent that many possible emotional states motivate individuals to offend against other persons, and that many of these states are consistent with normal human functioning. Most people have experienced anger, but only a minority use rape to express it. Likewise there is a social imperative to find love and procreate, but there are some men who seek love within the context of rape. This complex association between normal human emotions, and inappropriate behaviour requires a brief consideration of what emotions are considered normal.

Cattell proposed motivations in the form of 'Ergs' and 'Sentiments': Ergs are described as innate dispositions to act, such as hunger or sex, while sentiments are personal desires or interests (Cattell 1965). Marx (1957) also describes constant and relative appetites representing biological needs and individual interests respectively, consistent with Cattell. Freud echoes a similar theme, in the 'Id,' as the basis for primal needs, the 'Super-Ego', representing interests, and the 'Ego', the rational (cognitive) emotions mediator of instinct and desire. Freud's work on drives (1915, 1933), also suggested instinctual mechanisms for sexual and aggressive behaviour. These are called Eros and Thanatos (sex, and aggression). Eros the sex drive, is considered a fundamental human drive, but requires constant relief (catharsis) to maintain an equilibrium. Thanatos is the death instinct, an aggressive urge for self-destruction, which can result in displaced harm towards others, in Freud's view. Aggression can result of a build up in either Eros or Thanatos, and thus rape can be conceptualised as some form of fusion between the two drives. Cattell and Freud, despite coming from quite different theoretical standpoints, share the proposition that people have basic instincts (Id or Erg) and a range of desires (Superego or Sentiment).

The distinction between instinct and desire is one worth making and is a useful way of considering motivations that underpin sexual aggression, and how they relate to normalised variations of similar themes. Instincts as basic response mechanisms to a

range of biological needs are quite distinct from the even broader range of interests found in humankind. Sexual interests are a good example of this, since many couples practise procreation in its simplest form for the purposes of reproduction, but equally sexual behaviour has developed sophistication indicative of variations in human interests. Any sexual practice, which is not solely for reproduction, can be considered as an interest. In some cases these sexual interests can develop into extreme forms, or paraphilias.

Normalised motivational constructs are often defined in evolutionary terms and Maslow (1954) describes pyramidal hierarchy of higher order and lower order natural incentives. The human needs described by Maslow provides a useful structure for examining general needs, and therefore motives, which might be compared to abnormal needs (or motives) such as rape.

- | | | |
|--------|----|--|
| Lower | 1. | Physiological needs (food, water, sex) |
| | 2. | Safety needs (security, protection from fear and disorder) |
| | 3. | Need for love (intimacy) |
| | 4. | Esteem needs (achievement, respect) |
| Higher | 5. | Self-actualisation |

The distinctions made so far between instincts (basic needs) and desires (higher order needs) is not always clear within sexual aggression, primarily because sex is a basic need, but rape represents higher order motivations. These may have a correspondence to normalised needs in that the absence of a need is motivational. The absence of love, for example, might precipitate a desire for intimacy; the absence of security might precipitate a need for control. General motivational theories emphasise the positive needs that humans have, but the literature on sexual aggression is far more concerned with hostility, cruelty, anger and sadism.

Emotions described by scientists cover the broadest spectrum of terms that denote emotions. Those suggested by Ekman (1971; 1992) are equally intuitive having positive

(**Positive** Interest, excitement, Joy-happiness) and negative (**Negative** Fear, Disgust, Sadness, Distress) orientations. Ekman describes instinctual motivational states and activity in terms of natural incentives and has continued to refine these ideas to the present day (Ekman 1992). **Table 3.1** below outlines Ekman’s breakdown of emotional expressions, which are inferred from facial expressions. What this work suggests is that facial expressions have evolved as physical indicators of universally expressed emotions.

Table 3.1 The Range of Human Emotional Expression

Primary Emotional Expression	Mood (Affect)	Natural Incentives (Motivations)
Positive		
Interest- Surprise	Curious Exploratory	Variety
Excitement (anger)	Feeling strong, excited	Being able
Joy Happiness	Love Happiness	Contact Affiliation
Negative		
Fear	Anxiety	Pain
Disgust	Aversion	Unpleasant sensations
Sadness	Depression	Frustration

(Derived from Ekman 1971; 1992)

Ekman (1992), and Izard (1979), have suggested that these six emotions are universal, as evidenced in facial expressions, lending support for the presence of a multi-faceted emotional response system in humans. It is clear to see how these motivations might relate to a wide-range of normal behaviour and form the basis for unnatural incentives, such as vengeance or deviant interest. The evolutionary function of emotions is that they represent responses to pleasures or aversions. Emotions are elicited in response to goals such as achievement and power, success and happiness. In this way emotional responses are directly related to environmental situations and social situations (Plutchik 1991). As such emotions can be seen as evolutionary mechanisms based in goal attainment or failure to meet primary goals (Tooby & Cosmides 1990; Stein & Trabasso 1992).

In humans the expression of emotions is highly connected to individual experiences of negative or positive events (Ekman 1992) therefore requiring a socio-evolutionary perspective. McClelland (1987) has argued that motives, which relate to primary needs, are implicitly affect-driven because they are associated with reward. These concern power, achievement and affiliation and are termed implicit motives. A number of authors have concurred on an approach-avoidance model of motivation (Cloninger 1987; Gray 1994; Davidson 1998). These perspectives share the idea that two motivational systems underlie behaviour; one system manages appetitive behaviour and is termed a behavioural activation system while the other is concerned with avoidance or behavioural inhibition. The problem of this basic model is that both approach and withdrawal can be associated with negative or positive affect.

As such there is some debate as to what the dimensions of affect are and whether they are bi-polar in nature. Watson and Tellegen (1999) have demonstrated that positive and negative affects are independent but nonetheless suggest that there is a kind of bi-polarity at some level; a view shared by others also (Russell & Carroll 1999; Higgins 1987). These authors suggest that one dimension of affect relates to the approach of incentives while the other dimension manages avoidance or withdrawal from threat. The former relates to excitement or elation at one end to sadness and rejection at the other. The latter is concerned with anxiety and fear at one end to relief and serenity at the other (Cloninger 1988; Carver 2001).

As with many types of antisocial behaviour, sexual offending is not motivated by specific thoughts and emotions, but often by many. Typologies of rape reflect these variations, but do not distinguish emotion from motivation, nor do they allow for multiple motivational components (Groth & Burgess 1977; Knight & Prentky 1989, 2001; Wilson & Canter 1997). Offenders are often motivated by multiple factors which need to be considered collectively if one is to make sense of the variation across sexual aggressors.

The tendency in psychological literature, when considering motivations for aggression, is to assign singular motivations such as anger, or frustration, to the phenomenon (Dollard et al 1939; Buss 1961; Berkowitz 1991; Prentky & Knight 1991). When motivations have been applied to particular styles of sexual aggression, similar themes arise, but other, more complex motivational constructs emerge as well, such as a desire for intimacy (Marshall 1992), or for power / sadism (Groth & Burgess 1977; de Sade 1785; MacCulloch 1983). The relationship of rape to fantasy also poses some conceptual difficulties, since fantasy can be considered as motivational (Prentky et al 1989; Schlesinger & Kutash 1981) as it comprises cognitive and affective processes.

Emotion and motivation are inseparable and it is not sufficient to describe different, often intuitive, types of aggression, or sexual assault, without describing emotions, or thoughts that result in particular styles of aggression. This complex interaction between aggression, cognition emotion and impulsivity is summarised by Zillman:

Zillmann (1983) suggests that aggression is mediated the following 3 factors:

Evocation of excitation or arousal associated with emotional states.

Dispositions of learned behaviour patterns of the individual.

The monitoring function of higher cognitive processes that appraise the appropriateness of both emotional states and courses of behaviour.

Zillman highlights a number of ideas incorporating a basic capacity to act on impulse, the impact of the environment through social learning and underlying biological functions, which precipitate and manage emotional states and ultimately action. Many authors including Zillmann (1998), and others (Buss 1961; Novaco 1991) suggest that anger causes aggressive behaviour although the relationship is not a direct one (Bandura 1973). In an examination of rapists Groth (1979) estimates that forty percent of his sample were anger rapists reacting to particular situations:

“The precipitating events were typically arguments, domestic problems, suspicions of infidelity, social rejections and environmental frustrations.

Common mediating emotions were a sense of anger and rage, associated with being wronged, hurt, put down and unjustly treated.” (Groth 1979, in Storr 1991, p71)

There is a clear association between anger and sexual aggression but not for all rapists. Anger is represented in more than one way in the literature and there is a clear distinction made between reactive anger (defensive aggression), and more expressive forms of anger (Groth 1979; Prentky & Knight 1991), which could be termed rage. Hobbes, like many thinkers in the classical tradition, touched on a broad range of social and psychological ideas, associated with aggression, which intrinsically motivational. In his work Leviathan, he says:

“So that in the nature of man we find three principal causes of quarrel. First competition; secondly, diffidence; thirdly glory. The first maketh men invade for gain; the second for safety; and the third for reputation. The first use violence to make themselves masters of other men’s persons, wives, children, and cattle; the second, to defend them; the third for trifles, as a word or smile, a different opinion, and any other sign of undervalue” (Hobbes 1651; part 1 chap 13, 6).

There are important themes here that are as relevant today as they were when they were written; aggression is posited in three primary forms, that of defence, that of power, and that which results from threats to self-esteem, or pride. Hobbes may be distinguishing between instrumental (power aggression) and aggression that arises from emotions such as anger.

The monitoring of higher functions is an important aspect of human motivation in that motivations for power, revenge, or hostility are associated with thoughts (desires), or ruminations. Aggression can result from a variety of thoughts and emotions. Anger represents a basic human emotion associated with aggression, but in the context of sexual aggression it may manifest itself in different ways and be associated with a range of cognitive styles. Other aspects of motivation in sexual aggression represent complex cognitive and affective interactions, which can only be discussed theoretically. These include Love as a motive rather than a state, Sex, and Power.

Love and Affiliation (Intimacy)

Affection in socio-biological terms is a positive, but powerful force that brings males and females together for the purpose of reproduction. Although somewhat simplistic, this motive for affiliation with others is inherently adaptive for mammalian species, to ensure a secure social context for rearing young. Having an extended social group for sharing collective tasks is seen as essential for the survival of a species. Intimacy is a pre-requisite for maintaining family bonds necessary for children to develop into adults. The idea of love, or affiliation as a driving instinctual mechanism is evident in many theories of human functioning (Ekman 1992; McClelland 1987; Maslow 1954; Bowlby 1971). McAdams (1980) describes the motive for affiliation in terms of intimacy, and examined differences in people's levels of intimacy. Basically he describes intimacy as interpersonal relations involving commitment, concern and harmony. As such, positive affect is associated with social competence and better personal adjustment (McAdams and Vaillant 1982). The converse is that those with a lower affiliation motivation are likely to be more anxious and unhappy (McClelland 1987).

Men have as much of a desire for love and affiliation as women but may adopt more aggressive strategies to attain emotional contact. Sex offenders, in some cases, commit acts of sexual aggression to obtain sexual intimacy (Ward, Hudson & Marshall 1996), because they lack the skills to approach women in more conventional ways. The work of Marshall, and colleagues, has helped to highlight some of the social skills deficits of sex offenders suggesting that this group has maladaptive interpersonal styles when dealing with women (Marshall 1993; Marshall, Barbaree & Fernandez 1995). Deficits in conversational, assertiveness and relationship skills have also been confirmed by Barlow, Abel, Blanchard, Bristow and Young (1977) and Segal and Marshall (1985). While these deficits are apparent in offender samples, it is likely that they exist across the population and may not always result in a tendency towards rape. Instead social skills are presented as both the cause and the cure in treatment with sexual offenders.

While some men do commit rape in order to intimacy, the relationship between this desire and the offender's behaviour in the context of rape is not clear. An offender may engage in intimacy with the victim for reasons other than affiliation; behavioural intimacy does not equate to the desire although some authors have suggested this (Canter and Heritage 1992). There is also a relationship between sexual and intimate motivations, in that many intimate relationships are likely to involve sexual activity; it is therefore difficult to disentangle sex from intimacy. A person deprived of love may be deprived of both attachments and sex as a consequence. Other aspects of social function have been highlighted, such as a poor attachment history, to significant others (Freund 1990; Freund and Blanchard 1986), a factor which may influence the development of appropriate skills. There is good evidence that some rapists are socially isolated and lonely which may reflect deficits in the necessary skills required for courting (Hudson and Ward 1997). This lack of skills could reflect either an absence of appropriate role models, or differences in personality traits, which promote self-isolation. Introversion may be one factor, which predisposes some individuals towards self-isolation, while in other cases the isolation may be learned.

Sexual Motivation and Fantasy

Sexual behaviour is not a discrete act (see Chapter 1) and in normal sexual practice there is diversity. In sexual assaults, there are cases when the offender attempts to enact normalised intercourse and intimacy, but there are other cases when the arousal derives from the victim's resistance, and the rape act (Groth et al 1977; Money 1990). The types of sexual act very much reflect the motivation of the offender ranging from cunnilingus to buggery, which are very different styles of sexual activity. In most cases of rape arousal is often necessary to initiate intercourse, and this arousal may also be a function of fantasy

within the offender's cognitive script. It is likely that arousal plays a strong role in maintaining the interest of the offender, enabling him to pursue and capture a selected victim, perhaps akin to the thrill of courting a new partner. Some offenders have a preference for deviant sexual interests, which may develop independently of any social influence. Deviant sexual arousal, or preference for rape may have a genetic basis in personality traits, which predispose an individual to curiosity, or deviancy.

There is some debate as to whether rape is sexually motivated. Some authors argue that sex is not the primary motivation for rape (Hagen 1979; Shields & Shields 1983), but is more a product of hostility, and the expression of power (Groth & Burgess 1977). Although for some offenders sex may not be a primary motive, it is nevertheless the chosen method of expressing their animosity and it seems unlikely that sex is not a factor for many rapists; many authors contend that some types of offender are motivated by sexual satisfaction (Guttmacher and Weihofen 1952; Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy & Christenson 1965; Cohen, Garofalo, Boucher & Seghorn 1971) all describe rapists, who are motivated by sexual satisfaction.

In addition to a desire for simple sexual satisfaction, may be a desire for deviant sexual activity in which the aggression is eroticised. Arousal can occur in response to the aggression or the victim's suffering, in the case of sadistic assault, and is a necessary component for some offenders. As such a rape can reflect a paraphilic tendency, such as BDSM (Bondage Dominance and Sado-Masochism), coprophilia (interest in faeces) or buggery, or more normalised sexual interests. Deviant interest in forced sexual intercourse is an important component of sexual offending, but not for the whole group. The work of many researchers (Abel, Barlow, Blanchard, Guild 1977; Barbaree Marshall and Lanthier, 1979; Quinsey Chaplain and Varney 1981) supports the presence of deviant sexual interests within rapist samples. What is surprising is that deviant sexual interest seems to be no more common in rapists, than it is in the normal population (Baxter, Barbaree and Marshall 1986); as such it can not be considered as a means of explaining rape, but does contribute something to understanding the individual variations.

Despite the difficulties in assessing specific deviant sexual interests, it is considered to be an important risk factor for those offenders who have it (Hanson and Bussiere 1998). Distinctions in the literature are often made between offenders who offend against children and offenders who offend against adults, proposing them as distinct types (Grubin and Kennedy 1991). It seems unlikely that true differences exist between rapists as a group and child molesters as a group, since they share a desire for inappropriate sexual contacts and are drawn from the same animal population. Rather than the choice of victim is just one component of sexual interests, and across orientations (child or adult) there are a diverse range of activities which overlap, suggesting commonality. A rapist may prefer anal intercourse regardless of whether the object is an adult or a child.

Fantasy may play a role in a variety of rape styles, or represent a discrete motivator as a function of sadism, or paraphilic murder (MacCulloch et al 1983; Burgess et al 1986). Sexual interests are known to have a strong association with mental imagery and hence fantasy; the presence of a porn industry must surely be a testament to the multitude of sexual interests. Psychologically, fantasy is associated with cognition, and defined by Burgess et al (1986) as an, 'elaborate thought with great pre-occupation anchored with emotion and origins in daydream'. A vague definition appropriate for a vague subject area that is difficult to observe scientifically.

The importance of the role of fantasy in sexual offending has been noted by a number of authors (Singer 1976; Prentky et al 1989; Schlesinger and Kutash 1981), and is considered to be an organising and motivating factor for some offenders. As a function of cognition, fantasy has been linked to intelligence (Ressler et al 1988; Prentky et al 1989). Inherent within fantasy themes are sex differences with respect to submissiveness and dominance as well as an association between sex and aggression (Barclay 1971). Within sexual assault, fantasy is seen as a pre-cursor to enactment for some offenders. Sexual fantasies are rehearsed in thought, before being tried-out behaviourally and modified through experience as in cases of serial sexual assault, or sexual homicide (MacCulloch et

al 1983). As such, identifying possible fantasy indicators in offending behaviour, might be indicated by the level of organisation - disorganisation in the offence (Ressler, Burgess, Rokous, Hartman & D'Agostino 1986; Prentky & Knight 1989), or by the presence of a role-play within a predatory-style offence (Deu and Edelman 1997). These studies suggest a strong association between fantasy and predatory, or serial sex offenders who are more organised intelligent, and sexually deviant.

This finding is a recurrent theme and so fantasy has been linked to psychopathology and sexual sadism (McCulloch et al 1989). Not surprisingly it has also been linked to sexual homicide (Burgess et al 1986) when the crime is seemingly motiveless, but could well suggest a hidden, or fantasy-fuelled act. Similarly Beres (1961) suggests that, 'fantasy may be a substitute for action or may prepare the way for later action' and so is not necessarily causal. The role of fantasy in sexual offending is evident in some cases of sexual aggression, but may only apply in extreme or peculiar cases. Despite its relevance, it remains a conceptually confusing, psychological construct that is difficult to observe and measure. Its relationship to power imagery and deviant sexual interest is noted because the processes involved in fantasy-driven crime are motivational in their own right, and grounded in cognition and affect. Within clinical settings the presence of psychosis may confound the understanding of fantasy, as distinct from delusions and hallucinations. No attempt will be made here to clarify the distinctions between different forms of cognitive state, as psychological or psychiatric symptoms.

Power and Control

Power and control are implicit in rape, although to varying degrees. Power over a victim enables rape, and exerting extreme forms of sexualised power, would constitute sadism, by definition. Power is a recurrent theme within psychological perspectives of the person, whether that is efficacy or psychopathology. Hobbes (1651) suggested that the desire for power drives men to be aggressive in pursuit of their desires, or in response to threat or

insult. This theme is also inherent in later evolutionary work (e.g. Spencer) in that personal esteem is achieved from status within a social group (analogous to dominance hierarchies). From a socio-evolutionary perspective power, and its corollary submission, are instinctual representing an extension of assertiveness. Winnicott (1975) has argued that aggression arises from a natural need to be recognised and emerges when people do not feel valued. Siann (1985) also argues that aggression arises from a sense of devaluation, and consequently a need to assert power. Aggression has also been described as a form of 'impression management' (Felson 1973; Toch 1980), with offenders promoting themselves as 'hard' and fearless in some cases.

As with aspects of aggression, dominant modes of interpersonal functioning may be learned behavioural scripts, acquired from dominant parenting styles. It is not surprising that assertive aggression has been linked to social learning, and modelling theories (Feshbach 1970). In many ways power is encapsulated within Bandura's notion of self-efficacy (self- power), and Rotter's (1966) notion of locus of control; both suggest that the person's sense of control over life's situations is important for self-esteem and confidence. The absence of a sense of control in a person's life, powerlessness, is frustrating, and may cause an individual to feel angry and behave aggressively, which is consistent with Berkowitz's theoretical model. Power expressed within sexual aggression, could be to compensate for a perceived lack of control in day-to-day life, but can also be expressed in its own right, as a function of a person's assertiveness.

The measurement of Power as a trait, evolved from the work of Veroff (1957) who used projective techniques, and has been developed by Winter (1992) into a psychometric scale (n Power) based on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). Power motives have been found to relate to the functions of aggression (Mason and Blackenship 1987) and sexual behaviour (McClelland 1975) but largely based on projective testing. Generally power has been defined in terms of wanting to control or influence others, and was linked to impulsive aggression (which would be reactive aggression in Berkowitz's terms) in working class men (Winter 1973). Unfortunately the emphasis on psychodynamic theory

to explain power, and the failure of the measure to predict achievement (Lazarus 1961) may have contributed to a demise in motive research.

Within the literature on sexual aggression, power has been linked to some types of rapist (Groth and Burgess 1977), and more specifically to sadistic offenders (MacCulloch et al 1983; Marshall and Kennedy 2000; Prentky & Knight 2001). Power defines sadism, as described previously, but is not exclusive to it, since control is essential in the commission of any rape. Whether power is about assertiveness, or sadism, there are strong suggestions that power is a principal motivator for some forms of sexual aggression including those that are described as sadistic. The expression of power is often observable within the behaviour of rapists, but the difficulty lies in distinguishing necessary features of victim-control, from overt expressions of power, verbal and physical, sexual and non-sexual. In the context of rape such traits could relate to differing degrees of intimacy and aggression, which may be consistent with underlying dominant-submissive traits of personality discussed in the personality section.

Outside the sex offender literature, psychological characteristics such as power, control or dominance recur numerous times. As a motivator the need for control or power has been linked to assertiveness (Siann 1985; Toch 1980) and hence can be linked to reactive and instrumental aggression. Aggression can be considered as a means of asserting control over another, and thereby achieving power through instrumental force. Equally it may arise in response to undervaluation and be reactive. In Groth et al's (1977) typology, anger and power are proposed as the main motivators for sexual aggression, and rape is described as a broad dichotomy of these psychological determinants. In so doing Groth, and colleagues do not distinguish between motivation and emotion; power can be construed as a motive, but anger is an emotion, associated with many motives. The reasons for offending, such as reassurance, anger expression and the discharge of frustration, seem to reflect motivation more than anger or power; anger and power may be more evident as behaviour, or interpersonal styles of assault. This confusion in the way

that motivations are conceptualised by different authors, is partly the consequence of futile attempts at classifying rapists.

Power and anger do play a role in sexual offending, but are not sufficient to explain the full range of motivations for rape. Having control is the essence of power and in the context of sexual offending, it is a necessary aspect in the commission of the offence; without control there could be no sexual assault. Control, however can be achieved in many ways, through physical aggression and coercion; it is these differences that can be seen in different patterns of sexual offence behaviour, which may range from very aggressive to very intimate. Exercising power, at its most minimal involves restraint, but at its extreme may also involve cruelty or destruction. Injuring or killing a victim, may be a goal within sexual assault (Ressler et al 1988), and in some cases this may constitute a power motivation, but the presence of extreme cruelty can also be explained by hostility, anger or alcohol intoxication.

Kalin, Kahn & McClelland (1965) suggested that alcohol enables aggressive behaviours, through an increase of the mental imagery associated with power. This finding was confirmed by Davis (1972) who demonstrated that alcohol increases “power” thoughts and discovered that men who felt inadequate (low self-esteem), drank to make them feel more powerful. Another study by Davis (1982) went further by demonstrating that people high in n Power (the psychometric scale mentioned previously) were more predisposed to fight, drink, gamble and exploit women sexually. Given such attributes is it possible that a power motivation may have some relationship to the personality construct termed psychopathy, as well as being inherent in definitions of sadism. The relationship of power as a motivation to dominance as a behaviour is apparent in human action, although not all power motivations will necessarily require domination. The difficulty in measuring the construct has consequently resulted in very few attempts to operationalize the measurement of power in sexual aggression.

Hostility and Harm Justification

In terms of cognitions, sexual aggression has been linked to negative attitudes and beliefs towards women, and a failure to understand the impact of aggression on the victims. The social nature of aggression, and psychology has demonstrated clear associations between attitudes and behaviour as outlined in the social learning section. Some sexual aggressors believe that their victims wanted to have sex with them, or that they enjoyed the assault (Burt 1980; Malamuth & Check 1983), although such justifications may be formulated after the event. The tendency towards aggressiveness is influenced by attitudes and beliefs, about the appropriateness of aggression (Buss 1966) and prejudices towards particular social groups such as women, or ethnic minorities can increase aggression (Wilson and Rogers 1975). Some aspects of rape involve distorted perceptions of the victim, and some offenders heavily minimise the impact they have on their victims, or deny their offending outright (Barbaree 1998).

Both sex offenders (Overholser & Beck 1986) and non-offender males (Burt 1980, Malamuth & Check 1983) have been shown to have negative attitudes. Sterman and Segal (1984) found that the attitudes of rapists towards women were neither negative nor conservative. In a parallel line of enquiry Seidman et al (1994) found rapists, and non-familial child molesters to be more hostile towards women than controlled groups. Other studies have suggested higher levels of hostility in rapists than non-rapists (Seidman et al 1994), but this does not suggest that all rapists are hostile to women. Within any group defined by a violent offence it is highly probable that more of them will be more hostile than the average person in the street. It would only take a few of these to create a statistical difference.

A number of other studies have emphasised the cognitive distortions held by sex offenders and highlighted which types of distortion are most commonly associated with child molesters and adult sexual offenders. Child molesters were found to have distorted thinking with respect to children's beliefs about sexual contact with adults as both

desirable and acceptable (Morrison, Erooga & Beckett 1990). Howells (1994) also elicited constructs of dominance and co-operation within the child - adult relationship in child molesters, echoing power ideas such as those found in rape. Child molesters are thought to have difficulty in relating to adults and so are much more at ease, and in control, when with children. Potentially there are also adult rapists who fit this profile, but whom offend within specific contexts, which enable easy access to vulnerable targets. An example of this would be abusers within office, or sport contexts (Brackenridge 2001).

Abel's cognition scale (1989) has been used in a number of studies to assess distorted beliefs in rapists, and perhaps the most widely used assessment is Nichols and Molinder's (1984) Multiphasic Sex Inventory (MSI), which incorporates Justification and Cognitive distortion sub-scales. Both of these offer some utility in identifying ranges and types of cognitive distortions, but like many self-report assessments they can be transparent and open to subjects presenting themselves in a positive light. There is also some question as to whether distorted thinking can be considered along a scale of measurement, or might be better conceptualised as a categorical set of cognitions. It may be that the presence, and type of distorted thought is more important, since these thoughts underpin an offender's choice of victim, and level of aggression.

Justifying harm doing to another is not something confined to sexual aggressors; the capacity to rationalise harm-doing is part of human nature. The early work of Stanley Milgram (1963, 1974) showed that people are willing to be cruel to others; subjects in his study were willing to administer up to 210 volts to a victim (an actor), at the command of the experimenter. In a classic study, Zimbardo (1970) showed that anonymity affects the degree of aggression we are willing to direct towards others. He demonstrated that hooded (anonymous) participants being more willing to administer greater electric shocks. Both of the above examples point at the importance of social rules and accountability, in that we let go when we are free from social controls that otherwise prevent us from acting in such a way. Within sexual assault, some rapists use a disguise,

or blindfold the victim, possibly as a means to anonymize himself or the victim; the reasons for this may be as much to avoid detection, as to dehumanise the victim.

A related area of concern has been the extent to which sex offenders acknowledge that they have a problem and the degree to which they can appreciate the harm that they have caused to their victims. Both taking responsibility for their actions and understanding the consequences of their behaviour are seen as central themes in the treatment of sex offenders. In a study by Barbaree (1998) of convicted rapists, 59% were denied having committed the offence. Of those who admitted to their offences, 20% felt that the women wanted to be raped even though she said “no”, and one third offered justifications for their behaviour.

Victim empathy, or rather a lack of victim empathy is also an important theme of sex offender treatment (Knopp, Freeman-Longo, & Stevenson 1992). This has been shown to be deficient in sex offenders when considering their own victims (Marshall, Hudson & Hodgkinson 1993). A review by Marshall, Hudson, Jones and Fernandez (1995) emphasised that while some studies found mild deficits in general empathy, others did not, including their own work. These intimacy deficits are thought to evolve developmentally from poor attachments to parents (Marshall & Mazzucco 1995), resulting in the experience of loneliness and a desire to offend. While the evidence supports poor child-parent attachments, and subsequent intimacy deficits in sex offender samples, it is unlikely that these deficits are exclusive to abusers, and likely forms just one component of motivation for this group.

The range of motivational factors can be summarised in terms of Arousal and Impulsivity, as underlying biological mechanisms for action, coupled with specific cognitive and affective components (Anger, Love, Vengeance, Hostility, Power). Sexual aggression is implicitly sexual, but comprises all forms of sexual practise. As such the sexual facet, of sexual aggression can be understood as both a basic (evolutionary) interest, and a socially evolved range of sexual interests (appetites or sentiments). There may be associations

between motives for sexual assault and more implicit human needs such as those suggested by Maslow (1954); more complex motivations could be expressed as higher order needs in Maslows terms. It seems intuitive to make a distinction between higher order and lower order needs, as basic appetites versus intellectualised interests, but any further distinctions (hierarchically) would be speculative. **Table 3.2**, below, is an example of how some motives for sexual assault may relate to the needs suggested by Maslow (1954). These are coupled with other evolutionary mechanisms for aversion and frustration, and those for affiliation.

Table 3.2 Proposed Conceptualisation of Motivational Pathways

Basic Activity	Normal Higher Order Cognitive State	Deviant Higher Order Cognitive State	Emotional Mechanism
Sex (food, water)	Interesting Sex Normal fantasy	Deviant Sex Distorted Cognition Fantasy	Deviant Arousal Disinhibition
Aversion	Dislike	Hostility Hate	Anger Rage
Frustration	Annoyance	Powerlessness Impotence	Anger
Affiliation	Love Intimacy	Pseudo-Intimate Rape	Love
Dominance	Esteem Wealth	Power Psychopathy	Well-being

Complex motivations might stem from basic needs, but be mediated by thinking styles or content, which enable or inhibit behavioural responses. These cognitive processes are fuelled by emotional mechanisms, which also can enable or inhibit sexual aggression through arousal. Arousal, both sexual and non-sexual, is a core element of motivation in all human activities that require physical exertion; it has a complex relationship to many motivational pathways, and may be inhibited, or disinhibited by affective or cognitive states. Anxiety, and extreme anger, for example, may inhibit sexual arousal, resulting in impotence (a feature of some rapes), and so may be confined to these specific

motivational pathways. Arousal represents the autonomic, biological response, necessary for most human action, and can only be discussed in this general way.

Anger would seem to be the primary emotional response for many negative cognitive states such as hostility, or a perceived sense of powerlessness. Those motivations based in anger can be seen as reactive to situations and people, and directed towards a victim. Motives for sex, power and love are much more proactive, driven by internal, rather than external, processes and it may be worth conceptualising motives in this way. Sexual aggression results from both reactive processes (in response to need) and proactive processes (in response to desire). Motivations underlying sexual aggression could incorporate almost any combination of these motivational pathways. Theoretically many of these associations have already been outlined, but the exact relationship between cognition and affect is unknown, but it does seem that higher order motives involve both thoughts and feelings. Impulsivity is present to varying degrees across individuals. A range of emotional and cognitive-motivational facets will be explored in relation to behaviour in Study 2 of this thesis.

Chapter 4

Personality Dimensions

Hans Eysenck (1970) provided a summary of the conceptual position on personality, which remains relatively unchanged, encompassing the range of factors which can be considered important in psychological terms; in so doing Eysenck clearly draws on the work of Plato and the work of Kant who offer similar conceptual frameworks and terms.

“A more or less stable and enduring organisation of a person’s character, temperament, intellect, and physique, which determines his unique adjustment to the environment. Character denotes a person’s more or less stable and enduring system of conative behaviour (“will”); temperament, his more or less stable and enduring system of affective behaviour (“emotion”); intellect, his more or less stable and enduring system of cognitive behaviour (“intelligence”); physique, his more or less stable and enduring system of bodily configuration and neuroendocrine endowment” (Eysenck, 1970, p2).

The consistency of the personality themes over time suggests that such mechanisms could form the basis of personality constructs which result in a variation of interests (appetites, motives), affects (temperaments, moods), cognitions (mental activity, thoughts) and behaviour (actions which can be proactive or reactive). Within this general framework are specific underlying mechanisms for individual and social action, termed traits (Allport 1937; Tellegen 1992), which describe the qualities a person is born with. Collectively, traits are thought to form the basis of personality constructs that result in individual variations in affect (temperaments, moods), cognitions (thoughts, intelligence) and behaviour (both proactive and reactive).

Trait ideas continue to be developed from an evolutionary perspective and Tellegen (1992) has described traits as structures, which underpin behavioural dispositions. As such the biological structures are distinguished from dispositions to act, which may be situationally dependent. Another distinction made by McCrae (1993), distinguishes between ‘basic tendencies’ (traits), and ‘characteristic adaptations’ (attitudes, habits and

goals). This concept of characteristic adaptations can be interpreted in more than one-way however. They reflect a similar idea to that of Cattell in his use of theoretical notion of 'Sentiments', but equally suggest a distinction between traits and what Dawkins termed 'memes'.

Psychological perspectives are strongly influenced by dimensional approaches to understanding personality (Eysenck 1960; Blackburn, 1988; Wiggins & Pincus 1994) and traits are usually proposed as dimensions. As Eysenck explains, 'dimensions locate people along quantifiable continua of frequency or intensity' (Eysenck, 1960). For this reason they are much more precise than simple diagnostic distinctions of normal and disordered. Ultimately personality manifests itself through behaviour and so understanding how people vary on fundamental dimensions of personality may provide a means of understanding why some are sexually aggressive.

Contemporary psychological theories of personality historically, reflect an evolutionary perspective, which grounded concepts such as warmth and reactivity within an organismic framework. Early ideas suggested a trait for sociability or gregariousness (Galton 1849; Eysenck 1947), which has long been suggested as part of a bi-polar dimension of approach-withdrawal (Sheldon 1942; Eysenck 1967; Asch, 1946; Costa & McCrae 1990), a mechanism present in many living things (Gosling & John 1999; Schneirla, 1965). These ideas came to describe introversion and extroversion, or sensation seeking (Zuckerman 1974), suggesting that 'affiliation' and 'social avoidance' represent a core trait of interpersonal functioning.

Eysenck (1957; 1990) has proposed three primary dimensions; these traits are called Neuroticism, Extraversion-Introversion, and Psychoticism (N E and P). Extraversion (E) represents sociability, or friendliness and Introversion is associated with shyness. Neuroticism (N) represents nervousness (stable to unstable) and is associated with emotionality (affect) and reactivity (Gibson 1981). As a dimension, N may have associations with a variety of human conditions such as anxiety through to avoidant and

schizotypal behaviours. Some authors suggest that N may form the basis of schizophreniform disorders of personality (Claridge 1972) including schizotypy (Kidd, Hammond & Bishopp 1999). Psychoticism (Eysenck & Eysenck 1976) is a concept associated with callousness, similar to Cleckley's (1976) or Hare's (1991) concept of psychopathy, a construct which has been emphasised as an exacerbating factor in the literature on violent and sexual offenders. Much attention has been given to psychopathy as a personality construct associated with violence (Blackburn 1989; Hare 1996) and is given more attention below. Described in another way, Eysenck's 'Big 3' represents approach-reward, inhibition-punishment, aggression and flight, consistent with evolutionary ideas; however the extent to which these traits are sufficient for describing individual differences, remains questionable.

Cattell's perspective is similar to Eysenck, suggesting reserved-outgoing (extraversion-introversion), stability-emotionality (neuroticism) and, high and low intelligence (cognition) (Cattell 1965). Although Cattell proposes eight bi-polar dimensions of personality, they can be conceptualised within fewer theoretical domains. He includes reserved and shy, which could be analogous, and also sober and conservative which might also be analogous. In essence Cattell's constructs may contribute to a fewer number of underlying traits, and form variations of them. Cattell also emphasises the context within which behaviour occurs, and proposes that sentiments (desires) are mediated by the environment (Cattell 1985). The identification of traits, and the ability to measure them with factor analysis (Guilford 1940; Thurstone 1951; Eysenck 1952) marked a shift in psychological science from simple evolutionary ideas to sophisticated theories of interpersonal functioning, which had their basis in evolutionary mechanisms.

The work of Eysenck and Cattell is implicit to most considerations of personality and has been developed within a five-factor model of personality. Goldberg (1981) has suggested that personality can be understood in terms of five basic questions that people ask themselves in interpersonal situations. These five questions relate to core human traits, consistent with earlier theoretical positions and outlined here:

Is X active and dominant or passive and submissive?

(Can I bully X or will X bully me)

Is X agreeable (warm and pleasant) or disagreeable (cold and distant)?

Can I count on X (Is X responsible and conscientious)?

Is X crazy (unpredictable) or sane (stable)?

Is X smart or dumb (how easy will it be for me to teach X)?

Goldberg (1981) has also suggested the terms used to describe core aspects of individual differences will have evolved in all cultures, because of the importance of using language to ascribe meaning to the human condition. Language has evolved with culture, but the most salient words, describing core human processes are likely to be not only ancient, but also universally present. This he describes as the fundamental lexical hypothesis, which is briefly outlined in the etymology chapter of this thesis.

The Big 5 (as it is known) personality model is based around the above questions, which represent core interpersonal traits. Similar to Eysenck, they incorporate Extraversion, Neuroticism and Openness (which distinguishes sociability from curiosity). In addition to these three, two further traits have been suggested, namely Agreeableness (the basic capacity for warmth and love) and Conscientiousness in the revised version of the NEO test (Costa and McCrae 1992). Studies examining these constructs, across cultures (Digman 1990; John 1990), demonstrate consistency with respect to the terms used and constructs to which they refer leading McCrae & Costa to conclude that.

“In the past five years, personality psychologists from a variety of different perspectives have converged on a five factor model of personality” (McCrae Costa 1990 p5).

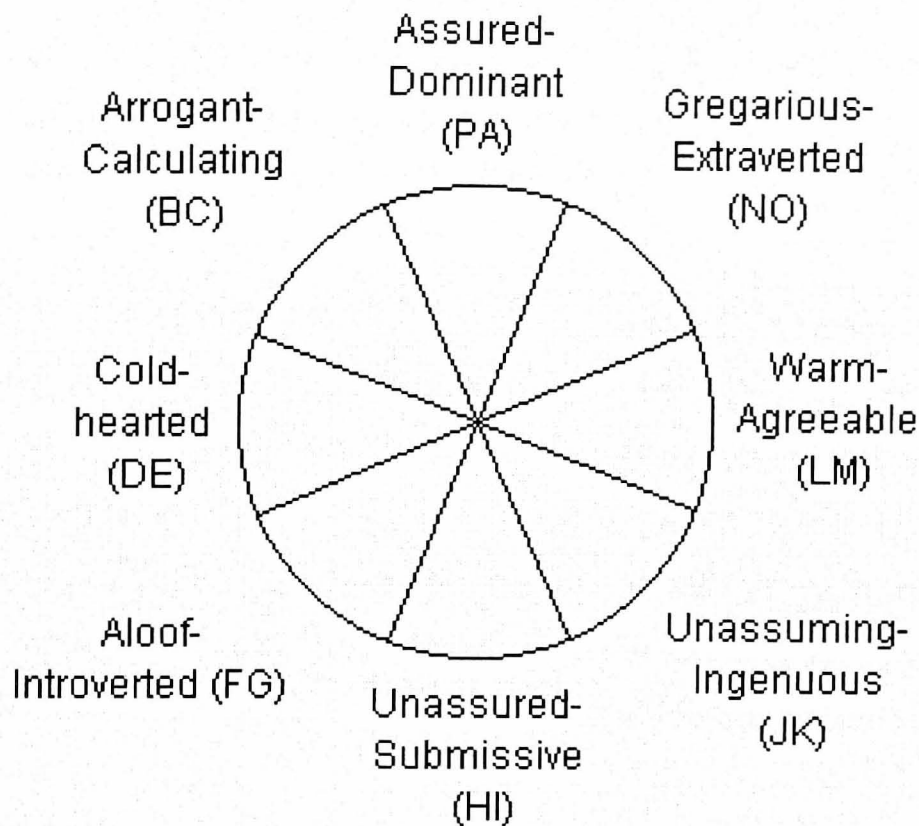
There is some debate as to whether these represent all the core components of personality and are sufficient for describing individual differences (Eysenck 1991; Buss 1982; Loehlin 1982), a debate which cannot be easily resolved. The distinction between classifying people and examining their variations on dimensions, is at the basis of

intellectual conflict between psychology and psychiatry however, and has consequences for the understanding of personality within clinical settings. Psychology has tended to examine traits as ordered constructs, upon which people vary, while psychiatry has assumed that there are clear, present or absent, criteria, which can be used as the basis for diagnostic classification. Given the evidence for variation in traits, it is difficult to justify typological variation.

Another significant contribution to a dimensional model of personality is the interpersonal circle, or circumplex. The circumplex is a two-dimensional structure, which describes relationships between multiple variables (Guttman 1954), expressed round a circle. Variables, which are similar to each other, are closer than those, which are not. Semantic, or behavioural opposites are expressed as bi-polar extremes. The interpersonal circle is another interpretation of evolutionary dimensions, which are partly consistent with factor-based personality ideas. Interpersonal theories propose that there are two primary dimensions of interpersonal action, Dominance or Control (vs. submissiveness) and Love or Affiliation (vs. hostility).

There are many formulations of the interpersonal circle with early work inspired by Sullivan (1953) and his theory of reciprocal emotion. These ideas of complementarity in human interactions were developed by Leary (1957) with more recent support has come from numerous researchers who have attempted to examine the structure of personality (Goldberg 1993; Wiggins 1982; Kiesler 1983; Orford 1994; Pincus 1994). This structure has a demonstrated validity across normal and abnormal populations, and is implicitly concerned with dimensional variations, on core human traits, indicative of psychopathology, or personality variation. A simple example of the interpersonal circumplex is given below in **Figure 4.2** from Wiggins (1995).

Figure 4.2 Wiggins (1995) Interpersonal Circumplex



While there is some correspondence between trait theorists, interpersonal theory and more general propositions of personality there is still some fuzziness. The constructs are presented as bipolar elements in a single structure of personality dimensions. There is no direct evidence that the relationships between personality facets can all be conceptually considered within a simple structure. It is likely that a conceptual model would need to be multidimensional to enable the relationships between constructs to be understood. While there is overlap between some authors, it will be apparent to the reader that there are some critical issues which lie at the heart of debates on the structure of personality: What constitutes a core human trait? How many are required to explain human action? Are disorders of personality extreme expressions of personality traits?

Personality Disorder & Psychopathology

Due to the antisocial nature of sexual aggression, there has been a strong psychiatric influence on the way that sexual aggressors are conceptualised. Rather than understanding rapists as individuals with extreme expressions of particular personality traits, offenders in clinical settings are diagnosed with respect to various disorders of personality. How these disorders of personality relate to what we understand as “normal” personality is not always clear because of the differences in terminology used by psychiatry and psychology respectively. Despite these differences it has been demonstrated that criteria which define personality disorders fit a similar structure to that of the big 5 (Costa and Widiger 1992; Pincus and Wiggins 1990; Widiger et al, 1994; Trull, Clarkin, Sanderson & Costa 1994; Trull & McCrae 1994).

Work examining psychiatric symptomatology reveals some support for this position in that the underlying facets of the person are considered to be affective, cognitive and behavioural, although the labelling system can be unhelpful. Cluster analyses reveal constellations of symptoms, which differ from the classification system. Tyrer & Alexander (1979) identified sociopathic, dependent, anankastic and schizoid groupings. In a more recent study, Weekes & Morrison (1993) identify 5 clusters within personality disorder criteria, including two dependent-avoidant groupings (schizoid and passive-aggressive), two antisocial-narcissistic groupings (paranoid and histrionic) and a compulsive grouping. Given that these groupings are not defined by mutually exclusive criteria, it can be suggested that similar psychological processes underpin a number of different disorders).

Personality and personality disorder as currently conceptualised are not two ends of the same spectrum and can only be compared when expressed in general terms. In the DSM-IV system, personality disorders are characterised as enduring, pervasive and inflexible patterns of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and the self; that are exhibited in a wide range of social and personal contexts, and which cause significant

distress or impairment in social, occupational or other important areas of functioning. It might be assumed that any dangerous behaviour or serious offending is indicative of a disordered personality but relationships between different facets of personality and specific styles of offending are, at best, general. Within the personality disorder classification systems, some personality disorder diagnoses have hostility or violence as part of their definition (eg DSM-IV antisocial and borderline personality disorders), and hence a link between those disorders and violence should not be surprising (Blackburn 1996).

The relationship between personality disorder and sexual aggression is clouded by definition since some antisocial behaviours and sexual violence contribute to the criteria for personality disorder. dangerousness can also be tautological. Within the personality disorder classification systems, some personality disorder diagnoses have hostility or violence as part of their definition (eg DSM-IV antisocial and borderline personality disorders), and hence a link between those disorders and violence should not be surprising. Coid (1998) examined the relationships between different personality disorder diagnoses and the types of violence exhibited in the patients' offending, with some interesting results. For example, borderline personality disorder was associated with violent urges and tension relief, paranoid personality disorder with revenge and under-control, schizoid personality disorder with excitement seeking, and narcissistic personality disorder with low self-esteem and the need for control.

Although there are fundamental differences in the way personality is conceptualised, as opposed to the way personality disorder is diagnosed, it has been suggested that the dimensions which underpin personality disorder may be the same as those which underpin personality (Costa & McCrae 1990; Widiger et al., 1994; Trull & McCrae 1994). Work examining psychiatric symptomatology reveals some support for this position in that the underlying facets of the person are considered as affective, cognitive and behavioural, although the labelling system can be unhelpful. Studies of personality disorder symptom data, or Millon's Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI) reveal factors

more consistent with theoretically valid personality concepts. Cluster analyses reveal complex associations between symptoms, which differ from the classification system.

Tyrer & Alexander (1979) identified sociopathic, dependent, anankastic and schizoid groupings. In a more recent study, Weekes & Morrison (1993) identify 5 clusters within personality disorder criteria including two dependent-avoidant groupings (schizoid and passive-aggressive), two antisocial-narcissistic groupings (paranoid and histrionic) and a compulsive grouping. Given that these groupings are not defined by mutually exclusive criteria it can be suggested that similar psychological processes underpin a number of different disorders. The failure of any study to confirm the presence of personality disorders similarly suggests that they do not exist scientifically.

The psychiatric approach may be an attempt to classify what may not be classifiable, resulting in a typology of personality disorders within diagnostic manuals. The constructs of personality are proposed as symptomatology for various psychopathological conditions, which fails to take on board the dimensional nature of the constructs and the disorders. This has made for poor scientific understanding of personality in the context of personality disorder. Personality disorders, and Psychopathy are determined simplistically, using cut-off *scores*, or critical numbers of symptoms. This assumes that there is a qualitative distinction between someone who scores below a certain point and someone who scores above that point. On the Hare Psychopathy Checklist someone who scores above 25 (in the UK) or 30 (in the USA), are considered to be qualitatively different from someone who scores below those cut-off scores, even when the difference is a matter of a few points.

Specific attention has been given to psychopathy as a personality construct associated with violence (Blackburn 1989; Hare 1996), and there are comparisons to be drawn to Eysenck's Psychoticism dimension, and the diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder, in DSM terms. Blackburn (1975), in contrast to Hare and Eysenck, has described two types of psychopath, 'primary psychopaths' (impulsive, aggressive, hostile, extroverted,

self confident) and ‘secondary psychopaths’ (hostile, impulsive, aggressive, anxious, withdrawn, moody). In this sense, psychopaths are almost defined as introverted and extroverted forms of sociopath, and it is conceivable that the psychopathy trait has become entangled in the extroversion dimension. Hare’s concept of psychopathy (Hare 1980; Hare 1991) is much more associated with Blackburn’s primary psychopath, but the difficulty in defining what a psychopath is, or what traits define psychopathy, remain perplexing questions in research and clinical practise. Even Hare’s Psychopathy is constructed of two factors, an antisocial one and an interpersonal one (Hare et al 1990), suggesting that it is not a single trait. The meaning of psychopathy is by no means clear:

“The term psychopath, has been used to describe such a variety of unusual human beings that it has become almost meaningless except as a label indicating disapproval or a lack of comprehension” (Storr 1991, p36).

More recent factor-analytic approaches suggest that there could be further factors that need to be described (Cooke & Michie, 2001). This raises some question as to whether psychopathy represents a trait, or a syndrome describing a specific constellation of traits and behaviours. Psychopathy is an elusive construct, but has been consistently identified as a supraordinate interpersonal trait, characterised by a number of themes based in the work of Cleckley (1976) and Hare (1980; 1991). Hare et al (1998) describe psychopaths as:

“Grandiose, arrogant, callous, superficial and manipulative; affectively, they are short tempered, unable to form strong emotional bonds with others, and lacking in guilt and anxiety; and behaviourally, they are irresponsible, impulsive and prone to delinquency and criminality” (Hare et al, 1998, p555).

Given the interpersonal nature of rape, and the variations across sexually aggressive acts, it is likely that traits of personality will be reflected in offending behaviour. Given the universality of some human traits suggested by the big 5, and in Buss’s (1991) work, it is probable that some or all of these dimensions will be evident within rapists and violent offenders. Behavioural variations may well conform to dimensions of the interpersonal circle, or other theoretical considerations of personality traits. The conceptualisation of

interpersonal action as a circumplex is strongly supported but the relationship of sexual behaviour to interpersonal styles remains unclear. Sexual behaviour represents an aspect of human interests, or appetites, which are distinguishable from underlying personality traits, or capacities. The relationship between sexual interests (as one of many interests), and personality structures has not been sufficiently examined to draw any firm conclusions. Sexual behaviours reflect a range of interests that might only be conceptualised as acts mediated by personality variations. Rapists may be deviant, but this deviance can only be understood in relation to dimensions of normal functioning.

Blackburn has demonstrated associations between psychopathy and the dominant hostile themes of the interpersonal circle (Blackburn 2000). Understanding normal personality function has to be relative to understanding personality disorder since abnormality depends on how normality is defined. The tendency in forensic practise to focus on personality disorder may overlook more scientifically defensible psychological constructs that define the person. Intrinsic mechanisms for social action such as extraversion, likely contributes to both a person's pathology, such as psychopathy, and may equally act as a protective factor against other forms of disorder associated with isolation and avoidance.

Chapter 5

Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offenders

The treatment of sexual offenders has always been a contentious issue. The extent to which this group can be rehabilitated and what actually works in terms of treatment remain questions that are difficult to answer because very few studies have examined treatment efficacy, a process complicated by many confounding factors. Studies that have attempted to evaluate treatment efficacy differ, both methodologically, and with respect to the approach used (Maletsky 1998, Nicholaichuck 1998, Hall 1995).

As with the literature on sexual offender characteristics, the treatment characteristics identified clinically comprise a range of emotional, cognitive, social and behavioural features that can be addressed in treatment. The historical lack of uniformity in assessing, and treating, these needs has been addressed within the Sex Offender Treatment Programme (SOTP), utilising the Sex Offender Treatment Evaluation Pack (STEP) (Beckett, Beech and Fisher 1994). Such approaches offer a systematic approach to the assessment, treatment and evaluation of sexual offenders by providing a psychometric battery of tests aimed at assessing key areas of psychological deficit, such as social skills deficits or poor anger management.

The ranges of needs addressed in treatment programmes are suitable for a variety of sexual offender types. More individual approaches to treatment are generally provided within forensic psychiatric settings although the reasons for this may simply reflect differing levels of resources rather than differing treatment needs. Within both psychiatric and prison settings the main aim of any treatment is to reduce the likelihood of re-offending; identifying psychological needs has gone hand in hand with assessing an individual's risk to others.

Treatment assumes that there is an understanding of what is “wrong” with sex offenders and that we can measure, and change, this *pathology*. Sex offenders are people, with

personalities, who sexually offend, just as footballers are people, who play football. Understanding sexual offenders as people who are extreme, or deficient in particular aspects of personality may be a useful perspective to take. The absence of any underlying model or true classification of sexual offending complicates both assessment and treatment because rapists cannot be meaningfully divided into sub-types that share an underlying pathology or set of needs. Such a breakdown is essential for trying to identify targets for treatment and for identifying which individuals pose the greatest risk to others.

Identifying relevant features associated with recidivism, is still a developing process although progress has been made both here in the UK by Thornton et al (1999 2000) and in Canada through the meta-analytic work of Hanson and Bussiere (1998). However risk characteristics tend to be identified retrospectively from follow-up studies and only in those individuals who have an established record of sexual offending. Identifying static correlates of recidivism is only part of the solution and numerous authors have stressed the importance of situational aspects of offending behaviour (Megargee 1976, Monahan 1988, Hanson and Bussiere 1998). A brief outline of psychiatric and psychological treatment is provided.

The tendency in the clinical literature is not to talk about sexual aggression, but instead describe features of rapists or child molesters. Psychiatric perspectives have examined symptoms of sexual aggressors, and proposed taxonomic differentiations, which use psychological constructs (Knight and Prentky 1991). Much of the knowledge gained about sexual aggression has come from clinical studies but has become mystified in a language that separates it from more general studies of behaviour or personality.

Medical Treatment

As a disorder of either personality or brain function, sexually deviant behaviour remains elusively unexplainable as a medical condition, and even harder to diagnose (Freund and

Blanchard 1989). The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM - IV), has paraphilic diagnoses of paedophilia, hebephilia and necrophilia, which distinguish behaviours by the choice of sexual object, rather than on any particular aspects the person. Rape, as a preferred form of sexual activity is considered as a sexual deviation in some cases (Groth et al 1977; Abel 1989), and Money (1990) termed this biastophilia. Similarly Federoff (1997) points out that one of the defining features of the paraphilic disorders in DSM IV is the lack of consent, which confuses sexual deviation with sexual offending. It is too simplistic to think that rapes are only perpetrated by people who enjoy non-consensual sex, and it is too simplistic to define deviant sexual behaviours purely by the sexual object. If sexual deviations are medical disorders, then they must have an identifiable aetiology; diagnosing sexual preferences assumes an entirely biological basis, and that deviations are open to medical intervention. Sexual deviations are more likely combinations of personality, personal interests and may involve aspects of social learning.

From the psychological research in this area, it is clear that many processes are involved in sexually deviant behaviour do not fit a rigid medical model. Obviously there will be clear cases of patients with an identifiable mental illness, but there is no clear link between identifiable mental illness and any type of sexual offending, or paraphilia. Nonetheless some offences may be characterised by bizarre speech and behaviour indicative of mental illness. The heterogeneity of the group, make any attempt at psychiatric classification as successful as a diagnosis of personality disorder. As Grubin & Kennedy (1991, p123) say, "...until we can describe homogeneous groups of offenders - groups that are defined by distinct characteristics - it is pointless to talk about a psychiatry of sex offending".

There are cases when there is a biological component to the sexual offending such as disturbed sex steroids (Bradford 1990; Hucker and Bain 1990), or a brain dysfunction (Langevin 1990), but these are rare. Historically, such behaviour was considered treatable through surgical or chemical treatments, with mixed success. Castration has been used as

a technique in the treatment of sex offenders, ignoring the ethics of potentially dangerous and unnecessary surgical intervention. Although follow-ups have demonstrated a low conviction rate for this procedure (Sturup 1968, 1971; Heim and Hursh 1997), a more disturbing finding was that 33% of the group went on to commit non-sexual violent offences (Sturup 1968).

In cases where it has been shown to have an increased effect on offending behaviour, medical interventions such as castration or testosterone-reducing drugs such as Cyproterone Acetate and Medroxyprogesterone Acetate have been tried. While pharmaceutical interventions have met with some success (Laschett 1972, Morey 1980), surgical techniques can only be described as barbaric and disastrous. A number of studies have examined the value of other pharmacological interventions for sex offenders (Bradford 1990; Pearson 1990). Emory, Cole and Meyer (1992) presented a 10-year evaluation study of Depo-Provera and concluded that the treatment radically lowered the sexual interest of their patients and proved very useful in allowing therapeutic engagement. In an interesting control trial, Fedoroff et al., (1992) carried out a trial with Medroxy-Progesterone Acetate (MPA). Their findings revealed that 15% of the MPA users re-offended as compared to 68% of the non-users.

Another surgical technique that has been rarely used is stereotaxic hypothalamotomy, a technique that aims to reduce sexual interest by dissecting the underlying brain area associated with the human sex drive (the hypothalamus). This approach has been extensively criticised, both for the credibility of the underlying scientific model and on the poor ethical grounds upon which the technique was usually carried out (Rieber and Seigush 1979). The extreme approaches adopted by medicine are all too often disastrous where the brain is concerned, utilising techniques for which the long-term and short-term effects are uncertain and irreversible. In cases of sexual aggression and mental disorder, the Hippocratic oath has historically been thrown out of the window.

Some, chemical, interventions have demonstrated efficacy they are only appropriate for a few sexual offenders (Bradford 1985, 1990) and it is unlikely that such treatment alone will meet all the needs of most sex offenders. Many sex offenders commit their offences for motives other than sexual gratification, and simply reducing the libido, is unlikely to be a complete treatment. Indeed, a great reliance is placed upon the offender's compliance with treatment and Wiederholt (1992) makes the obvious point that these treatments are only effective while the drug is being taken. Nevertheless, the combination of reducing anxiety and sexual arousal does have a useful effect in making the patient more susceptible to psychological treatment (Coleman et al 1992; Emory et al 1992).

There are no psychiatric models of behaviour, since medicine is primarily concerned with observable physical symptoms, amenable to specific chemical and physical interventions. Anti-social behaviour is not an illness; if it were, it would be society's plague, but not one that can be cured with any medication.

Psychological Assessment and Treatment

There are many themes in the literature concerned with treating aspects of sex offenders. Within treatment settings a range of psychological solutions have been offered to address the underlying behaviour, sexual aggression. Clinical approaches to treating sex offenders vary according to setting, and within clinical settings, vary according to individual specialisms and preferred models of working such as psychodynamic or cognitive-behavioural approaches. The way in which sexual offending is understood psychologically, and subsequently assessed, and treated, has changed over time in response to theoretical developments. Clinical practise has historically been the translation of theoretical ideas about human functioning into applied methods of treatment.

The earliest approaches were based on assumptions that sex offenders either have a basic drive (in instinctivist and psychodynamic terms) to sexually offend linked to a number of biological processes, or had developed a conditioned response to deviant sexual preferences in the behavioural model. Purely behavioural approaches to treatment have involved masturbatory re-conditioning (Laws and Marshall 1991), satiation techniques (Abel and Blanchard 1974) and aversion therapy (Marshall and Eccles 1991), which have met with equivocal success. These techniques aim to engender more appropriate sexual interests through negative or positive reinforcement techniques, based on classical learning ideas. There are some patients for whom this technique can have positive effects, but for most people sexual interests and sexual offending are embedded in multiple motivational factors.

Assessing the sexual interests of offenders, or psychosexual assessment is an intrinsic aspect of sex offender treatment, and may take the form of an interview or psychophysiological assessment. The assessment of deviant arousal in sexual offenders has received considerable attention, and particular emphasis has been placed on Penile Plethysmography (PPG) or Phallometry, for assessing deviant sexual arousal by measuring changes in penis size in response to sexual stimuli. Freund (1967) was the first to assess the sexual preferences of child molesters using volumetric procedures showing that nonfamilial child molesters display deviant arousal to children generally while incest offenders were not significantly different to non-offender males. Quinsey and colleagues found similar results using circumferential measures (Quinsey Chaplin and Carrigan 1979, Harris, Rice, Quinsey, Chaplin, & Earls 1992). What this may suggest is that the differences between sexual offenders cannot be simply described in terms of the choice of victim, or the context of sexual assault. The similarities in some cases to non-offending males suggest that the variations may be attributable to traits, interests or acquired patterns of learning which have yet to be fully described within the literature.

A number of studies have investigated sexually deviant arousal in rapists and found that rapists display higher levels of arousal to forced sex than to consenting sex (Marshall

1973, Abel, Barlow, Blanchard and Guild 1977, Barbaree, Marshall and Lanthier 1979, Quinsey Chaplin and Varney 1981). Much of this work supports the notion that sex offenders prefer deviant sex, but the problem of what is considered deviant and to what extent deviancy exists in the general population remain empirical questions. Marshall, Payne et al (1991) found no significant differences in sexual arousal between exhibitionist and non-offenders, nor were any group differences found between large groups of rapists and non-offenders (Baxter, Barbaree and Marshall 1986). Sexual arousal in response to varying sexual interests would seem to cut across offenders and non-offenders, and so is not necessarily specific to any particular social group, or personality type. The fact that normal and deviant fantasies are found in both non-offending and offending groups (Crepault and Couture 1980) supports this contention.

While the presence, or absence of deviant sexual interests represents the sexuality component of sexual offending behaviour, and in some cases forms the primary motivation, there are other motivational elements that require equal consideration. The early work of Marshall in the 1970s helped to highlight some of the social skills deficits of sex offenders suggesting that this group has maladaptive interpersonal styles when dealing with women (Marshall 1971). Deficits in conversational skills, assertiveness and relationship skills were proposed by Marshall (1971) and supported by Barlow et al (1977) and again by Segal and Marshall (1985a). Other aspects of social function have been highlighted such as attachment history to significant others, or courtship disorder theory (Freund 1990; Freund and Blanchard 1986). This pervading theme in the literature is one associated with the inability of some sexual offenders to form appropriate adult relationships either because they have no experience of successful relationships, or lack the skills to form *normal* attachments. Such social deficiencies may stem from poor parenting, or general aspects of personality, such as introversion. It might also stem from a poor self-image, which may be a reality in some cases, since sexual behaviour between two people depends on mutual attraction.

More cognitive (psychological) approaches focussed on understanding the development of sexual offending for the offender and the purpose of therapy was to help provide insight into the function of rape. Social learning theory also highlighted that sexual offending behaviour was not just *acquired*, but also *maintained* (Feldman 1977) by processes within the individual. This distinction between “offence acquisition” (childhood factors which precipitate later offending patterns), and “offence maintenance” (factors which trigger and reinforce offending behaviours) emphasises the static and dynamic characteristics of sexual offending behaviour. As such, treatment targets comprise a range of biological, emotional, cognitive, social and behavioural needs and the features explored in therapy include psychosocial development, cognitive functioning, emotional states, motivation and offending behaviour, without forgetting the impact of the social environment on all of the aforementioned.

The acquisition of any maladaptive or socially undesirable behaviour is a complex process, which can in part be explained by social learning, modelling and conditioning theories. There are clear cases of sexual abuse victims becoming abusers, however only a small number of individuals abused as children go on to abuse others (McCord 1991; Finkelhor 1986). More typically it may be much more subtle exposure to inappropriate sexual material or activities which may precipitate deviant sexual tendencies or the sexualisation of otherwise non-sexual objects such as, children, or behaviours and objects associated with paraphilias. Equally violent associations with sexual activity may contribute to the development of deviant arousal patterns and fantasies. These fantasies are often concerned with power and control where sexual aggression is a means to humiliate women (Marshall and Eccles 1991). Heightened levels of testosterone in males during adolescence (the period of sexual maturation), is also associated with heightened aggression and sexuality. McGuire (1965) argued that, the nature of the first sexual experience involving orgasm might be critical, in establishing sexual interest. Subsequent sexual behaviour and fantasy then serve to maintain particular sexual interests, although sexual orientation may result from just a single exposure to a particular sexual target

(Gebhard 1965 Eysenck 1968). Interestingly, a conditioning model does explain both the acquisition of sexual interests and the escalation of sadistic fantasies, as habituation.

Sociological work, outlined previously, has also drawn attention to the influence of social belief systems and cultural values that impact on male, and female, behaviour. The status of women has long been one of subjugation in western society, perpetuated by religious and legal rule systems that support the dominance of men over women. Social attitudes have also perpetuated the acceptability of rape amongst the male population of western societies through 'rape myths' (Burt 1980), such as women want to be raped, or deserve to be raped if they dress seductively (Sanday 1981; Jozsa and Jozsa 1980; Donat and D'Emilio 1992). Increased social awareness of rape within many social contexts including marriage and by acquaintances (Koss 1990) has also highlighted the broad extent of sexual aggression. Feminism has further helped to illustrate the social factors, which may maintain and encourage rape behaviour in men (Brownmillar 1975; Sanday 1981).

Addressing maladaptive thinking styles remains a core aspect of psychological treatment and the purpose of treatment is to confront attitudes and beliefs that an offender may have concerning women. Helping an offender to understand the consequences of his actions on the victim is not an easy process for this group however, since many deny their actions, or minimise the harm they have done (Marshall and Barbaree 1988). Effective treatments involve complex processes between the therapist and client in cases of sexual offending. The resistance of this group to engage in assessment and therapy often requires careful negotiation and persuasion (Perkins 1991) on the part of the psychologist, indicating complex cognitive processes on the part of the offender.

Marshall (1987) has also emphasised the desire for some rapists to want intimacy from the rape, while Scully and Marolla (1983) note the corollary to intimacy, which is *impersonal*. The evidence from the work of Marshall and others emphasises the social deficiencies of this group and echoes the inadequate *types* offered by some taxonomists

demonstrating a clear theme in the literature that is difficult to ignore. The desire for intimacy, or emotional loneliness, is a core element of sex offender assessment and treatment, but is not necessarily specific to this group. Loneliness can affect any person devoid of social contact, but in extreme cases, coupled with other aspects of personality and context, may result in rape or indecent assault. Given that love may be central to psychological well being Maslow (1954), it may not be surprising that its absence may result in inappropriate forms of sexual conduct.

The functions and causes of sexual aggression have been outlined in previous chapters and are reiterated here. Firstly the function of aggression may be instrumental (in achieving sexual intercourse), or expressive (indicating power or anger motives), as suggested by Knight and Prentky (1987). However within these distinctions there can be wide variation in the types of force used, and it is more revealing about an offender's motivation to examine how the force is used and where on the victim's body it is directed (Turvey 2002). Even then no clear links can be made between specific motivations and the level of aggression since differing motivations may precipitate similar levels of force. Anger or a need to feel powerful (Groth and Birnbaum 1979) may precipitate violent sexual assaults, and non-sexual violence. Both individual interventions and structured group treatments incorporate the management of anger for those for whom it is appropriate.

Anger is a complex emotion and may form the principal motivational pathway for many negative mood states and cognitions. Anger can be immediate in response to circumstances, or be cogitated over time resulting in resentment or hostility and is suggested in a number of typologies (Groth and Birnbaum 1979; Seghorn and Cohen 1980; Knight and Prentky 1987). Although the typological approach is crude it has helped to identify some of the salient motivational characteristics in this group. Anger may mediate angry or hostile intentions within sexual offending and is coupled with particular thinking styles or justifications for doing harm. Negative attitudes towards women, or

more specific groups of individuals, can precipitate both sexual and non-sexual violence and addressing distorted thinking styles is a focus of psychological treatment also.

A comprehensive approach to the assessment and understanding of sexual offending is provided by Lazarus's (1976) *multi-modal analysis*, or what clinicians term a functional analysis of offending. Lazarus's themes represents one of the few clinical approaches that is entirely consistent with personality theory as shall be seen; these themes of analysis have been outlined by Perkins (1991 -derived from Lazarus) and provide a structure for the key areas of clinical examination for sexual offenders. These have been slightly reformulated such that attitudes are proposed as aspects of cognition, and relationships are presented under a broader category of social function.

Behavioural	What was the offender doing during the offence. Verbal and physical actions.
Cognitive	Thoughts: What was going through the offender's mind. Attitudes: What attitudes or beliefs does the offender have.
Emotional	Affect: How was the offender feeling at the time of offending.
Social function	Personal relationships: How does the offender relate to people
Sexual Interests	What are the offender's sexual interests (normal to deviant).
Opportunities	What situations (contexts) does the offender create which might support offending.

The variety of needs, deficits and deviations within sexual offenders clearly demonstrates that sexual offending behaviour is not a single underlying problem and may require a range of interventions to meet a variety of needs. As Perkins has said, "each approach on its own is unlikely to be the full solution to helping a sex offender change" (Perkins 1991, p4). There are clearly many possible pathways to offending and not surprisingly a range of interventions to meet the diversity of needs. Psychological treatment aims to meet these needs by providing social skills training, enhanced thinking skills or strategies for coping with negative emotions. In so doing psychologists not only provide the insight that

an offender needs to understand his offending, but also a means of managing the risk he poses to others.

The clinical characteristics have both informed and been influenced by the theoretical typologies described in the next chapter and the themes in treatment reflect this interaction between research and practise. The psychological solutions to various treatment needs suggests a range of sexual offender types, but the difficulty, in defining psychologically meaningful groups complicates the evaluation of the effectiveness of treatment approaches. The difficulty is often that offenders do not fit neatly into types, because they can display characteristics of more than one theoretical type. This suggests that there is something meaningful within the characteristics, but the exact nature of the characteristics, is unclear. Few, if any, studies report the full range of psychological characteristics that comprise the sexual offending domain, and often the full picture is masked by preferences for individual constructs such as intimacy, or anger.

A comprehensive range of criminogenic and psychological needs has been summarised in the work of Thornton (1996), Marshall (1994), and Perkins et al (1998).

Deviant Sexual Arousal

Cognitive Distortions

Impulsive, Antisocial Lifestyle

Deficits in social and cognitive skills

Emotional Loneliness

Limited Intimacy Skills

Poor Anger control

Many of these features can be directly traced to the psychological theories which underpin them and are consistent with general psychological themes, but with many semantic variations. Distinguishing core traits, rather than distinct types, is intuitively psychological, but not always evident in clinical practise. These distinctions are critical for establishing comparisons across offence types and for informing meaningful

distinctions within those types. The problem is teasing out, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the specific constructs making up sexual variation and aggression, how they inform typologies, and how different types, based on these shared constructs, are treated and assessed. Reducing the risk of sexual offence recidivism has become central to psychological treatment, which aims to reduce the likelihood that an offender will re-offend. More contemporary approaches accept that perhaps the best that can be hoped for is that the harm is reduced, even if it cannot be entirely removed (Laws 1990).

Within this work the presence, or absence of these core clinical facets, will be examined from case files. While many of these constructs are proposed as central to the assessment and treatment of sexual offending behaviour, there remains an absence of any direct measures of the underlying behaviour. Within the functional analysis incorporated within the SOTP, aspects of the offending are collected by interview from the prisoners, but there are limited themes. The interview approach also depends on the offender providing a true account of events. Behavioural measures derived from victim accounts will be used in this work as a means of providing a structured formulation to the offence. If the measures relate directly to behaviour and if the behaviour is indicative of personality characteristics then it is plausible that the behavioural dimensions might have implications for risk assessment.

Risk Assessment of Sexual Offence Recidivism

Sexual offenders pose a diverse variety of risks, both aggressive and sexual, and recently clinical research has emphasised the need for valid assessments of risk. A number of studies have identified relevant risk factors associated with recidivism, but they are still at an early stage in their development. As with many dangerous and criminal behaviours, the assessment of a person's likelihood to re-offend is fraught with difficulties. Methodological difficulties lie in having to retrospectively identify characteristics from available data, using statistical models. Statistical models may identify important factors

associated with re-offending, but often these *factors* have little to do with the theoretical constructs proposed to discriminate this group in treatment.

Historically, risk assessment, has concentrated specifically on violence, and sexual offending has often been included within this broader definition. Risk assessment has undergone a number of iterations, or what Monahan (1984) has described as generations of risk assessment research. Outcome studies represented what can be called the “First generation” of research on clinical predictions of dangerousness. The first of these studies arose from a United States Supreme court ruling, in 1966, that a Mr J Baxstrom had been wrongfully detained in a prison hospital for the criminally insane. This decision resulted in the transfer of nearly 1000 patients to civil mental hospitals with similar rulings elsewhere in the US leading to the release of other patients from similar institutions.

The subsequent follow-ups were chronologically (Tong and Mackay 1969; Steadman, and Keveles 1972; McGarry and Parker 1974; Black 1977; Thornberry and Jacoby 1979). Other outcome studies compared groups of “safe” patients as well as those considered clinically “dangerous”, but released by the courts anyway (Hodges 1971; Kozol, Boucher and Garofalo 1972; Steadman 1977). These studies all demonstrated that as high as 80 percent of those released but considered dangerous did not go on to commit further offences. The assessment of risk seemed to have nothing to do with the dangerousness of the offender.

The limits of these types of studies having been discussed by numerous authors (Ennis and Litwack 1974; Coccozza and Steadman 1976; Monahan 1984), suggesting poor methodologies and ‘impoverished predictor variables’ (Monahan and Steadman 1995). Further to the limitations of the studies are the limitations of the experts who have made clinical judgements (Quinsey and Ambtman 1978, 1979) since there is no reason to assume that mental health professionals should be experts in probabilistic estimation simply because of an association with sometimes-dangerous mentally ill patients. Clinical accuracy in risk prediction varies between disciplines, and across offences (Sepejak et al

1995). Quinsey and Maguire (1986) demonstrated that some variables used by clinicians in judgements, such as diagnosis of schizophrenia, or institutional violence, were shown to have no relationship to actual criteria correlated with violent outcome, such as severity of index offence.

Over the last decade more specific attention has been given to examining sexual offence recidivism, with an emphasis on both actuarial (static) information and clinical (dynamic) features of the individual (Hanson and Bussiere 1998). Static variables include historical social and offence details that are unchangeable such as being in care or having a juvenile record. Dynamic characteristics, which can change, can be described as either *stable* (e.g. personality traits), or *acute* (e.g. rapidly changing mood states). Rice, Harris and Quinsey (1990) found three predictors of sexual recidivism in a small number of rapists, which included previous sexual offences, previous violent offences and deviant PPG results.

Hanson & Bussiere's (1998) meta-analysis of sex offender recidivism from 98 reports examined rates for sexual, violent and total re-offending after 4-5 years in the community. The criteria for re-offending was mixed across the studies sampled and included re-admission to custody, self-report and charges made against the offender. On average, for rapists, the re-conviction rates were 18% for sexual offences, and 24% for violent offences. A common and robust finding with studies of sexual recidivism is that extra-familial child molesters (particularly against boys) and rapists are the most likely to re-offend. Hanson and Bussiere argue (1998) that their figures are likely to underestimate the true rates of re-offending, since their crimes may go undetected.

Hanson and Bussiere's (1998) meta-analysis indicated that the best predictors of sexual recidivism were static variables relating to pattern and type of previous offending. Of the dynamic predictors that may potentially be treatable, deviant sexual preferences and failure to complete treatment had the strongest association with recidivism. In another study, Hanson and Harris (1998) compared predictors of sexual re-offending amongst 208 sexual recidivists and 201 non-recidivists from all regions of the Correctional Services of

Canada. Recidivism was more strongly associated with more deviant sexual preferences (victimology) and a juvenile criminal record. Dynamic characteristics included anti-social lifestyle and psychopathic personality, and acute dynamic factors included anger and poor social support.

A number of studies have demonstrated that the best predictor of recidivism, both sexual and violent, is the Hare psychopathy checklist (Rice, Quinsey and Harris 1991; Rice and Harris, 1997; Hanson and Harris 1998; Quinsey, Chaplin and Carrigan 1980; Barbaree and Marshall, 1988; Maletsky, 1993; Marques et al, 1994). Hare's Psychopathy Checklist in its revised form (PCL-R) is a reportedly, robust and well-researched instrument, which combines record analysis with a structured interview (Hare 1991). It purports to measure interpersonal and affective traits (Factor 1) and a socially deviant lifestyle (Factor 2). Perhaps it is not surprising that this measure of Psychopathy is consistently associated with repetitive sexual offending and non-sexual violent offending (Monahan and Steadman 1996). By definition, the antisocial component of the test is tapping areas of social functioning and behaviour, indicative of an intractable offending lifestyle. Caution should be expressed in interpreting such associations because despite its predictive power, very few people reach the cut off for psychopathy (Serin, Malcom, Khanna and Barbaree 1994).

A number of actuarial tools have been developed, based on the limited range of factors shown to be associated with recidivism. These include the sex offender risk appraisal guide (SORAG - Quinsey, Harris, Rice and Cormier 1998), the Rapid Risk Assessment for Sex Offence Recidivism (RRASOR - Hanson 1997) and the Structured Anchored Clinical Judgement (SACJ - Grubin 1998; Hanson and Thornton 2000). These are highly similar tools, constructed from a small range of variables identified from previous research. These tools have been evaluated for predictive accuracy using the Receiver Operating Characteristics (ROC) curve (Hanley and McNiel 1982), a statistic which provides a predictive range of 0.5 (chance prediction) to 1 (perfect prediction). The

predictive accuracy has generally been less than 0.7, on average, which is slightly better than chance, but is only an average and so varies across the measure.

The recent work of Thornton et al (2001) has evaluated the efficacy of the Risk Matrix 2000, a tool developed from the SACJ and the RRASOR, demonstrating improved predictive power over previous tools (an ROC curve greater than 0.7). Although this would suggest an improvement over clinical judgement, there is still some way to go before these tools can accurately predict risk across sexual offenders. They have been shown to be of most value for predicting 'high risk' offenders, who score highly, but account for only a small proportion of sex offenders. The problem with predictive instruments is that the predictive power is highest for those who score most highly, while lower risk estimates have little or no utility for prediction or treatment. Sexual aggression can incorporate a variety of risks, both sexual and aggressive, to differing degrees, but no risk assessment to date incorporates actual behavioural information relevant to an assessment of individual risk.

Psychometrically scales used to assess risk have to be questioned for face validity, since the underlying construct *risk*, comprises a range of static factors, both criminogenic, and idiographic. The scale criteria of risk *measures*, do not form part of a clear conceptual domain, and has no theoretical orientation, other than a general antisocial tendency. The absence of a clear model of sexual offending prevents the meaningful assessment of risk, but since the Risk Matrix is actuarially more predictive than chance, it has been incorporated within this work, and forms an important component of the emerging assessment of Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder (DSPD) under new health legislation. Some of the behavioural measures in this study will be used to develop an actuarial assessment of core behavioural dimensions, which may contribute to a more valid assessment of risk for sexual aggressors.

Chapter 6

Discriminating Sexual Offenders

“What is the nature of the whole, and what is my nature, and how is this related to that, and what kind of part is of what kind of a whole?” (Marcus Aurelius 167, II, 9).

In the context of sexual offending, there are many questions as to the ‘nature’ of sex offenders, and what distinguishes them. Although they are a diverse group, it is difficult to define exactly what this diversity is, which makes true classification of this group quite problematic. Developmental, cognitive and behavioural aspects of offending have all been explored and the emergent themes show some potential for meaningful discriminations. The need for a more refined discrimination to inform the provision appropriate therapeutic interventions, has led to numerous attempts to classify sex offenders using various psychological variables (Groth et al 1977, Amir 1971, Cohen, Garafalo, Boucher and Seghorn 1971, Knight and Prentky 1991, Rada 1978).

Taxonomies, Typologies and Classifications

Early attempts to discriminate rapists were rational taxonomies developed by professionals working with this group of offenders. Given the changeable nature of psychological thought, these early typologies need to be considered in their context, reflecting early instinctivist ideas of innate sexual and aggressive drives, and Freudian theory, relating to pent-up sexual energy (Guttmacher and Weihofen 1952) or ego problems (Kopp 1962). Later, other typologies emerged, which were to identify more critical characteristics of rapists (Groth 1977, Prentky 1985), and child abusers (Groth and Birnbaum 1979, Prentky 1988).

Unfortunately the discriminating characteristics used to classify sexual offenders are often ambiguous and not mutually exclusive. There are, for instance, various types of

aggression proposed, ranging from instrumental to sadistic, evident within most of the typologies. This ambiguity in the defining construct, aggression, can lead to difficulties when assigning individuals to one or other aggressive type. Consequently we can only talk about such discriminations as typologies, rather than classifications because classification implies that the defining criteria are mutually exclusive. Class concepts in psychology rarely meet the requirement of homogeneity and mutual exclusivity (Rasch 1978), tending only to be useful in specific cases. Thus for many years psychologists have emphasised the need to consider individual differences as variations on dimensions or continua. As Eysenck explains, “dimensions locate people along quantifiable continua of frequency or intensity” (Eysenck 1960). For this reason they are much more precise and flexible than simple categorical distinctions.

Guttmacher and Weihofen (1952) describe a three-way breakdown of rapists. The first types, “true sex offenders” are driven by an uncontrollable pent-up sexual impulse. The second type is characterised by aggression and sex, termed sadistic while the third group, “aggressive offenders”, are characterised by more general criminal tendencies. An even simpler discrimination comes from Kopp (1962) who dichotomised rapists as either ego-syntonic or ego-dystonic. This distinction is based on whether a sex offender is remorseful or an emotionless psychopath, both of which might be seen as part of the same continuum. The themes from these early ideas have been developed over the years, but the seeds of aggression and empathy can be seen here already.

Gebhard (1965) suggested six categories of sexual offender including “egocentric hedonist”, “explosive sex offender”, and “sadistic” similar to Guttmacher and Weihofen’s “true sex offender”, “antisocial criminal” and “sadistic”. In addition, an inadequate type is proposed, in the form of a “double-standard” (machismo sex offender), who offends in order to feel good about himself. Alcoholic and psychotic type rapists are also identified, but are difficult to compare with the others because alcohol and psychosis are influences on mental state and are not mutually exclusive to any of the other categories. As such it is

more useful to consider these as contextual, or dynamic influences, which may serve to disinhibit such behaviour, but are not necessarily causal.

A number of other typologies have received greater attention over the past few decades and identify more critical aspects of sex offender behaviour. Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977) proposed one of the earliest of these. Groth and his colleagues suggested that rape was a pseudosexual way of demonstrating power and expressing anger, identifying four sub-types based on the functions of power and anger within rape. “Power dominance” and “power reassurance” are seen as the motivations for some groups of rapists in contrast to more aggressive, “anger excitation” and “anger retaliation” sub-types who use sexual aggression because of hostility towards women or because it excites them. Although potentially useful, the complex nature of anger and power may be intertwined and vary qualitatively and quantitatively. These constructs cannot be assumed to be distinct from each other and are not sufficient to explain the full range of observed behaviour. In Groth and colleague’s work, they found that the proportion of power to anger rapes was 64.9% to 35.1%, in a sample of 225. This ratio may reflect motivational aspects of rape, but is still relatively crude as a means of discrimination.

Rada (1978) attempted a classification based on diagnostic features, which show some overlap with Groth’s. He describes psychotic, sociopathic, situational stress, masculine identity conflict, and sadistic sub-types. Although there are similarities between Rada and Groth, Rada’s typology confuses motivational aspects, with characteristics of behaviour and mental disorder. In his favour, Rada did recognise that the categories are not mutually exclusive, which is a criteria for true classification.

Prentky, Knight et al. (1985; 1986; 1988; 1991; 2001) have offered a number of frameworks for distinguishing between rapist types, reflecting common themes in the literature. Knight and Prentky have proposed a classification system, which has constantly been revised in the Massachusetts Treatment Centre (MTC -R1, R2 and R3). MTC-R1 proposed four rapist sub-types, ‘compensatory’ (Social Inadequacy), ‘Impulse’,

(Impulsivity), 'Displaced Aggression' (angry), 'Sex-Aggression Defusion' (Aggressive and Sexual). MTC R2 was a revision due to difficulties defining a type, by impulsivity and the term sex-aggression defusion was re-labelled as sadistic.

What emerged was a two-layered breakdown that incorporates aspects of aggression with aspects of motivation. Types are hierarchically defined with respect to aggression ('instrumental' or 'expressive'), each of which is sub-defined by high or low impulsivity. Instrumental aggression comes in two forms, either 'exploitative' (control), or 'compensatory' (compensating for social inadequacy / desire for intimacy). Expressive aggression incorporates types defined by anger (displaced anger) and a diagnosis of 'sadism' (sadistic type). This early work of Knight and Prentky attempted to define aggression with respect to specific motivations, creating ambiguous types. The types, expressive aggressive and instrumental aggressive are not necessarily exclusive to each other within the context of an offence and this makes any distinctions between types more difficult. The sadistic type is defined as distinct from the aggressive and instrumental types, although sadism incorporates aspects of instrumental and expressed aggression in the execution of control and cruelty towards the victim. Types are further defined as high or low in impulsivity giving eight possible rapist types.

There are useful themes to be elicited from this literature. The overlaps between typologies seem to reflect semantic differences rather than conceptual ones, as can be seen in **Table 6.1**. With limited assumptions these typologies are comparable within a broader framework that is provided by the totality of the approaches. The core themes relate to aspects of aggression, sex, pseudo-intimacy and aspects of control within the offending context. Types are defined as constellations of these main dimensions. Other contextual factors such as substance use or mental illness highlight features that impact on cognitive function and motivations to offend. The critical dimensions identified above are psychologically relevant, but it is apparent that there is a lot of conceptual difficulty in making distinctions between people using *diagnostic* interpretations of those constructs.

Table 6.1 Conceptual Analysis of Sex Offender Typologies

Typology	Sex	Aggression	Power / Control / Sadism	Emotional or Mental State
Guttmacher & Weihofen (1952)	True sex offender	Antisocial criminal	Sadist	
Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy & Christenson (1965)	Egocentric hedonist	Assaultative		Drunken Double standard Psychotic Mental defective
Cohen, Garofalo & Seghorn (1971)	Compensatory (instrumental aggression)	Displaced Anger Sex-aggression defusion	Predatory	Displaced Anger Impulsive
Groth, Burgess & Holmstrom (1977)	Power assertive (inadequate)	Power reassurance	Power assertive Power reassurance Anger excitation	Anger Retaliation
Rada (1978)		Masculine identity conflict	Sadist	Psychosis Stress
Knight & Prentky (1991)	Instrumental aggression (Exploitation)	Instrumental aggression Compensatory	Expressed aggression (Sadist)	Expressed Aggression (Displaced anger) Impulsivity

Knight and Prentky (1991) extended the hierarchical taxonomy and argue for the existence of multiple univariate, dimensions on which to base a model of sexual aggression. The MTC-R3 (Massachusetts Treatment Centre Classification) represents a further iteration of both the constructs and the taxonomy. The ‘compensatory’ rapist is defined as sexual (non-sadistic) and sadism is further split into overt and muted (expressed or inhibited). Vindictive anger is distinguished from pervasive anger, by the level of impulsivity, which complicates the understanding of both anger and impulsivity. Defining a type as not another type (non-sadist) is also cause for concern in classification terms. Social competence has also been introduced across a number of types, creating further subtypes.

In Knight’s most recent work (2001) the MTC-R3 taxons have been explored in relation to Hare’s psychopathy checklist, demonstrating that the sadist sub-type is the most psychopathic. In this sense sadism may well represent a specifically sexual form of psychopathy, rather than a discrete type of individual. A difficulty arises when

considering psychopathy as defined by Hare (1990), and the constructs of the MTC -R3. Psychopathy incorporates sexual, aggressive and impulsive traits, and sadism is defined by similar constructs. In addition Knight (2001) has proposed a theoretical formulation of the types (2001), which is interesting, being conceptually quite different from previous hierarchical organisations of the rape typology. The nine types are presented in a circumplex, with psychopathy as the principal bi-polar dimension, suggesting a hostile-friendly bi-polar construct. This theoretical position has some similarity to ideas expressed within this work although the dimensions reflect the taxonomy rather than more theoretically derived interpersonal traits.

Within their own work, Prentky, Cohen and Seghorn (1985) concluded that the expressive - instrumental distinction is not sufficient, for defining aggression. Knight and Prentky (1989) have also been unable to empirically support the MTC taxonomy. Other aspects of the Prentky and Knight model are also questionable, being based on constructs, which do not lend themselves to dichotomies. Impulsivity for example suffered from reliability problems and aggression would benefit from a psychometric consideration. The term sadist is also unhelpful in considering dimensions of sexual aggression because intuitively it implies an extreme form of physical aggression, but not all forms of extreme aggression are sadistic. The term is often misapplied, in the absence of a clear understanding of power motives in the context of rape.

Power is a construct identified by Groth, but has been ignored by some authors despite being potentially useful when considering rape behaviour. The desire for power over a victim needs to be distinguished from the need to control a victim, in the commission of a sexual offence. Sexual offending is often not possible without some form of physical or psychological restraint placed upon the victim. Control can be verbal or physical, and involve differing levels of application. The use of threats or the implied use of a weapon represents a qualitatively different approach to offending than the actual use of physical violence to ensure compliance. The degree to which necessary control is distinguished from desire for power is unclear and may be inextricably linked to a range of sexual,

physical and verbal behaviours. Power, in this sense represents a trait-like psychological construct, and aggression is a complex multi-modal entity.

From an empirical point of view, aggression needs to be qualified and quantified in terms of the types and levels of force used. It is understandably difficult to quantify levels of force because of the many ways in which it is possible to exert force, either directly through pushing or punching, or by using a weapon. Operational definitions reflect this difficulty and although there is some sense of quantity in the terms used, the distinctions are also qualitative because the levels of aggression, and so type of force used, will reflect different motivations. If an offender is intent on inflicting harm, then extreme force may be used, whereas an offender motivated by thoughts of intimacy is more likely to use minimal force.

There is an assumption sometimes that the level of force determines whether it is instrumental or expressive, but this dichotomy is not sufficient to explain the full range of aggressive acts. It is not always the degree of force, which is critical, but the way in which it is inflicted and towards what part of the body. These distinctions have been made by Turvey (2002) in terms of types of force used within the context of sexual assault. Instrumental force may be used to gain compliance, or as a means of correction (punishment for non-compliance). Force may also be used to express particular emotions (loneliness or rage), and may be motivated by a desire to punish others (retribution for perceived wrongs, or displaced anger). Physical aggression can also be cruel or sadistic (cruelty that derives pleasure from power), or be directed towards sexual regions (sexual force, which may be sadistic) Ultimately aggression can kill (lethal force).

Another distinction is made by Tedeschi and Felson (1994); they describe forms of aggression involving verbal threats and instrumental force, or coercion. Rape can be a coercive act, and coercion can take a variety of forms from the explicit use of violence, to verbal threats, which include contingencies (i.e. Do or die). The term coercion is useful for describing the verbal *aggression*, implicit in threats, but may confuse the

understanding of aggression. As can be seen from these examples, aggression is described variously, and includes elements of action and motivation.

Understanding motivational aspects of rape can be difficult, and requires a consideration of emotions and thoughts that manifest themselves as individual variations in behaviour. The use of force in sexual offending is described in terms of more than one function or motivation; as an outlet of anger or hostility (Groth 1977); as a means of control (Prentky 1989); or as a necessary aspect of a paraphilic assault (Burgess et al 1988). Essentially all forms of rape require a certain degree of instrumental force, to enable sexual intercourse, but rape utilising *expressed* or *reactive* aggression (anger) implies non-sexual motivations. This does not mean that any particular style is dictated by a specific motivation, but rather that behaviour is driven by complex motivational interplays of sex, anger, loneliness and power.

What distinguishes sexual aggression, from non-sexual violence, is that sex may be the goal, and aggression the means. Victim compliance is achieved through verbal threats (with or without contingencies), punishment or direct force, all of which are instrumental forms of aggression. The use of extreme physical aggression may equally serve some instrumental function (in hatred and cruelty), but may simply reflect anger, or a lack of impulse control (disinhibition) directed towards the victim. The question is, "To what extent is a sexual assault a violent incident involving sex, or sexual behaviour involving violence". The answer is probably a spectrum of pseudo-intimate and violent styles of assault, consistent with individual differences across the personality spectrum. Such individual differences in behaviour may be reflected in different styles of control, aggression and sexual activity. Understanding not just the behaviour, but how the behaviour reflects underlying motivation, will continue to be challenge for researchers.

Although potentially useful in identifying the relevant themes, rape taxonomies lack reliability and validity (Grubin and Kennedy 1991). Empirically defensible models of sexual offending behaviour, which can discriminate sexual offenders, and explain the

observed differences, are rare, if present at all. The taxonomic approach can be useful for considering particular (potentially extreme) individuals, or stereotypes, but not for discriminating true classes of offender. This work has helped to identify and confirm some important psychological constructs, but demonstrates that people are not easy to classify.

There are other difficulties with the taxonomic approach, which concerns the number of constructs used. As the number of constructs is increased, taxonomies become more complex allowing forever increasing numbers of types. If each of the constructs was ordered high, medium and low, then further distinctions would have to be made and so on until no further constructs are identified which are discriminating. Even then, the types may have no correspondence to clinical need or risk.

In summary the search for clinical types has been an exhaustive one, but with relatively little success. Clinical typologies have attempted to use offending characteristics as diagnostic criteria, without exploring the scientific nature of the characteristics. The typology approach has also been based on small samples of incarcerated offenders, using motivational and behavioural features, which are assumed to be mutually exclusive. Of most concern, is the absence of a theoretical framework for understanding the variations between offenders and elements of personality are notable by their absence. There are no stereotypical rapists. Perpetrators of sexual assault are as diverse as any other group defined by a particular behaviour. They are an heterogeneous cross-section of any society, who offend in a range of contexts, driven by differing motivations (Groth 1977; Knight et al 1985; Malamuth 1986; Prentky and Knight 1991; Grubin and Kennedy 1991). This complexity has, not surprisingly, caused some difficulty for researchers, in trying to examine the critical features that help to explain the phenomenon.

There is a need for an alternative to classification; a model is required which can incorporate many possible interactions between mood states, thoughts and behaviour. The principal constructs, anger, aggression, impulsivity, and sadism, all represent continua

within the psychological literature, and individuals might be better understood with respect to these variations, on core psychological dimensions. Given that sexual aggression is truly multi-dimensional, it is likely that many dimensions are required to characterise individual variations. It is difficult to consider that sex offenders could fit neatly into a small number of discrete types, but reasonable to suggest that individuals could be discriminated from each other on the basis of a profile of dimensions. A dimensional approach allows for much greater variation, and ultimately explanation. The purpose of the present work is to explore this proposition in some detail and to see if there is a more complete way to describe sexual offenders.

Offender Profiling

“The actions of men are the best interpreters of their thoughts” (John Locke 1690)

Typologies have attempted to discriminate between rapists using motivational and behavioural features, which are often clinically derived, emphasising the underlying *causes* of sexual aggression. Another area of enquiry is offender profiling which inevitably draws on clinical studies, theoretical models and typologies. The methodologies and models of profiling reflect the broader influence of psychological knowledge, and use psychological constructs to discriminate between *types* of offender.

From a law enforcement perspective, sexual offenders represent a serious threat to public safety, and in extreme cases can be difficult to identify and capture. As such, techniques have been proposed to help to narrow down the possible number of suspects, by creating a profile of the offender in terms of demography or *personality*. Offender profiling is a means by which offender characteristics can be identified from characteristics of offending behaviour. The approach has developed from examinations of crime scene and offending behaviour, which suggested patterns within an individual's offending behaviour that relate to other psychological characteristics of the person (Hazelwood

1983; Canter 1988). The assumption within this approach is that inferences about a person can be made directly from their behaviour, and that offenders are consistent in their behavioural style.

Offender profiling has been variously labelled, criminal profiling, behavioural profiling, and psychological profiling, and loosely defined as “a collection of leads about an offender” (Rossi 1982), or “a biographical sketch of a criminal’s behavioural patterns trends and tendencies” (Vorpostel 1982). The approach can vary from *intuitive guesswork* (Rossi 1982; Geberth 1983), to more scientifically defensible theories, and models, of offending behaviour (Holmes and DeBurger 1988; Canter and Heritage 1990). The approach is generally attributed to the behavioural science unit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Ressler, Burgess and Douglas 1988), although it can be argued that inferring personality characteristics from behaviour is central to psychological science (Canter 1989; 2000). It is more accurate to think of profiling as the evolution of psychological and psychiatric methods of classification, and potentially the first profile of an offender was made by Kraft-Ebing (1898) in his formulation of Jack the Ripper. Offender profiling is not an exact science and is characterised by more than one type of approach, from *intuitive guesswork* to more scientific methods of information dissemination, which incorporate content analysis. In other words, offender profiling varies hugely in the extent to which a profile is reasoned inductively or deductively.

“An inductive criminal profile is a set of offender characteristics that are reasoned, by correlational, experiential, and / or statistical inference, to be shared by offenders who commit the same type of crime” (Turvey 2002, p26)

There are a number of inductive profilers who appear in the media from time to time although it would be imprudent to mention them here. These are psychologists who use their personal experiences of working with offenders to make inferences about an unknown criminal. Deductive methods of profiling utilise more rigorous scientific methods of case analysis, drawing on forensic evidence from the crime scene, and

identifying patterns of behaviour evident in large samples of specific offenders, often utilising statistical models.

“A deductive criminal profile is a set of offender characteristics that are reasoned from the convergence of physical and behavioural-evidence patterns within a crime, or a series of related crimes” (Turvey 2002, p39).

In practise offender profiling utilises both deductive and inductive methods of reasoning to derive a ‘profile’, with varying degrees of success. Although psychological profiles have been useful in supporting criminal investigations, and accuracy is reported from between 46% (Pinnizotto 1984) and 80% (Hazelwood 1983), and questions remain as to the reliability and validity of the data used (Campbell 1976). Unfortunately very few studies have evaluated profiling efficacy making it difficult to fully assess the utility of the approach. Traditional approaches to profiling have concentrated on a limited range of biographical features that reveal little about the offenders’ psychological characteristics or motivations.

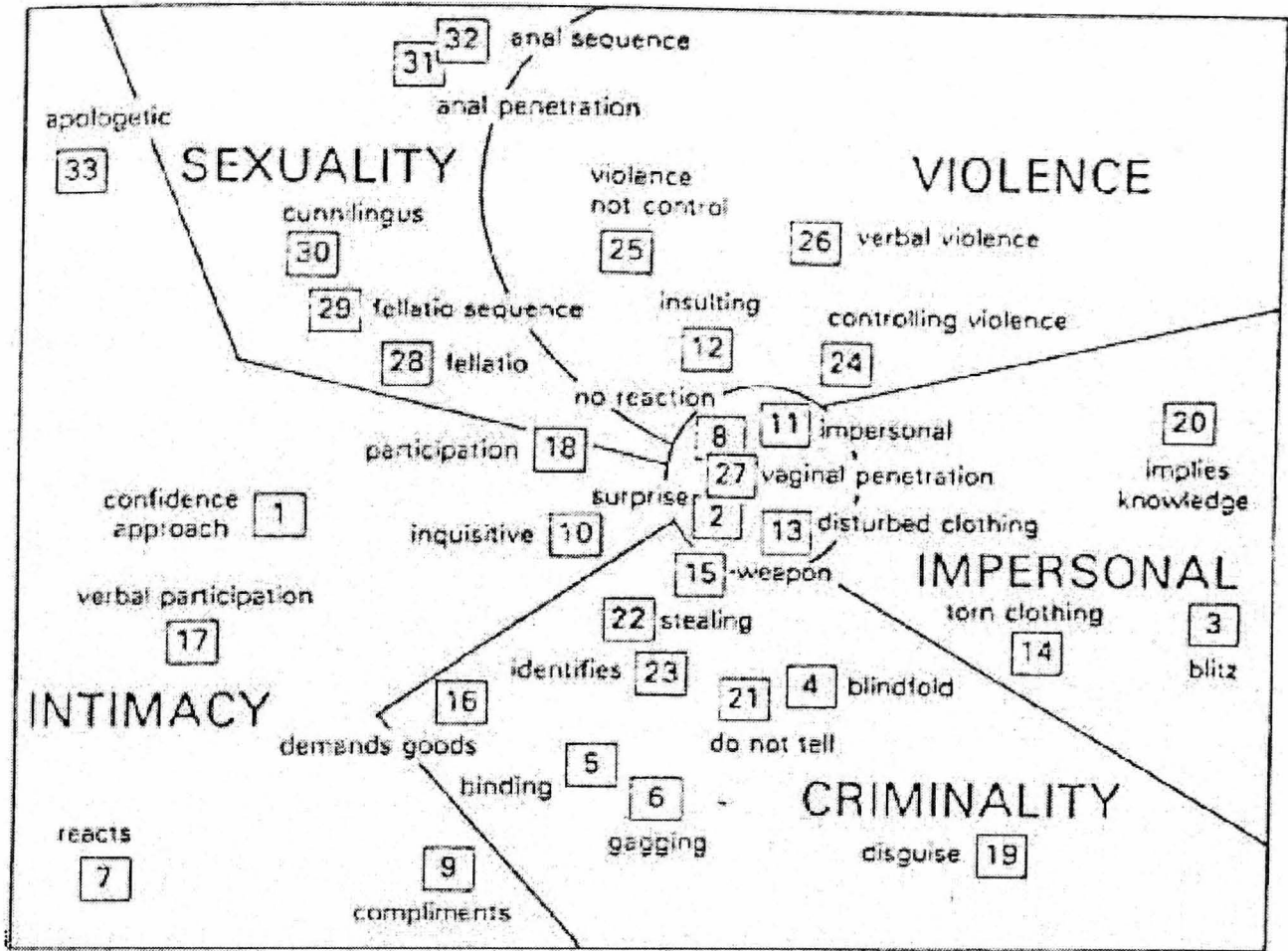
Historically offender profiling has borrowed many of its ideas from psychological theories and psychiatric classifications outlined previously. Not surprisingly, investigative work has suffered from the lack of clarity in the concepts used to clinically define sexual offenders, using characteristics, which are not directly observable within the offending behaviour. Investigators have only details of the offence behaviour to help build up a psychological picture of the offender, while clinicians tend to focus on the underlying *causes* of the behaviour. Many profilers, in the clinical tradition offer formulations of the offender’s potential profile in the absence of information about the offender that would enable such inferences to be made. Clinical profiles within the context of treatment have yet to be shown to have a correspondence to behavioural patterns of offending, and can be highly subjective.

A more systematic method for analysing offending patterns has been offered by Canter and Heritage (1990), who suggest that rape is characterised by 5 core behavioural

components, indicative of differing interpersonal styles. While the work of Canter and Heritage highlights key themes in the form of intimacy and aggression, there has been little work examining the properties of the underlying constructs. Identifying aggression, or intimacy as aspects of rape is intuitively correct, but the question is how do people vary with respect to them. Canter utilised a facet theoretic methodology (Guttman 1954 discussed in the next chapter) and associated non-metric analyses (Smallest Space Analysis, Lingoes 1968), to examine structures in the offending data, as an alternative to factor analysis. Below is the Canter and Heritage (1990) SSA that has been partitioned (interpreted) in terms of five modes of action. This is given below in Figure 5.1.

The behavioural themes or facets are comprised of behavioural features, which have an empirical relationship to each other. These facets, or themes, have been suggested as individual styles of assault or indicative of a typology (Caner and Heritage 1990; Canter 1994), because of the way that particular behaviours co-occur. It should be stated that the SSA is not a discriminant analysis, but simply a data reduction technique for inter-related data. While the analysis might indicate important discriminating constructs, they do not constitute a typology. The SSA merely indicates trait-like qualities within rape behaviour that are present to a greater or lesser extent across rapists. Rapists are not necessarily characterised by any single facet in the above SSA, and it would be too simplistic to suggest that they were.

Figure 6.1 SSA of Rape (Canter and Heritage 1990)



Even more problematic, is the criminality domain, which includes a number of features that are not criminal, and do not represent discrete criminal acts. This region of the SSA has been interpreted as forensic awareness, or evidence that an offender is trying to avoid detection, by blindfolding the victim, or wearing a disguise. This ‘criminality’ may represent forensic awareness, but could also be interpreted as intelligence, or deviance, which do not define criminality. Fundamentally, the SSA above is concerned with sexual assault, which is criminal; labelling a sub-facet of rape as criminal is meaningless, since rape is a crime.

Perhaps what Canter is suggesting is that stealing (variable 22) is a crime within a crime, but then it would make more sense to suggest simply that stealing does occur within rape.

More implicit in this 'criminal' domain is a sense of control within the context of rape, and potential issues of power, through the use of binding, gagging and blindfolding. Associated with power, both sexually and non-sexually would be possible sado-masochistic intentions through the use of bondage. Strictly speaking, compliments [9], is within the criminality region, although it could be interpreted as a feature of intimacy.

The sexuality domain, is concerned with the deviations from normal sexual practices, rather than the norm within rape for vaginal intercourse, and is again open to re-interpretation. Anal sexual behaviours are more proximally related to aggression, rather than any other particular facet of rape, and would make sense, if they were interpreted this way. Instead Canter and Heritage have chosen to draw curved lines, in order to fit the data to a conceived model, rather than use strict partitions. As such the SSA is potentially misleading, suggesting components of behaviour that may not exist and arguing for relationships not supported by the data. The sexuality domain may have too complex a relationship to the other factors to be expressed with two dimensions. In many ways sexual behaviours correspond to different interpersonal styles, aggression and buggery, intimacy and vaginal intercourse. This might suggest that a canonical (cylindrex relationship) may exist between sexual behaviours and interpersonal style.

Heritage (1992) examined similar data, and observed a similar structure to that of the SSA above. The space was interpreted as four broad domains, Aggression, Intimacy, Sexuality and Criminality, removing the Impersonal domain. The same definitional problems concerning criminality arise, but aspects of intimacy and sexual deviation are interpreted as Sexuality. Heritage suggested that two primary types could be interpreted from this SSA, Abusers and Exploiters, similar to Hazelwood et al's (1987) Selfish vs. Pseudo-unselfish distinction. Abusers are characterised by aggression and criminality, while Exploiters are characterised by Sexuality and Intimacy. There is no evidence that these are mutually exclusive types, since SSA merely provides an interpretation of the structure of data, not of individuals.

When examining an SSA it is important to understand how all of the variables fit the interpretation, and not suggest an interpretation based on just some of the variables. An SSA is optimal, when the number of dimensions is small enough to be represented in a two or three-dimensional space. Since dimensions can have complicated relationships with each other, it may not be possible to reflect the exact interactions using all of the variables. More often than not, the inclusion of too many variables, across many domains, results in an un-interpretable SSA, or one dominated by a single polarising facet. Exploring inter-dimensional relations, of complex phenomena, may well be beyond the power of conventional statistical approaches, which are at best, a simplification of observed reality.

Unfortunately many of the SSAs published in the literature are interpreted in novel ways, or proposed as typologies, often in ignorance of existing theoretical ideas and because of a misinterpretation of multidimensional scaling techniques. Investigative psychology has evolved as a specialist branch of psychology, with a specific emphasis on SSA as a basis for offender discrimination. The emergence of investigative psychology as a psychological specialism has resulted in a pseudo-specialist language for re-inventing psychological science. The over dependence on specific statistical procedures, which most people are unfamiliar with, only serves to create an artificial distinction between investigative and forensic psychology. The SSA approach, and the language that surrounds it, has hindered the scientific examination of the behaviour in psychological terms. Although the method and analysis are appropriate, the interpretations are not consistent with other literature either semantically or conceptually. The work of Canter and his colleagues, is such that it has moved out of mainstream psychology into a forensic niche. In doing so interpretations have been made which fit an investigative model, but not necessarily a psychological one. The attempt to develop a psychology of police investigation ignores the theoretical ideas proposed within a broader forensic framework.

In a recent paper, Canter (2000) has suggested a structure or model of sexual offence behaviour, clearly drawing on Guttman's (1954) notion of the radex of differentiation, or

Leary's (1957) circumplex; these ideas suggest that individuals will be discriminated by their relative positions on a set of dimensions. Canter suggests that all criminal behaviour might fit an underlying radex model (Canter 2000) but does not indicate how. Although Canter has gone some way in identifying what the components of sexual assault are, he has not empirically demonstrated the presence of any dimensions, only the presence of clusters of associated variables. Canter has attempted to reinvent the interpersonal circle, rather than building on the established ideas in this area (Leary 1957; Wiggins 1995).

Other approaches examining police data have utilised alternate statistical procedures to SSA, and made differing assumptions about sex offenders and their traits. Grubin Kennedy and Ayis (1997) and Grubin, Kelly and Brunson (2001) examined the behavioural data of rapists and proposed four domains relevant to rape: Control, Sex, Escape and Style. Each of these domains is comprised of four types, and individuals were categorised within each domain. This approach uses an *a priori* classification, which has no relevance to any theory, model or typology of sexual offenders. Having postulated what the components were, Grubin attempted to re-produce the classification through cluster analysis, as a means of supporting a classification model. Fundamentally assuming any a priori components is unscientific, because science is concerned with observation, and hence emergent properties of data. This approach illustrates a psychiatric perspective, in which individuals are considered to be classifiable in the same way that illnesses can be diagnosed. Likewise the classification criteria 'Control', 'Sex', 'Style' and 'Escape' are conceptually inconsistent with most work in this area, and exclude potentially useful features identified in other studies.

The style domain is particularly problematic and could reflect differences in interpersonal style, or personality, but utilises only a few aspects of the offence behaviours. Interpersonal style, however, is the product of the full range of behaviours, manifested across a number of behavioural themes. As such it is difficult to see how a single domain, 'Style', is sufficient for examining interpersonal style or personality; the style domain comprises aspects of behaviour, context and personal details of the offender such as

odour. Of even less use is the 'Escape' domain which is analogous to Canter's 'Criminality'; containing aspects of control and theft. Again it is more accurate to label stealing as simply stealing, and suggest that binding and gagging are either concerned with control, or deviant sexual interest. Grubin's approach is predominantly statistical, rather than having any obvious theoretical stance. Grubin and colleagues were unable to identify meaningful profiles using a cluster analytic approach, and attribute this to poor data rather than more appropriately, to a poor conceptual model. Grubin et al. (2001) even suggest that fewer variables should be used in subsequent work, recommendation that is unlikely to improve discrimination.

Research using behavioural data to inform investigative procedures has met with equivocal success. While there has been progress in identifying important themes, it remains unclear whether these themes can be used to discriminate offenders scientifically. Very little attention is given to the themes themselves; many authors simply assume that the domains exist, with no consideration for the empirical, or conceptual properties of those domains. The absence of an underlying theoretical model to frame sexual aggression also hinders scientific progress in this area. Any empirical model should reflect the theoretical constructs in the literature for it to be meaningful and should be driven by and inform theoretical developments.

Very little work in offender profiling reflects the full understanding that psychology has of sexual offending. Often major psychological theories that could help the development of offender profiling have been completely overlooked in practise. Theories of personality and aggression are not immediately apparent in the work on offender profiling, which perhaps reflects the over-dependence of the police on psychiatric, rather than psychological models. Contemporary approaches continue to adopt psychiatric, typological approaches despite a complete failure on the part of any researcher to demonstrate classifiability in sex offender populations.

It is hoped that this work contributes something to furthering knowledge, which is, in Guttman's (1970) terms, cumulative. Although the exact nature of the relationships between constructs of sexual aggression has yet to be determined, it is still necessary to try and formulate the possible structure of the constructs. If not, then there is no possibility of measuring those constructs and determining quantifiable relationships within the hypothesised model. This will represent the fruits of this work.

Chapter 7

Methodological Orientation

“Data adjudicates theory, but theory also drives and inspires data.” (Gould 1996, p149)

Within any scientific enquiry there is a need to specify exactly what is being researched, and on whom, or what. In the physical sciences researchers examine the properties of matter and living things within our immediate world and most observable phenomena have been classified or measured in some way within physics, biology or chemistry. Since many things in the world conform to particular laws, science has been able to identify those laws and explain why the world works in the way that it does. In physics the laws of motion enable predictions to be made about the movement of objects based on knowledge of the object's mass and velocity, and the time taken for the movement. This is only possible however, because these physical properties are directly measurable and so reliable that equations can be formulated to calculate exactly what will happen in what circumstances. This predictability enables assumptions to be made, based on laws, which dictate how the world works and how scientists make sense of it.

This approach is inherent in the physical sciences where constructs are clearly defined with respect to other constructs using algebraic formulae such as Einstein's 'E=mc²' (where E = Energy, m = mass and c is a constant for the speed of light). This equation provides a structure for understanding the logical relations between the constructs of energy and matter. The energy released from fission nuclear reactions (splitting the atom) can be calculated and predicted from this scientific formula. In the social sciences there is a striking absence of laws or equations that can reliably discriminate individuals or accurately predict what people will do and why. Differing philosophical perspectives on what causes people to behave in particular ways, in particular circumstances, has led to numerous theories being offered for the same behaviours, based on entirely different concepts. Theories of aggression and sexuality are no exception, and include

motivational, behavioural, biological and social learning theories. The very basic assumptions about human existence epitomises the philosophical underpinnings of research in this area. Are sex offenders born or moulded by society? Any piece of research will reflect the philosophical choices made by the researcher in the selection of appropriate variables and method of analysis.

Disciplines, which have taken their methodologies from the natural sciences, have historically taken a positivist stance, in which science approaches research problems by dealing with observable facts (Hume) and demonstrating positive relations between cause and effect. This perspective logically concludes that actions have causes, which are predictable and are therefore deterministic. Within this determinist perspective there have been a number of possible explanations as to what the possible causes of sexual aggression are, ranging from the social constructionist to the biological. The varying contributions of genetics and environment represents a complex interplay that has yet to be fully understood and is often termed the nature vs. nurture debate. Further to these distal factors are those processes of the individual, which enable him or her to determine their own future, by having a free will.

Neither free will, nor determinism has had a constant definition over time, as they are difficult to resolve as philosophical issues. Hence there are neo-classical ideas, which consider the circumstances surrounding the choices made in terms of behavioural action. Soft determinism represents an acceptable compromise since people make choices within a limited range of options. There are numerous other variations on these themes such as neo-positivism, or gestalt for example. What this suggests is that the social sciences have difficulty in establishing causality in human behaviour and until psychology becomes lawful, action can only be considered theoretically. As a science psychology can offer models and theories, which help to explain behaviour, even if it cannot be predicted.

It is these philosophical assumptions, which underpin psychological enquiries of human behaviour and so influence methodological approaches to sexual aggression and the

theoretical interpretations of research findings, as determined by social background or free will. Within this work the aim is to adopt a range of theoretical ideas which show consistency with each other, and which could contribute to a comprehensive model of sexual aggression. The research studies utilise a range of methodologies and statistical analyses, which may require some explanation, or rationale for inclusion. The psychological constructs examined are conceptualised differently across authors reflecting philosophical differences, which inevitably affects the scientific examination of the construct. For example aggression and sex have been proposed as uncontrollable instinctual mechanisms in psychodynamic theories, which militates against the scientific examination of them. Adopting a more realist perspective, aggression is more open to study, as the product of experiences, motivations and specific contexts within which aggression is precipitated.

Theories of sex and aggression have evolved over time to fit the observations that researchers have collected. Early ideas based on simple biological and behavioural responses to particular stimuli prevailed for some time. The movement towards more multi-dimensional explanations is in many ways a paradigm shift from simple linear ideas of cause and effect. The constructs under scientific investigation here are sexuality and aggression, both of which are complex multi-modal entities. Aggression, for example, can be considered qualitatively and quantitatively; it can be verbal or physical, and can be used to defend or offend, and may or may not involve weapons. Quantitatively aggression can be light involving very little harm done to the target of the aggression, but can be severe, resulting in serious harm being done. Generally the level of force used in the context of an aggressive situation is proportional to the amount of energy put into it, except when there is a weapon that can cause maximum harm for minimum energy. As we can see though, even quantitative notions in psychology are vague, and at best ordinal such as light, moderate and severe. Measurement is an implicit function of scientific examination.

Psychological research is often concerned with understanding motivations and behaviours that comprise a number of inter-related concepts or factors; the researcher's main interest is in interpreting the relationships between these concepts, as well as determining how individuals are characterised with respect to them. Psychological theories depend heavily on concepts of personality, and context, for defining the parameters of psychological enquiry. Theories help to explain why people behave in certain ways. A theory can be considered as, "an hypothesis of a correspondence between definitional systems for a universe of observations, together with a rationale for such an hypothesis" (Gratch 1973, p. 35). In other words, theory cannot be considered independently to research observations, and interpretations. Theoretical ideas derive directly from observations of the real world, which are validated through the use of scientific method. Theories are explanatory frameworks for specific sets of observations, and are only useful until other theories are proposed, that can explain those observations more meaningfully, or more precisely. As such, they are only as good, as the definitional framework on which they are based, and the extent, to which those defined constructs, and the relationships between them, can be empirically assessed.

This definitional process is sometimes vague within psychological research and consequently many psychological constructs are loosely defined and difficult to examine empirically. One methodology, which overcomes the fuzziness of social research, is facet theory, an approach developed by Louis Guttman (1970) and is outlined by a number of authors (Runkel and McGrath 1972, Brown and Barnett 2000). Facet theory is an approach to social research, which provides an integrated framework for carrying out research investigations. Unlike other research approaches, facet theory proposes that the content of the research universe should be clearly stated within a clear definitional framework of inter-related facets. A facet in this sense is a "scheme used to classify the elements of a domain of interest into types" (Borg 1998: p72). Sex, for example, would be a facet containing elements such male and female. By using a number of facets, the research domain can be partitioned into multifaceted components, or variants. The content of facets is theoretically driven, and variables are selected according to a

theoretical rationale for inclusion. The resultant constructs relating to the research domain are thus explicitly stated, and open to empirical examination.

The principles of facet generation are outlined below (Runkel and McGrath 1972):

Objects should be classified by all the properties or facets that the investigator has chosen as relevant.

Each facet should be divided into an exhaustive set of categories or elements.

Every object should be classifiable in one element.

Elements should be mutually exclusive.

The logical relations among facets should be specified.

The facets should collectively exhaust the domain of research.

These six heuristics are methodological common sense, making explicit the importance of a clearly defined research domain and the use of an objective scientific method. However, in carrying out research it is not always possible to examine every relevant facet or identify what elements fit into which facet. Often this only becomes apparent when the data associated with those facets are analysed to reveal what the structural relations of the elements and facets are. As such, the research method can be seen as a far more iterative process, as has been suggested by Brown and Barnett (2000), and enables the researcher to test the full range of possible theoretical interactions within the data by allowing a dynamic process of hypothesis generation and testing. The use of a facet framework simply makes the research domain more explicit, and clearly grounded in the literature.

The advantage of a structured approach to the research design is that it allows the data and analysis to be considered with respect to existing theoretical ideas. The results can therefore be meaningfully interpreted with respect to the theoretical constructs specified at the research design stage. This process of eliciting meaning from research results is essential within any scientific approach, but is often neglected within the social sciences, as researchers desperately look for statistical significance, rather than interpretability.

In specifying the logical relations among facets, facet theory proposes the use of a “mapping sentence” (Lingoes 1977). The mapping sentence is an explicit way of specifying the facet contents and the empirically testable relations between them. It is the social-scientific equivalent of a theoretical equation such as those used in physics (i.e. $E=mc^2$) where the relationships between elements is explicitly stated. Mapping sentences, like equations, serve as heuristics to specifying the logical relations between related constructs within a research universe. Traditionally facets are described as either, ‘Background’ facets, representing stable or historical characteristics, ‘Domain’ facets, representing variables specific to the research area, and ‘Range’ facets representing the variations in the Domain.

In practice, these types of facet are sometimes difficult to separate, and range may be embedded within more than one facet. These facets come in a variety of forms depending on the types of data, and elements are often added, throughout the research process, to enhance the content domain. In the example below, aggressive behaviour may be simply stated in terms of verbal and physical components. If we introduce the notion of order, then physical aggression and verbal aggression may be represented both in terms of type and level. This could provide greater clarification of the aggression facet. The mapping sentence is a powerful tool for conceptually managing qualitative data, but it may equally be applied to more measurement based research approaches. Lingoes (1978) has outlined the different functions of mapping sentences and describes how a range of numeric and qualitative data may be represented in mapping sentences. Data can be described in terms of unordered, ordered or numeric with respect to any facet, making the data amenable to either conventional or non-linear, statistical analyses. In this way the facet theoretic approach is not limited to qualitative research and can make both the content, and the types of data, more explicit.

While mapping sentences are useful for defining a small range of psychological concepts at the outset of research, they are inevitably informed by the results of the analysis. When

the number of facets increases beyond the number that might be interpreted in any single analysis, then it becomes impossible to specify the full interactions of facets within a single mapping sentence. Each facet might ultimately require its own mapping sentence. Examples of how the facets of this research have been mapped out are given below consistent with the way that the concepts are outlined in the literature, and as provided in the background to this study.

Sexual aggression comprises at least four primary facets, which might each be considered as independent but related theoretical domains. These are proposed as research universes comprising: Universe A: Sexual Variation and Deviation (Table 7.1); Universe B: Interpersonal Behaviour (Table 7.2); and Universe C: Motivation (Table 7.3).

Table 7.1 Research Universe A: Sexual Variation

Universe A Sexual Variation and Deviation
Sexual activity incorporates aspects of both normalised and deviant behaviour involving Offender, Victim or Both
SEXUAL ORIENTATION and INTEREST
Gender Interests (Male, Female, Both)
Age Interests (Paedophilia, gerontophilia)
Object Interests (Sexual toys, or specific objects or textures)
Context interests (BDSM, role-play and fantasy)
SEXUAL BEHAVIOURS
Vaginal Intercourse (front and back)
Digital Intercourse
Oral to offender (Fellatio)
Oral to victim (Cunnilingus)
Oral to anus (Analingus)
Anal Intercourse (Buggery)
Object insertion or genital mutilation

The Sexual Activity Universe has a complex relationship to the interpersonal style of the offender since sexual behaviours are not necessarily confined to particular styles of rape,

or personalities of rapists. Within the interpersonal situation of rape any form of sexual activity is possible.

Table 7.2 Research Universe B: Sexual Variation

Universe B Interpersonal Behaviour within Rape
AGGRESSION
Physical acts of violence to differing degrees.
Directed towards head, body, arms, legs or sexual organs.
Verbal acts of threat or hostility to differing degrees.
Directed at victim or other.
INTIMACY
Physical acts of warmth or pseudo-affection involving touching or kissing
Directed towards the face, body, arms legs or sexual organs
Verbal acts of affection including reassuring or complimenting.
Assertions and questions
CONTROL
Physical acts of restraint or coercion
Directed towards neck, wrists, arms, legs, body using hands or bindings
Verbal acts of coercion, or dominant sado-masochistic themes in extreme cases
Threats with or without contingencies
SUBMISSION on the part of the victim

These universes of action and interest are motivated by Cognitive and Affective processes which are complexly related.

Table 7.3 Motivation

Universe C	Motivation
	AFFECT
	Positive (Interest, Excitement, Love)
	Negative (Anger, fear)
	Directed towards victim, others, society.
	COGNITION
	Attitudes (negative or positive towards individuals or groups)
	Beliefs (about men or women)
	May be organised or disorganised (stable-unstable)

Although these comprise the main facets of sexually aggressive action and motivation, further facets may need to be incorporated within a comprehensive model; facets which acknowledge the broader context of society, and the specific contexts within which the action occurs. Each universe and facet is associated with various theoretical constructs that need to be included conceptually within a coherent framework of multiple theoretical parts.

The facet theoretic approach utilises a set of statistical analyses known as multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) procedures. These analyses enable relationships in data to be represented geometrically in a two, or more, dimensional space. MDS has had a number of reviews, which discuss the evolution of the techniques and detail the variety of MDS procedures incorporated under this broad heading (Forgas 1979; Coxon 1982; Schiffman, Reynolds and Young 1981).

MDS “refers to a family of models by means of which information is contained in a set of points in space. These points are arranged in such a way that geometrical relationships such as distances between points reflect the empirical relationships” (Coxon 1982).

MDS provides a variety of non-parametric techniques offered as alternatives to factor analysis, and are more appropriate for measures of association which do not use inter-variable correlation or measures of covariance. MDS are useful as exploratory methods when the structure or number of components is unknown, and when the theoretical associations are unclear. The Smallest Space Analysis (Guttman 1968), or SSA, is a form of multidimensional scaling used as a data reduction technique for eliciting underlying facets or dimensions within a data matrix. Since the distances between the variables in the SSA, represent the empirical relationships of those variables, it is an ideal method for examining the structure of a data matrix. The interpretation of the SSA is based on statistical and hypothetical associations of the facets. Empirically derived structures should be theoretically supported from the knowledge on sexual aggression. The degree to which the variables can be fitted to a number of dimensions is measured by the stress within the model, but more weight is often given to interpretability rather than fit.

With dichotomous data there is an element of both order (presence is greater than absence), and a distinct qualitative difference between the presence of a feature and its absence. Typically, behavioural components are coded as present or absent but this can sometimes result in ambiguity. A feature such as “hitting the victim”, can be coded simply as present or absent but knowing whether the hit was a slap, or a punch is potentially more important. The SSA examines the joint occurrences of the yes’s and the no’s within the data matrix. Dichotomous data can be heavily biased by the joint absences within the data and care needs to be taken in the choice of coefficient for variable association. In the case of skewed dichotomies it is appropriate to use a Jaccard coefficient.

MDS can be interpreted in any number of dimensions but to fully optimize the interpretation of the space, the underlying facets should be kept small enough to observe a reliable structure. When too many facets are included the resultant ‘smallest space of dimensionality’, is too restricted to allow a clear interpretation of those facets. A good solution should have minimal ambiguity in the elements, which define any quadrant, or

radial axis in the space. The facets should demonstrate reliability across studies and across statistical methods if they are to be considered valid.

An alternate method of data reduction is the more traditional factor analytic approach. Determining the number of factors is a contentious issue. Some suggest particular methods, such as scree (1966) while others suggest interpretability. (Hammond 2000). Since the data are assumed to have some theoretical basis for inclusion it is likely that the researcher has a good idea in mind of what the underlying traits are. Hence the data might be assumed to have 3 or 4 factors and so that number can be extracted. The method of extraction can involve transformations of the initial factor solution. The variance is moved around to optimize the discrimination of related or unrelated factors defined as oblique and orthogonal respectively. Orthogonal rotation involves a transformation, which forces the factors to be uncorrelated with each other, such as varimax. When there is some suggestion that the factors may be related (drawn from the same universe), and then it is better to use an oblique rotation. Ideally for factor analysis the sample size should be quite high, in the hundreds and have many more cases than variables ($n=200$ and sample is four times the number of variables).

This study will utilise both MDS and more conventional factor analytic techniques, specifically principal components analysis. The principal components analysis will be used to identify an initial set of factors or potential traits, from a set of behavioural features. Such approaches are appropriate for exploring data, and so generate an *a posteriori* classification of concepts based on items put into the analysis. Although, as Grath (1967) points out, the more critical question for classification, is what items should be included in the first place. Used in conjunction the multivariate analyses should enable a thorough exploration of the data and confirm the presence of underlying traits.

Examining the structure of data, whether by factor analytic methods or MDS procedures is an iterative process, and interpreting the structure will depend on how well the data fits a particular statistical model. On the other hand, even a good fit, or a high amount of

explained variance, are meaningless if the results are not interpretable in a theoretically meaningful way. Having identified the constructs and derived them empirically, there are further questions that need to be asked of the data. The next question concerns whether the construct is itself multi-faceted, or dimensional or both as in more complex cumulative models. This stage is the logical next step in any scientific endeavour and is implicit in his proposition of a scientific method for the social sciences (Guttman 1968).

To answer whether a construct is scalar we need to have some sense of what items represent different levels of that construct and that we have items, which differentiate the levels. At its simplest aggression can be coded as multiple blows or single blows, but a more careful consideration would separate the type of blow such as a slap or a kick or a jab with a knife. Is a punch quantitatively greater than a pinch? And to what extent does a pinch differ from a punch in terms of its underlying motivation? Making sense of these questions requires a mixture of evidence and reasoning, and no statistical model is capable of providing the full solution, only fragments of a theoretical jigsaw puzzle.

The classical approach to psychological measurement is the use of scales, which assess variations on an underlying construct. By identifying a set of features that are related to each other, it is possible to test how well the items inter-correlate, and so to what extent they might form a scale. These items can be considered in the same way as responses can to a test or questionnaire and tap common themes, which are collectively used to scale the underlying trait. Reliability in a scale is often determined from the internal consistency of the items, measured using Cronbach's alpha. This approach is based on Spearman's notion of split halves, and proposes that test items should be split, and each subscale correlated with the other. The problem with split halves, is that the consistency can be heavily biased by frequent or infrequent items, which can distort the mean. For a single underlying construct it is more appropriate to use Armor's (1974) theta. Theta is an index of the reliability of the latent trait derived from the factor analysis (factor score) rather than the unweighted items which are used for alpha. This general approach to scale construction is based in classical test theory, but the problem with this approach, is that it

does not take into account different patterns of responding to the overall set of items. Two identical scores on a test can reflect completely different response profiles, indicating different patterns of psychological function.

Recent developments in psychometrics have concentrated on integrating the earlier ideas of cumulative scaling proposed by Guttman (1941) and Rasch (1960). In this approach the test score is not the main concern for the researcher but rather the response profiles of the subjects. This approach is the basis of item response theory, or I.R.T. (Lord 1980), which suggests that, the order of items in a scale, may be as important as their contribution to the underlying trait. I.R.T. utilises cumulative models such as Rasch (1960). A Rasch model is based on the “probability that an individual with a certain ability or trait strength will respond in a given way to a particular item within a test” (Hammond 2000, p191). The ability or trait strength of the individual is termed a person parameter and the ability of the item to discriminate high and low trait strength is termed the item parameter. One-parameter models only allow the strength, or difficulty of the item to vary along the dimension and attempts to fit the population to it. As such the model is quite strict, and consequently it is psychometrically robust. This study utilises Rasch models to explore the cumulative properties of behavioural traits evident within sexual aggression.

Chapter 8

Studies of Sexual Aggression

The following chapter outlines a series of studies aimed at informing the theoretical understanding of sexual aggression, with particular emphasis on rape. The range of concepts, which potentially inform this work, have been outlined in previous chapters. A facet theoretic methodology has been adopted to aid the organisation of the relevant domains and the elements within those domains. Sexual aggression is multi-faceted, comprising a range of motivational factors that influence a further variety of sexual and aggressive acts. Exploring this diversity requires a general approach, so as to incorporate many key themes as possible, which contribute to the phenomenon. These themes can be considered under the broad headings of Motivation (Affect and Cognition), Behaviour and ultimately, Personality within various contexts for offending.

The second stage of the research utilises the findings from the first study, which provides a theoretical framework based on four behavioural dimensions. These are: Aggression, Control, Intimacy and Deviation (sexual), which form the useful acronym A.C.I.D. The behavioural measures derived from the first study are applied to an incarcerated (Special Hospital) population and associations between these measures and aspects of motivation and personality, identified from clinical case files, are examined. Finally this work considers how the behavioural traits, or features might be considered within general theories of personality outlined in an earlier chapter. The range of facets explored within these studies are proposed within a generalised model of sexual aggression, which offers a means of conceptualising the underlying problem, sexual aggression, together with an empirical means of assessing some of the core elements.

Study 1

The Behavioural Dimensions of Adult Sexual Offenders

Behaviour, which describes sexual aggression, is not confined to just acts of aggression and sexuality. While sex and aggression are implicit within the context of rape, there are huge variations in the way sexual offences are executed by an offender. Some are clearly angry, and use rape as the expression of that anger (Groth et al 1977), while others are seemingly more sensitive, desiring intimacy from the situations they create through rape (Gebhard and Cohen 1971, Marshall and Barbaree 1990). Some rapists have preferences for deviant sexual activity (Abel 1989), aspects of which may be reflected within their offending, while others engage in *normal* sexual acts. The sexual deviations may take the form of an interest in non-consensual sex (biastophilia), but can include any form of sexual interests for behaviours or victim type (e.g hebephilia, a preference for teenagers). Some rapists are also paedophiles, and some rapists murder their victims either to dispose of evidence or to engage in necrophilic activity. Such variation has given rise to numerous typologies for each form of sexual aggression, but which might be better understood within a common framework.

Typologies of sexual murder, rape and child molestation have all been proposed, none of which are fully discriminating, and all based on the assumption that people are classifiable. Early attempts to discriminate rapists were rational taxonomies developed by professionals working with this group of offenders. Given the changeable nature of psychological thought, these early typologies need to be considered in their historical context (e.g. Guttmacher and Weihofen 1952; Kopp 1962). Relatively more recent work has identified more critical characteristics of rapists (Groth 1977, Prentky 1985), and child abusers (Groth and Birnbaum 1979, Prentky 1988). Many of the typologies offered to discriminate sexual offenders are conceptually confused, often mixing motivational aspects, such as power, or anger, with behavioural characteristics, such as aggression, or contextual features such as substance use. Although potentially useful in identifying the relevant themes, typologies offer limited utility for meaningful discrimination (Knight

and Prentky 1987; Grubin and Kennedy 1991). Empirically defensible models of sexual offending behaviour, which can discriminate sexual offenders, and explain the observed differences, are rare, if present at all. The reliance on psychiatric attempts to classify people has obscured a meaningful understanding of the problem.

This first study is a comprehensive analysis of the behavioural features of rapists derived from police data. These data comprise aspects of the offender's verbal and physical actions within the context of stranger rape, coded from the victim testimonies. This study builds on previous work in this area, in the field of offender profiling and explores the core behavioural themes outlined previously. Offender profiling, or criminal profiling, is a means by which offender characteristics can be identified from characteristics of offending behaviour. The approach has developed from examinations of crime scene and offending behaviour, which suggested patterns within an individual's offending behaviour that relate to other psychological characteristics of the person (Hazelwood 1983; Canter 1988). The assumption being that inferences about a person can be inferred directly from the behaviour, and across offences, and that people are consistent in their behavioural style. Consistency between aspects of behaviour and traits of personality has yet to be demonstrated in any study of offender profiling despite claims that there is a correspondence (Hazelwood 1983; Canter 2000).

The process of profiling has been variously described by a number of authors who differ in the degree to which the inferences are based on intuitive guesswork (Rossi 1982; Geberth 1983), or based on scientifically defensible models (Holmes and DeBurger 1988; Canter and Heritage 1990). The technology of offender profiling is inevitably limited by the absence of a theoretical framework for understanding sexual aggression. Approaches to examining behavioural data are inconsistent in their use of concepts or themes, which describe the same phenomenon. Heritage (1992) and Canter (1989) suggest that Sexuality, Intimacy, Aggression and Criminality are core facets of rape, demonstrated using Smallest Space Analysis. However the concept of criminality within the criminal

context of rape is difficult to resolve and Canter's work is interpretable within a framework suggested here.

Grubin et al's (1998) empirical examination of sexual offending data used a cluster analytic technique, to try and re-create an a priori classification based on four conceptual domains, control, sex, escape and style. These terms are confusing and the criteria relating to them are open to more than one interpretation. The domains proposed by these authors are not comparable with other work in this area, and assume that control, sex, escape and style are discriminating components within an artificial taxonomy that has no theoretical basis. Escape and style are not considered as core elements of sexual aggression by any other author on the subject.

Purely behavioural approaches for examining offence behaviour differ from the clinical formulation typologies of Groth et al (1977), or Knight and Prentky (1989; 2000), which focus on the motivations, or functions, of rape as the basis for differentiation. Equally, *profiling* is not confined to law enforcement, and in many ways, is the basis for personality differentiation within clinical settings (Perkins, Hilton and Lucas 1991). Despite differing applications, it is likely that such *profiles* share common themes, which distinguish similar *types* - if there are indeed *distinct* types. The intimacy, and aggression modes identified by Canter and Heritage (1990), are intuitive, but other themes such as power (Groth et al 1977) are absent from many studies.

This work draws on themes across the offender profiling literature and taxonomic work in this area. It is proposed that while these themes may not represent taxons, they may represent underlying behavioural traits indicative of personality differences. The heterogeneity of the group suggests that they can not easily be understood by any single element of motivation or behaviour (Cohen, Garofalo & Seghorn (1971; Groth, Burgess & Holmstrom 1977; Knight and Pentky 1991), and therefore the approach has to be multi-faceted.

Although there has been progress in identifying some of the critical factors, or dimensions that help describe sexual offenders, there has been little work examining the underlying properties of each construct. Aggression, for example, suffers from a lack of conceptual clarity and clearly must have some part within the context of rape. In practise, the way aggression is qualified varies considerably, making both research and theorising, more difficult. In part this difficulty is due to the way that the constructs of sexual aggression are treated, scientifically, often labelled as present, or absent, or as instrumental or expressive (Berkowitz 1990, Prentky 1987). Such distinctions are too simplistic and do not define distinct groups of offenders; rapists use different types of force, and to different degrees (Turvey 2002), and for many reasons. This work examines aggression as an ordered construct, which may vary across individuals.

From the behavioural data, it is not possible to infer specific motivations because they may not be apparent to the victim, and so be reflected in the testimony. Understanding motivational aspects of rape can be difficult, and requires a consideration of emotions and thoughts that manifest themselves as individual variations in behaviour. The use of force in sexual offending is described in terms of more than one function or motivation; as an outlet of anger or hostility (Groth and Burgess 1977); as a means of control (Prentky 1989); or as a necessary aspect of a paraphilic assault. Essentially all forms of rape require a certain degree of instrumental force, to enable sexual intercourse, but rape utilising 'expressed' or 'reactive' aggression (anger) implies non-sexual motivations. This does not mean that any particular style is dictated by a specific motivation, but rather that behaviour is driven by complex motivational interplays of sex, anger, loneliness and power.

What distinguishes sexual aggression, from non-sexual violence, is that sex may be the goal, and aggression the means. Victim compliance is achieved through verbal threats (with or without contingencies), punishment or direct force, all of which are instrumental forms of aggression. The use of extreme physical aggression may equally serve some instrumental function (in hatred and cruelty), but may simply reflect anger, or a lack of

impulse control (disinhibition) directed towards the victim. The question is, “To what extent is a sexual assault a violent incident involving sex, or sexual behaviour involving violence”. The answer is probably a spectrum of pseudo-intimate and violent styles of assault, consistent with individual differences across the personality spectrum. Such individual differences in behaviour may be reflected in different styles of control, aggression and sexual activity. Understanding not just the behaviour, but how the behaviour reflects underlying motivation, will continue to be challenge for researchers.

The aim of this work is to re-examine the work of Heritage (1992), Canter and Heritage (1990), and Grubin (2000), all of whom have examined these type of data and postulated slightly different conceptual frameworks for understanding individual differences in rape. Further to this there are various taxonomies offered to differentiate the group within clinical settings. The wide variation in ideas suggests that any study needs to reflect multiple psychological domains, and that an alternative strategy to classification may be required. This involves a consideration of the underlying constructs that comprise the phenomenon and the extent to which those constructs exist within the data. Analyses of the structure of the data will be carried out utilising factor-analytic, and multidimensional scaling analyses. Having identified what the main themes are is open to interpretation but must include aggression and sex as a minimum. The question remains as to whether these themes represent traits, which may be ordered, and so vary across individuals.

The main questions posed are:

What are the core behavioural components of rape?

Are the components of sexual aggression simple factors, or ordered constructs?

Is it possible to measure the behavioural constructs?

It is proposed that rapists differ qualitatively and quantitatively with respect to the levels and types of control, aggression, sex and intimacy, observable within the offending behaviour. The resultant interplay offers the possibility of modelling sexual aggression using a set of measurement scales and a theoretical interpretation of their relations. The

scales can be developed for the purposes of offender profiling, and as a means of supporting the formulation of the offender within a clinical context.

Methodology

The first study is a secondary analysis, utilising a database of sexual offence characteristics, called BADMAN, which was originally developed by the behavioural science unit of the Surrey police force from the work of Heritage and Canter (Heritage 1992). Currently these data are managed by the Serious Crime Analysis Section (SCAS) of the National Crime Faculty (NCF) who use this data to support decision-making in criminal investigations of rape. This study and subsequent studies of police datasets has been approved by the police governing body, the association of chief police officers (A.C.P.O).

The behavioural characteristics in the BADMAN database were derived originally through content analysis of a range of victim statements; the statement being “the written account that a victim of sexual assault provides by way of explaining what happened to her” (Heritage 1992). Generally such an account is a chronological testimony of the events leading up to and including the sexual assault. Needless to say the accuracy of such accounts can be influenced by a number of factors such as stress in the victim, or poor interview style, of the investigator. As a source of research data, it is the best account available, and the goal of the research is to make the best use of it.

The content categories derived for the BADMAN protocol reflect, and build on, the earlier work of Hazelwood (1983), and Canter and Heritage (1990), which outline key aspects of verbal and physical behaviour evident in rape. These features are coded as present or absent (yes or no), and are concerned with facts, rather than inferences, so as to minimize ambiguity and coding errors. The coding scheme addresses observable details of the sexual offence act, such as “hit the victim”, or “vaginal penetration”, which either

happened or not. The scheme, quite correctly, does not include subjective evaluations of the offender's mood, or motivation, since these are not directly observable. The full list of content themes is shown in APPENDIX I, and these form the basis of this work.

The sample comprises 716 cases of rape and sexual assault coded using a protocol of 61 behavioural characteristics. Since the data is derived from police investigations of unknown offenders, there are no demographic, or personality features that can be examined in the context of different behaviours. Although unfortunate, the data still has great potential for deriving an empirical model based purely on behavioural components. The resultant findings can then be applied to known offenders such that further associations can be examined. This dataset has some advantages over more specific rape samples in Hospitals or Prisons, in that it represents a wide range of sexual offenders who are not defined by their disposal (e.g. prison or hospital). In this sense the any resultant model from the data is more generalisable to a variety of samples and a spectrum of behaviours defined as sexually aggressive.

Perhaps of even more concern, is the underlying notion, that models of sexual aggression should provide a typology. Classification, in its real sense, can only be applied to discrete entities, which differ at a biological, physical or chemical level, such that they can be clearly differentiated. Since the subjects for analysis, are male humans then it might be more useful to consider variations rather than clear distinctions. Psychologists have typically used this approach to examine traits of personality, and utilise scales for measuring variations on those traits. This approach is adopted here through the use of multidimensional and unidimensional scaling procedures.

Procedure

The first step was to suggest some organisation of the different types of behaviours contained within the dataset consistent with the theoretical themes within the literature.

These facets exclude the unknown motivational features of the offenders, concentrating on behavioural expressions of sex, aggression control and intimacy, are outlined below in **Table 8.1**.

Table 8.1. Conceptual Framework for Sexual Aggression

Sexual Behaviour	Power or Control	Aggression	Intimacy	Other Criminal	Context
Anal Penetration	Physically	Blitz	Implies	Steal	Other Building
Digital Penetration	Demeans	Verbal	Knowledge	Identifiable	Other Building
Cunnilingus	Gagging	Violence	Apology	Steal Personal	Vehicle
Vaginal Penetration	Verbally	Weapon	Compliment	Demands	Lay in Wait
Rear Penetration	Demeans	Threat	Verbal	Goods	Offender
Fellatio	Verbal	Multiple	Identification	Steal	Drinking
Sexual Fondling	Comment	Violence	Offender	Unidentifiable	Other Outside
Vaginal Penetration	Required	Other Acts Of	Clothing	Planning	Building
Front Penetration	Binding	Violence	Victim	Forensic	Different Site
Victim Clothing	Blindfolds	Tears Clothing	Positioned	Awareness	Open Air
	Weapon Seen	Cuts Clothing	Reassure		Other Inc
	Extends Time	Threat No	Inquisitive		Victim Resists
	Con Approach	Report	Deterred		
	Surprise	Single	Reveals		
	Disguise	Violence	Details		
	Lay in wait		Kisses		
			Verbal intimacy		
			Identify		
			Objects		

Although sexual activities are listed as a distinct facet, and form a core component of the sexual offending domain, they may well reflect different offence styles and correspond to specific aspects of aggression or intimacy. If the relationship of sexual behaviour to other behaviours is too complex, it may not be borne out in the analyses. Initially the contextual features (marked in grey) are excluded from the analyses, since they may confound the behavioural characteristics and could be better examined in the presence of an underlying behavioural model. Behavioural themes identified from the statistical explorations may vary across contexts and this is examined within this study.

Data Analysis

The frequencies for each variable were obtained and a cut-off for inclusion was applied at greater than 5% and not more than 75%. It is arguable that a strict cut-off for inclusion is required, because items, which occur frequently, are not discriminating and low frequency variables can cause artefactual correlations. The frequency (incidence) of each of the behaviours is given in **Table 8.1**. There were a number of variables contained within these data, which were considered ambiguous, or unreliable. These are items which are not in bold on the table below are outlined below with a rationale for exclusion.

1. **Express Dissatisfaction** is either towards self or the victim.
2. **Offender drinking** is subjective and could reflect differing degrees of alcohol consumed, and so level of sobriety.
3. **Other act of violence** might be anything from a pinch to strangulation.
4. **Deterred** does not indicate the precise deterrent, which includes victim resistance, or disturbed by a passer by.
5. **Victim positioned** invariably applies to aspects of sexual behaviour, already coded as variables such as for anal penetration, or fellatio, etc.
6. **Offender comments** were concerned with a variety of actions, such as directing the victim towards specific sexual activities or verbalisations not included within the other verbal categories.
7. **Dysfunction** in erection is based on victim perception of turgidity, but may be attributed to a number of possible causes, including alcohol, anxiety, or a lack of offender-specific stimulation.

Table 8.1 Frequency Distributions of the Behavioural Features of Rape

Feature	% Occurrence
Analingus	0.08
Cuts clothing	2.7
Foreign object insertion	2.9
Identify through documents	4.1
Physically demeaning	4.3
Blitz	5.6
Implies Knowledge	8.4
Verbal Violence	8.9
Apology	10.9
Gagging	10.9
Weapon threat	11.6
Cunnilingus	13.0
Verbally demeaning	13.0
Expresses dissatisfaction	14.3
Verbal comments required	14.4
Binding	14.5
Multiple acts of violence	14.5
Lay in wait	15.6
Anal penetration	15.6
Compliments	15.6
Other acts of violence	15.8
Verbal identification	16.3
Disguise	16.6
Vaginal penetration (rear)	17.2
Tears clothing	17.5
Blindfolds	17.6
Dysfunction erection	18.3
Offender drinking	19.4
Demands goods	20.0
Offender clothing removed	20.3
Victim positioned	21.1
Forensic awareness	21.9
Extends time	23.2
Threat no report	23.6
Reassures	23.9
Inquisitive	24.7
Victim positioned	26.2
Fellatio	28.0
Digital penetration	30.0
Single acts of violence	30.6
Reveals details about self	31.4
Con approach	35.5
Weapon seen	36.9
Kisses	38.1
Offender comments	52.5
Sexual fondling	64.3
Vaginal penetration (front)	65.0
Victim resists	76.4
Surprise attack	80.7
Offender demeanour known	83.4
Victim clothing removed	92.2
Cessation of Attack	97.9

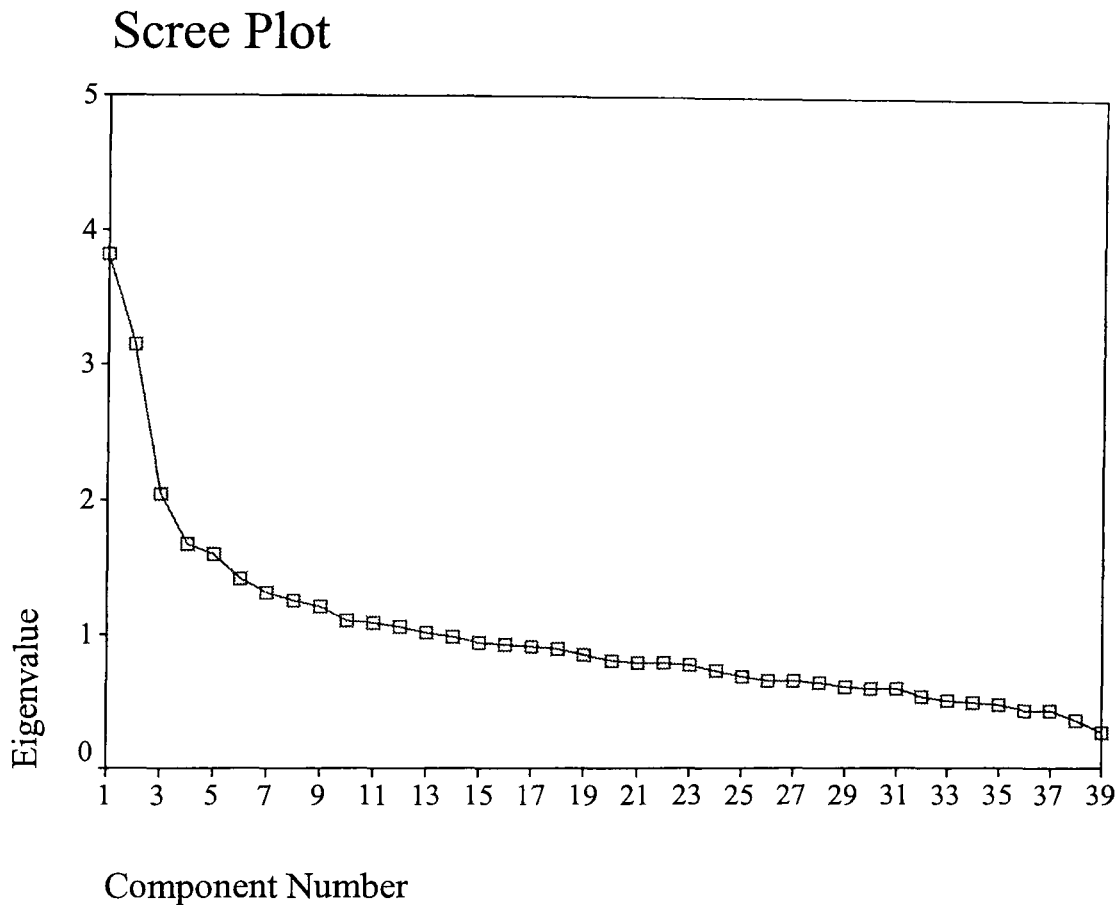
The behavioural characteristics were analysed in order to reveal the emergent structural properties of the data set. There is little need to examine statistical power in a sample this size using just 42 variables as there are more than 15 times the number of subjects to the number of variables. The SPSS computer program was used for the descriptive, factor analytic statistics, and multidimensional scaling. In addition, a Psychometric Assessment Package (Hammond, 1991) was used for unidimensional scaling analyses, both classical and contemporary. The 42 items selected from the frequency table (highlighted in bold) were examined using a principal components analysis, applied to the inter-item correlation matrix.

Since the data are dichotomous it is not appropriate to use a standard Pearson correlation matrix, and a correlation matrix was derived using a Jaccard coefficient. The reason for choosing a principal components analysis is because it can be applied to a non-parametric correlation matrix. Factor analyses are based upon the product moment principle that only really applies to the Pearson family of coefficients. In addition principal components analysis assumes that all the variability in an item should be used in the analysis whereas factor analysis will only use the variability an item has with other items. Having said that the methods more often than not yield the same results.

An SPSS syntax file (computer code) was written by the author to generate a Jaccard correlation matrix and use it within a principal components analysis. An oblique (oblimin) rotation, appropriate for related factors, was specified and the number of factors extracted was influenced by the 'scree test' (Cattell 1966), given in **Figure 8.2**, and the interpretability of the constructs. The scree plot is used to observe the number of possible components that can be extracted from the variables shown in **Table 8.1**. Three distinct points are visible high on the eigen plot and 2 further components could also be extracted; taking the number of possible components visible before the points begin to tail off is an approach suggested by Cattell (1966). An alternate method of extraction would be Kaiser's (1960) criterion, which proposes all factors that have an eigen value greater than one. Both criteria have been examined for their utility (Cattell & Jaspers 1967; Hakstian,

Rogers & Cattell 1982) revealing that in practise the Kaiser criterion often generates too many factors while the Cattell method can generate too few. For this reason 3, 4 and 5 factor solutions were examined and the five-factor solution was selected for the high degree of interpretability it offered.

Figure 8.2 Scree Plot



The structure matrix of loadings for the five factors PCA is provided below in **Table 8.3**. The interpretation of the component structure is an intuitive process, which must be grounded in the data, and in theory. Principally the components in this analysis can be interpreted, as the labels propose, in terms of Intimacy, Control, Deviance and Aggression. The fifth component is concerned with aspects of stealing which are discrete acts. Stealing accounts for only a small aspect of the overall sexual offence model and are actions, which, might be better considered as dependent variables.

The first 4 components are clear behavioural constructs which empirically and theoretically can be interpreted as potential traits. As such they are open to a number of analyses to determine whether they are scaleable. Stealing, unlike the other behaviours, comprises a range of discrete categories of theft. The function that stealing serves within the context of the rape or sexual assault can only be understood by knowing about the central behavioural themes. Is the stealing associated with humiliation of the victim or is it simply for the purpose of gaining money? Stealing personal items is also qualitatively different to stealing valuables for monetary gain and may represent some form of trophy, in a series of sexual crimes. This would be consistent with behaviour, which occurs in the context of sexual murder (Ressler, Burgess and Douglas 1988).

There are features in the structure matrix which load on more than one factor and make the interpretation of the analysis more interesting. These items have been marked in orange when they load above .3 on any component (this is a conservative cut-off which could have been set lower). The loadings on the structure matrix highlight overlaps (communality) that are both statistical and theoretical. Those variables, which load on more than one component, are mainly those concerned with sexual activity. The sexual behaviours are distributed across the other domains identified such that they are indicative of the interpersonal styles of the offenders. Anal sex for example can be considered as a discrete deviant sexual behaviour that has an association to aggression and not surprisingly this item loads on both factors. These overlaps are discussed below.

The explained variance is given below each component accounting collectively for 31%, but the structure is nonetheless highly interpretable. There is a potentially great deal of interaction between these factors as can be seen in the structure matrix. For the purposes of interpretation it is often easier to use the pattern matrix. The pattern matrix is provided further down in **Table 8.3**.

Table 8.2 Structure Matrix for the PCA

	Component				
	Intimacy	Control	Aggression	Stealing	Deviancy
Vaginal penetration (front)	.719	.209	.215	.117	.182
Fondling	.684	.313	.139	.131	.232
Kisses	.663	.129	.141	.053	.278
Con approach	.588	.015	.246	-.018	.290
Reveals details	.552	.172	.125	.110	.463
Victim participation	.465	.141	.117	.183	.362
Digital penetration	.457	.261	.147	.009	.326
Offender strips	.398	.065	.232	-.070	.333
Threat no report	.368	.202	.116	.208	.309
Binds victim	.129	.738	.167	.123	.175
Gag	.063	.691	.205	.025	.118
Blindfold	.163	.646	.060	.202	.207
Disguise worn	.170	.502	-.083	.320	.179
Shows weapon	.460	.490	.078	.286	.186
Forensic awareness	.269	.487	.073	.286	.241
Lay in Wait	.146	.288	.128	.125	.172
Multiple violence	.162	.102	.646	.114	.108
Verbally demeans	.143	.158	.526	.042	.158
Single violence	.411	.227	.525	.144	.129
Verbal abuse	.060	.042	.470	.099	.291
Tears clothes	.238	.163	.422	.105	.044
Blitz attack	.058	.041	.318	.031	.027
Steal unidentifiable	.263	.351	.066	.752	.147
Demands goods	.283	.393	-.020	.692	.132
Steal identifiable	-.025	.102	.181	.539	.165
Steal personal	-.040	-.009	.316	.471	.206
Inquisitive	.403	.200	.083	.178	.529
Extends time	.399	.109	.243	.037	.508
Uses victim's name	.259	.276	.052	.066	.482
Compliments	.275	.127	.013	.100	.465
Victim comment required	.181	.155	.038	.283	.461
Fellatio	.387	.177	.197	.093	.432
Reassures	.339	.258	.015	.212	.420
Cunnilingus	.223	.119	.036	.050	.418
Vaginal penetration (rear)	.128	.267	.113	.184	.407
Apologizes	.171	.063	.132	-.080	.406
Anal penetration	.157	.130	.308	.118	.391
Threat with weapon	.062	.193	.124	.155	.360
Implies Knowledge	.084	.083	.061	.184	.321

The PCA suggests that there are five main factors present within the behavioural data. Those which are exclusively concerned with rape are control, intimacy, aggression and deviancy (which do not necessarily tap the full range of behaviours manifest in sexual assault). The fifth component is simply concerned with stealing; these features may be considered as discrete and potentially associated with particular styles of behaviour, or could indicate a general criminal tendency in the offender. Stealing valuables occurs within 20% of these rapes, but stealing personal items occurs in only 6% of cases and suggests a different motivation.

‘Aggression’ and ‘Intimacy’ are the clearest factors while behaviours involving tying, binding or gagging have more suggest a strong dominance theme. For all of the components, the behaviours represent an expression of more than one possible motivation, or combinations of motivations which are unknown in this analysis. The five components explain 31% of the variance in the data, which suggests that the data is not easily reduced to a simple underlying trait sexual aggression. It could also be suggested that the factorial model might not be capable of examining the complex associations inherent in the data. Fortunately the size of the sample compensates for the lack of specificity and emergent structures are likely to be robust and theoretically defensible.

The sexual deviation (D) component is slightly ambiguous, with some elements of sexual activity loading on the other behavioural features. In particular intimacy and sexual more normalised activity seem to have some communality. Those behaviours most associated with more normal interpersonal relations of intimacy include vaginal penetration from the front and fondling, together with participation from the victim. Conversely some items in the deviant component might be considered intimate in a normal context such as reassuring the victim and being inquisitive. Anal sex is both deviant and associated with violence which makes sense when considering buggery as an act of aggression. Fondling the victim is also potentially ambiguous, loading on sexual deviancy and control. The use of the weapon can be interpreted as one form of control associated with an intimate style of attack. The stealing behaviours also have a curious relationship to control and may be

one way of expressing power over the victim. These associations make sense when considering sexual activity as a spectrum of activity influenced by personal factors and motives which drive human activities.

Other associations are highlighted within the structure matrix to illustrate how behaviours can be interpreted in more than one way from the same statistical structure. Variations in sexual practises reflect differing interests and can serve different psychological functions. Vaginal penetration, from the front, loads highest on the intimacy component but vaginal penetration from the rear, loads on the sexual (deviancy) dimension. These features can be interpreted either way, and are likely to have different meanings within the context of the offence consistent with the offender's motivation and sexual preferences. This complexity is supported by these analyses.

Overall the pattern matrix and structure matrix have to be considered together; the structure matrix being the best reflection of the overall factor structure while the pattern matrix is better for interpreting what the factors represent. The final interpretation is influenced by this statistical structure but also the face validity of the items and their theoretical sense. Given that the aim of these analyses is to identify items suitable for constructing scales there has to be some degree of flexibility when considering what the factor structure represents. The communality of the intimacy items (which represents the principal component) with sexual activities is to be expected given their association in normal functioning people. The intimacy and sexual behaviour items have to be theoretically considered in order to disentangle them. Sexual interests and intimacy behaviours are extracted for further analyses on the basis of their face validity. Since they are to be examined in greater psychometric detail, it is not necessary to derive a final set of structures at this stage. In **Table 8.3** below the pattern matrix and items have been colour coded according to their theoretical associations which are largely supported by the factor structure.

Table 8.3 Pattern Matrix for the 5 Component Factor Solution

	Component				
	Intimacy	Control	Aggression	Stealing	Deviancy
Vaginal penetration -front	.725	.026	.103	.051	-.104
Fondling	.655	.146	.015	.037	-.038
Kisses	.651	-.048	.023	-.012	.061
Con approach	.569	-.152	.149	-.069	.112
Reveals details	.449	-.013	-.010	.012	.309
Victim participation	.388	-.033	.005	.113	.212
Shows weapon	.374	.369	-.029	.170	-.055
Digital penetration	.360	.150	.045	-.100	.177
Offender strips	.317	-.047	.151	-.146	.234
Threat no report	.278	.058	.019	.132	.171
Binds victim	-.081	.759	.104	-.071	.024
Gag	-.137	.749	.165	-.160	-.005
Blindfold	-.019	.629	-.018	.037	.067
Disguise worn	.048	.444	-.165	.209	.053
Forensic awareness	.129	.399	-.020	.161	.078
Lay in Wait	.039	.242	.078	.039	.082
Multiple violence	.058	.016	.638	.059	-.046
Verbally demeans	.020	.100	.508	-.036	.041
Single violence	.336	.102	.472	.066	-.111
Verbal abuse	-.093	-.045	.442	.036	.244
Tears clothes	.185	.090	.400	.054	-.125
Blitz attack	.014	.012	.322	.007	-.042
Steal unidentifiable	.190	.147	-.027	.715	-.082
Demands goods	.219	.210	-.117	.646	-.092
Steal identifiable	-.124	-.034	.145	.530	.088
Steal personal	-.149	-.152	.290	.470	.149
Uses victim's name	.079	.179	-.056	-.063	.436
Inquisitive	.248	.027	-.049	.070	.432
Compliments	.140	.000	-.093	.013	.431
Victim comment required	.022	.009	-.063	.203	.425
Extends time	.249	-.046	.132	-.067	.420
Apologizes	.034	-.005	.063	-.166	.415
Cunnilingus	.093	.019	-.053	-.035	.398
Vaginal penetration (rear)	-.055	.176	.030	.074	.367
Threat with weapon	-.105	.118	.060	.065	.346
Anal penetration	-.011	.023	.241	.029	.339
Fellatio	.252	.033	.090	-.008	.322
Reassures	.205	.117	-.102	.111	.320
Implies knowledge	-.034	-.012	-.001	.132	.310

Having identified some important themes, further analyses were carried out to examine the properties of the behavioural dimensions. All but stealing were explored because aggression (A), control (C), intimacy (I), and deviance (D) can all be conceptualised in an ordered way, while stealing represents discrete acts of theft, rather than a behavioural trait (there are not degrees of theft, it simply happens or does not happen). Having identified the four principal behavioural components of sexual aggression (ACID), a series of scaling analyses were carried out on all the constructs and then on each construct individually.

Multidimensional Scaling Analysis (MDS)

For the purposes of confirmation, a form of multidimensional scaling, Smallest Space Analysis (SSA Lingoes 1973) was applied to the data, to observe the multivariate structure. This form of analysis creates a matrix of proximities (distances) to represent the inter-variable correlations. These proximities are then represented as points in n-dimensional space (geometrically) and the distances between these points reflect the empirical relationships between the variables, with those closest together having stronger associations to each other. As the variables are dichotomous it is appropriate to use a coefficient such as Jaccard or Dice, which considers the joint presence of features within the data. Joint absences are ignored because they can bias the statistical associations (Gower 1971), as they often exceed the number of joint presences. A Jaccard coefficient was selected for this analysis to provide a proximity matrix which forms the basis of the scaling analysis. This matrix was reproduced in dimensional space (unfolded) using the ALSCAL method in SPSS, and the structure is reliable when alternative software is utilised.

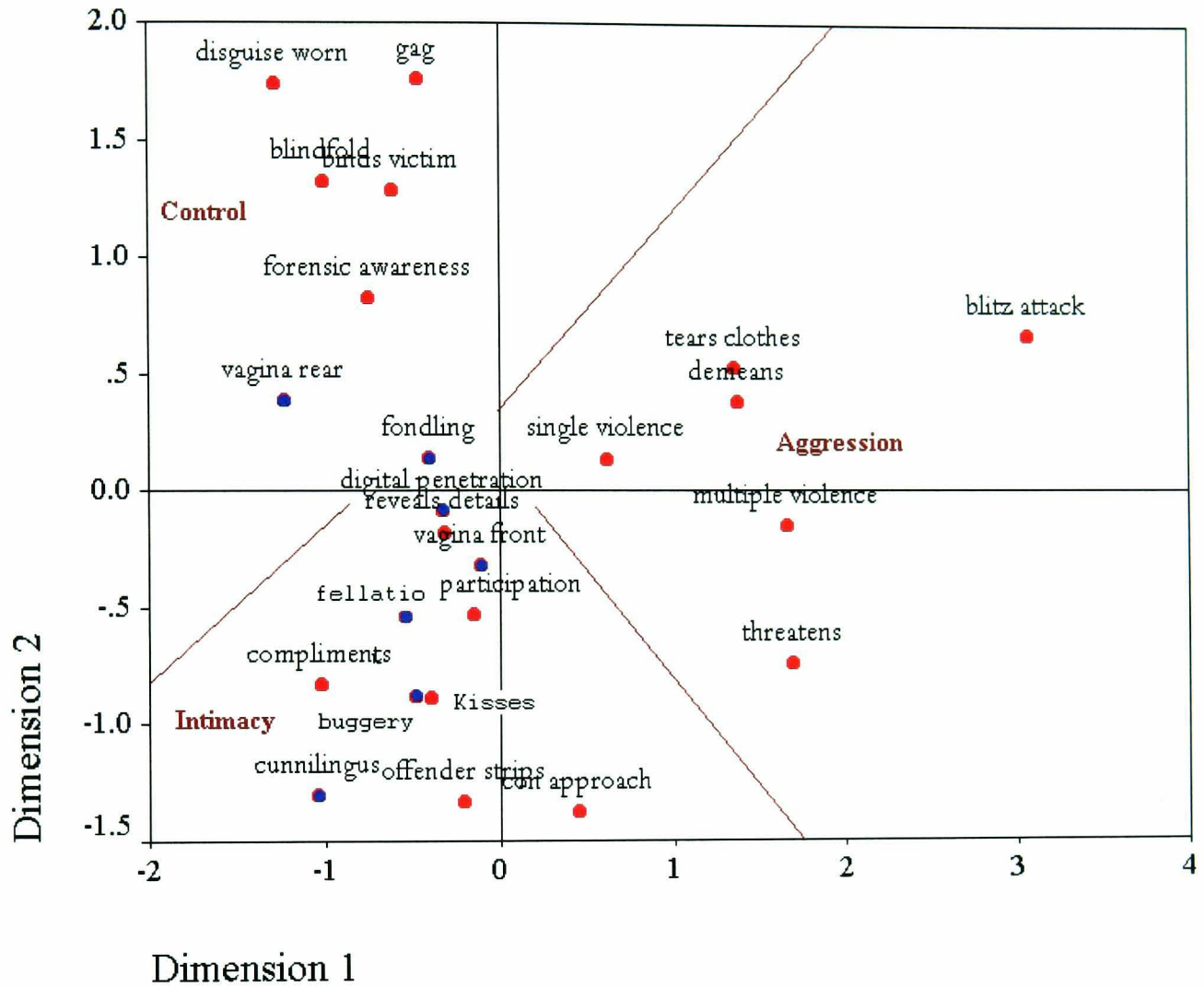
The relationship that sexual deviance (or normality) has to the other behaviours is complex as illustrated in the factor structure. It is likely that this facet will distort the MDS space because everything relates to aspects of sexual activity. The sexual desires and the idiosyncratic styles of the offenders are intrinsically linked. As suggested in

previous chapters it may be that sexual activity is in part determined by the interpersonal style of the offender. From a scientific point of view the facets of intimacy and sex have to be separated as much as is possible. For this reason Smallest Space Analyses were applied to the behavioural themes which excluded the Sexual Deviancy items. A SSA solution which includes the sexual behaviours is given in **Figure 8.2a**. and is consistent with the PCA solution in highlighting overlaps between sexual behaviours and other aspects of the interpersonal behaviour.

Multidimensional solutions are attempts to fit items to dimensional structures in Euclidian space. As such there is a varying degree of stress associated with deriving a solution which is an index of 'fit' that the model provides. The aim is to keep the stress as low as possible while maintaining an interpretable solution in a manageable number of dimensions. The greater the dimensionality, the lower the stress, but if dimensionality becomes too great, it is limited by the human capacity to understand it. There is some disagreement in the literature about what the amount of stress is acceptable; (Kruskal 1964) argues for a stress limit below .15 (measured on a 0 to 0.9 scale of none to high), while (Shye 1988) suggests that interpretability is the most important aspect of MDS solutions. In practise an interpretable solution, which makes theoretical sense, is often the most a researcher can hope for in any analysis. The stress (Kruskal's stress formula) for each smallest space analysis is given below each figure together with the corresponding squared correlation (RSQ).

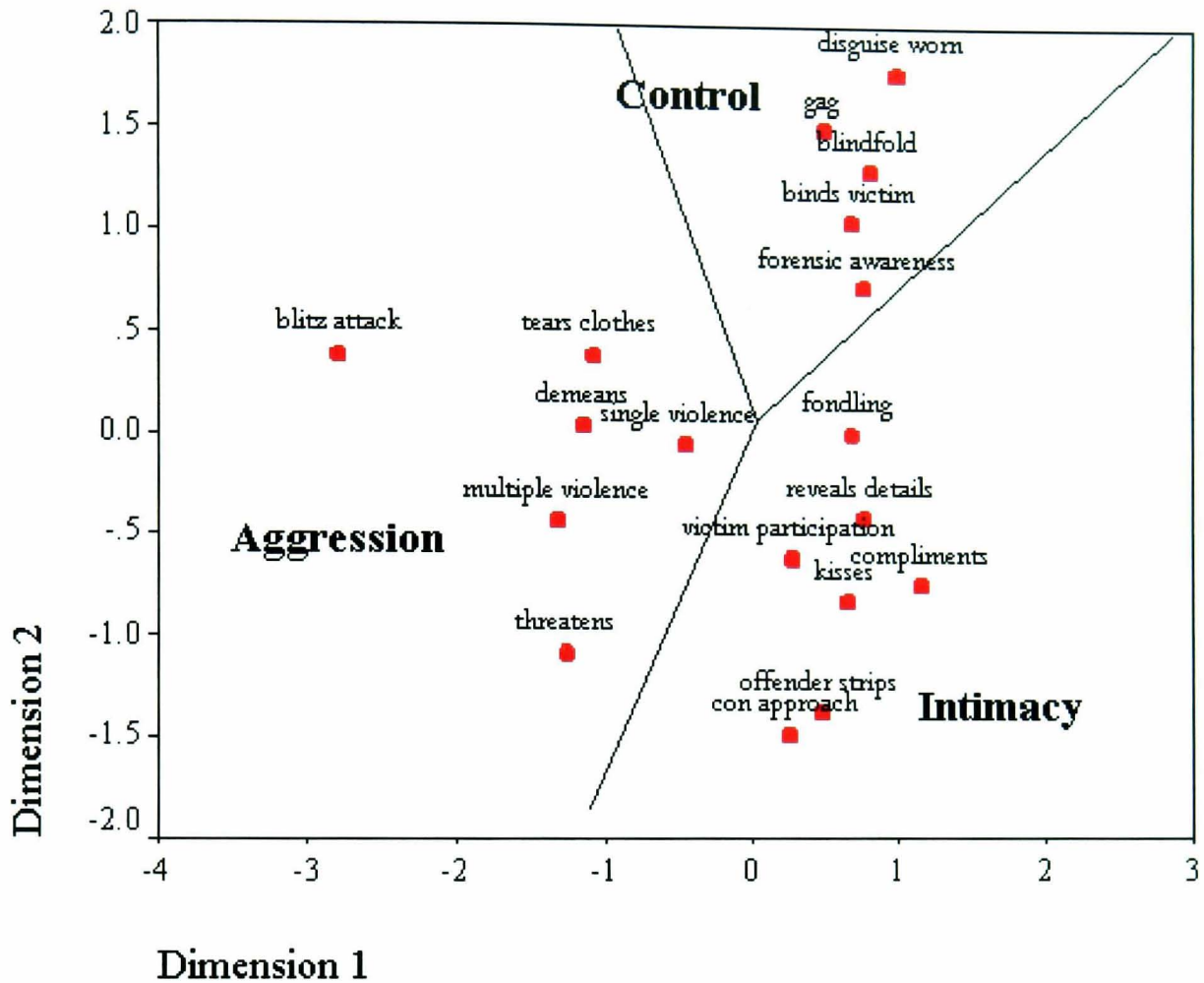
A discussion of the main facets identified in the spatial structures is given below and the regions are labelled to aid interpretation. Across the MDS solutions, there are very consistent structures identified in terms of aggression, intimacy and control. The sexual items are in many ways forced into the space formed by these 3 dimensions and it may not be possible to separate them with these analyses. The sexual items have been marked in blue on the plot to illustrate the overlap.

Figure 8.2a Smallest Space Analysis of Aggression, Control, Intimacy and Sexual Deviancy. (Stress = 0.19 RSQ = 0.83)



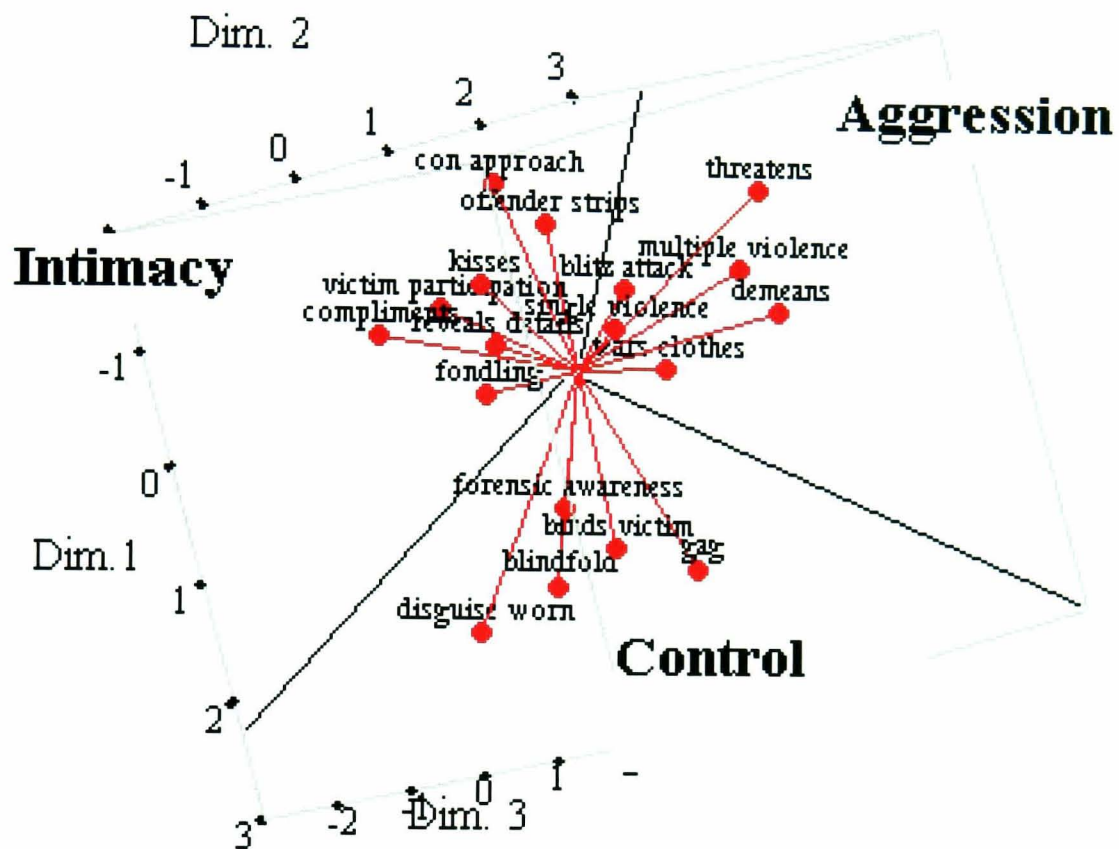
The Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) which excludes the sexual items is presented in **Figure 8.2b** for the 2-dimensional solution, although the structure is equally visible in the 3-dimensional solution suggesting a slightly more complex structure in **Figure 8.2c**.

Figure 8.2b SSA (2D) of Aggression, Control and Intimacy Behaviour.
(Stress = 0.16 RSQ = 0.87)



In these analyses the 3 dimensions, ‘Aggression’, ‘Intimacy’ and ‘Control’, are clearly juxtaposed. In the 3-dimensional space centroid lines are provided to show the origin of each item within each facet, or dimension. Aggression is characterized by multiple and single acts of violence, tearing clothes and demeaning the victim. Items in the intimacy region include kissing and complimenting the victim as well as the offender getting more personal by removing his clothes. In dimensional terms the outer points of the SSA can be interpreted as extreme points on the underlying dimensions, which could indicate cumulative properties. An item such as blitz attack, in the aggression dimension, may represent an extreme expression of aggression likely to be associated with other violent activities.

Figure 8.2c SSA (3D) Aggression, Control and Intimacy.
 (Stress = 0.10 RSQ = 0.93)



From a behavioural point of view, characteristics such as binding and gagging can be interpreted as variations in physical control. Showing a weapon can also be seen as a form of control since it constitutes an implicit threat. Similarly the use of a disguise (to avoid detection) can also be interpreted as a facet of the offender’s internal control, and sense of power. There is an obvious association between power and control since high levels of restraint will likely indicate an individual’s motivation to dominate his victim. Differentiating restraint from power is difficult within this data and can only be alluded to at this stage.

The purpose of the multivariate analyses was to identify meaningful structures within the data that could be interpreted psychologically. The possibility of describing these facets within a theoretical model will be explored in the discussion, with the aim of providing an explanatory framework for understanding the phenomenon. In doing so it may be possible to offer a form of discrimination (as an alternative to classification) that could be applied to forensic practise. These facets may represent underlying behavioural traits or dimensions that could be developed into robust measurement scales. The four behavioural themes Aggression, Control, Intimacy and Deviance (ACID) were duly examined using unidimensional scaling procedures.

Unidimensional Scaling of the A.C.I.D. Dimensions

For the purposes of scale construction, the principal components analysis is a useful starting point for generating potential scale items. What the PCA is unable to do is identify whether the domain in question is unidimensional and therefore might have useful measurement properties. Although it is desirable to have as many variables as possible for developing scales, the BADMAN dataset lacks specificity within the behavioural domains. Aggression, for example, comprises only six variables and includes crudely defined items, such as single and multiple blows, which could describe a huge variety of aggressive actions. Items which load above .3 on each of the components were included in a series of scaling procedures. The items were also checked for face validity, with respect to the underlying components, a process equally as important as the empirical derivation. Interpreting what a collection of features have in common should be consistent with the theoretical and semantic meanings of those items. Subsequent analyses will reveal whether the items should or should not be included within a set of scales.

Both traditional (classical test theory) statistics, and more contemporary (item response theory) techniques, were utilised in the development of the measures. Classical

approaches to scale construction are most common, and derive the internal consistency of the items using Cronbach's (1951) alpha. This is equivalent to the Kuder-Richardson coefficient for dichotomous items appropriate for these analyses. By taking a classical approach to behavioural themes, the data can be treated in the same way as a set of responses on a questionnaire. As such scales can be derived in much the same way.. Armor's (1967) theta was applied as an alternate measure of reliability to demonstrate the variability of these approaches. Alpha can be seen as a more conservative estimate of reliability, while theta is upper-bound estimate. Theta is an index of the reliability of the latent trait score derived from the principal component analysis (factor score) while alpha is usually seen as an index of internal consistency for the unweighted items. The theory is that theta is an estimate of reliability (weighted) after extraneous variance (error due to the other latent variables or factors) is removed. For a fuller discussion of reliability and classical test theory the reader is advised to look elsewhere (i.e. Lord & Novick 1968; Hammond 1996; Levy 1995).

The classical approach may be the most common method of scale development in psychology, but assumes that the construct under examination is parametric (normally distributed) and more importantly that the items of the scale are additive. What this means is that items are given equal weight, and that adding any two items together, always equals two. Another problem with classical scaling is that it takes no account of the specific profile of variables that typify an individual. If for example there were ten behaviours, which describe aggression, it might be that one person engages in five of them, while another engages in the other five. Both would score five on aggression but they would have utilised different aggressive actions. This is in essence the basis of item response theory (IRT) outlined by Lord (1980). IRT takes into account the response profile, rather than assuming additive measurement, a criticism raised by Michell (1997).

Some authors argue that a cumulative model is psychometrically more robust and empirical (Rasch 1966; Andrich 1988) and for this reason it is utilised here. A cumulative Rasch model was applied to each of the components in turn which tests the possibility

that items are ordered with respect to underlying trait or dimension, as well as the strength of association to the underlying trait. The statistics (coefficients) of the Rasch model reflect the “difficulty” of the item as well as how well the item fits the underlying construct. The “difficulty”, or affectivity, is the delta coefficient, and is an indication of how extreme the items are, in relation to their frequency. The beta weight indicates the relative positions of the items on the underlying measurement scale and the analogy can be drawn to points on a ruler. The final statistic is a z score to indicate the degree of misfit, of the items, to the underlying dimension. A significant misfit indicates the item does not fit the unidimensional cumulative model.

The scale statistics are provided below for each of the components using a classical model, with measures of internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha, Armor’s theta). For each dimension a Rasch model is also provided together with a diagrammatic representation of each of the ACID dimensions. The model applied is known as Andrich’s (1988) binomial Rasch model, computed using Sean Hammond’s Psychometric Assessment Package (1990). The advantage of the Rasch model is that it is very strict, requiring the items to fit the underlying construct in a particular order. More importantly, a scale fitting a Rasch model is not sample-specific and so can be applied to any population where those features are present, making it almost lawful. Rasch scales offer a means of assessing and comparing any forms of sexual aggression, or offence.

Aggression A-Dimension

There is an intuitive sense in having a component for aggression within a data set of rape behaviour. These aggressive behaviours form a distinct component, incorporating verbal and physical behaviours such as acts of violence and verbal threats. The scale statistics are given below in **Table 8.4**, and the coefficients of reliability (Cronbach’s alpha and Armor’s theta), are provided in **Table 8.5**.

Table 8.4 Item statistics for A-Dimension

	Mean	Mean Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
Verbally demeans	0.13	0.15	0.48
Verbally aggressive	0.09	0.14	0.48
Blitz attack	0.06	0.11	0.49
Single acts of violence	0.31	0.21	0.45
Multiple acts of violence	0.15	0.23	0.45
Tears clothing	0.18	0.10	0.49

Table 8.4 Psychometric Test Parameters for Aggression Scale

Cronbach's Alpha	0.53
Armor's Theta	0.86

The A-Dimension is a good example of a scale which is seemingly poor on traditional measures of reliability (alpha), but which has a reasonable theta. The lack of specificity in the items 'single blows' and 'multiple blows' is likely to undermine the utility of the measure. Knowing more specific details of aggressive actions is likely to provide a more reliable measure of the behavioural dimension. Although these items could be used as a measure of aggression, it would be crude and take no account of the potentially cumulative nature of aggression. The Rasch model is given below in **Table 8.6**.

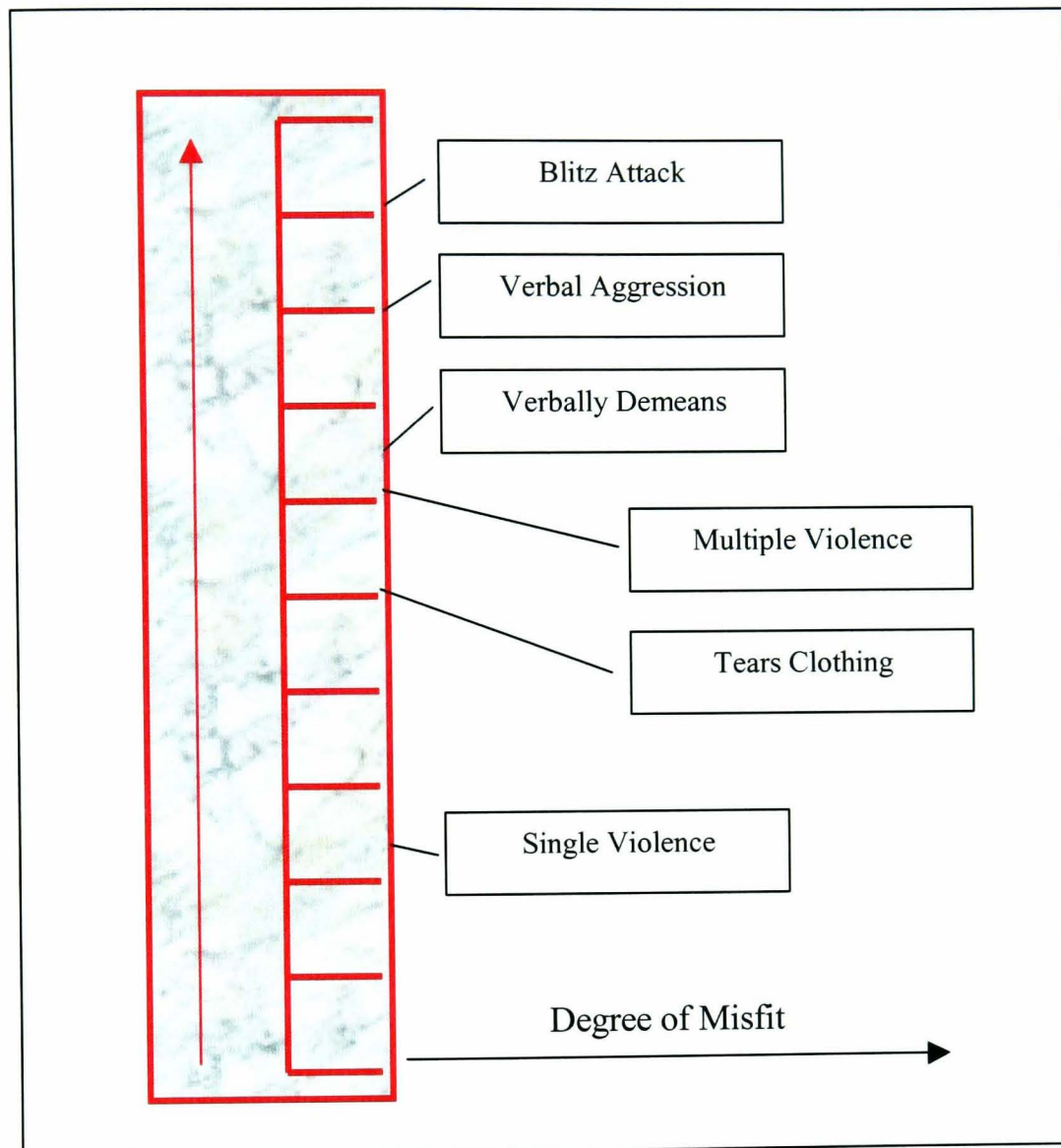
Table 8.6 Rasch Item Parameters for A-Dimension (Reliability = 0.9)

	Affectivity (delta)	β (beta)	Z- ratio (fit)	Significant Misfit
Single acts of violence	0.60	-1.38	-0.16	0.87
Tears clothing	0.34	-0.33	-4.30	0.00 **
Multiple acts of violence	0.28	-0.06	2.8	0.00 **
Verbally demeans	0.25	0.09	-0.42	0.68
Verbally aggressive	0.17	0.57	0.02	0.99
Blitz attack	0.11	1.11	0.60	0.56

The Rasch analysis indicates a cumulative ordering of the aggression items from low level, ‘single acts of violence’, to more extreme manifestations, such as a blitz attack. While the overall fit is good, there are two items which do not fit the model. ‘Tearing clothing’ significantly misfits the construct and may have an interpretation other than simple aggression depending on what clothes were torn; it may indicate sexual or aggressive motives, and can be accidental. ‘Multiple blows’ is also potentially ambiguous and refers to a wide range of actions directed to the face, body or sexual regions with differing intensities, or force. It is also possible that aggression itself is multifaceted, but the lack of items which explore the specific nature of aggression are absent from this data.

Ultimately such a measure should include aspects of homicide within the structure, although this involves differing degrees of force, which may distribute it across the scale. The lower end of the scale, ‘single blows’ also highlights a lack of specificity as can be seen on the diagrammatic representation of the cumulative scale provided below in **Figure 8.3**. It is interesting that verbal aggression and demeaning the victim are cumulatively higher than physical violence and likely co-occurs with more aggressive physical actions. The higher end of the scale might also suggest extreme forms of psychological aggression in the use of verbal threats and insults.

Figure 8.3 Diagrammatic Representation of the Rasch Aggression Scale



Control / Dominance

C-Dimension

The Control component identified in the PCA, is concerned with restraining the victim, and the use of tactics which may prevent detection, such as a disguise. In extreme cases the use of elaborate “bondage” is likely to indicate power motives, or paraphilic interests associated with the BDSM (Bondage Dominance and Sado-Masochism) sexual domain. The interplay of this component with the others is of equal importance, since the level of

aggression and intimacy may also vary with the degree and type of control. Rape is inherently concerned with controlling a victim, but not all involve executing extreme control, or power. Classical items statistics are provided in **Table 8.7**, with the measures of reliability provided in **Table 8.8**.

Table 8.7 Item Statistics for C-Dimension

	Mean	Mean Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
Disguise	0.17	0.26	0.68
Weapon Seen	0.37	0.27	0.68
Forensic Awareness	0.22	0.26	0.68
Blindfold	0.18	0.32	0.67
Binding	0.15	0.38	0.65
Gagging	0.11	0.32	0.66

Table 8.8 Psychometric Test Parameters for Control Scale

Cronbach's Alpha	0.71
Armor's Theta	0.91

Cronbach's alpha for the C-Dimension is very reasonable, and Armor's theta of 0.9 provides a very good index of reliability within the component. **Table 8.9** below, provides details of the Rasch scale statistics. As with the Aggression Dimension, the Control Dimension includes items which do not fit the Rasch model, namely 'forensic awareness' and 'disguise worn'. Both of these items cover a variety of actions defined within them reflecting different degrees of sophistication in wearing a disguise or acting in ways to avoid detection. Those items concerned with restraint do seem to fit the model.

Table 8.9 Rasch Item Parameters for Control Scale (Reliability = 0.9)

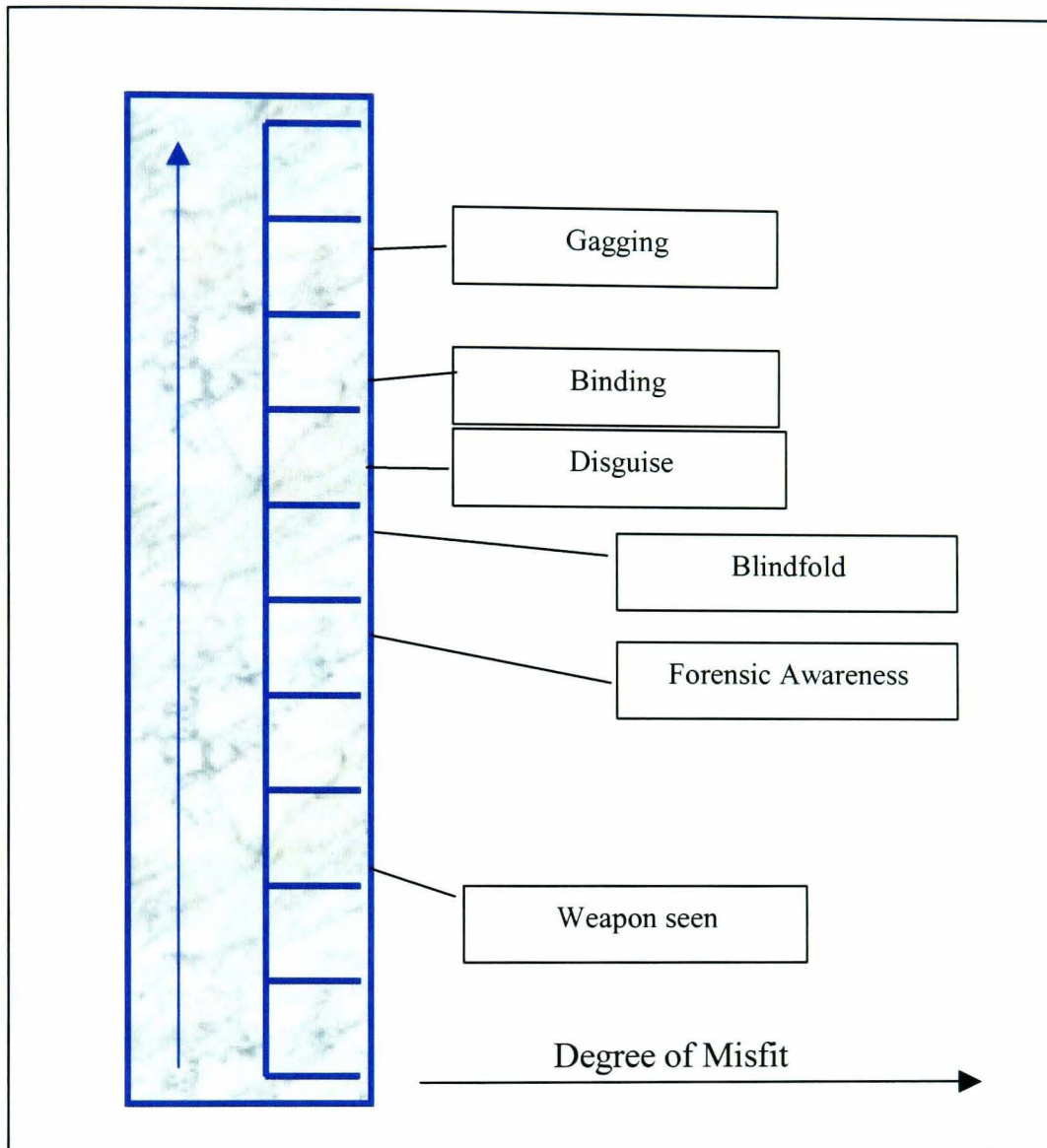
	Affectivity (delta)	β (beta)	Z- ratio (fit)	Significant Misfit (**)
Weapon seen	0.60	-1.48	-4.	0.87
Forensic awareness	0.34	-0.33	-4.30	0.00 **
Blindfold	0.28	-0.06	2.8	0.00 **
Disguise	0.25	0.09	-0.42	0.68
Binding	0.24	0.57	0.02	0.99
Gagging	0.17	0.91	0.60	0.56

The diagrammatic representation of the C-Dimension is provided in **Figure 8.4**. At the lower end of the scale is ‘weapon seen’ suggests some degree of coercion in cases where a weapon is present. Having a weapon may prevent the use of physical violence, but the use of a weapon would suggest hostility or anger directed the victim, or facilitate power-motivated rape. The most difficult (extreme) item is gagging the victim, thereby preventing verbal resistance on the part of the victim. Also at this extreme end are aspects of binding and blindfolding the victim.

This domain suffers from having only a limited range of items to tap variations in the way that victims are controlled by perpetrators of sexual aggression. More attention to the types of binding would allow for distinctions to be made between simple restraint and elaborate bondage, which have different motivational antecedents. It may be that control is itself multi-modal since it takes verbal and physical forms, and can be executed by fear, or through restraints. The research area would benefit from a serious examination of control and power within sexual aggression. Although power is described in relation to rapists (Groth et al 1977), it is more frequently discussed in relation to control and power within samples of sadists (MacCulloch et al 1983; Marshall and Kennedy 2000). Although proposed theoretically there is little empirical support for its existence.

Figure 8.4

Diagrammatic Representation of the Rasch C-Dimension



Intimacy

I-Dimension

The intimacy component is quite robust, having the largest number of items. The I-dimension includes verbal and physical behaviours such as complimenting the victim and kissing. While some offenders will be motivated to want intimacy from their offences, others are likely to be incapable of engaging the victim in a socially adept manner. Engaging in intimate behaviours can be explained in more than one way; it may indicate

distorted thinking about the victim's consent, or could indicate a desire to want intimacy. The absence of any intimacy items would indicate a lack of sensitivity towards the victim, and the interaction of aggression and sexual interest with this dimension provides a means of exploring possible motivational determinants. The scale statistics are given below in **Table 8.10**, and the coefficients of reliability (Cronbach's alpha and Armor's theta), are provided in **Table 8.11**.

Table 8.10 Item statistics for Intimacy Scale

	Mean	Mean Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
Rreveals details	2.25	0.24	.51
Inquisitive	2.32	0.15	.54
Con Approach	2.21	0.15	.56
Offender Clothing removed	2.36	0.09	.57
Kisses	2.19	0.14	.54
Compliments	2.41	0.09	.55
Fondles	1.92	0.06	.59
Victim Participation	2.29	0.07	.57

Table 8.11 Psychometric Test Parameters for Intimacy Scale

Cronbach's Alpha	0.67
Armor's Theta	0.90

The cumulative (Rasch) item parameters for intimacy are provided below in **Table 8.12**. Features associated with intimacy are cumulatively ordered from low-level, verbal expressions of intimacy such as self-disclosure and being inquisitive. More extreme expressions involve the offender removing his clothes, kissing and complimenting the

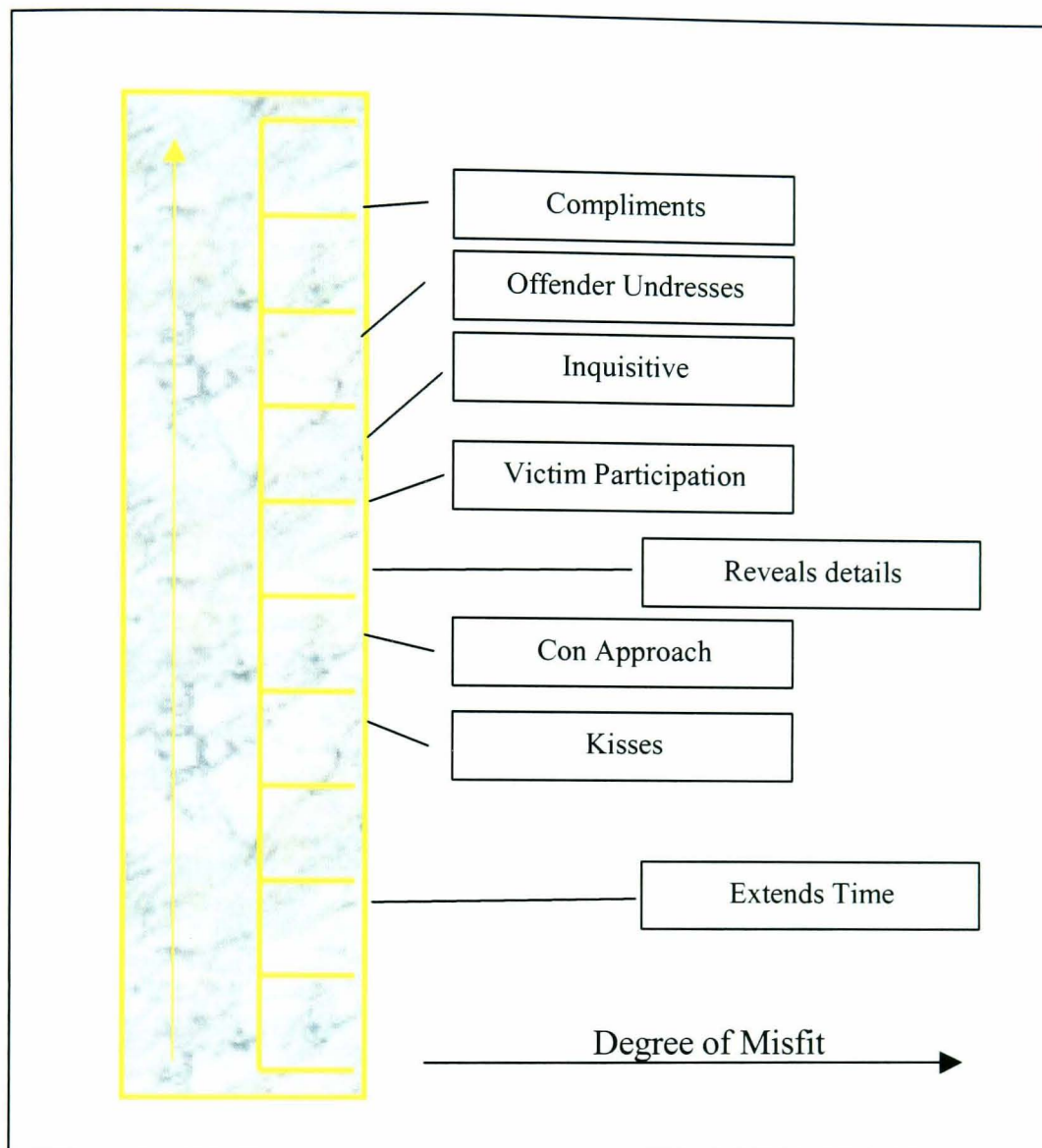
victim. The high end of the intimacy scale is characterised by the victim being required to participate in the sexual offender's repertoire.

Table 8.12 Rasch Item Parameters for Intimacy Scale (Reliability 0.9)

	Affectivity	β (beta weight)	Z- ratio (fit)	Significant Misfit
Fondling	0.72	-1.73	-5.51	0.00*
Kisses	0.43	-0.37	0.87	0.61
Con approach	0.39	-0.23	-1.68	0.09
Reveals details of self	0.35	-0.01	2.79	0.01*
Victim participation	0.30	0.26	0.49	0.28
Inquisitive	0.27	0.39	-1.09	0.14
Offender clothing removed	0.22	0.69	-1.18	0.24
Compliments	0.17	1.04	1.92	0.05

The misfit of 'fondling' and 'revealing details of self' is significant, and indicates that these behaviours are about more than just intimacy. Revealing personal details in the context of an offence also has multiple meanings, referring to a range of possible revelations, some more personal than others. Fondling may be an expression of sexual interest but may also represent a way of demeaning the victim. The misfit could also reflect the frequency of the item since it is very common in sexual assault and is associated with a wide range of other behaviours both aggressive and intimate. It is interesting that fondling does not fit the intimacy dimension and could well be more concerned with sexual deviancy. For this reason this item was also entered into the unidimensional analysis of the deviancy items. The cumulative structure of the I-Dimension is given below in **Figure 8.5**.

Figure 8.5 Diagrammatic Representation of the Rasch Intimacy Scale



Deviancy (Sexual Activity)

D-Dimension

This component has been tentatively called deviant sexual activity, since it includes less common sexual practices such as buggery. This domain also includes aspects of victim participation both in terms of using particular phrases or playing out a particular role, prescribed by the offender. There is an intuitive relationship between such role enactment and both fantasy and deviant sexual interest (McCulloch et al 1981). This domain is most interpretable as a sexuality dimension, which ranges from normal to extreme, but not

necessarily in a single direction of sexual interest. Vaginal intercourse, may represent low deviancy (normal sexuality), and loaded on intimacy which would support such a premise. As has already been suggested this dimension is canonically related to the Interpersonal Style and may require many more elements in order to explore this relationship. The scale statistics are given below in **Table 8.13**, and the coefficients of reliability (Cronbach's alpha and Armor's theta), are provided in **Table 8.14**

Table 8.13 Item statistics for the Deviancy Scale

	Mean	Mean Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
Vaginal Penetration (front)	1.68	-0.07	0.42
Fellatio	2.05	0.25	0.19
Vaginal Penetration (rear)	2.16	0.06	0.32
Anal Penetration	2.17	0.19	0.26
Digital Penetration	2.03	0.22	0.22
Cunnilingus	2.19	0.25	0.23
Fondling	1.69	0.09	0.31

Table 8.14 Psychometric Test Parameters

Cronbach's Alpha	0.3
Armor's Theta	0.8

Table 8.15 provides a summary of the Rasch statistics for the D-Dimension. At the lower end of the deviancy scale can be seen sexual fondling, which doesn't fit too well, because fondling is not exclusive to deviant sexual behaviour and has a relationship to normal intimate and sexual practises. The scale suggests an ordering of sexual activity from digital penetration, vaginal penetration from behind and anal sex at the high end of the deviancy spectrum. Making the victim say certain phrases or comments also loads highly,

and suggests that the offender is carrying out some kind of script, a feature commonly associated with fantasy.

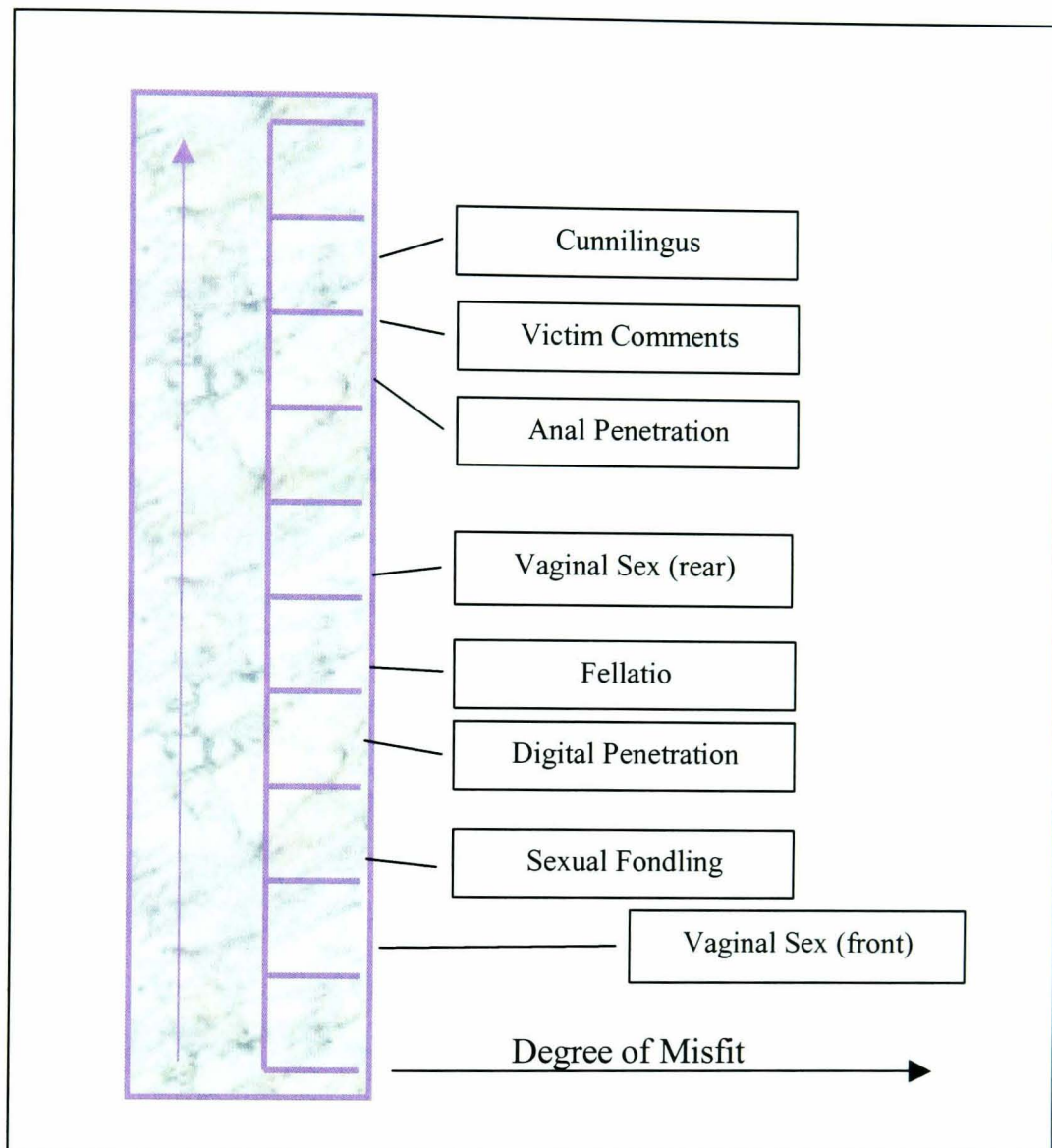
Table 8.15 Rasch Item Parameters for Deviancy Scale (Reliability = 0.9)

	Affectivity	β (beta weight)	Z- ratio (fit)	Significant Misfit
Vaginal Penetration (front)	0.67	-1.77	-8.49	0.00**
Sexual fondling	0.66	-1.73	-1.97	0.05
Digital penetration	0.31	-0.08	1.97	0.05
Fellatio	0.28	0.03	1.78	0.07
Vaginal penetration (rear)	0.17	0.72	-1.64	0.10
Anal penetration	0.16	0.84	0.05	0.96
Victim required to comment	0.14	0.94	1.79	0.07
Cunnilingus	0.13	1.06	2.28	0.02

The deviancy dimension is concerned with the range of sexual acts which occur in the context of sexual assault. The most common form of sexual act is vaginal intercourse from the front and it makes sense that this item is at the bottom of the Rasch model. The fact that this is a common act may have contributed to its misfit on the scale because it occurs in nearly all cases so is not necessarily associated with deviancy. Given that deviancy is a continuum of normal to deviant interests it does make theoretical sense to include it here. Perhaps the analysis is highlighting that the spectrum of sexual activity is more than unidimensional and could itself be multifaceted. Overall the items make good sense in their ordering from ‘normal’ sexual activities at the bottom and more deviant activities emerging at the top. The cumulative D-dimension is represented figuratively below (Figure 8.6).

activities emerging at the top. The cumulative D-dimension is represented figuratively below (Figure 8.6).

Figure 8.6 Diagrammatic Representation of the Rasch Deviancy Scale



From the scree plot, PCA and psychometric statistics it is apparent that there are 4 distinct behavioural dimensions evident within rape. Aggression, Control and Intimacy are the most robust, being the first extracted from the principal components analysis and having the best scale reliabilities. The fourth component is slightly more complex and in terms of face validity would seem to tap some elements of the other components although can be

Further theoretical consideration of sexual deviancy needs to take the interaction of sex and the other facets into account. So far the analyses have highlighted some of the core components of sexual assault, which have been empirically derived and theoretically justified. The measures were utilised to examine other features of the offence, which were not examined within a multivariate model. The relationship of the scales to specific aspects of the type of site and context for offending, was examined using the non-parametric Mann-Whitney test (M-W). In other words, are particular sites, such as buildings or environments such as being outside, associated with higher or lower levels of intimacy, aggression, control, or deviancy? The relationship of the ACID dimensions were examined against contextual variables describing the location of the offence (see Table 8.17), and associations to stealing were also explored in Table 8.18.

Table 8.17 Relationship of Behavioural Scales to Context.

	Building	Moves Sites	Vehicle Used	Offence Inside
Control	MW = 61489 P = 0.41	MW = 60737 P = 0.20	MW = 26596 P = 0.13	MW = 62242 P = 0.61
Aggression	MW = 59412 P = 0.10	MW = 63152 P = 0.71	MW = 28555 P = 0.70	MW = 59167 P = 0.09
Intimacy	MW = 53440 P = 0.00 *	MW = 44979 P = 0.00 *	MW = 19940 P = 0.00 *	MW = 53563 P = 0.00 *
Deviance	MW = 62876 P = 0.78	MW = 47330 P = 0.00 *	MW = 25176 P = 0.03	MW = 62892 P = 0.80

It is clear that intimacy has a strong relationship to indoor contexts, and not outside contexts. The scale is significantly related to offending in a building, which might suggest some degree of targeting of the victim as well as the desire for a normal place to have sexual intercourse, which would also be safer for the offender. There is also a relationship to intimacy and moving the victim from one place to another, and the use of a vehicle. Again this is understandable, since moving the victim to a selected location may well indicate the offender's desire for privacy.

Moving the victim is also associated with more deviant interest possibly because moving the scene of crime may be to facilitate further sexual offending, or a way of facilitating deviant sexual activity within a specific context selected by the offender. This mode of attack is characteristic of an offender who moves the victim around, sexually assaulting her in multiple ways at different locations. Since this takes time, such offences are likely to involve abduction of the victim, for more time than is necessary to simply perpetrate sexual assault.

The relationship of stealing to the behavioural indices were also examined in the same way as context, using the Mann-Whitney statistic. The results of this analysis are given in **Table 8.18** below.

Table 8.18 The relationship of Stealing to ACID Dimensions

	Stealing Identifiable Goods	Stealing Unidentifiable Goods	Stealing Personal Items	Demanding Goods
Control	MW = 7037 P = 0.00 *	MW = 22268 P = 0.00 *	MW = 11678 P = 0.01 *	MW = 20440 P = 0.00 *
Aggression	MW = 11623 P = 0.04	MW = 41871 P = 0.94	MW = 11521 P = 0.00	MW = 39885 P = 0.60
Intimacy	MW = 13530 P = 0.63	MW = 40903 P = 0.61	MW = 14234 P = 0.51	MW = 40104 P = 0.69
Deviancy	MW = 12993 P = 0.36	MW = 39136 P = 0.18	MW = 13396 P = 0.19	MW = 38207 P = 0.20

**Significance at 1%

Stealing has a complex relationship to the A.C.I.D. measures, and is not distinct from the underlying behavioural themes. Intimacy bears no significant relationship to any kind of theft, suggesting that offenders who are highly intimate with their victims, have no desire to steal from them, and this would be consistent with their interpersonal style. The fact that control and deviance are associated with theft also makes sense, since high levels of both would indicate an offender who wishes to humiliate the victim in every way possible, including stealing from her. Stealing identifiable goods also has a strong

relationship to control, and so possibly issues of power. Taking a trophy from the victim is known to be associated with complex patterns of serial offending (Ressler et al 1988).

Study 2

Clinical and Behavioural Characteristics of Rapists in A Special Hospital

The second study is an examination of both behavioural and motivational features evident in rapists detained in a Special Hospital. Broadmoor Hospital is a maximum security psychiatric hospital specifically for dangerous, mentally disordered offenders, of whom about one quarter are detained for sexual offences. Within the health service offenders are described as patients rather than prisoners, or offenders. The Broadmoor population includes individuals who have often expressed themselves in extreme ways, as well as other patients who may be comparable with sex offenders in prisons or the community. It is difficult to state specifically what characterises a special hospital sex offender, as they are as diverse as any other group of sexual offenders. Perhaps they can be simply defined as extreme sexual aggressors, but they include offenders who are also mentally disordered, and offenders for whom the motivation is difficult to determine.

Clinical work with sex offenders encompasses a broad range of interventions targeted at the many needs identified within the group. Sex offenders are a heterogeneous group (Grubin 1991), with differing personalities, and needs which require different treatment interventions. The range of clinical needs has been outlined previously, and may be conceptualised under the broad headings used to define personality, affect, cognition and behaviour. These facets of the person are considered within the context of society, which impacts on the individual through the rules imposed on citizens (law), and through the processes of family.

Within a social perspective, there are factors which may encourage myths about rape (Burt 1980), or culture based practises which have enslaved women (Brownmillar 1975) through religious and legal dictate. Sexual aggression has also been linked with thinking styles which may facilitate offending such as distorted cognitions about women and rape.

Other cognitive processes which are also considered ‘risky’ in clinical practise is the degree of minimization or denial of the offence (Barbaree 1988), or the degree to which an offender takes responsibility for his actions. Aspects of social functioning, which may also be learned, includes social skills deficits (Marshall et al 1984). Social skills are an important aspect of social success generally, and specifically in developing relationships with intimates. Sociability represents an underlying personality trait within the psychological literature and may be related to empathy, the ability to take on board the feelings of another. A related aspect of functioning has been termed emotional loneliness (intimacy deficits), but is concerned with the basic social needs that all humans have for love and companionship (Maslow 1954). Treatment approaches are aimed at improving social skills, assertiveness, and the self-esteem of the patient.

The sexual preferences of rapists is also given particular attention within clinical and forensic settings, including interests for specific acts or victims. Psychosexual assessments can take many forms including psychometric tests such as the MSI, through to individualized interpretations of sexual interests and offending behaviour. Historically the emphasis has been on psychodynamic theory, because of an absence of other theories concerned with sex. The assessment of sexual interests both normal and deviant are relevant to assessing a patient’s needs, (Hanson and Harris 1998; Barbaree and Marshall 1988) and for determining what paraphilic interests and fantasies he may have (MacCulloch et al., 1983). The terms sadism is often applied to some sexual offenders, but the lack of consistency in the term results in some confusion as to which offenders are sadistic. In summary the following clinical features were examined, which have been organized conceptually into the following categories.

Social Skills	Cognitive features	Sexual Variations
Social skills deficits	Denies offence	Paedophilic sexual interest
Emotionally lonely	Minimises offence	Paraphilic interests (Deviance)
No long term relationship	Distorted Thinking	Sexual Problems

Negative mood states are also clinically relevant, mainly anger, for its theoretical association to aggression (Berkowitz, Buss 1971), and inclusion in typologies of rapists (Groth 1977; Prentky and Knight 1991). Given that anger may be the primary emotional response for more complex motivations such as hostility, and revenge, it needs to be considered with respect to associated thinking styles. Conversely the desire for intimacy, a motive considered inherent to human functioning (Maslow 1954), is motivational in many cases of sexual aggression, and is a predominant theme in child molesters. Similarly there are rapists, whose emotional loneliness (lack of love) has driven them to offend as a substitute for normal social relations. (Cohen et al Marshall 1971). Exploring intimacy within the context of the offence is rare within the literature, if present at all.

Finally power, a theme inherent in sadism and present to varying degrees in acts of sexual aggression is also worth considering in the clinical context. Identified by only a few authors (Groth et al 1977), power can be a primary motivation for some rapists, and in extreme cases the way power is exerted within the behaviour would be defined as sadism, and *diagnosed* (Marshall 2001). Whether sadism constitutes a clinical syndrome in medical terms, or a set of personality traits in psychological terms is unresolved and more attention needs to be paid to this area, in non-psychiatric terms. Within any sample of sexual offenders there is a chance that a minority will be sadistic in the extreme and evidence supports a prevalence of around 5% (Marshall 2001). Sadism may equally be considered as a form of psychopathy, in which sex forms a dominant interest, although most psychiatric formulations would propose them as distinct.

The range of factors which contribute to an individual's offending behaviour are explored in clinical practise, aimed at formulating a picture of the patient's needs based on their reasons for offending. This functional analysis, or multimodal offence analysis (Lazarus 1976) is similar to deriving an offender profile, but can utilize information which is unknown to police investigators, such as elements of motivation, and historical antecedents which impact on personality development. The way in which the multi-modal analysis is conceptualised is also consistent with an Eysenckian framework of personality;

a patient's formulation is based on the domains of Affect, Cognition and Behaviour within the context of the offence.

These motivational and behavioural themes form the basis of psychological interventions with this group, and are assessed psychometrically within sex offender treatment programmes (Beckett, Beech, Fisher & Scott-Fordham 1994). These measures are an intrinsic part of the SOTP in prisons, but are not always utilised in clinical settings. The psychometric approach suggests that the elements of functioning such as social skills, and loneliness may be ordered, and that individuals vary with respect to them. Within clinical settings these same concepts are often noted as present or absent, rather than present to varying degrees. This raises philosophical questions about the nature of the constructs and how they assessed.

The terms used to describe similar phenomenon can also vary within and between clinical settings and a superordinate framework is necessary for making comparisons between clinical and theoretical work. The inability to form relationships, for example, can be described in a number of ways including intimacy deficits, relationship problems or social skills deficit. Fortunately the themes are fairly consistent and so can be identified, even if they are described in different ways. The emphasis on risk assessment in clinical settings has also resulted in a reformulation of terms, and many of the themes described as clinical needs are being proposed as 'dynamic risk factors'. The work of Hanson and Harris (1998; 2001) epitomises the shift from clinical interventions targeted at a patient's need to clinical assessments targeted at a patients risk. Conceptually the themes derive from the same theoretical bases and are directly comparable.

Methodology

The sample of sexual offenders is taken from a database of sexual offender characteristics developed by the Scientific Support Unit, at Broadmoor Hospital (Bishopp 2000) as a

means of systematising data collection for this group. This database serves a number of functions incorporating information from a number of studies, and eliciting offender and offending characteristics from case files and medical records. The purpose behind the development of such a database at Broadmoor is so that information relating to psychological deficits or features of personality can be systematically collected and used to aid clinical decision making. The variables within the database have all been selected for their theoretical associations to personality, clinical intervention, or risk of recidivism.

The entire dataset includes just under 100 sexual offenders admitted to Broadmoor, or current during the period of data collection (approximately 3 years). As such it includes all types of sexual offence (rape, indecent assault, sexual homicide) perpetrated against different victim types (males and females of different ages). Patients were included in this study, if their index offence (reason for admission) was sexually motivated, and legally defined as indecent assault or rape. Many patients in Broadmoor have a sexual offence somewhere in their history, but not all will have been admitted to Broadmoor because of their sexual offending. Although it would have been interesting to compare a variety of sex offenders on the same dimensions of behaviour, this would have proved difficult in practice. The reason for this is that the level of offence detail required to code the behaviour is not always available for offenders against children and sexual murderers. In cases of paedophilia, there is not always an account for the child provided, with much of the evidence in a case hinging on forensic evidence. In case of sexual murder, there is no victim and therefore no reliable account.

Psychiatric patients and offenders are difficult to define in terms of any specific problem behaviour, and labelling a patient by one action or another rarely reflects the full extent of their offending, or the nature of their illness. There was no single assessment of personality or psychological test available for the whole sample, reflecting differing approaches in psychological practice within a setting such as Broadmoor. This research is a collation, and dissemination of available clinical data, within an organized set of

psychological themes, such as emotion, aggression, anxiety, hostility, and so on. The clinical features were coded as present or absent, and incorporated key psychological themes such as intimacy deficits or cognitive distortions. This approach does assume that where problems exist in the patient's clinical presentation, it will be identified and noted in reports; the absence of any mention of the feature was taken as an absence of that feature. All Patients had admission assessments, case conference reports and psychological evaluations, providing multi-disciplinary interpretations of the offender's treatment needs.

The behavioural dimensions (ACID) were coded from victim statements pertaining to the index offence; Aggression, Control Intimacy and Deviancy were all scored from variables analogous to those used in BADMAN, and derived from Study one. This approach represents a systematic attempt to use the measures as a basis for the 'functional analysis' of the index offence (Lazarus 1976). Aspects of emotion and thinking were also coded from case files and clinical interpretations of motivation. Individuals were coded on all of the possible motivational facets, allowing for individuals to have multiple motivational determinants. By examining the relationship of motivations to different behavioural styles, it may be possible to identify patterns of motivation consistent with patterns of behavioural activity.

Sample

Of the 100 possible offenders available to study within the database, those who had offended against children, and those who had killed their victims were excluded. In total 64 sexual offenders were identified as having committed an indecent assault or rape. Unlike the BADMAN dataset, the victims were not all strangers, and included some acquaintances and relatives. As the measures are generic (not sample specific) indicators of sexual aggression, the choice of victim should not influence the overall model but rather be incorporated within it.

Of the 64 patients identified as suitable, a number had to be excluded because of lack of information in their case files. The reasons for this are various and may in part reflect the difficulty of the patient population, who are often unwilling to reveal the full details of the offending. There were other deficits in the type of information available through the Medical Records department and in 26 cases there was no victim statement. This is problematic, and suggests that some decisions about sex offenders, and their treatment, are being made in the absence of any knowledge of what they have done. Only 38 patients could therefore be coded on the behavioural scales using the victim testimony.

Associations between the clinical themes and the behavioural dimensions (ACID) were explored using conventional Mann-Whitney tests. Variations within the group were also examined using multidimensional scaling procedures. An MSA was used on the behavioural measures to observe the commonalities within the group. Motivational elements were overlaid on these behavioural profiles to explore the associations of anger, power and intimacy-needs to variations in the offence behaviour.

Descriptive Statistics

The mean age of the sample was 32.8 with a standard deviation (S.D.) of 8.3. The youngest was 20 and the oldest 50. 23 (61%) of the patient sample were white European, and 11 (29%) were black Caribbean. The remaining 4 were of other ethnic categories which could identify them if mentioned here. All the patients were detained under mental health act legislation, details of which are provided in **Table 8.19**.

Table 8.19**Mental Health Act Category Frequencies**

MHA category	Frequency	Percent
Mental Illness	22	57.9
Psychopathic Disorder	11	28.9
MI and PD	5	13.2

The Mental Health Act category is the legal classification that patients are assigned to by a court of law, and is indicative of the underlying psychiatric condition. The two principal diagnoses are Mental Illness (M.I.) and Psychopathic Disorder (P.D.) which are legally prescribed, but not always exclusive (Coid 1998). The former, M.I., incorporates schizophreniform and affective disorders (mad and sad), while the latter is attributed to those patients with personality disorders including psychopathy (the bad). M.I. and P.D. classifications were compared on the 4 behavioural measures using the Mann-Whitney (M-W) test. The results of this are provided in **Table 8.20**.

Table 8.20 MHA Classifications compared on behavioural measures (M-W)

Scale Scores	MHA	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	M-W
Aggression	Mental Illness	22	1.27	1.08	MW = 74.5 P = 0.07
	Psychopathic Disorder	11	2.00	1.18	
Intimacy	Mental Illness	22	2.77	1.82	MW = 89.5 P=0.232
	Psychopathic Disorder	11	3.36	1.63	
Control	Mental Illness	22	1.05	1.33	MW = 111 P = 0.69
	Psychopathic Disorder	11	1.00	.77	
Deviancy	Mental Illness	22	.86	.94	MW = 55.5 P = 0.01
	Psychopathic Disorder	11	2.09	1.30	

The main interpersonal dimensions (A.C.I.) had no direct relationship to the M.H.A. classification, but the deviancy dimension indicated a significant difference. Higher

sexual deviancy is associated with the classification of PD rather than MI and could indicate aspects of psychopathy or sadism, since PD patients tend to be characterised by more antisocial traits, such as violence. From these figures it appears that the behavioural traits are not exclusive to specific categorisations of M.I. or P.D.. It may be however that the mental health distinctions could relate to constellations of behaviour, rather than individual traits.

Motivational Factors in Sexual Aggression

A number of themes supported by the literature were examined against the behavioural measures. The measures were transformed into 3-point ordinal scales to minimise the variation between individuals. Due to the small sample size in this study, the scale scores are likely to be skewed by extreme individuals who distort the mean. By reducing the scale to 3 points, the extreme ends are effectively smoothed off, making it easier to observe main effects in the analyses. The scales are cumulative and might only suggest three or four primary divisions in practise. Aggression for example might be ordered from instrumental to forceful to lethal, rather than having many levels of measurement.

The A.C.I.D. measures were used to compare different facets of social functioning, cognitive style and sexual deviation. The relationship of social functioning to the ACID dimensions is given in **Table 8.20** and the relationships to cognitive style are provided in **TABLE 8.21**. More specific aspects of motivation, including needs for intimacy, expressions of anger, and expressions of power are explored subsequently.

Table 8.20 Relationship of A.C.I.D. dimensions to social functioning

Scale	Social Skills deficit	Emotionally Lonely	Has few or no friends
Control Scale	MW = 125 P = 0.34	MW = 123 P = 0.91	MW = 165 P = 0.89
Intimacy Scale	MW = 138 P = 0.54	MW = 112 P = 0.64	MW = 156 P = 0.69
Aggression Scale	MW = 130 P = 0.43	MW = 91 P = 0.23	MW = 153 P = 0.61
Deviance Scale	MW = 118 P = 0.24	MW = 123 P = 0.92	MW = 150 P = 0.56

There was no relationship between individual measures of behaviour and aspects of social functioning. More likely these interaction could be understood in relation to the profile of scores rather than a single construct. Given that many offenders are described as having the feature, it is not surprising that it is difficult to differentiate those with extreme deficits and those with few or no problems.

Table 8.21 Relationship of A.C.I.D. to Cognitive features

Scale	Denial	Minimisation	Distorted Thinking
Control Scale	MW = 167 P = 0.88	MW = 158 P = 0.74	MW = 114 P = 0.22
Intimacy Scale	MW = 157 P = 0.63	MW = 142 P = 0.41	MW = 130 P = 0.48
Aggression Scale	MW = 151 P = 0.49	MW = 123 P = 0.14	MW = 146 P = 0.86
Deviance Scale	MW = 168 P = 0.90	MW = 158 P = 0.74	MW = 142 P = 0.76

There were no relationships between the behavioural dimensions and the extent to which an offender minimises or denies their offence, and they may be unrelated. Distorted thinking is likely to relate to styles of offending behaviour, but not all distortions are the

same. Distortions in thinking can take a variety of forms, which comprise discrete rationalisations, rather than being a single construct. The types of distortion noted in case files were classified into a small number of types to illustrate this point. They include the following forms, which were not open to statistical examination, but which are of interest. The broad category of distortion is given on the left and examples are provided on the right.

Distortion	Example
Denial and Minimisation-	“She consented” , “She enjoyed it”
The acceptability of rape-	“Rape isn’t harmful” , “Men are entitled”
Hostility -	“Women are prostitutes”
Blame attribution -	“She deserved it”
Psychosis -	“Jesus told me to do it”

Understanding how these differing cognitions impact on the behaviour is likely to be more productive in understanding how thinking styles influence behaviour.

The relationship of the A.C.I.D. dimensions and features associated with clinical needs is difficult to interpret from single measures alone. The utility of the measures lies in the overall A.C.I.D. profile, which can be used collectively as a means of discrimination. They ordinal scales were entered into a multidimensional scaling analysis for examining individual differences. A multiple scalogram analysis (MSA) was chosen to illustrate how individuals differ across the four dimensions and provides a plot of the individual variations. The analysis is similar in principal to the SSA described previously, except that subjects are plotted instead of variables. The subject plots on each of the ACID dimensions, in the MSA, are provided in **FIGURES 8.7, 8.8, 8.9** and **8.10** respectively. The dimensions (scales) have been colour coded from low to high using colour gradients of light to dark.

The MSA demonstrates that individual offenders vary on the four dimensions and can be discriminated by them, collectively. This variation, rather than representing discrete types of offender, suggests continua of aggression, intimacy, control and sexual deviation. Individuals are discriminated by their relative positions on all of the four dimensions, rather than a single construct. Hence some offenders in the top left hand corner of the plot utilise high levels of aggression and are sexually deviant; another group, in the top right of the plot may be interpreted as aggressive but less sexually deviant; a cluster of individuals in the bottom of the plot are comparatively less aggressive.

As well as variations in aggression there are also variations in sexual deviancy and the level of intimacy directed towards the victim. The association of high sexual deviancy with high levels of intimacy in some cases suggests that the intimacy is more eroticised in some offenders. It may also be difficult to fully disentangle intimacy from sexual activity because of the strong theoretical associations that exist between them. Since the points represent the same individuals it is possible to compare them across all dimensions to examine how individuals vary. This is easier when the plots are overlaid or put together on the same sheet. These plots are given individually in the next few pages and are provided together to facilitate inspection of individual profiles across all four dimensions.

The MSA analysis helps understand some of the interactions between the ACID dimensions and how this relates to individual cases. As well as highlighting individuals who may have elevated scores on particular scales, the MSA also provides a way of examining individuals who have lower scores on any specific dimension. Having derived an initial plot it is then possible to examine how individuals vary with respect to other external criteria such as motives. Aspects of motivation can be explored in relation to the individual profiles to ascertain whether there is a functional link between motive and offence behaviour.

Figure 8.7

Subject plot for Aggression Dimension

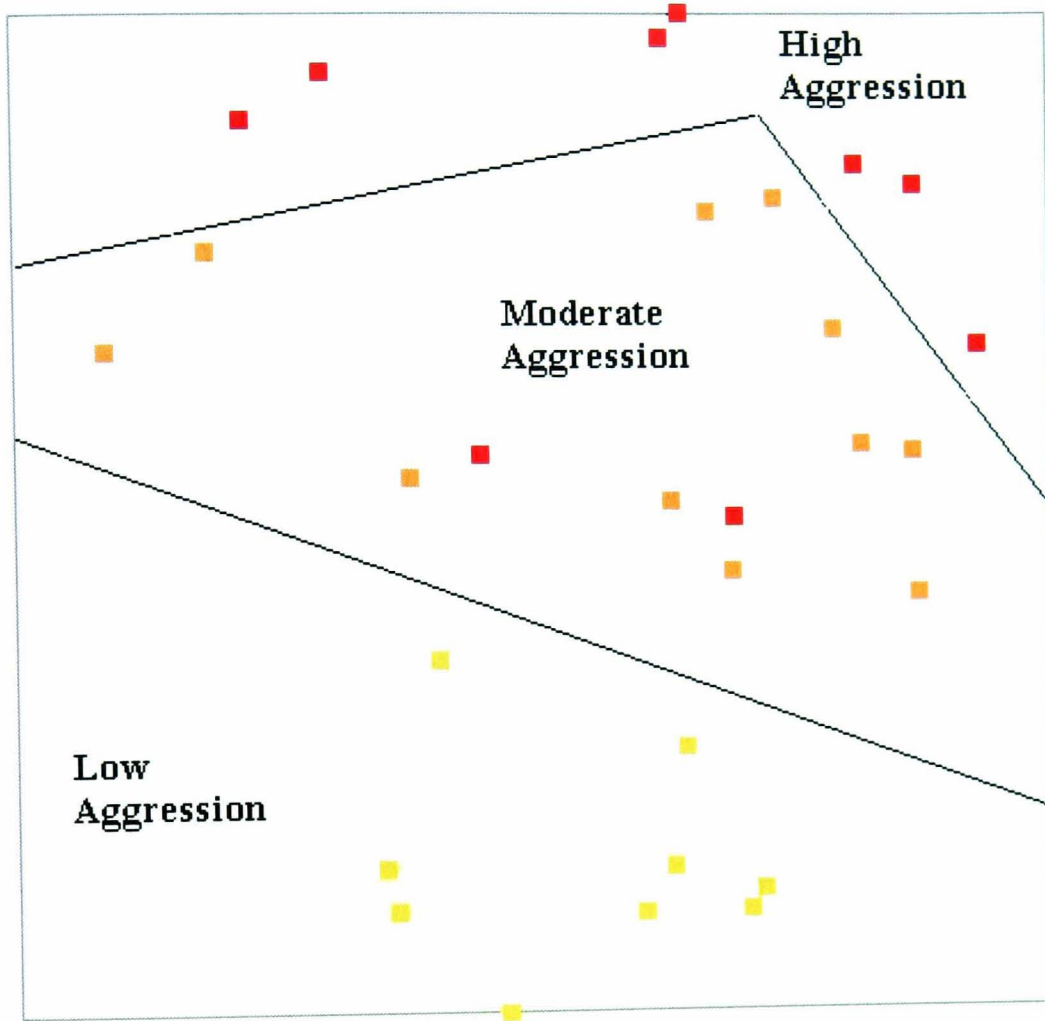


Figure 8.8

Subject Plot for the Control Dimension

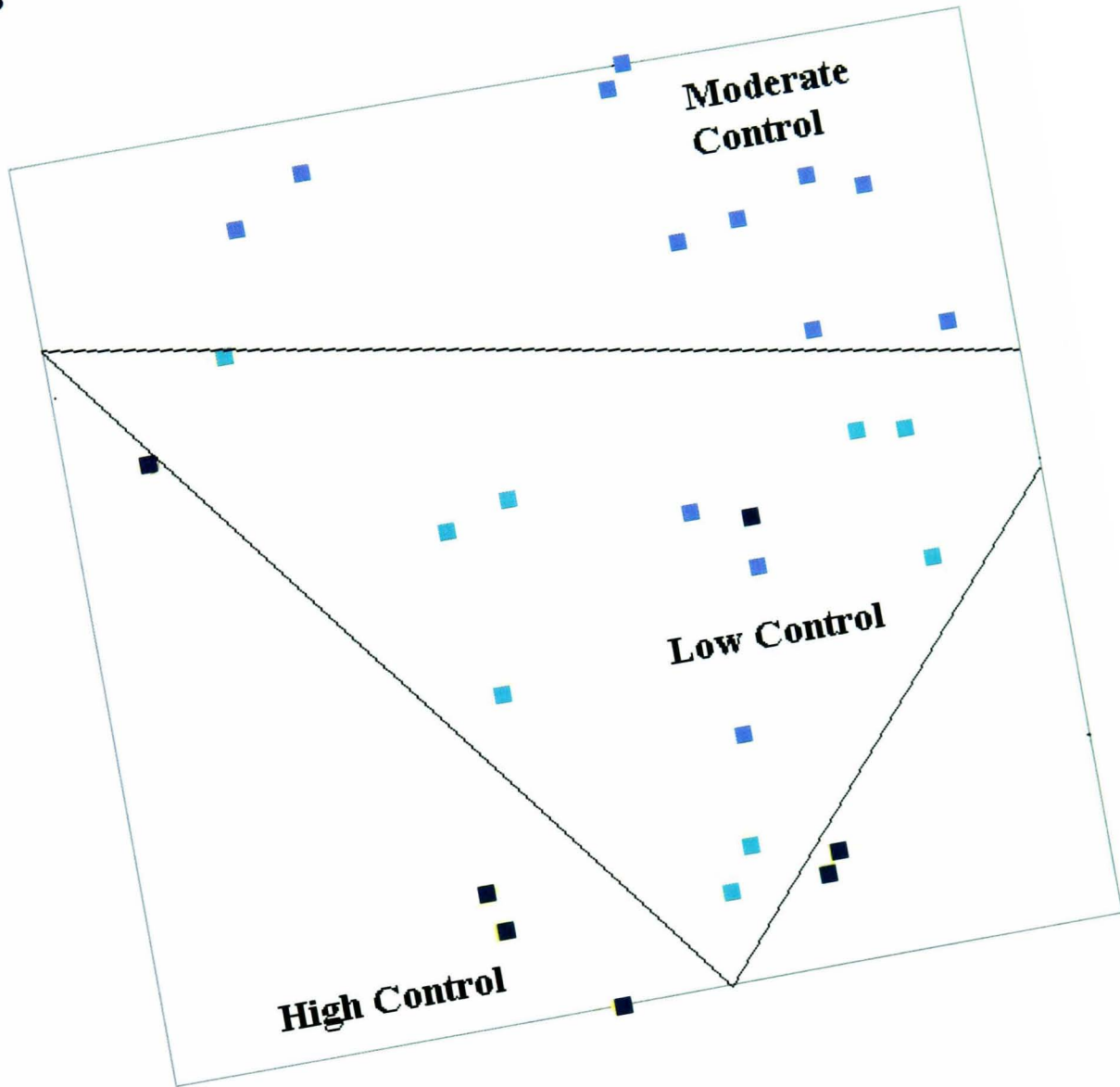


Figure 8.9

Subject Plot for the Intimacy Dimension

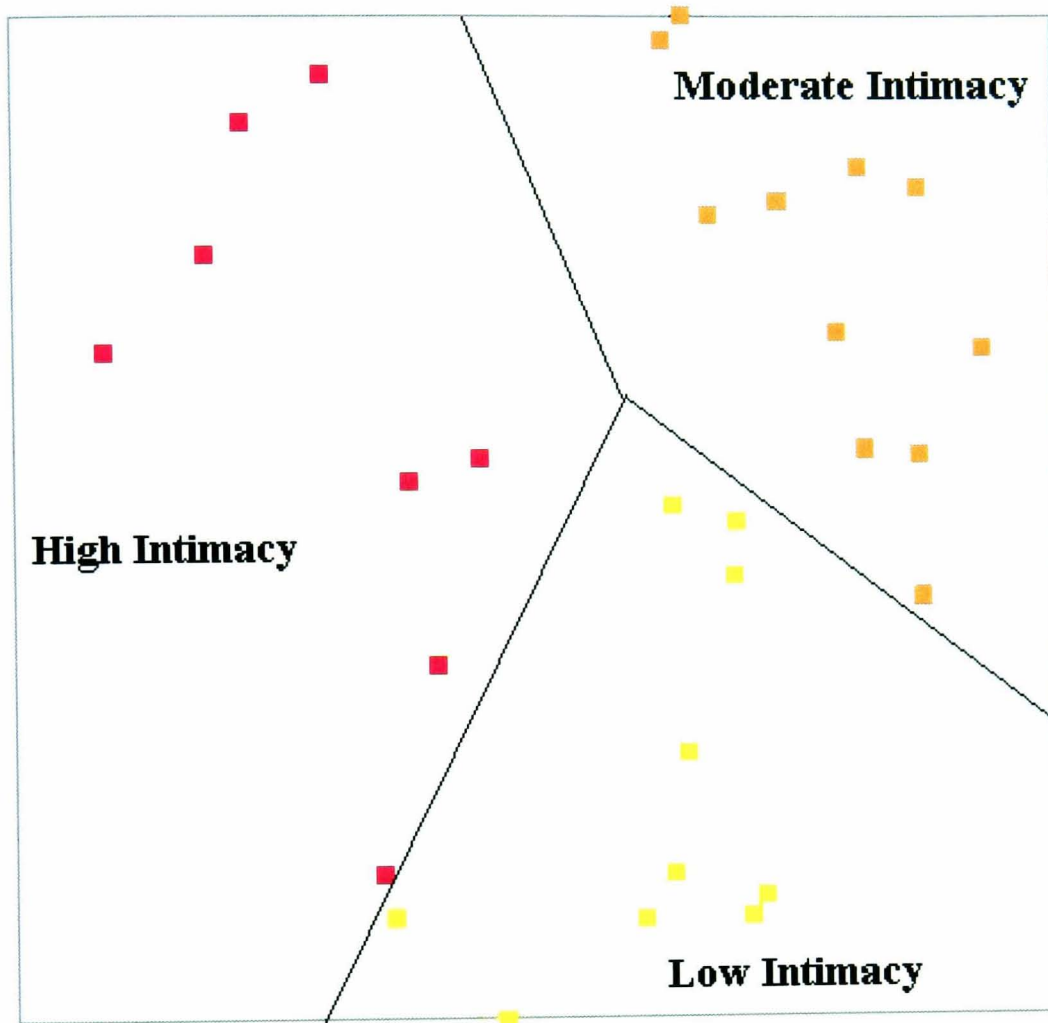
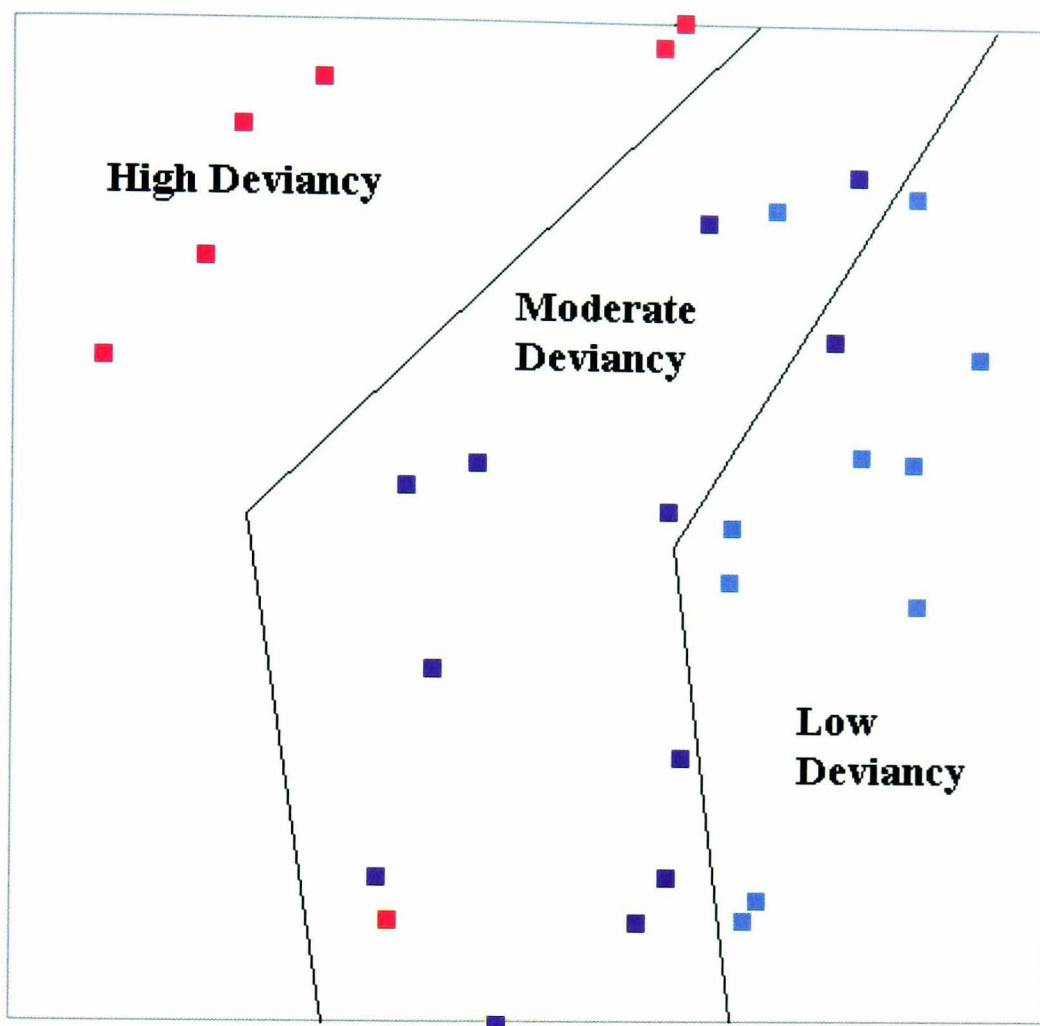


Figure 8.10

Subject Plot for the Deviancy Dimension



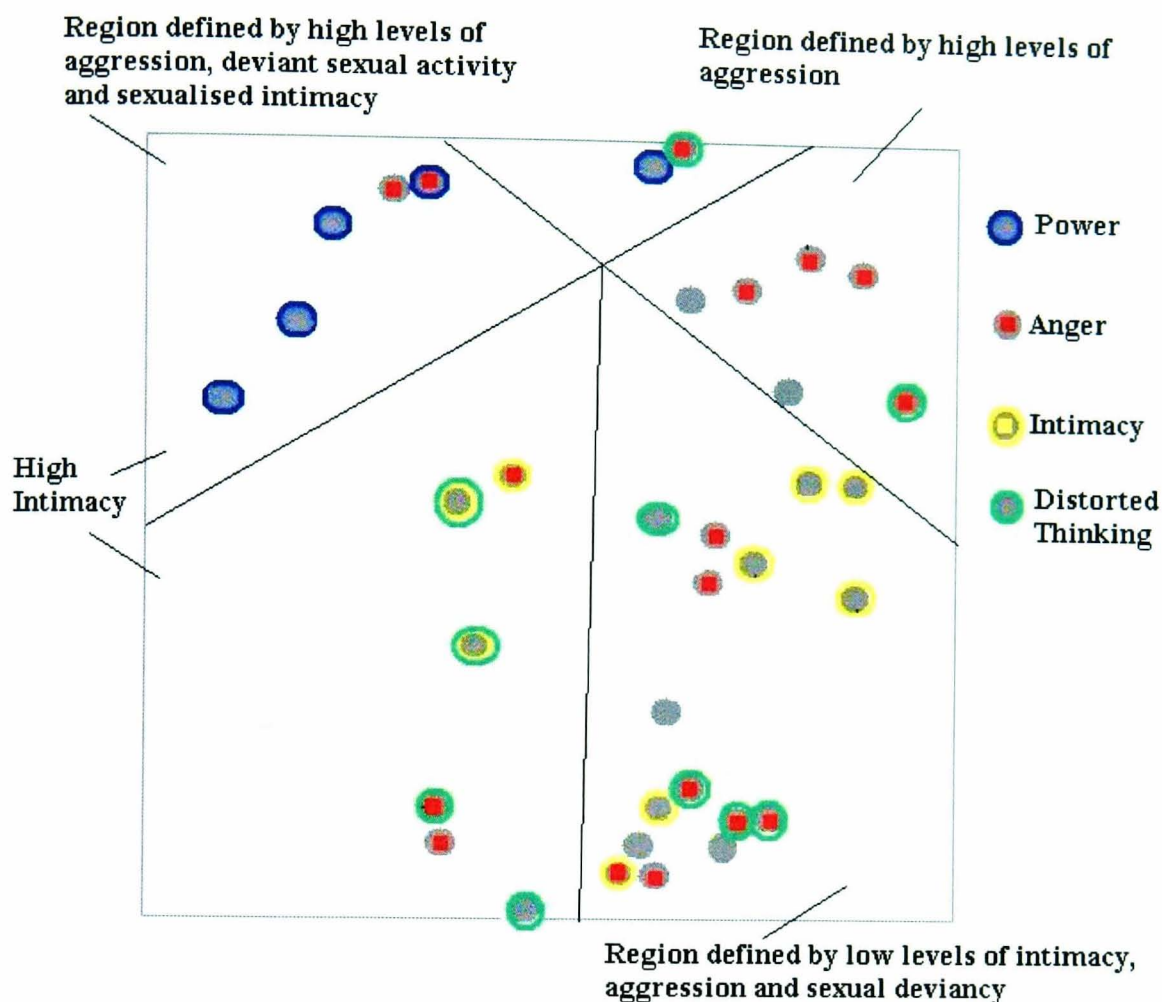
Having derived an initial matrix of individual variations it is possible to explore how different motivations may link to the behavioural profiles. Anger as a product of hostility, revenge or recent circumstances has been superimposed on the plot to examine associations. Elements of power and distorted thinking styles were also extracted from case-files, based on the clinical evaluations of psychologists who have assessed the patients. The relationship of multiple motivational constructs to the facets of behaviour is demonstrated in **Figure 8.11**, below. Motivations have been colour-coded to facilitate interpretation and regions are annotated to remind the reader of the behavioural variations.

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

Figure 8.11 Motivations Mapped onto the MSA of Behaviour



The overlay of motivation on dimensions of behaviour reveals some intuitive relationships as well as highlighting more complex associations. Anger is motivational in a number of cases marked by red dots on the plot and is not always associated with high levels of aggression, but is associated with moderate levels of sexual deviancy shown on the MSA deviancy plot. Anger is more obviously expressed in some cases through the use of aggression, while in other cases the anger is associated with lower levels intimacy, aggression and sexual deviation. Interestingly the cases in the bottom left quadrant are characterised by high levels of control, but low aggression. Possibly these individuals utilise restraints as an alternative to aggression, although in some cases the restraints are associated with high sexual deviancy, consistent with a sado-masochistic tendency.

Sadism is suggested here as the product of extreme traits manifest within the context of rape.

Power was suggested in a small number of cases, as might be expected from the low prevalence rate of psychopathic and sadistic traits. Nearly all power motives are present in the top left corner of the above scattergram. They are all characterised by high sexual deviancy, and moderate to high levels of aggression, suggesting both antisocial and sexually deviant tendencies. It is difficult to differentiate between those who could be defined as sadistic and those who could be defined as psychopathic. It is possible that the only distinction is a greater interest in sexual deviation for sadists, and curiously two cases in the top left corner scored above the cut-off on the Hare Psychopathy checklist (Hare 1991), confirming an association to psychopathy, but leaving the definition of sadism unresolved.

The division of 2 potential forms of high intimacy are supported by the fact that one group are eroticising the aggression, while the other high intimacy group are characterised by other motivations including a basic desire for intimacy. This suggests that varying degrees of intimacy within a rape are associated with a desire for intimacy, and in some cases it suggests more deviant intentions. There were a number of cases for whom the motivation was unclear, and are marked as just grey dots in the above plot.

The utility of the MSA is to demonstrate similarities between offenders based on common themes of activity and motivation. Given the association of specific motivations to individuals in particular regions of the plot, it may be possible to suggest what the unknown motivations are, by examining other offenders who are geometrically placed near to the those cases. As such the scales may provide a means of indicating motivational factors in cases of unknown offenders, although a number of possibilities may be offered in practise.

Chapter 9

Discussion

The first point to make concerns the quality of the information used in this study. The data is not optimal and would benefit from more elaboration of the identified themes. Given the small number of variables, which account for each factor, it is clear that more items could be added within each domain to better explore the underlying construct, as well as improve scale construction. Within the context of how this data is used in practise, it represents an early step in the development of behavioural coding systems for offender profiling. The recent transition of the serious crime analysis section (SCAS), of the national crime faculty, from the BADMAN framework to ViClas, reflects an understanding of these deficits. This piece of work demonstrates a method which could be applied to the ViClas data and so have immediate utility in the investigative process.

In the second study, it was surprising that Medical Records were not able to provide a victim statement in all cases and did not routinely obtain this information for clinical use. This highlights some of the problems of doing special hospital research, which is plagued by inter-departmental politics. Reliable information is difficult to track down whether for clinical or research purposes. There is no strategy for recording patient information; decisions about what information should be collected is driven by administrative function rather than by any particular clinical need.

Research Studies

The examination of rape behaviour reveals some interesting and highly interpretable findings. The principal components analysis (PCA) suggested that there were five main themes within the context of rape that can be identified, namely Aggression, Intimacy, Control, Deviancy and Stealing. The first four (ACID) factors are intuitive aspects of interpersonal behaviour, and are sufficient for describing sexual aggression. Each of these

has clear conceptual origins, which have been outlined in the background and validated by the results. The phenomenon necessarily incorporates aggression and the identification of this facet is consistent with other authors (Canter & Heritage 1991; Grubin et al 1997). Many authors describe aggression conceptually within typologies of rape, but do not provide empirical validation (Knight & Prentky 1987). Aggression comprises just one element of sexual aggression, which also includes sexual behaviours.

Intimacy within the context of the offence is not given much attention in the literature, although the desire for intimacy is considered motivational in some rape cases (Marshall 1989). This need for love may be consistent with the need that all humans have for social support and affection (Maslow 1954; McClelland 1987). Behavioural intimacy may indicate possible motivational needs, in which intimacy is gained from controlling a passive victim. Equally, intimate actions can be interpreted as normative sexual behaviour, which occurs between consenting adults, but is inappropriate within a non-consenting situation. As such intimacy within the context of sexual aggression can indicate distorted thinking on the part of the offender, with regards to victim consent, or the acceptability of rape within society. Understanding the intimacy within the offence situation requires a consideration of the other behavioural dimensions in order to make sense of it. Intimacy associated with a high amount of control is likely to indicate an abuse of power, while intimacy in the absence of aggression and control would suggest a clearer desire to want intimacy from the rape consistent with Marshall's work.

Control or restraint of the victim is also implicit in rape, but has not been fully examined in previous work and is not included within Canter and Heritage's (1990) model. MacCulloch et al. (1983) describe control within the context of sadism and this would suggest that sadism could be ordered. Control, or power, partly defines the sadism construct and is necessary, but not sufficient. The Items in this factor are in many ways extreme aspects of control sometimes associated with power such as gagging the victim. More subtle expressions of control may take the form of threats, or be implicit through showing a weapon to the victim. Identifying some factor associated with power is both

consistent with animal studies examining dominance (Gosling & John 1999) as well as being indicated in the work of Groth.

Stealing from the victim is suggested as discrete behaviours which were examined in the context of the sexual aggression. There is no reason to assume that rapists who steal are distinct from those who do not steal, and the function of the theft for the offender may vary. Sexual aggression can vary with respect to all of the factors, which might be considered as a product of variations on all of the behavioural themes.

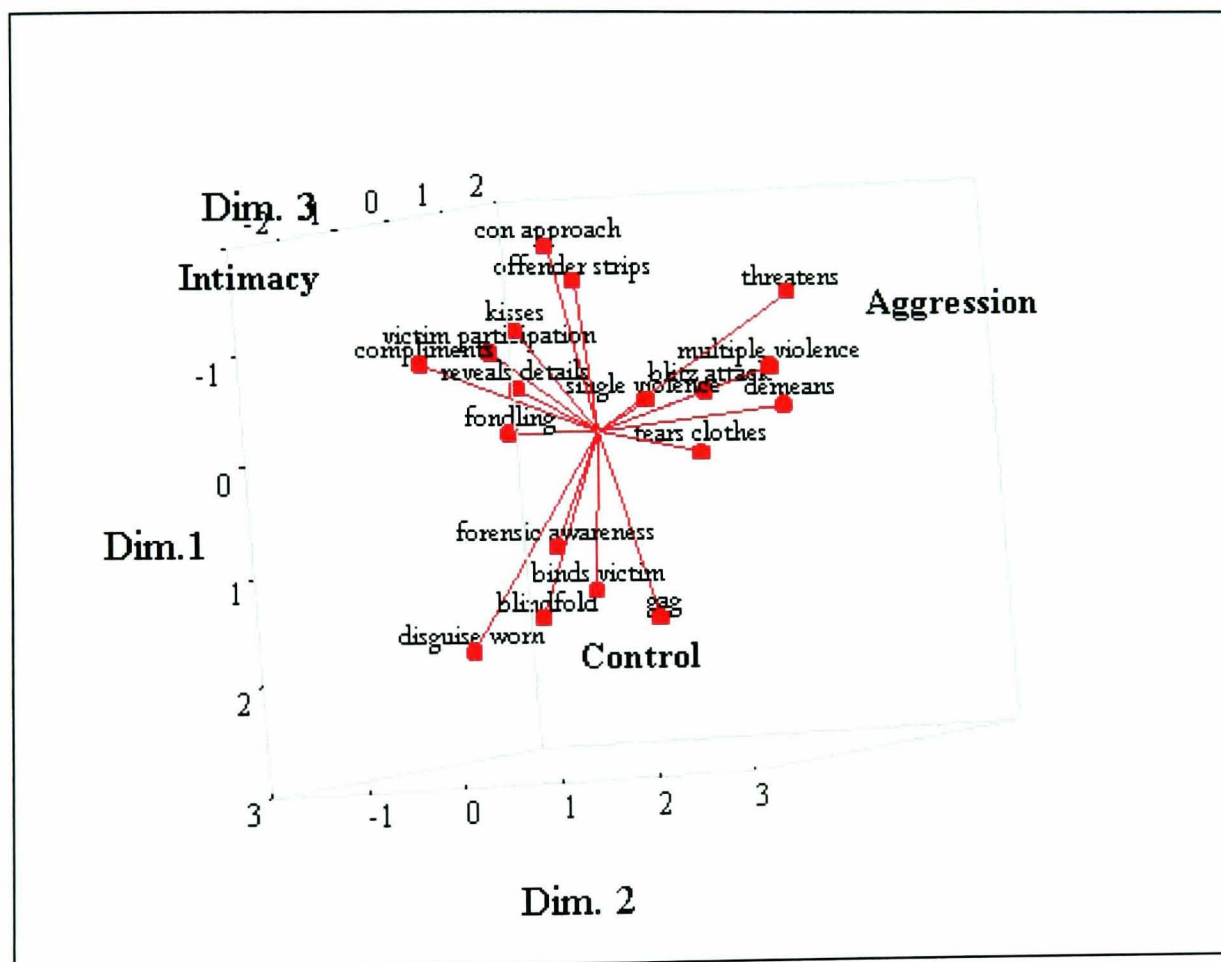
The PCA also showed that sexual behaviours have a complex structure in factor terms, because they load on a sexual factor as well as indicating acts of intimacy or aggression. The correspondence of sexual activity to interpersonal behaviours in the factor structure suggests that sexual behaviours overlay the interpersonal factors, within a possible circumplex structure. A number of authors describe circumplexes and factor structures in the same way as proposed here (Leary 1957, Wiggins 1982). There are limitations to the factor approach because the technique attempts to fit the factors to a single underlying dimension, when the true structure of the data may be multidimensional and non-linear.

The smallest space analysis was used to explore the interactions of the aggression, control and intimacy factors, to overcome the assumptions of the factor approach. The SSA provides a more interpretable structure of rape behaviour than has been provided previously by other authors (Canter & Heritage 1990; Grubin et al 1997). Having said that, the main aggression and intimacy facets could be interpreted within Canter and Heritage's SSA of rape and also shows consistency in a study of paedophiles (Canter, Hughes & Kirby 1998). These authors have made no attempt to examine the properties of the facets, or link the findings to any theoretical perspective on personality.

The SSA is given again below in **Figure 9.1** to discuss more critical aspects of the structure. The structure of the three dimensions can be interpreted within an interpersonal model of behaviour; aggression, control and intimacy could be interpreted as behavioural

traits. They can be directly compared to personality dimensions of the interpersonal circle in terms of Hostile-Friendly (Aggressive-Intimate), and Dominant-Submissive (Control) described by interpersonal theorists (Leary 1957; Wiggins 1982). Within the interpersonal context of rape, the offender is unlikely to engage in submissive behaviour, since rape requires victim compliance. In this sense, the model forms three quarters of the interpersonal circumplex.

Figure 9.1 SSA of the Interpersonal Styles of Rapists



Acton and Revelle (1994) outline a number of strands of interpersonal theory, which are also supported by the structure of the SSA. These principles form the basis of interpersonal theory and are outlined as follows:

1. The principle of ‘complementarity’ (Carson 1969; Wiggins 1982; Orford 1986) contends that within interpersonal dynamics, dominance invites submission, hostility invites hostility and so on. Within rape dominant friendliness and dominant hostility therefore invites submission from the victim, while the offender rarely submits to the victim.

2. The principle of ‘circumplex’ structure contends that variables, which assess interpersonal behaviour, will be arranged around a circle in 2 dimensional space (Leary 1957). This is supported by the SSA and given the relationships between sexual activity and interpersonal style it is possible that sexual behaviour will also be multidimensional.

3. The principle of ‘vector length’ (Wiggins et al 1989) contends that psychopathology can be understood as extremities within the interpersonal circumplex such that deviance is measured by the distance from the centre outwards. This would apply to aggression, intimacy, control, as well as dimensions of deviant sexual activity.

These principles are considered a requirement of circumplex models and apply to both interpersonal style and sexual interests. The relationship of sexual activity to these other core behavioural modes is complex, and sometimes indicative of particular styles of attack. That does not mean that more aggressive sexual acts are always associated with an aggressive assault, or that more intimate rapists will not engage in buggery. Any sexual behaviour can theoretically occur within the context of rape regardless of an offender’s personality. Sexual interests represent subtle variations of personality within the rape situation, but not in all cases. This complexity requires that sexual interests and variations be expressed in relation to the interpersonal style as a cylindrex of sexual aggression behaviour (see **Figure 9.2**).

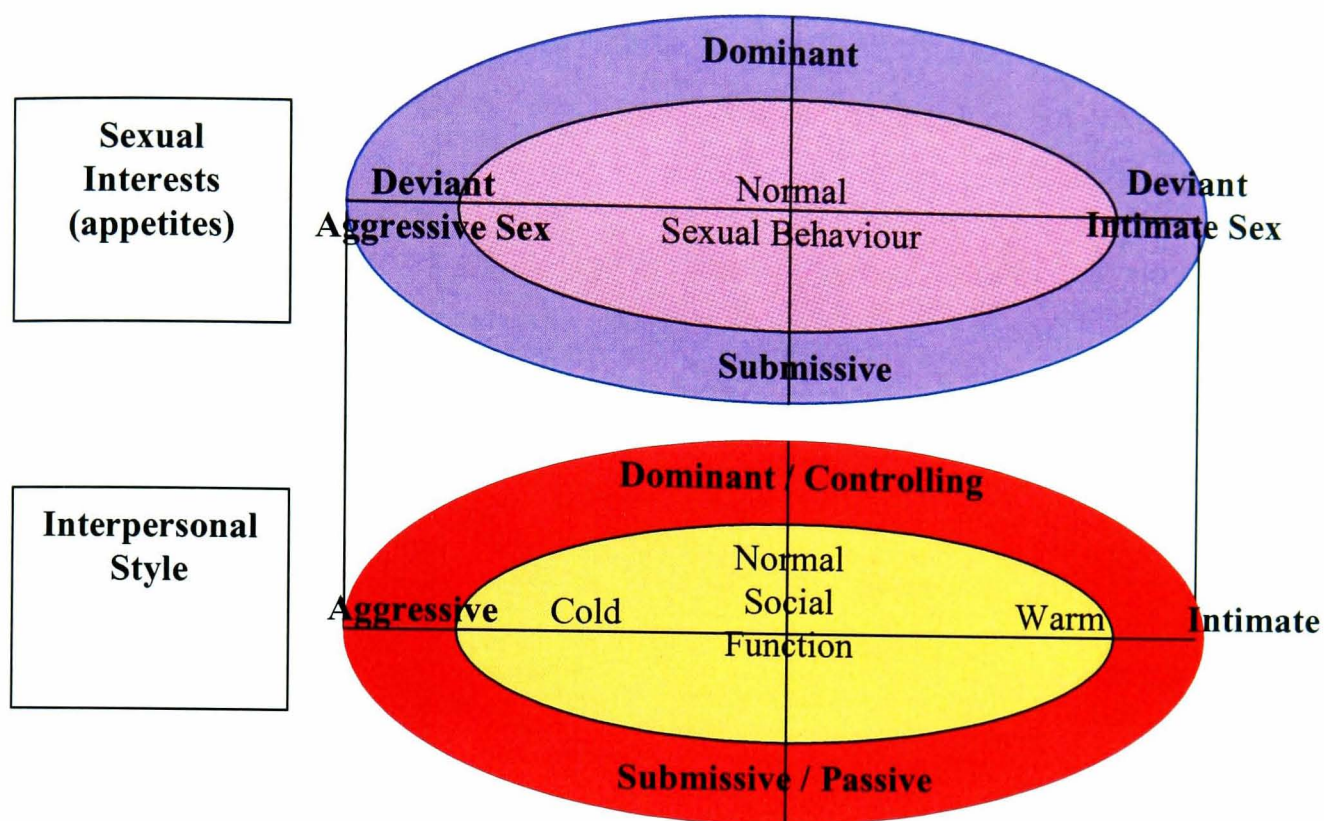
There are good reasons for interpreting sexual aggression within a more generalised model of interpersonal action (the interpersonal circle), and for understanding interests within the context of personality. Appetites or interests are noted by many observers of

human nature as a distinct facet of personality; interests which are enabled through interpersonal action. Plato and Marx (1957) both describe an appetitive component of human nature and the same theme is expressed by Cattell (1960) in terms of sentiments. Similar ideas have also been introduced by McCrae (1993) called 'characteristic adaptations', and there may be further overlap with Dawkin's notion of 'memes'.

Interpersonal behaviour is the means to various desires, and interests including sexual ones. Further evidence for a sexual dimension which maps onto an interpersonal dimension can be seen in bondage and sado-masochism (BDSM), which is implicitly about dominance and submission (Weinberg 1995; Spengler 1977), a dimension found in normal and deviant sexual behaviour. Likewise intimate and aggressive sexual behaviours are similarly suggested theoretically as consistent with the interpersonal circle in terms of affiliation and dominance. It is also interesting to find that aggression and control form different empirical structures. This could suggest that the underlying trait mechanisms, for these behavioural processes, are distinct. Given work on animal personality characteristics (see earlier chapters) which distinguish between dominance and aggression, it is possible that human functioning needs to be differentiated in this way. If there is to be a correspondence between interpersonal ideas and those of the Big 5, there needs to be a clear overlap of theoretical terms.

The diagram below is suggested as a means of understanding the behavioural facets of sexual aggression as a circumplex of interests mapped onto a circumplex of interpersonal style. This behavioural cylindrex forms a part of a more comprehensive model incorporating aspects of motivation, which is outlined in the next chapter. In order to examine aspects of motivation in a sample of known offenders, the behavioural components needed to demonstrate scalability, so that they could be measured and tested against external criteria. If the components of sexual aggression are ordered, then motivation can be understood in relation to differing levels of each of the A.C.I.D. dimensions.

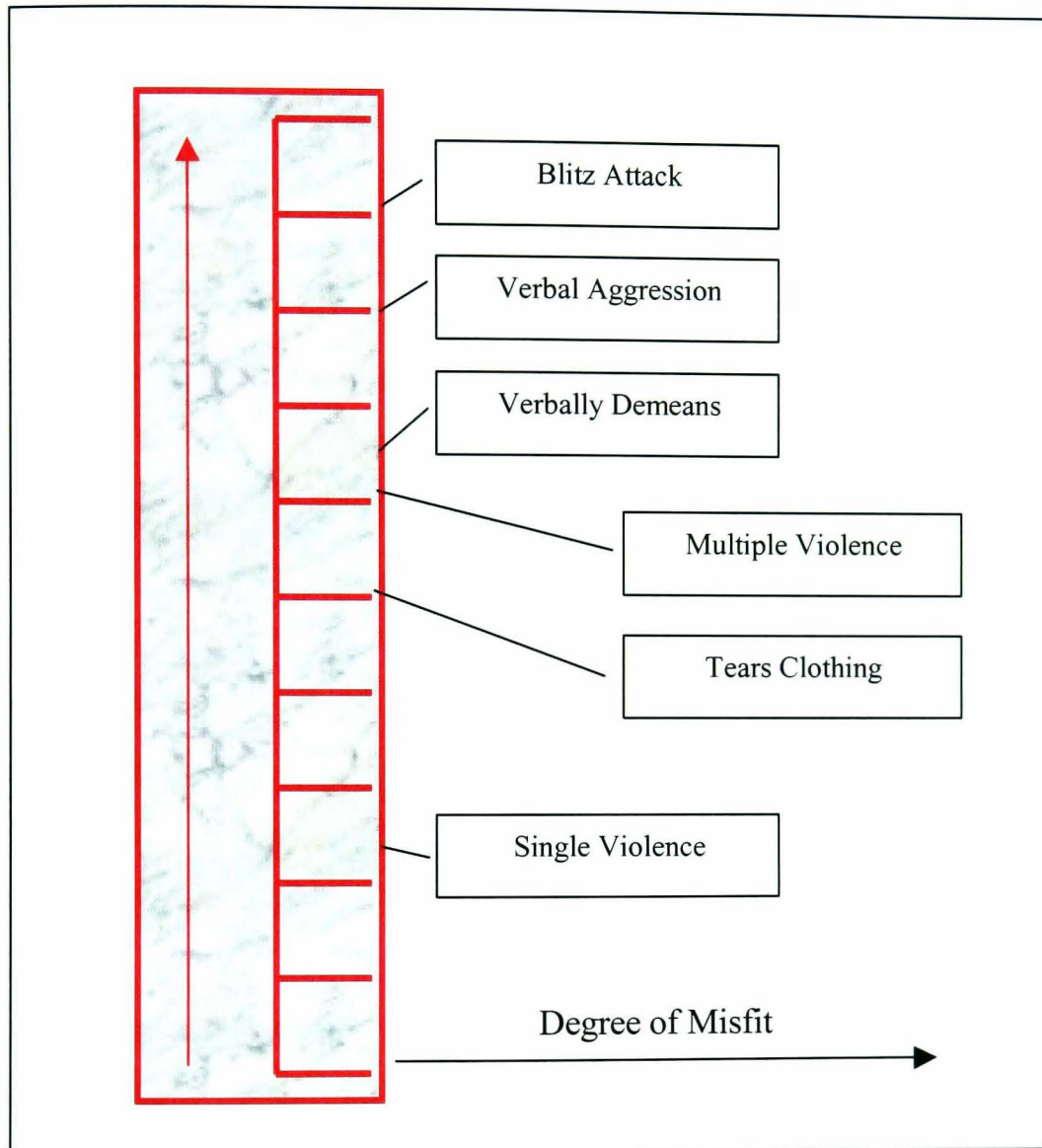
Figure 9.2 Interpersonal Cylindrex of Behaviour: Sexual Aggression



Unidimensional Scaling

The Rasch scales demonstrate an ordering of low to extreme facets of Aggression, Control, Intimacy and Deviancy, but with some weaknesses due to a lack of behavioural features which might tap the underlying domains. Nonetheless they are reliable in classical scaling terms, and demonstrate even better, cumulative properties, within a Rasch model. Within each scale it is also apparent that only a few intervals may be required to meaningfully compare individuals. The function of a Rasch model is as much to demonstrate measurement properties as it is to identify how items load on the dimension. The distances between loadings can be used to suggest different intervals of measurement for the scales. Although there may be a number of items, some items load on similar positions on the dimension, as indicated in the Rasch diagram provided in **Figure 9.3**.

Figure 9.3 Rasch Aggression Scale



In **Figure 9.3**, the items have been placed according to their relative positions on the underlying parameter (aggression). What this shows is that some items are spaced apart while others are relatively close to each other elsewhere on the parameter. ‘Single blows’ is clearly low down while verbal aggression and demeaning seem to be closer to each other, possibly tapping the same measurement interval. In other words aggression may be simply ordered, from none to lethal, through a small number of divisions (e.g. medium, high and extreme). These levels of measurement in human behaviour are also likely to be

expressed within the language available to describe them. If people were able to distinguish many forms, or degrees of aggression then there would be a rich language to express the variations. Aggression is commonly, and legally, understood with just a small number of divisions. Legally, assault is defined as ranging from affray, through assault, actual bodily harm and grievous bodily harm, with the most extreme forms described as murder or manslaughter. This simple cumulative ordering is inherent within circumplex models, which express the degree of the construct through the radii.

The interpersonal dimensions of A.C.I.D. represent the radii of an interpersonal circumplex. When examined for scalability they showed good measurement properties, and more importantly, cumulative properties. This supports the principle of vector length required for circumplex models, and provides a means of measuring the underlying behaviours. Many of the SSA's proposed in studies of sexual aggression (Canter & Heritage 1990; Heritage 1992; Canter, Hughes and Kirby 1998), can all be interpreted within the framework suggested here. This structure is based on cumulative dimensions, which are not sample specific and can apply to any situation within which these behaviours occur.

These behavioural traits are useful for describing variations within the sexual offence, and so can be used to discriminate and compare offender styles and the contexts within people offend. Behaviour may not be sufficient however for fully explaining the phenomenon, because the themes only tell one part of an offender's story. Traits may determine some elements of the behavioural style of a rapist, but differing motivations may underpin similar sets of action. By examining the degree of the behaviours, it may be possible to narrow down the possible number of motivations for any particular offender.

The Functions of Rape and the Variations of Rapists

This thesis has explored the many factors which underpin human sexuality and aggression, as facets of human function and dysfunction. The functions of aggression and

sexual behaviour are clearly grounded in evolutionary mechanisms (Darwin 1889), with most species utilising aggression for defence and sex for procreation. The biological bases of human aggression and sexuality have been proposed as instinctual mechanisms that contribute to survival. The instrumental use of aggression in humans is more sophisticated and is distinguished by many authors (Fromm 1982; Buss 1961; Storr 1991) from 'natural' forms.

Sexual aggression, as a fusion of aggression and sexual interest is the product of a complex interplay between genetic inheritance and culture. The importance of the individual is also paramount for understanding the variations within sexual aggression, differences that can only be interpreted through an understanding of personality. In psychological terms personality is itself a multifaceted concept, but is consistently defined in terms of underlying temperamental traits mediated by affect and cognition, which collectively determine behaviour within different contexts. Implicit to this framework is the proposition that affect and cognition collectively contribute to motivation. Motivations are themselves multiply determined by internal and external factors. External factors are those that the organism reacts to while internal factors represent the more personal desires (interests) of the individual. Motivations are a product of these reactive and proactive processes.

General theories of aggression suggest anger or frustration as the mediating mechanisms for aggression. Although defensive or reactive aggression may be explained this way, the model is insufficient for explaining instrumental aggression within sexual offending. Many theorists (Berkowitz 1989, Fromm 1982) propose that the instrumental use of aggression is attributable to a basic instinct for malice, rather than exploring other motivational pathways. While there are some rapes motivated by frustration and anger, other sexual offences are committed to meet other emotional or social needs. These incorporate motivations based in reactive mechanisms including anger, as well as motives based on personal desires for intimacy or power. These desires may be based in normal

motivational mechanisms suggested by Maslow (1954) such as love, or security. Sexual behaviours represents a further range of interests, or desires, which are both motivational and behavioural.

Sexual aggression is proposed here as multiply determined by reactive processes and personal desires, and is only part explained by Berkowitz’s model. Berkowitz does acknowledge this distinction suggesting that instrumental aggression be termed proactive, as suggested by Dodge and Coie (1987) and that reactive aggression is associated with the emotions. Instrumental (proactive) aggression is therefore directly associated with personal desires, but it may be too simplistic to suggest that emotions are only associated with reactive forms of aggression. The motivational constructs within this work are outlined below in an elaboration of the frustration-aggression theory within a theoretical framework for instrumental aggression (see **Figure 9.4**).

Figure 9.4 Proposed Motivational Pathways to Aggression

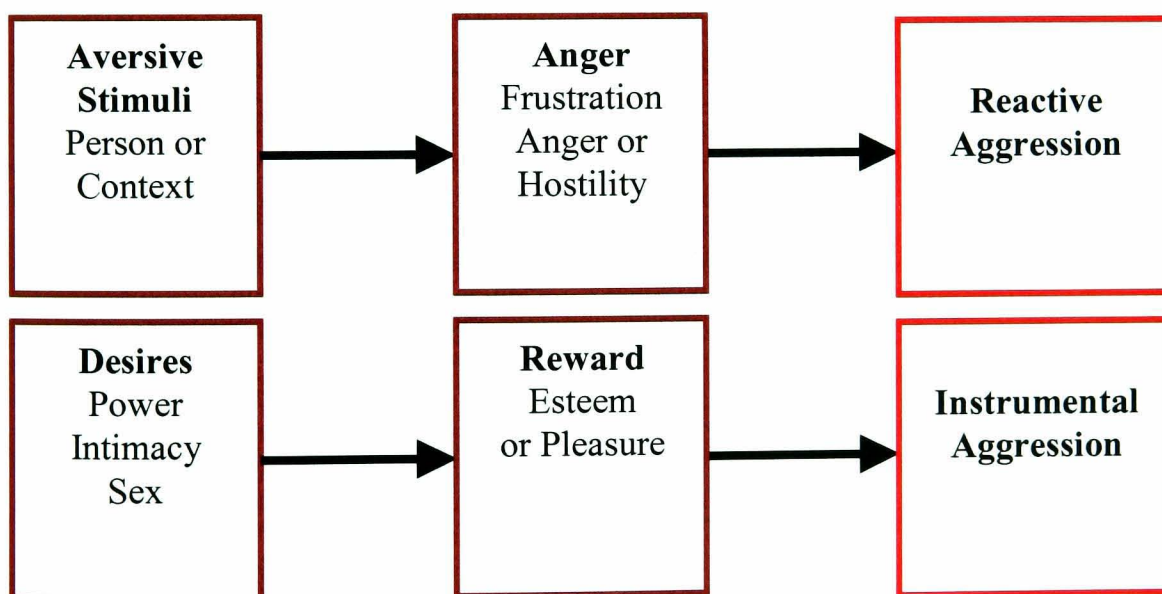


Figure 9.4 is an attempt to model sexual aggression within an evolutionary framework which can incorporate both reactive and instrumental forms of aggression. Within each of these distinctions there also has to be a consideration of the types of physical act used to harm the victim and the overall level of force. Whether complex or simple, aggression

ranges from a push to acts of homicide for some or all of the above motivations; people kill in anger, or for power, or in the pursuit of sexual gratification (within a variety of paraphilias). The use of weapons is also an important consideration in both reactive and instrumental forms of aggression. When used in hostility or anger weapons inevitably load on the harm done, whether accidentally or intentionally. Weapons used instrumentally could immediately invoke submission in a victim when used as a threat, but may be used to exercise cruelty, or express power in the context of sadism.

The above motivational model helps to explain the processes for sexual aggression, but forms only one part of the picture. Motivational processes are mediated by more fundamental aspects of a person's character, or personality. Psychological considerations of personality include motivational themes and identify basic human needs which motivate human behaviour towards meeting needs or goals (consistent with evolutionary theory). Personality also proposes basic mechanisms for social action, defined as traits, or competencies, which are suggested because of the diversity of human action. Traits of personality are theoretically proposed as innate tendencies which predispose people towards certain skills, behaviours and interests.

Theorists have proposed a range of traits to explain personality and early ideas suggested intrinsic mechanisms for sociability or gregariousness (Galton 1849; Eysenck 1947), inherent within interpersonal theories, as a hostile-friendly dimension (Leary 1957; Wiggins 1982). Eysenck proposed a similar dimension as Extroversion-Introversion, as well as Neuroticism and Psychoticism; Neuroticism represents an underlying nervous system disposition, and Psychoticism is analogous to Psychopathy. As an underlying trait psychoticism may well indicate general aggressivity, assertiveness or dominance proposed within interpersonal theory.

Theoretical considerations of personality have recently converged on a 5-factor model of personality (Costa and McCrae 1989) incorporating Extraversion, Neuroticism, Agreeableness (friendliness), Openness to experience (curiosity), and Conscientiousness.

Although there is empirical support for these constructs, it comes from factor studies which may not reveal the true structure of personality dimensions. The subtle distinctions made between sociability (extraversion) and openness (curiosity) could be interpreted ambiguously since sociability requires a certain amount of curiosity. An alternate number of traits have been suggested by Buss (1991), based on the innate variations found in primates. The seven traits identified by Buss are, Activity level, Fearfulness, Impulsiveness, Sociability, Nurturance, Aggressiveness, Dominance. Again there may be ambiguity, in distinguishing activity level from impulsiveness, but the other constructs are consistent with interpersonal theory and some aspects of the big 5.

Both Buss and Eysenck suggest an aggressive trait that is not reflected in the Big-5, and dominance is also suggested by Buss consistent with the interpersonal circle. The exact nature of personality remains unresolved, but this work demonstrates consistency with some of the core themes of personality. There remains a question as to whether more dimensions are required to express the variations in humans and animals (Gosling & John 1999).

Both aggression and sexual behaviour have evolved through a process of social evolution (Montagu 1968; Gould 1997). Evolutionary psychology has extended the Darwinian paradigm and suggests that brain mechanisms and personality structures are based on early hominid adaptations to the environment (Dawkins 1986; Cosmides & Tooby 2002). Specific character traits concerned with interpersonal relations are therefore likely to be relatively universal and there is evidence to suggest that individual differences may be explained by a relatively small number of traits. What is unclear is precisely how many there are and whether they are all valid and reliable. Some authors have argued that three are sufficient (Eysenck 1991) while others suggest that five are required (Costa & McCrae 1992). Humans have been compared with other primates on a number of core characteristics including aggression to reveal some interesting similarities. Characteristics such as sociability, dominance and aggression have all been identified as potentially

common and variable cross-species traits (Buss 1999; Gosling & John 1999; Benis 1995). This questions whether the big-5 really should be bigger and more clearly defined.

The Big-5 may show cross-cultural validity (Digman & John 1991) but there is no reason to assume that it encompasses all personality traits and that the definitions are universally accepted. The concepts of extraversion, dominance and aggression have all become theoretically enmeshed despite having different words to differentiate them. Defining the full range of personality factors evident in humans has proved to be more difficult than it probably is. Furthermore intelligence is neglected as a trait of personality and dominated by more cognitive perspectives. It is quite likely that intelligence will play a part in the overall behavioural style of an offender. A person's profile is indicative of the full range of traits that a person displays in their criminal behaviour. Aspects of aggression and dominance together with intimacy and sexual desire form the dimensions of sexually aggressive behaviour. Others are also required to explain more idiographic elements of motivation.

In the second study, a number of clinical themes were explored as components of affect and cognition. These motivational elements of sexual offending are not always evident in the behaviour alone and are not always clear to their therapists either. Some of the clinical judgements elicited from clinical reports had very little bearing on the underlying behaviour and there may be many reasons for this. One interpretation is that different aspects of social experience and functioning are independent of behavioural style, or personality. They are features that cut across sexual aggression, rather than being associated with any particular manifestation of it. Another interpretation is that the clinical themes commonly associated with sexual offenders may not be specifically relevant to sex offenders. Constructs such as emotional loneliness or social skills deficits exist to varying degrees in the population and are not exclusive to sexual offenders. Finally in order to fully explore the relationships of clinical needs, to underlying behaviour, the themes would need to be psychometrically assessed to reflect variations within the constructs.

It is also likely that individuals will not be characterised any single behavioural dimension, but rather on a profile of ACID scores. The MSA provided a clear demonstration of how clearly individuals can be discriminated when scored on multiple dimensions. By overlaying motivational factors, relationships between motivation and behaviour were examined. A range of motivations were explored, consistent with literature in this area and identified in earlier chapters. Clinical descriptors were used to code elements of anger (Groth et al 1977), power (Groth et al 1977; MacCulloch 1983), sexual motivation and distorted thinking (Abel et al, 1989).

The MSA illustrated how behaviour can be multiply-determined by more than one motivational element, suggesting that sexual aggression can not be understood within a simple cause-effect model. Although some cases were characterised by complex motivational interactions, others demonstrated clear associations between the ACID profile and motivation. Extreme sexual deviance, eroticised intimacy and aggression in a small number of cases were linked to motivations of power. Theoretically these individuals can be defined as sadistic, but suggests that sadism is not a unidimensional construct and needs to be understood in the context of other forms of sexual aggression. Within this high aggression, high deviancy group there was anecdotal evidence for an association with Psychopathy, since two individuals in this space scored above the UK cut-off for psychopathy on the Hare (1991) PCL-R.

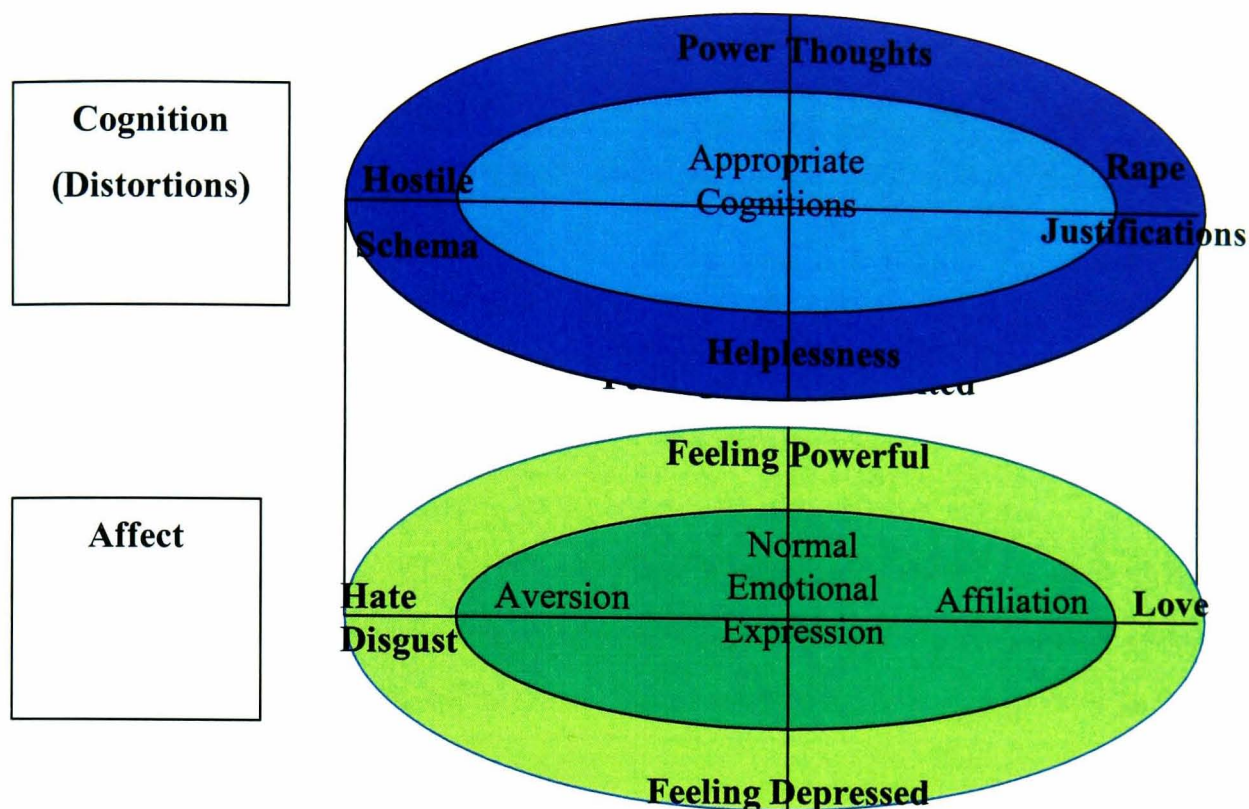
The desire for intimacy also showed an interesting relationship to intimacy within the offence. In some cases higher levels of intimacy were associated with a desire for intimacy, but higher levels of intimacy occurred in the context of a more deviant style of attack. Clearly there is a fusion between intimacy and sexual activity which is hard to empirically distinguish. There are nonetheless clear distinctions between intimacy, aggression and power in the context of a sexual offence. What is more difficult is establishing any direct motivational elements underpinning a specific style of attack. Some studies (Canter and Heritage 1990) have suggested that this behavioural intimacy

can be interpreted as a desire to have it, when in fact this is not a direct correlation. Overall rapists are not easily discriminated on the basis of single motivating factors such as anger, or a desire for intimacy.

The motivational factors (both affective and cognitive) help provide further structure within a proposed model of sexual aggression. Using the findings from both studies there is both theoretical and empirical support for a multidimensional model of sexual aggression. The meta-theoretical model proposed here incorporates a number of essential components or facets of personality. These comprise 'Motivational Processes' (Need and Desire based in Affect and Cognition), acting on core 'Temperaments' (Traits), resulting in Action (Behaviour). The first facet Behaviour is comprised of actions which reflect interests (Sexual Behaviours) coupled with actions which enable needs or interests to be satisfied. This correspondence is suggested as a cylindrex, logically derived from the first study and provided above. The motivational component of the model is provided below in **Figure 9.5** but is only intended as a theoretical possibility. This is informed from the work of Maslow (1954), and Ekman (1992), with specific motivational components drawn from Groth et al (1977), and Marshall et al (1989). These ideas were outlined in the chapter above on motivation.

Motivation can be understood through its basis in cognitive processes and the range of affective states associated with different cognitions and fantasy. This complex association can not be easily separated theoretically or conceptually although within the circumplex, normal to distorted thinking is expressed radially from the centre of the circle; normal cognition and affect comprise a range of emotions and thoughts, which do not result in antisocial behaviour. In extremis cognitions can become aggressively distorted, as hostility, or vengeance styles of thinking. Such cognitions are inevitably loaded with affect, and so are proposed as emotional in the same way that reactive aggression is mediated by anger.

Figure 9.5 Motivational Couplet of Cognition and Affect



Distorted cognitions represent deviations from basic likes and dislikes. Thoughts can become distorted through when the individual is engaged in a maladaptive thinking style that could result in harm to another person or themselves. Negative styles of thought may involve ruminating over a perceived wrong, or intense dislike for another. Such thoughts may stem from experiences of emotional, physical or sexual abuse during childhood, or may develop in later life from negative experiences of relationships or women. Positive thoughts may be similarly distorted when an individual becomes obsessed with an object of desire. In some cases of sexual aggression, women and children are targeted because the offender feels *love* towards them, and believes that no harm is caused from the abuse, or that the victims were willing participants.

Power and submission are also implicit thinking styles associated with problem solving, analogous to optimism at one end of the spectrum, to pessimism at the other. Positive thoughts often enable behaviour, while negative thinking styles can be associated with

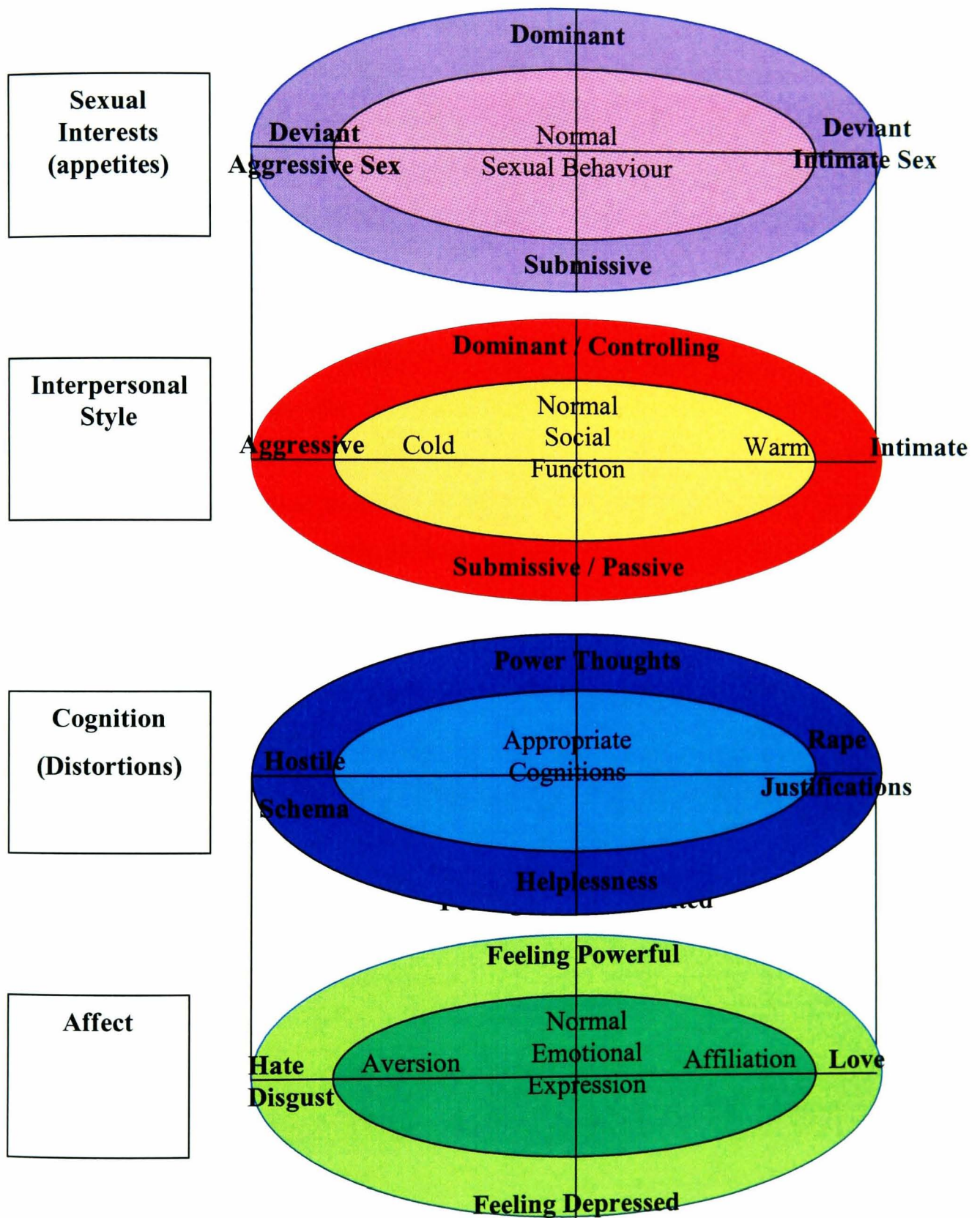
depression. Extreme power thinking in the context of sexual aggression would have theoretical associations to sadistic and psychopathic traits. Generally power, is based in the basic human needs for security and self-esteem, but distortion might reflect a disorder of personality resulting in narcissistic tendencies. The perception of no power has been described by Seligman, and the principle of learned helplessness is well established. Such thinking would have a clear association to suicidal ideation. Collectively these dimensions form the basis of a model of sexual aggression which is provided in **Figure 9.6**.

The full interactions of the model have to be understood within a dimensional framework. These dimensions are themselves complex, and might not be unitary, but rather variations of the underlying constructs. Sex, for example, ranges from normal to deviant activity, but there are variations in the types of act preferred, and in the choices of sexual partners. The sexual deviancy measure is lacking the quality of information to fully assess it, since it is solely based on sexual acts. Measures of sexual interest, behaviour or deviation need to examine not just the sexual acts, but the way in which sexual acts are performed. Knowing whether an offender is rough or gentle, consistent with their interpersonal style, will reveal more about the motivational intent.

Within the ACID dimensions there is empirical support for an underlying cumulative structure to core aspects of human functioning, and evidence here, is for a cumulative structure to aspects of aggression, intimacy, deviancy and control. While this work provides some empirical support for the behavioural features, it is possible that aspects of emotional and cognitive functioning are similarly cumulative. Anger, for example, can incorporate minor annoyance to extreme rage, along a continuum of aversive affect.

Figure 9.6

Metatheoretical Model of Sexual Aggression



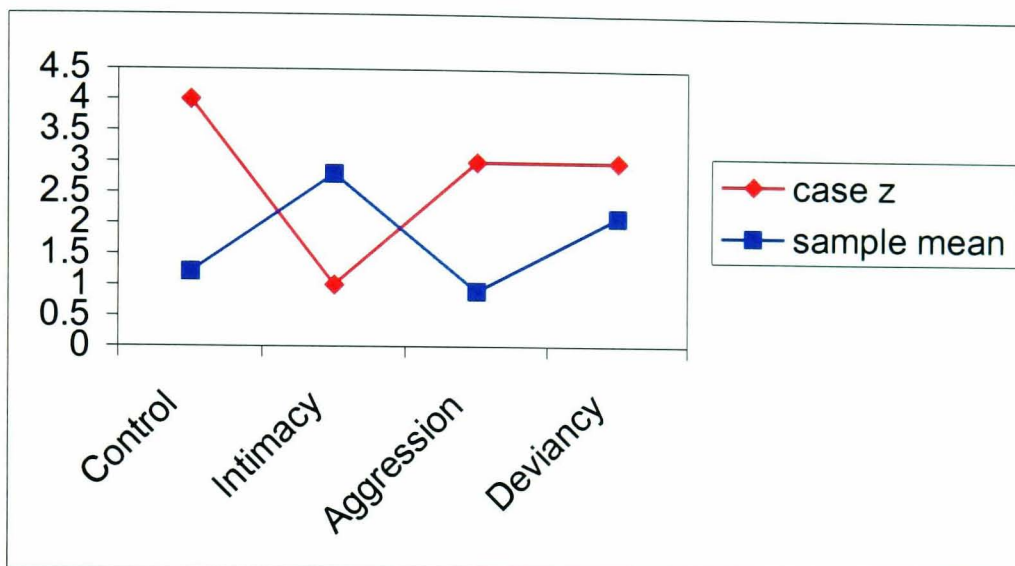
Rage, as the ultimate expression of anger, occurs rarely, but is explosive, while annoyance is something experienced by most people on a day-to-day basis. This would suggest that it is cumulative. More importantly, the utility of scales based on internal consistency has been strongly criticised by Michell (1997), since they fail to take into account variations in patterns of responding. Given this, it would be negligent to offer any new psychological measure unless it conforms to a robust measurement model, such as Rasch.

More definitive behavioural features are collected in some police databases concerned with rape and sexual murder and these might well reveal some useful measurement properties. Items examined in the same way are likely to elicit potentially similar structures. There are clear overlaps between the constructs identified here and those constructs identified within child molesters (Canter and Kirby 1997) and sexual murder (Ressler, Burgess and Douglass 1988). By utilising a set of scales, the overall profile for an individual should to some extent characterise the individual (on 4 dimensions). Individuals can be coded and scored on the 4 measures to provide a psychometric offender profile. This allows a whole range of possible profiles on these 4 dimensions. If the scores were grouped into high, medium and low on 4 dimensions allows for many possible response profiles and therein lies the power of the model. Individuals are not assigned to a particular type but instead has a profile on a set of dimensions. This can be illustrated by taking one of the cases and plotting their score profile against an average score profile for the group as in **Figure 9.7**.

The function of the model is to provide a framework for the understanding of sexual aggression in all its diversity. Whether for the purposes of research, or within the context of clinical and forensic practises, the absence of an explanatory model, has hindered systematic approaches to understanding and discriminating sexual aggressors. While the model has been based on rape, its applicability is far broader, and can incorporate the full range of expression of both sexual and aggressive practises. Indecent assault (non-penetrative sexual assault) can be understood as sexual aggression, not involving

penetration but including the same variations in aggression and control, together with similar motivational drive states. Sexual homicide can be understood as rape or indecent assault which incorporates lethal force within the aggressive interpersonal mode.

Figure 9.7 Example offence profile for a single case Z



Likewise there are associations between sexual homicide and extreme levels of deviant sexual behaviour, and control. Many of these aggressive modes of action, are theoretically coupled with motivational elements of anger or resentment (hostility) as well as sexual deviance (sadism and paraphilias) and homicidal motivations. The sadism construct relates specifically (and by definition) to extreme levels of control (power), aggression and sexual variation. Child molestation (which incorporates the same behavioural components only to differing degrees). There is less need to use aggression on a child because they are more compliant. The choice of sexual object is an aspect of the sexual variation facet. Other deviations in sexual object can likewise be considered.

Individual differences in sexual aggression can be interpreted from this multiplicity of dimensions. A person can be expressed radially along any dimension (unipolar or bipolar), on each layer. Aspects of motivation such as anger, intimacy or sex can all co-

occur within the same offence, and be manifest in a range of aggressive and intimate acts of a sexual nature. A person is defined by their constellation on all these dimensions but only at a specific moment in time. Interpretations can only reflect the time when a person acted for a specific reason, in a specific way, rather than being generalisable across time and contexts. In the context of rape a man can behave in both a friendly and hostile way and any model must allow for such bi-polar extremes. Understanding an individual's profile requires applying the idiographic characteristics of an individual's motivation and behaviour to each of the proposed dimensions.

The model also demonstrates consistency with other, simpler, theoretical models of aggression such as Berkowitz, as well as theoretical perspectives on personality. By considering the main facets of sexual aggression within the main facets of personality it has been possible to demonstrate that variations between offenders may be attributable to underlying personality variations. Understanding that people have a structure for personality based in cognition affect and behaviour is one part of this thesis, but the idea is complemented by the concept of desire. Desire is proposed by many authors, but not often examined in research; desires are implicit to most theories of personality as conation, will, sentiments or characteristic adaptations. Motivations need to be understood with reference to reactive (anger) processes, as well as desires for sex, power or revenge. The model is a means of framing the varieties of sexual aggression, as well as illustrating how typological variations (consistent with all typologies) might be inferred if one was so inclined.

Conclusions

This work has set out to examine variations in the behaviour and motives of men who sexually aggress women, and necessarily explores numerous psychological theories and concepts. It is proposed that rape can be modelled in a way that is consistent with theories of aggression, theories of personality and clinical perspectives on sexual offenders.

Within this work there are a number of important findings that have implications for further work in this area. Firstly that there are at least four core behavioural themes evident in accounts of rapists' behaviour. The behavioural dimensions are not simply linear, but may represent a cumulative ordering of low to high levels of intimacy, aggression, and control, based on items relevant to different degrees of the constructs. Sexual deviancy is also proposed as ordered, but may be ordered in a way that corresponds to more general styles of interpersonal action. The interpersonal dimensions of aggression, intimacy and control, bear a direct correspondence to the dimensions of the interpersonal circumplex.

This work offers a framework for understanding sexual aggression that has applicability across professional settings. Future work could further refine these measures, utilising more behavioural features available from victim testimonies. In the context of offender profiling the use of a measurement model would provide a higher degree of specificity and discrimination. The ACID scales provide a means of deriving an offender's profile in a way that is directly comparable to other offenders, or the same offender in a series of crimes. Within clinical contexts the measures can be used to derive an empirical formulation of the offence and when combined with known motivational features (as affective and cognitive processes), provides a scientific form of functional analysis and an objective assessment of rape behaviour.

Chapter 10

Supplementary: Etymology of Sexual Aggression

The importance of the language used to denote sexual aggression is imbedded in a meaning that has evolved from the social functions of human actions. *Scientifically*, the language of sexual aggression has to reflect the social understanding of the phenomenon. “The importance of understanding people is central to our human functioning and as such is reflected in a rich language used to describe different experiences or actions”. (Pervin 1992, p)

This is the basic premise of the ‘fundamental lexical hypothesis’ and is consistent with many similar concepts which relate to the meaning of language (Vygotsky’s; Goldberg 1990), and is worth reiterating:

“The variety of individual differences is nearly boundless, yet most of these differences are insignificant in people’s daily interactions with others and have remained largely unnoticed. Sir Francis Galton may have been among the first scientists to recognize explicitly the fundamental lexical hypothesis - namely that the most important individual differences in human transactions will come to be encoded as single terms in some or all of the world’s languages. (Goldberg 1990, p1216 in Pervin 1993)

and:

“Language creates culture creates consciousness” Vygotsky

If any sense is to be made of sexual aggression, there has to be a common sense of what the terms applied to sexual aggression *mean*, and how those terms are used. The definitional elements of sexual aggression incorporate many actions, which may serve different functions for the individual. The meaning of aggression scientifically has to be what Mororn (1987) calls *instantiated* (grounded) in a terminology, consistent with social meaning. There are many terms associated with aggression, such as violence or

dangerous, and many terms to describe different sexual acts. These words are the foundations of our understanding, and originate from often older, and wiser uses of the terminology.

The Etymology of Sexual Aggression

In everyday terms, aggression conjures up many images, from acts of self-defence, to malicious acts of extreme cruelty or destruction. Within these broad distinctions there is huge variation in both the quality and quantity of aggressive actions, which range from explicit acts of physical violence, and rape, to simple verbal threats, or insults. As such aggression is a multiplicity of action and intent, comprising verbal and physical actions of differing degrees, motivated by numerous affective and cognitive processes. Aggression can serve many instrumental functions, and rape is one of those. The language available to express many facets of coercive and violent sexual activity is diverse but consistent across cultures, suggesting a common basis for meaning; some of these etymological considerations are outlined here.

The term aggression has a Roman, or Latin origin and an association to war; *aggrēdi*, to aggress, derives from *ad gradi*, to go, or move forward in battle through attacking (advance). The word *danger(ous)*, derives from this power to do harm, or the right of a lord to impose his will, in Medieval English. The Latin origin of dangerous is potentially *dominion*, kingdom or *dominus*, lord, implying power, or dominance.

The word rape as a noun is a variously used agricultural terms in 14th Century Middle English, describing turnips, and the herb *rape*, a member of the mustard family (*rapa* in Latin and *raba* in High German). The word rape was also used in 17th Century France as a term for grape stems. As a verb rape derives from the Latin, *rapere* to seize, used in the context of war to describe the seizure of land, property, or a person through force. European derivations of the word are inevitably similar, and *rapier* in old French means to abduct, implying a person. (www.m-w.com -Merriam Webster online dictionary 2002).

Generally speaking it seems to refer to a wide range products which were cultivated (some of which represent early crops), and which might therefore be of value. As such the noun could relate to its use as a verb similarly. To rape someone of their property.

Rape, as the expression of power, often occurs in the context of war, throughout recorded history. Sexual aggression is the expression of hostility, or anger, and a way to assert dominance over the defeated social group or individual. The application of the term to sexual aggression might be traced directly to the way women were abused, or enslaved, in times of war, by victorious armies, or their leaders.

The word sex from middle English (from Latin) *sexus* defined as either of the two major forms ,in a species, male and female. But refers to *arouse* in the 19th century, or to increase sexual appeal. The term for inserting the penis is *coitus* from *co* (together) coupled with the verb *ire* to, go, or come, *coire*, hence the use of the word, *come*, as orgasm - sex is the coming together of two people.

Intimacy has a number of origins in the word *hint*, to share, or *intimate* at something. The Latin *intimare* is to make familiar, consistent with modern usage as a term for familiarity with someone close, or sharing inmost, inward, interior thoughts and feelings. As such it is associated with love. Love had such significance in Greek and Roman History that it is represented in more than one way as different Greek goddesses and gods, which are open to various interpretations. One interpretation is that the first *Love* (known also as Eros, or Amor), represents the mother of all gods (Mother Love). Venus (Aphrodite) is also a goddess of love, but representing beauty, and so love of beauty, and her son Cupid (also known as Eros) represents the love between men and women, or desire and lust.

The English word for love draws from the Greek, while other European languages use Amor as root of love, (Latin Amare, amorous), or Eros (erotic). Conversely Cupid's brother was Anteros (vengeance associated with love, or anti-love). Love is the universal expression of positive feelings, likewise associated with pleasure, attachment, joy and

happiness, not excluding life (love, luve, lufe, life, all mean love across Europe). Affect (affectare, affecten) means to influence, or to act, and specifically to act on emotion, but its obsolete usage is as a word for like, or love. Bacchus, was the greek god of wine, for the social and beneficial aspects of wine, he was the promoter of civilisation as lawgiver and lover of peace (liberty, or freedom), and partying. He also has another name associated with liberty, *Liber*. Wine and its association to sexual arousal (as a disinhibitor) is implicit in Bacchus (bacchanalian), and the term libido can be traced to the Roman name for Bacchus.

Alternately hate is similar across old and modern languages (haten, hatian haat hassen) as a term for dislike, aversion or disgust. In Greek Myth Hades represents the underworld (things that are negative). Intimidation, is related to intimacy, but is the antithesis, and constitutes actions which instil fear (frighten into submission, or provoke timidity), or coerce another person. (sources Webster's Revised). The term coerce means to control, or restrain, usually by force, as well as to dominate. Power means, the ability to perform well, relating to aptitude. The Latin, potis, means strong or powerful, and in old French *pooir*, means to be able). Power in modern use of power is both as strength, or to represent energy (power station), or to imply dominance over another country.

Mythology in many ways provided a framework for understanding human action, in which gods were depicted to represent the many modes of behaviour observed in human nature (Love and Hate, or Dominance and Submission in all their forms). Many of these terms could indicate a socio-biological development. Intimacy in males is either suggested by announcement (male displays to impress females), or by affect. Intimidation and intimacy potentially forms a bi-polar construct. Similarly power as strength, is the classical use of the term, and represents virility and dominance, while submission and weakness might be considered antonyms of dominance.

A word that receives less attention is *fuck*, which is the obscene word for sex; this word originates in Dutch, Danish and Scandinavian languages (A Viking influence with a

potential association to rape and pillaging). Fokken (Dutch) or Fokka (Swedish) refers to cattle breeding, or as a reference to obscene acts of copulation, as the expression of anger, contempt or disgust. Viking rape, represented the expression of contempt for other nations (treating others as animals), within cultural expectations of male roles at the time. In many ways *fuck* applies specifically to rape.

The meaning of language is therefore embedded in most cultures, and there are terms for most behaviours common to humans. The main emphasis of this work is on rape, defined as “any penetrative act” (Marshall and Barbaree 1984), but will have relevance to other, indecent and violent acts, since they appear to involve greater or lesser degrees of the same constructs used to describe them. Constructs such as control (dominance), sexual interest, and aggression are needed to define almost all forms of sex crime and so form a basis for examining any sexual offence. The term sexual aggression is a useful term for the spectrum of sexual offences and is used to describe general observations.

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Appendix I

The BADMAN Proforma (Behavioural Science Unit, Surrey Police)

CRIME CHARACTERISTICS

1. WERE OTHER INCIDENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS CRIME NO/YES

Unlawful Entry into Premises []
Attack/Assault in Open Air []
Indecent Exposure []
Other []

Comment

2. **WAS ASSAULT SITE IN THE OPEN AIR NO/YES

Street	[]	Urban	[]
Park/Garden	[]	Rural	[]
Car Park	[]		
Wooded Area	[]		
Other	[]		

Comment

3. **WAS ASSAULT SITE IN A BUILDING NO/YES

Victim Premises	[]	Urban	[]
Offender Premises	[]	Rural	[]
Business Premises	[]		
Other Building	[]		

Comment

4. **WAS SEXUAL ASSAULT SITE DIFFERENT TO FIRST CONTACT SITE NO/YES

If YES then first contact was - In Street etc.	[]	Premises = Residence	[]
Park/Garden	[]	Premises = Business	[]
Car Park	[]	Other Building	[]
Wooded Area	[]	A Pub/Club	[]
Other Outside	[]	Transport Facility	[]

Comment

5. VICTIM TAKEN TO OTHER OUTSIDE SCENE NO/YES

Comment

6. VICTIM TAKEN TO OTHER BUILDING ... NO/YES

Comment

7. ...OR OTHER PART OF BUILDING NO/YES

Comment

DISTANCE TAKEN (to nearest half mile) []

8. **WAS A VEHICLE USED IN THE CRIME NO/YES

As Scene [] Offender Vehicle [] Private Car etc. []

As Access [] Victim Vehicle [] Light Goods []
Heavy Goods []

Comment

AT ANY TIME DID THE FOLLOWING HAPPEN?

9. **DISGUISE WORN NO/YES

Full Balaclava/Ski Mask etc. [] Partial Obscured Features []
Article of Clothing [] Other Material []
Brought to Scene [] Improvised at Scene []

Comment

10. **WEAPON SEEN NO/YES

Bladed [] Brought to Scene []
Blunt [] Used from Scene []
Firearm/Imitation Firearm [] Improvised Article []
Ligature []
Stupefying Agent []

Comment

11. **THREAT OF HAVING WEAPON NO/YES

Verbal Threat of Weapon [] Possible Concealed Weapon []

Comment

12. **OFFENDER LAY IN WAIT NO/YES

Concealed in Premises []
Seen Waiting for Victim []
Concealed in/around Vehicle []
Other []

Comment

13. **OFFENDER EXTENDS TIME AFTER ASSAULT NO/YES

Extends Time with Victim in Order to Re-offend []
Keeps Victim Captive []
Extends Time Talking/Being with the Victim []

14. **STEAL PERSONAL PROPERTY NO/YES (Low Value)

Personal Documents [] Processed Photographs []
Underwear [] Top Clothes []
Other Personal Low Value Item [] []

Comment

15. **STEAL UNIDENTIFIABLE PROPERTY NO/YES

Money [] Jewellery/Gold/Silver []
Other Goods []

Comment

16. **STEAL IDENTIFIABLE PROPERTY NO/YES

Marked Serialised Goods [] Cheques/Cards []
Personal Items of Value [] Other Identifiable []

Comment

17. **CRIME SCENE INTERFERENCE

NO/YES

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Removed Semen by Wiping/Washing | <input type="checkbox"/> | Used a Condom | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Wore Gloves on Hands | <input type="checkbox"/> | Wore Socks on Hands | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Forced Victim to Swallow Semen | <input type="checkbox"/> | Wiped Surfaces/Avoided Touching | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Avoided Ejaculation | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Removed Contaminated Articles | <input type="checkbox"/> | Disabled Telephone | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Destroyed Contaminated Articles | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment

18. **DID VICTIM RESIST?

NO/YES

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Low Verbal Resistance | <input type="checkbox"/> | Mod/High Verbal Resistance | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Low Physical Resistance | <input type="checkbox"/> | Mod/High Physical Resistance | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Slight Injury from Resistance | <input type="checkbox"/> | Severe Injury from Resistance | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment

19. **OFFENDER DRINKING

NO/YES

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Victim Believed Offender to Have had Small Amount of Alcohol Prior to Assault | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Victim Believed Offender to Have had Large Amount of Alcohol Prior to Assault | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment

VERBAL BEHAVIOUR

20. **CON APPROACH

NO/YES

By Buying/Selling Goods	[]	Impersonating Police	[]
By Seeking Help	[]	Impersonating Utilities	[]
By Offering Help	[]	Implying Friendship/Associates	[]
Staging/Implying Accident	[]	Extended Con	[]
Other	[]		

Comment

21. **IDENTIFIES VICTIM

NO/YES

Asks Victims Name	[]
Asks Victims Address	[]

Comment

22. **INQUISITIVE

NO/YES

Questions about Work	[]	Questions about Friends/Family	[]
Questions about Social Life	[]	Questions about other Personal Matters	[]

Comment

23. **COMPLIMENTS

NO/YES

About Looks	[]	As Reward for Things Victim has Been Forced to Do	[]
About Physical Attributes	[]		
About Dress/Demeanour	[]	Other Compliment	[]

Comment

24. **REASSURES

NO/YES

Indicating he will not Hurt	[]	Indicating he only wants to Steal	[]
Indicating he will not Sexually Assault	[]	Indicating he only wants to Look	[]
Indicating he will not Kill	[]	Indicating he only wants to Touch	[]
		Indicating he only wants to Talk	[]
Concerned for Welfare of Victim/Other	[]	Other Reassurance	[]

25. **DEMEANS

NO/YES

The Victim personally []
 Victim Gender in General []
 Their Race, Colour or Religion []
 People in General []

Comment

26. **APOLOGISES NO/YES

Before Sexual Activity []
 During Course of Assault []
 Immediately before Offender Leaves []

Comment

27. **REVEALS SELF DETAIL NO/YES

Uses/gives a Name	[]	About Experience with Opposite Sex	[]
An Area of Residence/Employment	[]	Admits Offending Before	[]
About Family	[]	About Other Personal Matters	[]

Comment

28. **THREAT NO REPORT NO/YES (Direct or Implied Threat Not to Report Attack)

To Police	[]	Offender Will Return to Victim in Future	[]
		Victim Will Not Be believed	[]
To Others	[]	Others, Not Offender Will Return	[]
		Victim Will Be Seen as Cooperating/Consenting	[]
		Harm will Come to Family/Friends	[]

Comment

29. **VERBAL VIOLENCE NO/YES (Not Related to Control of Victim)

Cutting/Injuring Dace/Mouth/Eyes	[]	Inserting object etc. to injure	[]
Cutting/Injuring Nipples or Breasts	[]	Threat of Killing Victim	[]
Cutting/Injuring Genitals	[]	Other Non-specific	[]

Comment

30. **DEMANDS GOODS

NO/YES

Money	<input type="checkbox"/>	Made Before Other Activity	<input type="checkbox"/>
Valuable Property – jewellery/gold	<input type="checkbox"/>	Made During Course of Assault	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other Valuable Property	<input type="checkbox"/>	Made Immediately Before Escape	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

31. **IMPLIES KNOWLEDGE OF VICTIM

NO/YES

By Previous Sighting	<input type="checkbox"/>
By Other Knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>
By Knowing Associates/Friends	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

32. **EXPRESSES DISSATISFACTION

NO/YES

With Victim	<input type="checkbox"/>
With Self	<input type="checkbox"/>
With Other People	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

PHYSICAL BEHAVIOUR

33. **SURPRISE ATTACK NO/YES

Approach from Rear or Side	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hand over Mouth	<input type="checkbox"/>
Approach from Front	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hand around Neck	<input type="checkbox"/>
		Hand around Other Body/Limbs	<input type="checkbox"/>
Control by Presence – No Physical Contact			<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

34. **BLITZ ATTACK NO/YES

Bodily Contact which Knocks Victim Over/Causes Disorientation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Punching at Face/Head or Body	<input type="checkbox"/>
Striking with Weapon or Implement	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stabbing or Cutting Victim	<input type="checkbox"/>
Use of Vehicle Striking Victim	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

35. **BLINDFOLD NO/YES

With Material from Scene	<input type="checkbox"/>	Before Sexual Activity	<input type="checkbox"/>
With Victim Clothing	<input type="checkbox"/>	During Course of Attack	<input type="checkbox"/>
With Articles Brought to Scene	<input type="checkbox"/>	Immediately Before Escape	<input type="checkbox"/>
Removed/Removed and Replaced During Assault			<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

36. **BINDING NO/YES

Bound Hands	<input type="checkbox"/>	With Articles from Scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bound Arms	<input type="checkbox"/>	With Victim Clothing	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bound Ankles	<input type="checkbox"/>	With Articles Brought to Scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bound Legs	<input type="checkbox"/>	With Rope or Similar Material	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bound Ankles/Legs to Hands/Arm	<input type="checkbox"/>	With Tape or Similar Material	<input type="checkbox"/>
Binding Extended to Neck/Head	<input type="checkbox"/>	With Handcuffs, of any Description	<input type="checkbox"/>
Before Sexual Activity	<input type="checkbox"/>	During Course of Attack	<input type="checkbox"/>
Immediately Before Escape	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Removed/Removed and Replaced During Assault			<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

37. **GAGGING

NO/YES

- With Articles From Scene [] Before Sexual Activity []
- With Victim Clothing [] During Course of Attack []
- With Articles Brought to Scene [] Immediately Before Escape []
- Removed/Removed and Replaced During Assault []

Comment

38. **SINGLE ACTS OF VIOLENCE

NO/YES (Not Initial Contact)

- Single Punch/Slap [] In Response to Victim Resistance []
- Single Kick [] To Reinforce Commands []
- Single Stab or Cut [] Gratuitous -
- Single Act of Strangulation or Throttling [] No Identifiable Precipitating Cause []
- Single Bite []
- Single Act of Other Violence []

Comment

39. **MULTIPLE ACTS OF VIOLENCE

NO/YES (Not Initial Contact)

- Multiple Punches/Slaps [] In Response to Victim Resistance []
- Multiple Kicks [] To Reinforce Commands []
- Multiple Stabs or Cuts [] Gratuitous -
- Multiple Acts of Strangulation or Throttling [] No Identifiable Precipitating Cause []
- Multiple Acts of Biting []
- Multiple Acts of Other Violence []

Comment

40. **DETERRED/CHANGES

NO/YES

- Ceases any Activity due to Physical Resistance [] Negotiates any Activity with Victim []
- Ceases any Activity due to Verbal Resistance [] Changes because of External Factors []

Comment

41. **VICTIM CLOTHING REMOVED NO/YES

Upper Clothing: Removes All []
Removes Some []
Moves in Order to Facilitate Touching []

Lower Clothing: Removes All []
Removes Some []
Moves in Order to Facilitate Touching/Penetration []

Orders Victim to Remove Own Clothing []
Victim Naked Prior to Attack []

Comment

42. **OFFENDER CLOTHING REMOVED NO/YES

Offender Removes Own Clothing []
Forces Victim to Remove Offender's Clothing []
All Clothing Removed []
Some Clothing Removed []

Comment

43. **TEARS CLOTHING NO/YES

Tearing/Ripping of Outer Clothing []
Tearing/Ripping of Under Clothing []

Comment

44. **CUTS CLOTHING NO/YES

Cutting of Outer Clothing []
Cutting of Under Clothing []

Comment

45. **DEMEANS PHYSICALLY NO/YES

Forces Victim to Do any **Additional** Degrading or Demeaning Act []

Comment

46. **IDENTIFIES

NO/YES

Identifies Victim Through Personal Documentation []

Comment

47. **KISSES FACE/NECK

NO/YES

Closed Mouth []

Open Mouth []

Orders/Expects Victim to Kiss Offender []

Offender Tongue in Victim Mouth []

Orders/Expects Victim Tongue in Offender Mouth []

Offender Gives Victim a "Love Bite" []

Wants/Orders Victim to Give Offender a "Love Bite" []

Other []

Comment

SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR
(Includes attempts to do so ...)

48. **VAGINAL PENETRATION – FRONT

NO/YES

Only Sexual Act	[]	Victim Face Up	[]
As One of Other Acts	[]	Victim Face Down	[]
As Choice Given	[]	Victim Sitting	[]
		Victim Standing	[]
Lubricant used	[]	Victim Kneeling	[]
		Victim in Other Position	[]

Comment

49. **VAGINAL PENETRATION – REAR

NO/YES

Only Sexual Act	[]	Victim Face Up	[]
As One of Other Acts	[]	Victim Face Down	[]
As Choice Given	[]	Victim Sitting	[]
		Victim Standing	[]
Lubricant used	[]	Victim Kneeling	[]
		Victim in Other Position	[]

Comment

50. **ORAL – VICTIM TO OFFENDER (fellatio)

NO/YES

Only Sexual Act	[]	To Stimulate Offender	[]
As One of Other Acts	[]	Licking/Sucking Testes	[]
As Choice Given	[]	Oral Ejaculation	[]

Comment

51. **ORAL – OFFENDER TO VICTIM (Cunnilingus)

NO/YES

Only Sexual Act	[]	As One of Other Acts	[]
Licking/Sucking Genitals	[]	Oral Ejaculation	[]
Biting Without Inflicting Pain	[]	Biting/Sucking Causing Pain	[]
As Choice Given	[]		

Comment

52. **ANAL PENETRATION

NO/YES

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Only Sexual Act | <input type="checkbox"/> | Victim Face Up | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| As One of Other Acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | Victim Face Down | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| As Choice Given | <input type="checkbox"/> | Victim Sitting | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | Victim Standing | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Lubricant used | <input type="checkbox"/> | Victim Kneeling | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | Victim in Other Position | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment

53. **ANALINGUS

NO/YES

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Only Sexual Act | <input type="checkbox"/> | Licking/Penetration of Anus | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| As One of Other Acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | Licking/Kissing Anal Area | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| As Choice Given | <input type="checkbox"/> | Causing Pain | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Requires Victim to Lick/Kiss Offender's Anus | | | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment

54. **FOREIGN OBJECT INSERTION

NO/YES

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Of Vagina | <input type="checkbox"/> | Bladed Object | <input type="checkbox"/> | Brought to Scene | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Of Anus | <input type="checkbox"/> | Blunt Object | <input type="checkbox"/> | Improvised from Scene | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Of Mouth | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | |

Comment

55. **VICTIM POSITIONED

NO/YES

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| On/Over Object | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With Legs Raised | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| In Other Positions | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment

56. **VICTIM PARTICIPATION REQUIRED

NO/YES

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Physically Moving | <input type="checkbox"/> | Masturbate Offender | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Verbal Expressions | <input type="checkbox"/> | Masturbate Self | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Holding Offender | <input type="checkbox"/> | Touch/Caress Self | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment

57. **VICTIM COMMENT REQUIRED

NO/YES

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| About Own Body | [] | About Sexual Matters Generally | [] |
| About Offender's Body | [] | About Offence Specific Sexual Matters | [] |
| About Own Sexual Performance | [] | | |
| About Offender Sexual Performance | [] | To Use Specific Words/Phrases | [] |

Comment

58. **OFFENDER COMMENT MADE

NO/YES

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| About Victim's Body | [] | About Sexual Matters Generally | [] |
| About Offender's Own Body | [] | About Offence Specific Sexual Matters | [] |
| About Victim's Performance | [] | | |
| About Own Performance | [] | Uses/Repeats Words/Phrases | [] |

Comment

59. **OTHER OFFENDER ACTIVITY

NO/YES

- | | |
|--|-----|
| Masturbates Before Other Sexual Activity | [] |
| Masturbates As Only Sexual Activity | [] |
| Masturbates During/Between Acts of Penetration | [] |
| Masturbates After Penetration | [] |
| Masturbates to Ejaculation | [] |

Comment

60. **SEXUAL FONDLING

NO/YES

(Touching/Kissing)

- | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
| Breasts | [] | Caressing | [] |
| Vagina | [] | Causing Physical Discomfort | [] |
| Anus | [] | Causing Physical Pain | [] |
| Buttocks | [] | Gives Victim a "Love Bite" | [] |
| Limbs | [] | | |
| Feet | [] | | |

Comment

61. **DIGITAL PENETRATION

NO/YES

Vagina	[]	Caressing	[]
Anus	[]	Causing Physical Discomfort	[]
Mouth	[]	Causing Physical Pain	[]

Offender to victim	[]	Victim to offender	[]
--------------------	-----	--------------------	-----

Comment

62. **DYSFUNCTION IN ERECTION

NO/YES

Unable to Gain full Erection at Any Time	[]
Erection After Self Masturbation	[]
Erection After Victim Manual Masturbation of Offender	[]
Erection After Fellatio	[]
Erection After Vaginal/Anal Penetration of Victim	[]
Erection Conditional on Victim Saying Certain Words/Phrases	[]
Erection Conditional on Victim Doing Certain Other Acts	[]

Comment

63. **OFFENDER DEMEANOUR

Unknown/Known

Nervous	[]
Pseudo sensitive/concerned	[]
Confident	[]
Angry/aggressive	[]
Changeable	[]

Comment

64. **CESSATION OF ATTACK

Unknown/Known

Offender Left	[]	Victim Escaped	[]
Victim Left	[]	Disturbed by Others	[]
Unknown Reason	[]		

Comment

65. **PERVERSE/UNUSUAL SEXUAL ACTIVITIES

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Victim to Dress – Sexually Related | [] | Offender in Female Clothing | [] |
| Offender Dresses in Victim’s Clothing | [] | Arranges Victim’s Clothing Sexually | [] |
| Spectator Activity – (Scopophilia) | [] | Other undefined sexual activity | [] |

Comment

.....

.....