

# A Model of Coerciveness Against Women

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Emma Peters

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## Abstract

The last decade or so has seen a dramatic increase in both interest and research in the sexual offending area. Thus, the literature of this area is both varied and abundant in its scope and has resulted in the dual problems of proliferation and neglect. To solve these dual problems, Ward and Hudson (1997) proposed their metatheoretical framework for the construction and organisation of theory in the sexual offending area. This framework provides the basis for the theory knitting involved in the coercive model proposed by this thesis; with Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) theory of the etiology of sexual offending and Malamuth, Heavey and Linz' (1993) confluence model of sexual aggression providing the primary material. Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model are able to be 'knitted' due to their complimentary natures and the significant overlap between the two. The coercive model developed in this thesis also includes additional material which helps to fill several of the explanatory gaps not covered by the knitting of the theory and the model. An evaluation of the coercive model is given as well as suggestions for various avenues of future research.

## Chapter One: Introduction

### **Perusal of General Literature on Sexual Aggression:**

There seems to be general consensus amongst most authors in the sexual offending area that sexual offending is being reported more frequently and is most probably on the increase (Polaschek, Ward & Hudson, 1997; Pollard, 1994; Gavey, 1991). Some authors cite parallels with an ever increasingly violent society which accepts aggressive behaviour (and thus also sexually aggressive behaviour) as normal (e.g. Hall & Barongan, 1997). Several authors (e.g. Donnerstein & Linz, 1994; St Lawrence & Joyner, 1991) suggest that individuals become desensitised to interpersonal violence not only through personal experiences (i.e. growing up in hostile/violent home environments), but also through the mass media (e.g. violent nonsexual & violent sexual television programmes & films, pornography both soft & hard core, sexually violent & nonsexually violent heavy-metal rock music) so that the acceptance of violence towards women (and others) is developed and enhanced from a very young age. Aggressive behaviour, especially sexually aggressive behaviour, against women is rapidly becoming one of society's prominent problems which holds serious implications for women's health and well-being both mentally and physically and especially in terms of their reproductive health (Koss, Heise & Russo; 1994).

In attempting to ascertain the extent and nature of sexual offending, the literature in this area has become both varied and prolific in its scope. Since the late 1970's information has been collated on sexual offenders, their victims and the offences themselves. Only a small amount of the information gained through studies has been specifically formulated or unified into theories regarding these issues. Thus, the majority of the literature on sexual offending remains as specific, isolated groups of information on issues as varied as: the reasons why individuals sexually offend, the role society plays in sexual offending, mechanisms such as rape myths which both provide a justification for the offence and absolve the offender of responsibility; the impact that sexual offending has on the

victim's life and so forth. However, although much of this information is not currently part of a unified theory, it highlights important issues and concepts which are essential 'background' information to the understanding of the complex area of sexual offending and the ultimate goal of prevention of this type of behaviour. The role of this chapter is to briefly discuss some of the information on these issues so as to provide the reader with ideas, information and concepts which are essential to the coercive model provided later; and also to demonstrate the glaring need for unification and theory knitting within the sexual offending literature.

Pollard (1994) and Koss and Mukai (1993) both note that although victim surveys of rape show that the frequency of rape is rapidly reaching epidemic proportions, it remains primarily a hidden crime as victims rarely report that they have been raped to the authorities. A number of researchers note that this lack of reporting by victims can be partially explained by public attitudes to the rape of intimates or acquaintances, whereby enforced intercourse is less likely to be defined as rape if there has been prior romantic involvement or mutually consenting sexual activity (Koss, Heise, et al). In these circumstances the victim is seen as more 'willing', while the attack is often viewed as justifiable in that it is believed that either: (i) the male had the right (e.g. marital) to sex; or (ii) the male was led to 'expect' intercourse (Pollard; 1994). Society's current dating norms, in that males are socialised to be sexually assertive and women to be resistant in a nonaggressive manner (Ullman & Knight; 1995), partially explains why most rapes go unreported. Quina (1996) notes that when the victims of coercive behaviour do not report the incident, or when the institutions designed to protect victims do not respond to such reports, then men who use coercion against women gain power. Quina (pg 185) states that: "It is estimated that less than ten percent of victims of all sexual assaults report them to the police or other authorities...Among those who do report sexual harassment, fewer than a third find favourable decisions from authorities..." The fact that the probability of the offender being brought to trial and of the offender being convicted are both lower

than for other types of sexual assaults and for other crimes (Polaschek et al.; 1997) also goes some way to explaining a lack of reporting by victims.

However, despite the fact that unwanted sex between intimates or acquaintances is often classified as not constituting 'real' rape and in addition is often viewed in the public domain as not being very serious, several studies have shown that the traumatic effects experienced in these cases are just as serious as those experienced by survivors of stranger rapes (Koss, Heise, et al). For example, Gavey (1991) notes that although rape and sexual coercion are widespread within heterosexual relationships, much of this abuse is not even acknowledged by women themselves (let alone reported to authorities), meaning that the after effects of the abuse often work as a hidden source of distress and thus have serious effects on women's mental and physical health. In addition, Koss, Heise, et al. note that often the ongoing trauma is worse for victims raped by men known to them, than it is for the victims of stranger rape. This is especially so in the case of marital rape, where often the woman can be 'tied' by economic pressures or by feelings such as love, loyalty and fear, with the women feeling that there are no escape avenues possible save the one of death, especially when other forms of abuse (e.g. dominance and isolation, economic deprivation, physical and emotional abuse) are also present. Similarly, Malamuth, Heavey and Linz (1993) note that although instability and distress in relationships, sexism, and discrimination against women, may not be as easily observable and quantifiable as physical violence, they also have long-term negative consequences.

This thesis focuses primarily on sexually aggressive behaviour directed towards women (with women being defined as females who are 16 years of age or older), and therefore, does not include abuse or molestation of females under the age of sixteen years. Thus, when focusing on sexually aggressive behaviour, this thesis is focusing primarily on the behaviour of rape for which the defining characteristic is the lack of choice or consent by the woman to engage in sexual intercourse (Koss, Heise, et al). Koss, Heise, et al. (pg 511) state that most legal definitions define the act of rape as



“...penetration either oral, anal, or vaginal, against the woman’s consent, through force, threat of bodily harm, or when the woman is unable to consent.”

Behaviours included within the bounds of the term sexual aggression range along a continuum. At the extreme end of the continuum are femicide, murder (Quina; 1996) and horrific, predatory sexual assaults which may or may not end in the victim’s death (Stevens, 1994; Ellis, 1989) committed by men characterised by chronic lifetime emotional and social isolation, a severe lack of appropriate heterosexual relationships and a number of other risk factors (Grubin; 1994). At the other end of the continuum, are behaviours such as males being domineering in conversations with women (Malamuth, Heavey, & Linz; 1993) and instances of unwanted gestures and verbal behaviour such as sexually offensive jokes or degrading comments (Quina; 1996), which seem relatively minor in comparison (Polaschek, Ward & Hudson; 1997). Quina notes however, that these ‘lesser’ forms of sexual aggression, which she terms sexual harassment, share important commonalities with rape because although sexual harassment is usually less physically intrusive and less violent or life threatening, Quina argues that it is not substantially different, either structurally or socially, from rape.

Several authors (e.g. Pollard, 1994; Marshall & Barbaree, 1990; Allen, Emmers, Gebhardt & Giery, 1995) note that when these less extreme sexually aggressive behaviours are associated with other vulnerability factors (e.g. rape supportive attitudes and beliefs, hypermasculine personalities, high levels of stress, use of alcohol and/or drugs) then males become “at-risk” for perpetrating the use of more extreme types of sexual aggression against women. In fact Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes and Acker (1995) note that general aggressive and defensive tendencies have a direct impact on psychological aggression against spouses, with psychological aggression being the precursor of physical aggression. Thus, there is a general call among researchers to investigate the interrelationships along the continuum as a whole rather than continuing to break it down into individual sets of offenders and behaviours (Quina; 1996). This call is based on the argument that it

is intuitively appealing to assume that there must be similar vulnerability factors present for all sexually aggressive behaviour, with perhaps those behaviours exhibited at the extreme end being due to the interaction of more, or more severe, vulnerability factors.

In addition, there is also a call among researchers for research to be conducted using general rather than incarcerated populations when investigating sexually aggressive behaviour. This call is based on concerns about the extent to which information from rapists who are incarcerated is generalisable to males in the general population as it would appear that the majority of rapes are unreported (i.e. never come to the attention of the judicial system) because they are committed by intimates or acquaintances of the victim. Therefore, it is argued that drawing a sample from convicted rapists (who are often 'stranger rapists' involving more extreme offences) could provide misleading information about sexually aggressive behaviour in the community. For example, Pollard (pg 171) states that: "...the very high frequencies of largely unreported non-stranger rape indicates an alarming number of criminals and victims who are not brought to the attention of the criminal justice system. Convicted offenders are thus an atypical sample of rapists. Stranger rapists are too highly represented and although child sexual offenders may be 'crime specialists', persons convicted of sex offences against adults usually have convictions for other offences as well..." Pollard goes on to note that in contrast the 'typical' rapist is an acquaintance, usually an intimate of the victim who does not have a criminal background and who in all probability will never be reported by the victim to the police. This (coupled simultaneously with the call for more investigation into the interrelationships along the continuum of aggression against women), is another prompt for more research to be conducted using general rather than incarcerated populations.

Several studies have shown that sexual aggression is a more frequent occurrence than official statistics of reported cases suggest, especially for marital / de facto sexual aggression. For example, Koss, Dinero, Seibel and Cox (1988) obtained data from a large national sample of U.S. undergraduate students. Among respondents 15.4 % reported having being raped since the age of

14, rising to 27% when attempted rapes were included. Over half of these attacks were committed on dates, with very few being reported to police. The authors also found substantial additional reports of unwanted intercourse following verbal coercion. Koss, Gidycz and Wisniewski (1987) found that 7.7 % of men reported having engaged in rape or attempted rape since the age of 14. A further 7.2 % reported coercing a female into intercourse, primarily by continual argument and pressure. So, although 15% of males in this study reported at least one completed or uncompleted attempt to have intercourse with an unwilling female, this was still lower than the proportion of females (39%) who reported being the recipients of such aggression. Furthermore, only 25% of males, as opposed to 54% of females, reported any form of enforced behaviour. Koss, Gidycz, et al. put this difference down to being due to the males intentionally withholding disclosure, and/or their failure to perceive in some cases that the female was unwilling.

This study was replicated by Gavey (1991) using a large sample of New Zealand university students which obtained similar results to those found by Koss, Gidycz, et al. It is interesting that both the American and the New Zealand study found a discrepancy between male and female reporting of enforced behaviour (U.S. 25% and 54% respectively; N.Z. 13.6% and 51.6% respectively), which was attributed to the males' lack of perception that the female was unwilling to engage in sexual behaviours and/or intercourse. Gavey (pg 466) states that: "Various forms of sexual coercion, including those verging on rape and attempted rape, are to some extent condoned in (at least) Western societies when they occur within legitimate heterosexual relationships. It is possible that men behaving in these ways do not pay particular attention to whether or not their female partner is willing, and do not find past incidents of coercion particularly memorable. This may be more so for New Zealand than U.S. men because the phenomena of 'date rape' and 'acquaintance rape' have not, as yet, received much public exposure in New Zealand."

However, Kershner (1996) notes that there is another aspect to sexual aggression which is quite alarming in its consequences for the future: the rise in teenage offenders. For example,

Kershner notes that although the FBI reported a 3% increase in adult sexual offenders since 1990, they note that by far the greatest rise for arrested offenders has been in the adolescent male category. So, what do adolescents believe about rape? Kershner notes that most of the data available on this question comes from university students and is complicated by the fact that often perpetrators and victims alike are unsure about what constitutes the sexually aggressive behaviour of rape. However, given these limitations, a number of studies (e.g. Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Blumberg & Lester, 1991) have demonstrated the following: (i) that a significant proportion of both male and female adolescents believe that forced intercourse is acceptable in certain situations; (ii) that a significant proportion of both male and female adolescents adhere to rape myths and that the degree of adherence to rape myths subsequently affects judgements about the victim and who is responsible; and (iii) that elements of male dominance, the perception of females as sex objects and the negation of acquaintance rape as sexual assault have also been ascertained in adolescents. Kershner (pg 33) concludes that one way to decrease the incidence of rape is to address the sociocultural aspects of rape in rape prevention curriculum for highschool students so that they may learn to "...identify what constitutes exploitive nonconsensual sex, reject commonly held myths about rape and rape victims, and begin to adopt more egalitarian belief systems", all of which it is theorised will decrease the incidence of rape.

Prentky and Knight (1991; pg 643) state that: "The extensiveness and seriousness of...[the] problem [of sexual aggression towards women], demands a concerted, effective societal response." However, many researchers and theorists believe that society cannot give a concerted, effective response because it develops, enforces and perpetuates attitudes, beliefs and behaviours which are conducive to interpersonal violence against others in general, and women in particular, through various subtle and not so subtle methods (i.e. legal, political, religious, economic and psychological processes which favour men to the detriment of women). One socio-psychological process which has detrimental consequences for women is the perpetuation and acceptance of rape myths.

Rape myth acceptance is cultivated in individuals through familial processes (i.e. the passing on of male dominance beliefs from parent to offspring through constant exposure, indoctrination and practise) and cultural processes (i.e. through television, cinema and books). The term rape myth was first coined by Burt (1980) and refers to a set of attitudes towards both rape and coercive sex which represents a fundamental misconception about rape and comprises of a general psychological predisposition to rape (Allen et al.; 1995). Rape myths (including rape supportive attitudes and belief systems), in that they serve to “normalise” rape, are often cited by authors as being a major obstacle in the path of efforts to decrease sexual aggression and alleviate blame of the victim (Taylor; 1993). Burt (1980) noted that an important aspect of rape myths are the beliefs that individuals have about the act of rape, rapists and the victims of sexual assault. Burt found that a large proportion of people believe that rape is a sex crime for which the victim bears partial or even primary responsibility and wherein the rapist assumes little personal responsibility for their actions.

Heise, Raikes, Watts and Zwi (1994) note that popular mythology surrounding rape (i.e. it is perceived by most as a rare event perpetrated by unknown assailants who are either unbalanced or who lose control of themselves in the face of female enticement, or both), has remained the same around the world despite nearly two decades worth of challenges from researchers, scholars and activists (particularly feminist), demonstrating that rape is far more likely to be perpetrated by a male who is either well-known by or an intimate of the victim. Allen et al. note that the acceptance of rape myth, even if it does not result in direct sexual aggression, can create other significant outcomes. For example, they note that acceptance of rape myths typically means that individuals are less tolerant of rape victims, are more likely to blame the victim, and are less likely to convict the perpetrator if they are serving on a jury. However, Allen et al. note that perhaps the most serious consequences occur when women accept rape myths because they are then less likely to report that they have been raped to authorities or to offer social support to rape victims.

A number of studies have demonstrated the ways in which rape myths are supported. For example, Truman, Tokar and Fischer (1996) examined the links between masculine gender roles and date rape by exploring three masculinity-related constructs in the context of rape research: masculinity ideology, attitudes toward feminism and homophobia. The results from their study found that men endorsing more traditional gender roles also tended to hold more date rape supportive attitudes and beliefs (i.e. adversarial sexual beliefs, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and date rape myth acceptance). Truman et al. also found that attitudes towards feminism emerged as the most consistent predictor of date rape supportive attitudes, while several dimensions of masculinity ideology predicted a history of sexual coercion and willingness to use it in future sexual interactions.

As stated, one of the alarming consequences of acceptance of rape myths is that it affects the attributions, assumptions and judgements individuals make about rape victims. Perrott and Weber (1996) conducted a study which assessed the potential for observers to make differing attributions towards male and female rape victims through the use of hypothetical assault vignettes which varied according to victim sex and level of victim-attacker acquaintance. The authors found that female victims were attributed with more responsibility for having not foreseen the attack, especially as the degree of acquaintance with their attacker increased; whereas male victims were blamed more for not having physically repelled the attackers regardless of the degree of acquaintance with their attacker. Degree of exposure to pornography and the types of pornography viewed (i.e. hard versus soft porn) also seem to play a role in helping to develop and support rape myths (Allen et al.; 1995).

Ullman and Knight (1991; 1992; 1993; 1995) challenged the rape myth that by forcibly resisting the assault of an attacker, women increase the likelihood that they will be seriously injured or even killed. In studying the efficacy of women's resistance strategies to rape, Ullman and Knight found that women's use of forceful resistance strategies actually enhanced their ability to avoid rape without increasing their physical injury. Ullman and Knight (1995; pg 279) state that: "...physical

fighting and screaming in response to physically violent assailants reduces the severity of sexual abuse without exacerbating physical injury.” Ullman and Knight found that the level of physical injury received by the victim is primarily determined by the level of violence utilised by the offender rather than by the woman’s use of physical resistance. Siegel, Sorenson, Golding, Burnam, and Stein (1989) and Ullman and Knight (1992) both note that the level of violence utilised by the assailant should be the primary component on which victims base their selection of a resistance strategy. Ullman and Knight suggest that this decision involves a ‘straightforward determination’ of the presence or absence of physical aggression. Thus, Ullman and Knight (1995; pg 279) conclude that: “In response to physically violent offenders, women demonstrated the ability to avoid severe sexual abuse without increasing physical injury when they used forceful strategies (i.e. fighting or screaming). In response to offenders relying on verbal threats, nonforceful strategies (i.e. pushing away or fleeing) have proven effective...[However], pleading, begging or reasoning are ineffective with both physically violent and non-violent offenders.”

There are many reasons why men rape. Muehlenhard, Danoff-Burg and Powch (1997; pg 123) state that: “In asking about perpetrators’ motivations, we...must keep in mind that different rapists have different motivations...[and that] in fact even the same rapist may be motivated by different factors at different times. Thus, to say that rape is motivated by sex or violence or by any other single factor is likely to be overly simplistic.” Baron and Straus (1987) argued that the fundamental causes of rape could be traced to the three societal / cultural sources of violence, sexism, and social disorganisation. Janssen (1995) notes that for many rapists the unconscious motives which lead them to rape appear to be related to issues of control, power, and dominance. Furthermore, Janssen notes that for many rapists unresolved conflicts, basic insecurity and unneutralised aggression appear to be “managed” through the act of rape. Similarly, Marshall (1996)

notes that for many rapists the act of raping is one way in which they can achieve intimacy and alleviate emotional loneliness.

Hamilton and Yee (1990) suggest that rape is far more likely to be an act of instrumental aggression (i.e. in pursuit of sexual gratification) rather than an act motivated by hostility towards women. They argue this on the basis that although both motives have been identified in incarcerated rapists' accounts, the literature indicates that the majority of rapes are not of the type which lead to incarceration, and therefore it is possible that the typical rape (i.e. by an acquaintance or intimate) is characterised primarily by one type of aggression. Hamilton and Yee report that the finding of their study that proclivity for sexual aggression is inversely related to perception of the harm done to the victim is inconsistent with a 'hostile aggression' view. Thus, Hamilton and Yee's claim that males who know more about the traumatic effects of rape on the victims are less likely to be perpetrators of sexual aggression.

In contrast to Hamilton and Yee, Muir, Lonsway and Payne (1996) claim that the results obtained from their study (which examined rape myth acceptance in Scottish and American students), support a cultural theory of rape wherein rape is viewed as an act of hostility towards women because rape is primarily an expression of power and aggression rather than of sexuality. However, Prentky and Knight (1991) note that the issue of whether rape is motivated by either instrumental aggression or hostility towards women is not up for debate. Instead, they argue that rather than being mutually exclusive, the two are at opposing ends of a dimension which is only one of several along which various subtypes of perpetrators of sexually aggressive behaviour against women differ.

Pollard (1994) notes that for certain types of males, and arguably for many males in general, even consenting sexual relations are expressions of power, dominance and control which mediate



both personal and peer-group perceptions of fulfilment of their masculine role. Males who are either: (i) greatly socialised in this way (i.e. the 'macho' male ideal), or (ii) have aggressive and other antisocial characteristics, (or both), are increasingly likely to view aggression as a legitimate method of fulfilling their masculine role (Lisak; 1991). Hence, Pollard notes that the general exploitative view of obtaining consenting intercourse is easily taken one step further to become a specifically aggressive approach whereby the male then obtains enforced intercourse. Other factors related to cultural and sociological influences which impact on the development of men also play a causative role as to why men rape (Janssen, 1995; Polaschek et al., 1997); as do alcohol and high levels of stress and poverty (Heise et al.; 1994).

Prentky and Knight (1991; pg 647) state that: "...the samples of...[sexual aggressors] that have been studied range from college students responding anonymously to questionnaires to sexual offenders who have been committed indefinitely as 'sexually dangerous'...[Therefore], generalisations from one sample to another must be demonstrated, not assumed...clearly, however, any consistency found across heterogeneous samples would suggest the possibility that a theoretically powerful dimension of sexual aggression has been tapped." Several reviews and studies (e.g. Prentky & Knight, 1991; Polaschek et al., 1997) have shown that there appear to be several theoretically strong or powerful dimensions and factors which act as distal or proximate causes of aggression against women. These include, among others, such things as: violence and/or abuse (especially sexual) experienced in childhood, personality and attachment styles, deviant sexual arousal, heterosexual adaptation, nonsexual and sexual criminal history, and alcohol and/or drug abuse.

Blader and Marshall (1989) note that most victims of sexual assault suffer acute physical and mental trauma as a result of sexual assault; most experience (at the very least), some degree of depression, anxiety and fear, sexual dysfunction and interpersonal disruption, in some cases for quite extensive periods of the victim's life. Koss, Heise, et al. note that across diverse continents and

cultures a substantial subset (i.e. between one and two thirds) of rape victims are very young girls under the age of fifteen. Several authors (e.g. Gavey, 1991; Pollard, 1994) note that even when survivors of sexual aggression are assessed years afterwards, they are more likely to have received several psychiatric diagnoses during their adult life, including major depression, alcohol/drug abuse/dependence, generalised anxiety, obsessive-compulsive disorder and post-traumatic stress disorder.

In addition, these effects tend to be more severe for those women who were victimised at young ages (Beer, Beer & Beer; 1994). Beer et al. note that a high percentage of women who were sexually abused or raped as children have been revictimised in adulthood through assault, rape and battering. The authors note that this is because the effects of child abuse and/or child rape leave victims especially vulnerable to attack in that adult survivors of child abuse are 'trained' through their childhood experiences to be victims. Thus, Koss, Heise, et al. note that rape and other sexual abuse in childhood increases the individual's vulnerability to revictimisation such that child rape and sexual abuse victims are 2.4 times more likely to be raped as adults than those women who are not child rape/abuse victims. It has also been noted that the prevalence of sexual aggression (and in particular sexual assault) has a grave impact on the mobility and perceived safety of women, with several studies demonstrating that the impact of fear of rape means that many women restrict their conduct within their environment and that fear of rape decreases the degree of security felt by women (Koss, Heise, et al., 1994; Blader & Marshall, 1989; Bohner & Schwarz, 1997). Blader and Marshall (pg 570) state that: "The generation by these offences, of fear and constricted movement in one's own community would itself appear to constitute a form of injury."

As can be seen from this brief perusal of the general literature on sexual aggression the topic has many varied aspects. Researchers, theorists and clinicians have adopted a number of different perspectives when approaching these various aspects of sexual offending varying from biological, sociological, psychodynamic, evolutionary, feminist or combinations of these and others. However,

this thesis has adopted Ward and Hudson's metatheoretical framework as the most appropriate approach by which to examine and knit theory in this area. The prime reason for this is that the metatheoretical framework is generic and can easily accommodate theory from all the other different perspectives. In addition the metatheoretical framework allows the knitting of Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model to be expanded to include other coercive behaviours against women as it appears the sexually aggressive behaviour and other forms of coercive behaviour (i.e. physical, verbal, emotional aggression) are interrelated and share common etiologies.

### **Rationale for the Thesis**

The overall aim in undertaking this thesis is to knit together a theory (Marshall and Barbaree's 1990 theory of the etiology of sexual offending) and model (Malamuth, Heavey and Linz' 1993 confluence model of sexual aggression), along with some additional material. It is the intention that the end product of this knitting process will result in a more comprehensive theory of the causal pathways of coercive behaviours against women, including sexually coercive behaviours. The rationale for expanding the coercive model to include other coercive behaviours as well as sexual aggression is that both Marshall and Barbaree and Malamuth et al. note that the tendency to behave aggressively or coercively is not just confined to the individual male's romantic or sexual relationships. Thus, it seemed a logical step to include the other categories of coercive behaviours so as to give a more holistic picture of the interrelations and commonalities between the different forms of coercive behaviours against women.

Several authors (e.g. Ward & Hudson, 1997; Lanyon, 1991; Polaschek et al., 1997) have noted the need for more theory knitting in the area of sexual offending due to problems inherent in its current structure. These problems have arisen from the intensive research over the last decade on sexually aggressive behaviour which has resulted in a number of theories and models being developed which range from broad band, comprehensive approaches used to explain the onset and

maintenance of sexually deviant behaviour to single factor theories which typically focus on one causal factor (Ward, Hudson & Marshall; 1996). However, Ward and Hudson (1997) note that this 'ad hoc proliferation of theories' in the sexual offending area has resulted in a mass of theories and models which, as they point out, often "...overlap and essentially ignore each others existence..." simply reflecting in their view "...a wide spread failing in psychology to take theory construction and development seriously." Ward and Hudson note that the problems of proliferation and neglect have several detrimental consequences: firstly, it is extremely wasteful and inefficient because interesting ideas are usually not developed to their full extent and other theorists may inadvertently 'reinvent the wheel'. Secondly, it results in a fragmented and uncoordinated 'theoretical landscape'; and thirdly, theorists and empirical researchers are often not aware of where the explanatory gaps are and thus what would be a fruitful avenue of inquiry.

One example of the problems mentioned above occurred in the topic of relapse prevention for sexual offenders. Ward and Hudson note that the most recent discussions of this perspective (e.g. Laws, 1995; Pithers & Cumming, 1995), ignore the critique and reformulation of the abstinence violation effect by Hudson, Ward and Marshall (1992). In their paper, Hudson et al. identified various significant problems inherent in the original formulation of the abstinence violation effect which impact on both treatment and ongoing research. Hudson et al. then provided a reformulation of the abstinence violation effect which avoided these problems and which in addition also broadened the scope of the construct.

According to Ward and Hudson, the solution for the problems of proliferation and neglect which plague the sexual offending area, lies in the adoption of 'theory knitting' or integration techniques such as their metatheoretical framework. The advantages of theory knitting are: firstly, it results in a more comprehensive theory which is better able to explain the phenomena under investigation. Secondly, theory knitting tends to bring together different, although complimentary, lines of inquiry which provides researchers and clinicians with a broader perspective of the

phenomena. Thirdly, theory knitting helps to fill explanatory gaps in the area under investigation and also makes it easier for researchers to delineate the areas or gaps that need further development; and fourthly, theory knitting also makes for a far more parsimonious literature base.

An additional justification for theory knitting and development in this area comes from Lanyon (1991; pg 35, italics added) who states that “Regardless of whether the current interest in studying sex offenders stems from a concern for potential victims or for the offenders themselves, the attention is much needed; and it appears that potential offenders too will eventually come under the umbrella of the human rights movement through an unravelling of the causes of their behaviour and the development of programs for the *prevention* of sex offences. *Thus, it is an essential link in the chain of events leading to prevention that the topic of theories of sex offending assumes its greatest current importance.*”

## **Chapter Two: The Foundation**

This chapter focuses on the foundation for the coercive model: Ward and Hudson's (1997) metatheoretical framework; Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) theory of the etiology of sexual offending; and Malamuth, Heavey and Linz' (1993) confluence model of sexual aggression. Therefore, this chapter contains: (i) a discussion of the metatheoretical framework and the reasons why it was adopted for the purpose of linking theory in this thesis; and (ii) a brief overview and a discussion of empirical support for Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth, Heavey and Linz' model respectively. The theory and the model form the core or foundation of the theory knitting which results in the coercive model presented in Chapter Four of this thesis. Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model were selected because they are readily linked due to their complimentary natures. In addition, they are the only truly comprehensive Level I theories in the sexual offending literature to date which (due to their conceptualisation) give great scope for the delineation of other coercive behaviours against women in relation to sexually aggressive behaviour.

### **A Metatheoretical Framework for the Integration and Development of Theory in the Sexual Offending Area:**

Ward and Hudson (1997) proposed their metatheoretical framework for the construction and organisation of theory in the sexual offending area as a solution to the problems of proliferation and neglect, which, as previously stated, are an inherent aspect of theory in the sexual offending literature at the present time. Thus, the metatheoretical framework contains three levels of theory. Level I includes comprehensive or multifactorial theories which tend to be more abstract than the other two levels. These theories comprise of loosely associated constructs which are utilised to give approaches to empirical problems and which do not attempt to describe in any great detail the

relationships between the underlying mechanisms, processes and behaviours associated with the phenomenon in question. Level II consists of single factor theories. These theories are on a more concrete level and provide the conceptual basis for Level I theories. Level II theories are based around a core construct and attempt to depict the structures and processes which generate these core constructs. Level III theories are the most concrete. At this level the theories are essentially descriptive in nature and attempt to describe in detail the specific behaviours and events which generate the 'offence process' under investigation

One of the main advantages of the metatheoretical framework is that it allows for a distinction to be made between proximal and distal causes. Ward and Hudson characterise the distinction as follows: they note that distal causal factors are the predispositional or vulnerability causal factors which arise from developmental experiences and genetic inheritance; whereas proximal causal factors are the triggering processes or events which evolve from the functioning of vulnerability factors. Ward and Hudson note that distal factors are fundamentally concerned with providing macrolevel explanations which attempt to answer "why" questions as opposed to proximal factors which are utilised to provide micro-explanations that attempt to answer "how" questions.

Proximal causal factors are usually state variables which are either the product of: (i) underlying psychological mechanisms, or (ii) contextual factors which "trigger" underlying vulnerabilities. Ward and Hudson note that proximal causal factors include among others the use of drugs and/or alcohol, current life stresses, and experiencing neglect and/or abuse during childhood. Ward and Hudson note that the experience of an abusive childhood can result in an individual developing a dismissive-avoidant attachment style which in turn results in a tendency to deny or suppress feelings which imply vulnerability to others (e.g. sadness) as well as a reluctance by the individual to disclose personal information. Ward and Hudson note that the consequences of these avoidance strategies (e.g. negative emotional states such as suspiciousness, irritability, interpersonal conflict), function as triggers to disinhibit control over antisocial behaviour.

There are two classes of distal causal factors. Firstly, there are the cultural and/or societal factors which support the use of violence and/or coercion against women. This first class of distal causal factors (i.e. socio-cultural factors) is well explained by Heise et al. who identified various socio-cultural structural factors which serve to perpetuate 'gender based' violence. The authors divided the structural factors into four categories: (i) cultural; (ii) economic; (iii) legal; and (iv) political; although Heise et al. note that many of the factors included in these four categories are interrelated. Table One below illustrates the four categories and the factors included in each:

Table One: Factors Which Operate to Perpetuate Gender-Based Violence.

<b>CULTURAL</b>	Gender Specific Socialisation: - cultural definitions of appropriate sex roles - expectations of roles within relationships - belief in inherent superiority of males  Values that give men Proprietary Rights over Women Notions of the Family as Private &/or Under Male Control Customs of Marriage (e.g. bride price, dowry, exogamy) Acceptability &/or Glorification of Violence as a Means to Resolve Conflict
<b>ECONOMIC</b>	Women's Economic Dependence on Men Limited Access to cash and Credit Discriminatory laws Regarding Inheritance, property rights, use of Communal Lands and Maintenance After Divorce Limited Access to Employment in Formal and Informal Sector Limited Access to Education and Training for Women
<b>LEGAL</b>	Plural Systems of law in Place (i.e. customary, common, religious) Lesser Legal Status of Women Laws Regarding Divorce, Child Custody, Maintenance, & Inheritance Legal Definitions of Rape and Domestic Abuse Low Levels of Legal Literacy Among Women Insensitive Treatment of Women by Police and Judiciary
<b>POLITICAL</b>	Under Representation of Women in Power, Politics, & in Legal & Medical Professions Domestic Violence not Taken Seriously Notions of Family Being 'Private' & Beyond the Control of the State Risk of Challenge to 'Status Quo' &/or Religious Laws Limited Organisation of Women as a Political Force (e.g. through autonomous women's organisations) Limited Participation of Women in Organised/Formal Political System

[Source: Heise, Raikes, Watts and Zwi; 1994, pg 1170]



Also included in the first class of distal causal factors are genetically inherited biological influences and/or factors which either: (i) affect an individual's learning capacity and/or experiences; or (ii) act as a 'backdrop' for later learning experiences.

Thus, the first class of distal factors provides the backdrop for the second class of distal causal factors which are the individual's learning experiences, particularly early learning experiences. Ward and Hudson note that included in the second class of distal causal factors are such things as: the acquisition of rape supportive myths; hostile attitudes towards women; dysregulation of emotion; intimacy skill deficits; and deviant sexual arousal. Distal causal factors make an individual susceptible to behaving in a sexually aggressive manner once situational and triggering or precipitating factors are present. Once they are present, Ward and Hudson note that these other factors function to disinhibit the self-regulation of behaviour and/or affective states (both positive and negative), therefore eroding the individual's capacity to control strong internal states (e.g. deviant sexual fantasies, hostile feelings, negative cognitions). Ward and Hudson note that the failure to suppress these variables by the individual increases that individual's likelihood of engaging in sexually aggressive behaviour.

There are several primary reasons why Ward and Hudson's metatheoretical framework was adopted for the purposes of integrating theory in this thesis. Firstly, to date it is the only comprehensive framework specifically designed for the construction and development (including integration) of theory in the sexual offending area. A second reason why the framework was adopted lies in the cohesive manner in which it allows different levels or types of theory to be integrated; and thirdly, once integration has taken place, Ward and Hudson's metatheoretical framework clearly points to the areas within the newly established integration which need further development and research. For example, a particular integration may require the development and inclusion of additional Level III theory - that is, fine-grained detail and analysis of specific behaviour chains - so as to fill some of the explanatory gaps left after the integration process is completed.

### **Brief Overview of Marshall & Barbaree's (1990) Theory of the Etiology of Sexual Offending:**

Marshall and Barbaree developed their theory of the etiology of sexual offending because they:

“...believe that a proper understanding of sex offending can only be attained when ...diverse processes [i.e. psychological, biological, sociological] are seen as functionally interdependent.” (pg 257). The basic tenet of Marshall and Barbaree's theory is that the task for human males is to acquire through the process of socialisation, inhibitory controls over a biologically endowed propensity for self interest which is associated with a tendency to fuse sex and aggression. Marshall and Barbaree's theory consists of four main components:

1. Biological Influences: Marshall and Barbaree (pg 259) propose that these “...set the stage for learning, providing limits and possibilities rather than determining outcomes”. It is suggested that in the case of sexual offending the contribution of biological influences is minimal once learning has established patterns of behaviour. The biological influences referred to by Marshall and Barbaree include: (i) the fact that the same neural substrates involving mainly midbrain structures (i.e. hypothalamus, septum, hippocampus, amygdala, and preoptic area), are utilised for both sex and aggression; and (ii) the same endocrines (primarily the sex steroids), activate both sex and aggression. On the basis of this, Marshall and Barbaree state that puberty and the early years of adolescence are important times for learning to express and channel both sex and aggression. However, Marshall and Barbaree (pg 258) state that they “...wish to make it clearly understood that an argument for a biological capacity to enact...[sexually aggressive] behaviours does not mean that the display of these behaviours should be accepted as inevitable, nor does such an argument in any way excuse someone for engaging in...[sexually aggressive] behaviours.”
2. Childhood Experiences: Here, Marshall and Barbaree refer to family background and attachment theory in that many sexual offenders come from a family background of violence and sexual abuse which, according to Marshall and Barbaree: (i) inadequately prepares them for the dramatic changes in bodily function occurring at puberty that initiate strong desires to engage in sex and

aggression; and (ii) due to modelling the violent behaviour of their parents coupled with a lack of access to appropriate sociosexual interactions, many boys from at-risk family backgrounds tend to manifest increased aggression and to take "...whatever they want, without regard for the rights of others." (pg 261).

According to Marshall and Barbaree, appropriate parenting instils in boys a sense of self confidence and strong emotional bonds to others, both of which act as inhibitory controls against aggression and the fusion of sex and aggression. Marshall and Barbaree also note that inappropriate parenting has several detrimental consequences: firstly, because of the indifferent, violent, inconsistent and/or controlling styles of parenting utilised by the boys' caregivers, these boys are 'at-risk' for acquiring insecure attachment bonds which often lead to intimacy deficits, empathy deficits and emotional loneliness; all of which are considered to be risk factors for sexual aggression (Marshall, 1993; Ward, Hudson & McCormack, 1997; Lisak & Ivan, 1995). An insecure attachment style is also considered to be a risk factor for criminality in general (Ward, Hudson & Marshall; 1996). Secondly, due to their backgrounds these boys are often socially inadequate which can lead to anxiety and anger, or avoidance of social situations; and thirdly, inconsistent and harsh punishment often produces oppositional behaviour in children which is predictive of a criminal or self-centred orientation in adulthood.

3. Sociocultural Context: Marshall and Barbaree (pg 264) state that: "Acquiring the necessary behavioural inhibitions over sex and aggression seems complex enough for well-adjusted children that it is a wonder that more men do not become sex offenders, given the misleading messages which our society conveys to youths." Marshall and Barbaree go on to note that anthropologists have found three general societal factors which affect the frequency of rape in any given society. These are: (i) the levels of interpersonal violence; (ii) the level of male dominance; and (iii) the extent of negative attitudes to women. According to Marshall and Barbaree most rapes are motivated by a desire for power over the victim because the offender lacks power in other areas

of their life. Marshall and Barbaree also include the availability of pornography as an important factor.

4. Transitory Situational Factors: Marshall and Barbaree (pg 268) state that "...certain environmental factors interact with particular states of the individual to facilitate sexual aggression and abuse. Conversely, other factors and internal states curtail the expression of aggression within a sexual contact." Marshall and Barbaree include six transitory situational factors which they think lead to sexual offending. These are: (i) excessive use of alcohol; (ii) anger or hostility directed to females; (iii) warfare; (iv) anonymity of large cities or foreign countries; (v) degree of familiarity with the victim; and (vi) levels of stress and anxiety.

Hence, in Marshall and Barbaree's theory, biological factors confer on the growing male the task of learning to: firstly, appropriately separate sex and aggression, and secondly, to inhibit aggression in a sexual context. Marshall and Barbaree note that males must learn three specific tasks in order to achieve the above two goals: (i) not to use force or threats in the pursuit of their sexual interests; (ii) not to engage in sexual behaviours which are frightening or humiliating to their partners; and (iii) to constantly change the age of their preferred partner as they grow older. Marshall and Barbaree note that the biological heritage of humans makes these tasks difficult, with fluctuating or abnormally high levels of sex steroids increasing the difficulty. However, Marshall and Barbaree also note that developmental and other environmental factors play the most important role in shaping the expression of sexual needs and in bringing aggression under control. When considering the environmental factors relevant to an understanding of sexual aggression, Marshall and Barbaree propose that the acquisition of attitudes and behaviours during childhood sets the stage for the developing male to respond to the sudden onset of strong desires characteristic of puberty with either an antisocial or prosocial mental set. Marshall and Barbaree note that these mental sets are also strongly influenced during childhood and especially adolescence, by the sociocultural attitudes expressed by the individual's society as a whole, and that these influences may remain as significant

factors throughout the individual's life. Similarly, Marshall and Barbaree note that certain circumstances can disinhibit even relatively well-entrenched social controls, so that sexually aggressive tendencies may be released in otherwise prosocial males.

### **Empirical Support For Marshall & Barbaree's (1990) Theory of the Etiology of Sexual Offending:**

Although there is no direct empirical validation of Marshall and Barbaree's theory, empirical support can be indirectly gained from the empirical literature on intimacy and intimacy deficits in sexual offenders. Seidman, Marshall, Hudson and Robertson (1994) conducted two studies which compared intimacy and loneliness among various samples of incarcerated and nonincarcerated sexual offenders, wife batterers, violent nonsexual offenders, nonviolent nonsexual offenders, male university students and adult males from the general community. Seidman et al. found that the sexual offenders suffered from greater intimacy deficits and loneliness than did nonsexually offending inmates or community controls. Furthermore, the authors found that the lack of intimacy in the subject's interpersonal relationships was a better predictor of indexes of violence than was the experience of loneliness.

Seidman et al. note that one indication of the disruption of attachment bonds is the experience during childhood of violence within the family of origin. Seidman et al. found that rapists experienced more violence in their families than did other sex offenders. Thus, the authors were able to provide some support for Marshall and Barbaree's assertion that poor attachment between the future sex offender and his parents during childhood is one critical factor in the etiology of sexual offending. Seidman et al. (pg 531) state that: "These violent models (particularly if, as seems reasonable, the violent person was their father aggressing against his wife and children) make it understandable that rapists are typically far more violent in their offences than is necessary for them to achieve their sexual goals." However, Seidman et al. note that for other types of sexual offenders,

emotional issues rather than violence in the family appear to be a more salient feature of disruptive attachment bonds. For example, they note that exhibitionists do not report experiencing greater violence during childhood than do nonoffender subjects but that they do indicate far greater degrees of emotional rejection by their parents.

Bumby and Hansen (1997) conducted a study which examined intimacy deficits, fear of intimacy and loneliness among intrafamilial child molesters, rapists, nonsexually offending inmates and a community sample of adult males. Bumby and Hansen found that the child molesters and rapists suffered from significant intimacy deficits in adult relationships and experienced more loneliness, particularly emotional loneliness, than the nonsexually offending inmates and community controls. Furthermore, the authors note that these intimacy deficits tend to be relationship specific. Bumby and Hansen also found that child molesters reported significantly greater fear of intimacy in adult relationships than rapists, nonsexually offending inmates and community controls. This finding led Bumby and Hansen to conclude that: "...significant fears and anxieties about intimacy with adults may, in part, relate to molesters' seeking out intimacy and sexual contact with children. These men may have the perception that children will be less rejecting than adults and perhaps feel less vulnerable in their attempts at intimacy with children." In addition, the authors also found that child molesters and rapists reported experiencing significantly more loneliness, especially emotional loneliness, than did nonsexually offending inmates and community controls.

### **Brief Overview of Malamuth, Heavey & Linz's (1993) Confluence Model of Sexual**

#### **Aggression:**

Polaschek et al. note that Malamuth et al.'s model is unique in that it has been developed and empirically validated (both cross-sectionally and longitudinally), entirely on non-incarcerated populations. Malamuth et al. (pg 63) state that they "...recognise that there may be important differences as well as similarities between these groups...[however they wished to] examine the

ability of some of the characteristics associated with sexual aggressors to predict other antisocial behaviours against women.” Malamuth et al. developed their confluence model of sexual aggression within the framework of an ‘ecological’ approach to human development first proposed by Bronfenbrenner in 1979 (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss & Tanaka; 1991). This approach describes several systems in which smaller units are embedded within and influenced by larger ones. Malamuth et al.’s model is conceptualised in terms of moving from smaller to larger levels. Thus, in terms of Malamuth et al.’s model the ontogeny is represented by individual childhood developmental factors such as certain home environments; the exosystem is conceptualised in terms of the individuals social units such as peer groups; the macrosystem by broader cultural values and belief systems; while the microsystem (i.e. the immediate setting) determines whether behavioural inclinations originating in the first three systems will be ‘released’ in behaviour.

Malamuth et al. maintain that the development of sexual coerciveness can often be traced to early home experiences and parent-child interactions. They state that interactions within the family context lay the foundation for enduring cognitive, emotional attachment and behavioural responses. Inappropriate home environments, Malamuth et al. argue, do not provide the training for the boy to develop self-control of emotions and impulsive behaviours. Accordingly, Malamuth et al. note that hostile childhood experiences affect the degree to which the individual is involved in delinquency which in turn leads to aggression through two pathways. The first pathway involves hostile attitudes and personality which result in coerciveness in both sexual and nonsexual interactions. The second, sexual promiscuity, produces sexual aggression when the two pathways (i.e. sexual promiscuity and hostility) interact. Malamuth et al. emphasise the point that both sexual and nonsexual coercive behaviour against women tends to be more a function of individuals rather than of relationships.

Thus, Malamuth et al.’s confluence model proposes that males who are sexually aggressive are characterised by several risk variables which can be conceptualised as motivation and/or disinhibitory and which affect the likelihood that sexual coercion will occur. These characteristics

combine to form two primary interacting pathways: the hostile masculinity pathway and sexual promiscuity pathway. In the case of the first, the authors emphasise that hostile home environments are frequently associated with the development of various attitudes and personality characteristics which make coercive behaviours more likely. Therefore, the hostile masculinity pathway involves the first four predictor variables (i.e. sexual arousal in response to aggression, dominance motives, hostility towards women and attitudes facilitating aggression against women as components of a controlling, adversarial male orientation toward females that is expressed in diverse ways). The second pathway, sexual promiscuity, involves delinquent tendencies which are expressed as sexual acting out. This pathway reflects the development and use of sexuality and sexual conquest as a source of peer status and self-esteem which potentially leads not only to increased opportunities to use coercive tactics in the pursuit of sexual conquests, but also heightens the likelihood that such tactics will be used. Malamuth et al. believe that the hostility path mediates the relationship between sexual promiscuity and sexual aggression. However, they do not specify the exact mechanisms by which the hostile masculinity path does so.

The interaction model contains four main assumptions:

1. Convergence of Factors: the two paths of hostility and promiscuity interact to create sexual aggression. That is, sexual aggression is the result of the interactive combination of high levels of the motivation, disinhibition and opportunity variables.
2. Domain Specificity: factors predicting male sexual aggression and related behaviours towards females will not be equally successful for predicting male aggression or related behaviours directed toward other males.
3. Behaviours Other Than Sexual Aggression: factors contributing to sexual aggression may be expressed in behaviours that are not overtly aggressive (e.g. males being domineering in conversations with women). Malamuth et al. note that sexually aggressive behaviour is not an



isolated response but rather is an expression of a general way of dealing with social relationships and conflicts with women.

4. The Importance of the Environment: Malamuth et al. stress the role of the social environment in increasing or decreasing the likelihood that a male will sexually coerce a female. Several variables are thought to be important: (i) individual childhood developmental factors (e.g. family background); (ii) social units (e.g. peer groups); (iii) broader cultural values and belief systems; and (iv) stimuli in the immediate setting.

Figure One below shows Malamuth et al.'s confluence model:

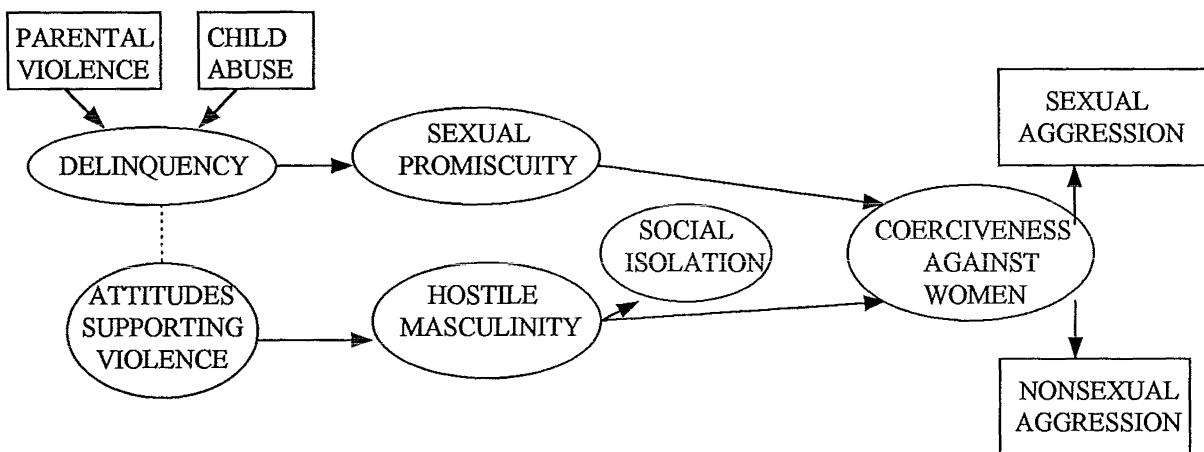


Figure One: Malamuth, Heavey and Linz' Confluence Model.

Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes and Acker (1995) further developed the confluence model through their longitudinal study of the characteristics of sexual aggressors.<sup>1</sup> Through this study the authors added two further variables to the confluence model. The first variable, masculine role stress, pertains to the degree of stress the individual male associates with certain situations which challenge traditional sex roles; for example: physical inadequacy, emotional inexpressiveness, subordination to women, intellectual inferiority and performance failures involving work and sex. The second variable added by Malamuth, Linz, et al. was proneness to general hostility and addresses the individual

<sup>1</sup> For additional information about Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes and Acker's study see the following section on empirical support for the confluence model of sexual aggression.

male's degree of irritability, emotional susceptibility, affect intensity and impulsiveness. Thus, the elaborated confluence model is as follows:

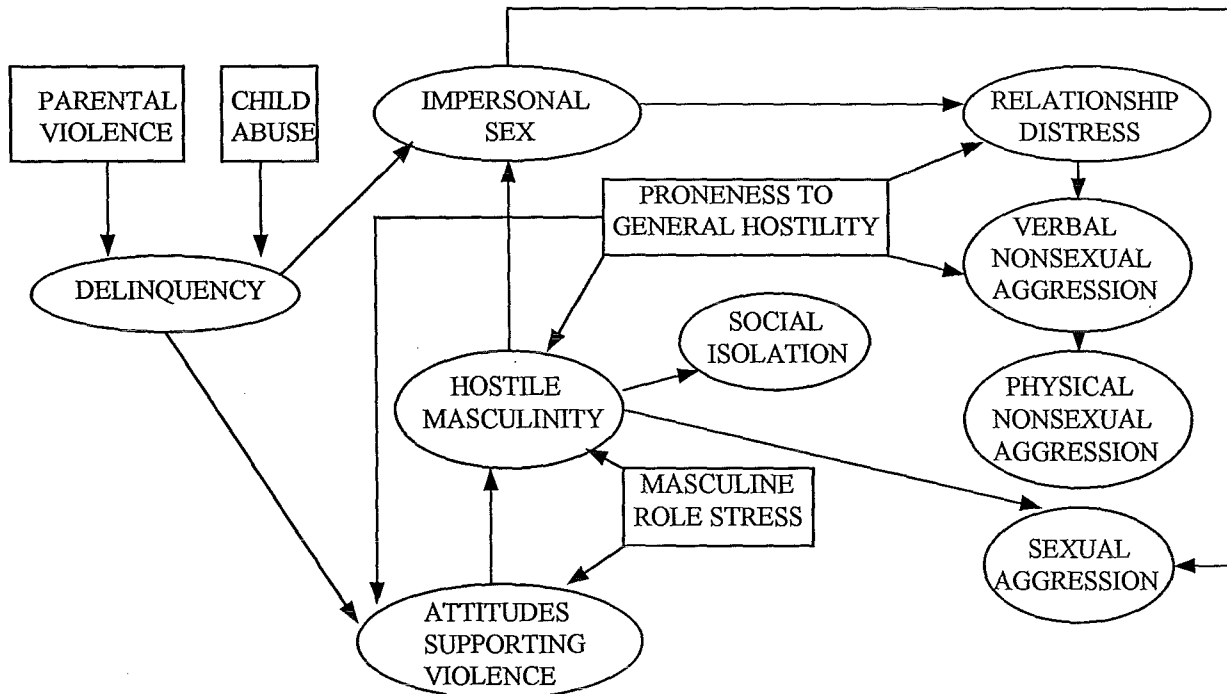


Figure Two: Elaborated Confluence Model.

### **Empirical Support For Malamuth, Heavey & Linz's (1993) Confluence Model of Sexual**

#### **Aggression:**

To date direct empirical support for Malamuth and colleagues confluence model of sexual aggression comes from two sources: (i) a cross-sectional study, and (ii) a longitudinal study. The cross-sectional study was conducted by Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss and Tanaka (1991). Malamuth, Sockloskie, et al. administered a questionnaire to 2652 college males who aggressed against women either sexually, non-sexually, or both. The questionnaire required the respondents to answer a number of questions which related to the 16 variables and 5 latent constructs of the confluence model. The 16 variables include: presence of parental violence in childhood; presence of child abuse during childhood; number of delinquent peers; whether or not the male was a runaway; age at first intercourse; number

of partners; whether or not the male makes friends easily; degree of closeness to women; degree of maintenance of relationships by the male; degree of nonsexual aggression; degree of sexual aggression; degree of negative masculinity; amount of hostility towards women; degree of adversarial sexual beliefs; degree of rape myth acceptance; and degree of acceptance of violence. All but the first two variables (i.e. parental violence and child abuse) were used as indicators for the five latent constructs of: delinquency, sexual promiscuity, attitudes, hostile masculinity and coerciveness. The authors utilised structural equation modelling to analyse the above mentioned variables.

Malamuth, Sockloskie, et al. (pg 678) state that: “The successful replication of the [confluence] model in the two halves of the sample...and the fact that it was not significantly altered when we used control variables [i.e. controlling for age, family income, region and race] add to our confidence in the findings’ reliability. However, because this model is based on cross-sectional retrospective data it is important to replicate the findings in a longitudinal context.”

The longitudinal study was conducted by Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes and Acker (1995). In this study the authors used the confluence model to predict which men would be in distressed relationships with women, be sexually aggressive, be non-sexually aggressive, or some combination of these, ten years after the men had initially been studied as young adults. The authors: (i) questioned the men; (ii) the majority of the men’s female partners; and (iii) analysed a number of videotaped, problem-solving conversations between some of the men and their female partners, in which the couples attempted to resolve an issue independently identified by each spouse. Data from the study supported the ability of the confluence model to predict from an initial set of data which men would be more likely in later adulthood to have conflict with women (i.e. distress in relationships, sexual aggression and spouse abuse / non sexual aggression).

In this study, Malamuth, Linz, et al. also assessed whether the promiscuity-impersonal sex pathway reflected a higher sex drive or a particular type of sexual expression. From the results of their study the authors ascertained that the promiscuity-impersonal sex pathway reflects a particular

type of sexual expression rather than the idea that sexually aggressive behaviour is a consequence of a higher than normal sex drive. Thus, the authors argued that with respect to the promiscuity / impersonal sex pathway, sexual aggression appears to result from an impersonal orientation to sex which readily enables the individual to attain gratification from coercive sex. Malamuth, Linz, et al. note that in contrast an orientation towards highly personal or intimate sexual activity precludes coercive sex because it implies that the individual is concerned with their partner's reactions, feelings and pleasure and is *in particular* concerned that the partner not be injured or their feelings hurt. Thus, within a personal, intimate orientation, Malamuth, Linz, et al. note that gratification from sex tends to partially stem from the feedback the individual receives from knowing that they were 'worthy' enough to have been freely chosen by their sexual partner. Whereas, in the case of an impersonal orientation to sex, Malamuth, Linz, et al. note that this enables a dismissal of concerns about the partner's choice and feelings which serves to 'set the stage' for the possibility of coercive sex.

### **Chapter Three: The Building Blocks**

Firstly, this chapter focuses on a critique and comparison of Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) theory and Malamuth, Heavey and Linz' (1993) model. Secondly, it provides the reasons why these two can be knitted together. Thirdly, it provides a brief overview of the components of the coercive model thus far and fourthly, it provides additional material to fill some of the gaps left after the knitting of Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model.

#### **A Critique of Marshall & Barbaree's (1990) Theory of the Etiology of Sexual Offending:**

Firstly, Marshall and Barbaree state that the task for males is to acquire inhibitory controls over a tendency to fuse sex and aggression. However, a case could be made against the proposition that puberty and adolescence are the most important times for learning inhibitory controls as some authors (e.g. Bowlby, 1973; Roediger, Capaldi, Paris & Polivy, 1991; Bartholomew, 1990) have argued that one of the key components of learning to self-regulate emotions, desires and impulsive behaviours, is establishing the patterns of how to self-regulate during infancy and early childhood. Thus, fairly general patterns of self-regulation are applied more specifically as the individual grows older and develops cognitively. Therefore, even if, as Marshall and Barbaree argue, the task of self-regulation becomes more specific (i.e. learning to control and separate sex and aggression) in puberty due to the 'dramatic' rise in hormone levels, the patterns of how to self-regulate would already have been established and it then becomes an issue of applying a general pattern to specific desires or drives. Additionally, self-regulatory problems may precede adolescence due to 'faulty' patterns being established in childhood, either because of such things as developmental delays, subtle brain damage, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), or because of inappropriate parenting styles which have not reinforced appropriate self-regulation in the child. Thus, such self-regulatory

problems preceding adolescence would then make the task of controlling sexual desires and aggression that much more difficult.

Secondly, Marshall and Barbaree state that the majority of rapes are motivated by a desire for power over the victim. However, Ward, McCormack, Hudson and Polaschek (1997) note that there are a wide variety of reasons for committing rape, ranging from sexual preoccupations or paraphiliac motives to sexual gratification to retaliation. Thus, stating that most rapes are motivated by a desire for power over the victim, seems to be a gross generalisation. Thirdly, the information Marshall and Barbaree include on the availability of pornography does not sit easily within the framework of their theory and needs further development. Perhaps, for example, this information could be presented in a form similar to that used by Ward, McCormack, et al., who note that pornography has the potential to disinhibit sexual aggression by: (i) acting as a developmental antecedent as it condones sexual aggression; (ii) providing relevant material for fantasy; or (iii) increasing sexual arousal and thus functioning as a proximal disinhibitor.

Fourthly, the transitory situational factor of familiarity (i.e. the more familiar an individual is, the more powerful the inhibition against aggression is), does not seem appropriate because: (i) it does not account for incest or date and spouse rape where the victim is extremely familiar to the offender; and (ii) Marshall and Barbaree justify the inclusion of this familiarity factor by citing various animal studies, however there is no evidence to suggest that findings from animal studies will map directly onto human cognitions. Also the transitory situational factor of excessive use of alcohol needs to be expanded to include other drugs as well.

Fifthly, Polaschek et al. note that although the flexibility and breadth of Marshall and Barbaree's theory accommodates the heterogeneity involved in sexual assault of both adult women and children, it leaves considerable scope for expansion with respect to middle level explanations, in particular with regard to how the various factors interact with each other and directly affect behaviour in ways relevant to offending.

### **A Critique of Malamuth, Heavey & Linz's (1993) Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression:**

Firstly, Malamuth et al. make extensive use of evolutionary psychology, and although it raises some interesting research questions (e.g. ultimate and proximate causes of sexual aggression) it also draws some controversy. For example, some authors (e.g. Hall and Hirschman; 1991) argue that aggressive behaviour was not selected in human evolution with regard to sexual aggression. Instead, Hall and Hirschman argue that in the process of human evolution it is in fact quite the opposite behaviours than aggression (and the principle of minimum investment) which were selected. Such authors argue that the behaviours of cooperation and social skills which were selected because these more readily ensured that the female survived to bear the offspring and that the offspring then made it to an age where they could reproduce.

Secondly, there is some controversy over the use of penile plethysmography<sup>2</sup> to measure levels of deviant sexual arousal. Polaschek et al. note that there are a number of practical, conceptual and ethical problems with using penile plethysmography to measure sexual preference and arousal. These problems include: (i) increasing concern about reliability; (ii) increasing concern about the origins of the stimulus material; (iii) increased resistance from offenders to undergoing the treatment; and (iv) that the arousal associated with offending may well develop in association with non-deviant fantasies for example, of consenting adult sexual relations. With regard to this last point, Hall and Hirschman note that similar physiological processes may underpin sexual arousal which results in appropriate sexual behaviour as well as sexual arousal which results in sexual aggression. Thus, they note that unlike pedophilic sexual arousal associated with child sexual abuse, sexual arousal in adult sexual abuse is not necessarily deviant sexual arousal. Hall and Hirschman (pg 664) conclude that: "...sexual arousal is a physiological impulse that results in sexual behaviour that becomes inappropriate only when it is expressed inappropriately." Although, Hall and Hirschman do suggest

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<sup>2</sup> I am assuming that when Malamuth et al. (pg 70) state that they used a "...direct genital measure of physiological arousal..." they are talking about penile plethysmography.

that for a small minority of men sexual arousal is so compelling that they seek sexual gratification from women without regard for the normal, more gradual courtship process.

Blader and Marshall (1989) conducted a critique of current methods of assessing sexual arousal in sexual offenders and concluded that:

“...laboratory arousal to rape depictions lacks a compelling relationship to the enactment of sexually abusive behaviour for all but the most repetitive and dangerous offenders...attempts to empirically discriminate rapists from others on the basis of sexual arousal assessments does not ...appear to have been successful...[Thus] it would appear that current methods for the assessment of rapists’ sexual arousal to depictions of sexual assault continue to be worthwhile, but only as a means to flag patients with sadistic sexual preferences and poor behavioural controls. For the large majority of sexual offenders, who do not evidence such extreme deviant response patterns, there is too much overlap in the distributions of their responses and those of nonrapists ...Therefore...[sexual arousal] assessment data have little usefulness in determinations of dangerousness, prognosis, or treatment needs for the majority of offenders. Caution in their interpretation is therefore warranted, particularly as the consequences of the large margin of error associated with these data may lead to decisions which seriously compromise both individual rights and public safety.” (pg 582).

Pollard (1994) notes that despite the fact that convicted sexual offenders display a variety of arousal patterns and that there is some evidence which highlights a minority of psychologically disturbed males who have a sexual preference for rape, for the vast majority of males (including convicted sexual offenders), sexual arousal to forced intercourse tends to be inhibited by the negative cues. However, research using non-incarcerated samples (i.e. mainly university students with no convictions) has established that this inhibition can be ‘disinhibited’ under various circumstances (Barbaree & Serin; 1993). For example, it has been demonstrated that such samples of males display: (i) equal arousal to rape and consenting depictions when the rape victim is said to be involuntary aroused; (ii) equal arousal to rape and consenting depictions when the male subject has been angered by a female confederate; and (iii) decreased inhibition when the male subject has consumed alcohol.

However, these measurement, ethical and conceptual problems associated with the variable of sexual arousal do not entirely dismiss its theoretical importance or predictive value, although they



do suggest that in its present form, sexual responsiveness to rape may not be entirely appropriate. Future research could focus on establishing different methods of measuring sexual responsiveness to rape and evaluating whether or not this predictor variable should be maintained. For example, Barbaree, Seto, Serin, Amos and Preston (1994) note that whereas researchers and clinicians have previously attempted to determine if rapists exhibited deviant arousal, they suggest that the appropriate future question to ask may be a determination of which subtype the individual rapist belongs to and whether rapists of that particular subtype show deviant arousal.

Thirdly, it would seem that none of the six predictor variables (i.e. sexual responsiveness to rape, dominance motive, hostility towards women, attitudes facilitating aggression against women, antisocial personality characteristics / psychoticism, and sexual experience) could convincingly be classified under the predictor factor of opportunity to act aggressively. Fourthly, there are several problems with the model itself based on the information given in Malamuth et al.'s paper. These are as follows:

1. Parental violence and child abuse should both feed into attitudes supporting violence as these children base their attitudes about their environment and other individuals on the attitudes their parents have, the manner in which their parents interact with them and their developmental experiences - all of which tend to be fairly negative and therefore, are more likely to foster attitudes which support violence.
2. Attitudes supporting violence should come before delinquency as it is logical to assume that the child would develop some attitudes which support violence based on their violent or abusive upbringings prior to becoming delinquent. Entering the delinquent stage serves to reinforce and maintain those attitudes supporting violence which the young male acquired from their parents and detrimental upbringing.
3. From the delinquency stage an individual could then proceed either to the sexual promiscuity pathway (i.e. high turnover of sexual partners due to placing self and peer esteem on the number

of sexual conquests); or to the hostile masculinity pathway (i.e. delinquency places high emphasis on the male being 'macho' - tough, invulnerable and dominant).

4. It is also conceivable that some individuals who develop attitudes supporting violence could bypass the delinquency stage (e.g. due to honour codes instilled by parents), but still progress into the sexual promiscuity or hostile masculinity pathways.
5. Malamuth et al. state that the two paths (i.e. hostile masculinity and sexual promiscuity) interact, and furthermore that the hostile masculinity path mediates the relationship between sexual promiscuity and sexual aggression, however, in their diagram, Malamuth et al. do not show either the interaction or the mediating relationship, nor do they make it clear from a theoretical perspective exactly which mechanisms are involved in the interaction of the hostile masculinity and sexual promiscuity pathways.
6. In addition, the consequence of social isolation also needs to be expanded to include emotional loneliness as arguably this is the more important of the two (see Marshall, 1989, 1993, 1996). Social isolation and associated emotional loneliness should also lead to coerciveness against women.
7. A case could be made on the basis of the attachment literature (e.g. Bartholomew, 1990; Ward, Hudson, Marshall & Siegert, 1995) that the sexual promiscuity path could lead to emotional loneliness due to the fluctuating (but never satisfactory) levels of intimacy gained from this type of behaviour.

## **Why Marshall & Barbaree's Theory and Malamuth, Heavey & Linz's Model can Thus be Knitted Together:**

Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model can be knitted together, firstly due to the significant overlap between the two, and secondly, because their divergences along the proximal - distal causal distinction are complimentary.

Overlap occurs in several areas: firstly, both Marshall and Barbaree and Malamuth et al. note that violence and abuse, (especially sexual), have detrimental effects on developing males which can later lead to sexual offending. Malamuth et al. (pg 79) state that:

“Certain home environments, such as those that include violence between parents...and child abuse, especially sexual abuse...may lead to developmental processes that later affect aggression against women. These may include the development of cynical, adversarial, and hostile schema...concerning male-female and intimate relationships. They may also include feelings of shame (especially about sex) and inadequacy, which are masked by self-protective aggrandising, anger and an exaggerated need to control intimates. Additionally, such home environments may not provide the training for the child to develop self-control of emotions and impulsive behaviours.”

Marshall and Barbaree (pg 261) state that:

“Poor socialisation, particularly a violent parenting style, will both facilitate the use of aggression as well as cutting the youth off from more appropriate sociosexual interactions. Exposure to these unfortunate influences is also expected to instil a serious lack of confidence in the growing boy as well as strong feelings of resentment and hostility. These feelings and ineptitudes will certainly not help the pubescent male acquire appropriate inhibitory controls over sex and aggression; indeed, they may serve to entrench quite the opposite dispositions.”

However, Marshall and Barbaree better explain why such inappropriate childhood experiences are a problem by explaining the specific effects in some detail which lead to later sexual offending (i.e. inadequately preparing the boys for the hormonal changes in puberty, modelling of violence, lack of attachment which leads to emotional loneliness and so on).

Secondly, both Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model note the importance of the individual's general environment or context. At the specific level, however, the

theory and the model emphasise different (but complimentary) factors with Marshall and Barbaree emphasising: (i) three societal factors: interpersonal violence, male dominance and negative attitudes to women; (ii) the degree of power the perpetrator feels he has in other areas of his life; and (iii) the degree of availability of pornography; while, Malamuth et al. emphasise the importance of: (i) social units; (ii) broader cultural values and belief systems; and (iii) the stimuli in the immediate setting. So although the theory and the model emphasise different factors, when combined the two lists of factors compliment each other. Thirdly, both the theory and the model state that hostility and negative attitudes toward women are important because firstly, they reduce the inhibitions against committing an aggressive act; and secondly, hostility and negative attitudes toward women can also act as motivational factors.

Some of the primary divergences between Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model lie along the distal-proximal causal distinction. The predictor variables utilised in Malamuth et al.'s model can all be classified in terms of the second class of distal causal factors (i.e. learning experiences), with the exception of antisocial personality characteristics / psychoticism which can be classified as being both classes of distal causal factors (i.e. biological backdrop or predisposition / vulnerability; and learnt behaviour due to inappropriate parenting, abuse, trauma). Whereas, although Marshall and Barbaree do deal with some distal causal factors of the nature of the second class (i.e. early learning experiences), they also deal with distal causal factors which fall into the first class (i.e. biological influences and sociocultural context). Marshall and Barbaree also provide information on proximate causes of sexual aggression in the section of their theory entitled 'Transitory Situational Factors'. Thus, although there are a number of divergences between Marshall and Barbaree's theory and Malamuth et al.'s model, it appears that these divergences are of a complimentary nature and that when the theory and model are knitted together their divergences will add to the overall comprehensiveness of the explanation provided by their linking.

### **A Brief Overview of the Components of the Coercive Model Thus Far:**

When knitted together, Marshall and Barbaree's theory will provide the main framework or background into which Malamuth et al.'s model will then be incorporated. Thus the new conceptualisation (in brief format) will be as follows:

Marshall and Barbaree's Biological Endowment: the task for human males is to acquire (through socialisation) inhibitory controls over a biologically endowed propensity for self-interest associated with a tendency to fuse sex and aggression. Also to be included is the evolutionary psychology question on ultimate causation of aggression against women posed by Malamuth et al. That is, did the ancestral environment select men who raped (under some circumstances), or did natural selection favour related behaviours (e.g. impersonal sex, coercion to achieve one's goals, control of female sexuality) that included rape as a by-product or an extension?

Marshall and Barbaree's Childhood Experiences and Socio-Cultural Context: these two sections need to be collapsed together because they simultaneously have a significant effect on the development of the young male by increasing or decreasing the likelihood that a male will later utilise coercive behaviour against a woman. Thus, childhood experiences and socio-cultural context would include Marshall and Barbaree's information on: (i) how inappropriate home environments inadequately prepare young boys for the hormonal changes in puberty; (ii) modelling of violent behaviour; and (iii) the effects of inappropriate attachment; but would slightly downplay the role of the availability of pornography while emphasising the degree of exposure to violence against women (both sexual and nonsexual) portrayed through the mass media as experienced by the given individual. Additionally, several variables mentioned by Malamuth et al. (namely, the individual's social units and the broader cultural values and belief systems), would be included under the socio-cultural context of this section. The evolutionary psychology question posited by Malamuth et al. as to proximate causation of aggression against women (i.e. what are the processes in the offender's

own lifetime which caused them to sexually offend?) would be part of the theoretical underpinning for this section<sup>3</sup>.

Malamuth et al.'s Constructs: this would include Malamuth et al.'s five latent constructs (attitudes, delinquency, sexual promiscuity, hostile masculinity and coerciveness). In addition, the variables utilised to identify these five constructs will also be included as they are important in terms of future research examining the predictive accuracy of the coercive model detailed in Chapter Four of this thesis. Thus, Marshall and Barbaree's transitory situational factors are combined with Malamuth et al.'s predictor variables (since they can all be classified in terms of the three general categories - i.e. motivation to commit an aggressive act, reductions in inhibitions to act aggressively, and opportunities for aggression), resulting in the revised list of variables which is as follows:

(i) sexual responsiveness to rape; (ii) dominance motive; (iii) hostility towards women; (iv) attitudes facilitating aggression against women; (v) antisocial personality characteristics / psychoticism; (vi) sexual experience; (vii) excessive use of alcohol and/or drugs; (viii) stress and anxiety; (ix) anonymity; and (x) warfare. Marshall and Barbaree's transitory situational factor of familiarity would be dropped, and the warfare variable would be expanded from its traditional sense to include areas where there is urban unrest or a problem with gang conflicts.

Malamuth et al.'s Domain Specificity and Behaviours Other Than Sexual Aggression: this would include Malamuth et al.'s assumptions of: (i) behaviours other than sexual aggression (i.e. factors contributing to sexual aggression may be expressed in behaviours which are not overtly aggressive as sexual aggression is not an isolated response but an expression of a general way of dealing with social relationships and conflicts with women), and (ii) domain specificity and the evolutionary psychology justification for domain specificity. That is, evolutionary psychology contends that the human brain is sexually dimorphic as different reproductive opportunities and

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Five of this thesis: 'Future Research Directions' (point one), as this theoretical underpinning clearly needs more development.

constraints encountered by males and females led natural selection to design brain/mind differences. These brain/mind differences led to slightly different information processing mechanisms affecting sexuality related responses, particularly degree of choosiness. The principal of minimal investment for reproductivity states that a conflict of interest arises because females and males have different drives for engaging in sex (i.e. males will have sex with any fertile female excluding kin, while females choose a male who will best be able to provide for them and their offspring) Thus, males sought to control female sexuality and coercion was one such control tactic. “Moreover...if one exerts control and dominance over women in nonsexual spheres as well (e.g. their mobility, associates etc.), it is likely that control of a female’s sexuality will be more effectively achieved” (Malamuth et al.; pg 68).

Suggested Changes to Malamuth et al.’s Confluence Model:

- parental violence and child abuse are collapsed together
- parental violence and/or child abuse feed into attitudes supporting violence
- attitudes supporting violence feeds into delinquency with delinquency feeding into both promiscuity / impersonal sex and hostile masculinity
- social isolation is expanded to also include emotional loneliness
- hostile masculinity and promiscuity / impersonal sex feed into social isolation and/or emotional loneliness
- social isolation and/or emotional loneliness also feed into coerciveness against women

**Filling of Some Gaps With Additional Material:**

The knitting together of Marshall and Barbaree’s theory and Malamuth et al.’s model leaves several primary gaps which will be dealt with by this thesis. Firstly, there are no explicitly defined conceptual categories which account for the variations in parenting and socio-cultural context which then lead on to the various pathways. Thus, this first gap will be filled through the addition to the knitted

theories of four new theoretical categories which describe the type of parenting received by the males and also the degree to which they have been exposed to an inappropriate socio-cultural context. Therefore, the four categories are as follows:

- (i) inappropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context
- (ii) inappropriate parenting and high exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context
- (iii) appropriate parenting and high exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context
- (iv) appropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context

Secondly, Malamuth et al. note that for the majority of males with aggressive or coercive tendencies, the utilisation of coercive behaviours is typically not restricted to just one sphere of their lives. Instead for males with these tendencies domineering, coercive and aggressive behaviours represent mechanisms by which they interact with others (particularly with women), and cope and respond to social problems. Thus, the coercive model proposed by this thesis will include the coercive behaviours of emotional abuse, dominance and isolation as well as the other four types (sexual aggression, physical and verbal non-sexual aggression, and relationship distress) already identified by Malamuth et al. and Marshall and Barbaree.

Thirdly, as was noted previously in this Chapter when Malamuth et al.'s model was critiqued, their hostile masculinity and promiscuity / impersonal sex pathways lack a theoretical underpinning. The addition of Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert's conceptualisation of the various attachment styles, their associated internal working models and how these impact on levels of intimacy, will provide this much needed theoretical underpinning for these pathways as well as the others in the coercive model proposed by this thesis. Towards this end Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert's work is now examined. The authors reformulated Marshall's (1989, 1993, 1996) theory of intimacy deficits by incorporating Bartholomew's (1990, 1991) model of adult attachment and describing specific behaviours engaged in by sexual offenders. Bartholomew's model utilised Bowlby's concept of internal working models to bridge the gap between early attachment experiences and adult



intimate relationships. Bartholomew's four attachment styles (i.e. secure, preoccupied, fearful and dismissive) and their associated working models (i.e. respectively: positive self / positive others, negative self / positive others, negative self / negative others, and positive self / negative others), give rise to different interpersonal goals and strategies which in turn impact on the level of intimacy which the individual achieves. Table Two below shows the differing internal working models, interpersonal goals and strategies and levels of intimacy for the four attachment styles.

Table Two: Intimacy and Attachment in Adults

<b>Attachment Style</b>	<b>Internal Working Models</b>	<b>Interpersonal Goals/Strategies</b>	<b>Impact on Intimacy</b>
<b>Secure</b>	Positive self / positive others	Appropriate disclosure Seeks support	High level of intimacy
<b>Preoccupied</b>	Negative self / positive others	Seeks approval Controlling style Preoccupied with relationships	Fluctuating levels of intimacy but never satisfactory
<b>Fearful</b>	Negative self / negative others	Actively avoids social contact Fearful of closeness and rejection	Superficial intimacy
<b>Dismissive</b>	Positive self / negative others	Dismissive of value of close relationships Aloof	Very low level of intimacy

[Source: Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert; 1995].

Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert (1995) applied Bartholomew's four category model (i.e. the internal working models concept) and the previous research findings on the three distinct insecure attachment styles to sexual offending behaviour in order to propose a theory which better explained intimacy deficits in these individuals. Ward et al. proposed that the three insecure attachment styles (preoccupied, fearful and dismissive) produce different interpersonal goals and strategies which give rise to different intimacy deficits and relationship problems which in turn generate different offending

patterns and different relationships with their victims. Table Three below shows how the different insecure attachment styles and intimacy deficits impact on sexually aggressive behaviour.

Table Three: Attachment Styles and Sexual Offending

<b>Attachment Style</b>	<b>Intimacy Desires</b>	<b>Adult Partner</b>	<b>Focus</b>	<b>Sexual Patterns</b>	<b>Offending Patterns</b>
<b>Preoccupied</b>	Desires intimacy but anxious about adult relationships. Nonhostile.	Seeks partner who is approving & whom he can control.	Looks to children for emotional intimacy. Victim or mutually focused.	Grooms child over time. Attempts to establish a 'love' relationship with child.	Sexually offends against child who is known to the offender. Rarely uses coercion & if so coercion is mild.
<b>Fearful</b>	Desires intimacy but fearful of rejection. Nonhostile but uncaring.	Seeks nonrejecting partner in a relationship devoid of closeness.	Looks for minimal emotional contacts. Self-focused.	Establishes pattern of nonhostile impersonal sex.	Exhibits passively. Peeps secretly & doesn't seek entrance. Sexually offends against person who is relatively a stranger. Will use overt (instrumental) coercion if necessary.
<b>Dismissive</b>	Desires autonomy & independence. Hostile.	Dismissive of close relationships.	Looks for contacts that are devoid of emotional closeness. Self-focused.	Establishes pattern of hostile impersonal sex.	Exhibits aggressively. Peeps nonsecretively & seeks entrance. Sexually aggresses against adults or children. Aggresses expressively & may be sadistic.

[Adapted from Ward, Hudson, Marshall & Siegert (1995)]

Fourthly, the coercive model requires the addition of the constructs of empathy and lifestyle impulsivity as the relative presence or absence of either of these constructs inhibits or exacerbates coercive tendencies. The degree of empathy which an individual has for others is very much related to the type of attachment experiences they received during childhood as empathy arises through consistent appropriate interpersonal relationships which allow the child to achieve intimacy and develop empathy (Marshall; 1996). Polaschek, Ward and Hudson (1997) note that fantasies of

forced sex are so commonly reported as to be almost normative, however, obviously not all men who have such fantasies act upon them. Therefore, it seems pertinent to ask what are the protective factors which keep the fantasy as a fantasy and from becoming a reality for the majority of men? Empathy, in that it prevents men from acting upon such fantasies because they realise it would be detrimental to the woman, is hypothesised to be one of the protective factors. Malamuth, Linz et al. (1995; pg 367) state that: "High empathy scores would be expected to block or reduce considerably the actual acting out of coercive sexual behaviours even when some risk factors are present..." A number of studies have found that sexual offenders (especially rapists) and violent nonsex offenders have a number of empathy deficits (Polaschek et al.). It is hypothesised that a lack of empathy for others is related to the types of internal models developed by these men in their early attachment experiences. Rapists are often reported as having the least amount of empathy for others (Lisak & Ivan; 1995). Ward, Hudson and McCormack (1997) propose that this is directly related to the fact that most rapists are characterised by a dismissive attachment style and the associated internal working model of positive self / negative others. The dismissive attachment style means that these men often deny the need for close, intimate relationships and it is in the context of such relationships that empathy for others is nurtured. The internal working model of positive self / negative others allows these men to devalue their partner and to feel justified in not being concerned about how their behaviour impacts on their partner because that partner is held in a negative esteem by them. In addition, Marshall, Hudson, Jones and Fernandez (1995) claim that males who utilise sexually aggressive behaviours have cognitive rationalisations which allow them to be selectively unempathic toward their own victims rather than to victims in general.

Lifestyle impulsivity has two primary etiological factors: (i) physiological (e.g. subtle brain dysfunction and damage); and (ii) inappropriate attachment / parenting experiences. Moffitt (1993) argues that an impulsive personality style serves to maintain antisocial behaviour across the life span through a variety of person-environment interactions. According to Moffitt, impulsivity increases the

risk of long-term antisocial behaviour through direct and indirect means. Deficits in impulse control can produce delinquency directly by interfering with children's ability to control their behaviour and to think of the future consequences of antisocial acts. Deficits in impulse control may also lead to delinquency indirectly by disrupting children's success in school. Children who do poorly in school are more likely to terminate their formal education earlier and are more likely to accumulate socioeconomic disadvantages. Lacking opportunities to succeed in conventional ways, these individuals will be more likely to rely on the rewards associated with involvement in antisocial activities. Thus, either directly or indirectly, impulse control problems can lead to delinquency and adult antisocial behaviour, a life option which Moffitt terms 'stable life-course-persistent antisocial behaviour'.

Prentky, Knight, Lee and Cerce (1995) note that lifestyle impulsivity is a relatively robust phenomenon in that it is apparent in certain types of preadolescent and adolescent behaviours which antecede and influence subsequent adult adaptation. Prentky et al. therefore note that lifestyle impulsivity may be due to a failure to develop appropriate controls at an early age.

White, Moffitt, Caspi, Bartusch, Needles and Stouthamer-Loeber (1994) found that lifestyle impulsivity has a two dimensional structure consisting of the two conceptually related components of cognitive impulsivity and behavioural impulsivity, both of which are related to delinquency. White et al.'s research indicates that behavioural impulsivity is a strong predictor of delinquency and later, more serious antisocial behaviour. They note that children with poor self-control are more likely to be delinquent because they are unable to monitor and control their behaviour. Thus, behaviourally undercontrolled individuals may steal and fight on the spur of the moment when the rewards associated with a delinquent act loom large and when the potential negative consequences seem small and in the 'distant' future. Both Moffitt (1993) and White et al. note that personality differences such as impulsivity, are related to the development of stable long-term serious antisocial

behaviour and it is this group which typically proceed as they grow older to commit more aggressive and violent acts against others.

Both Moffitt and White et al. found that individuals who miss the opportunities to 'succeed' by conventional means are more likely to focus on the rewards associated with involvement in antisocial activities. Similarly, Prentky and Knight (1986) found that lifestyle impulsivity was associated with several types of criminal behaviour, including antisocial behaviour in adolescence and frequency of criminal offences in adulthood. It would seem therefore, that lifestyle impulsivity, like insecure attachment styles, represents a general risk factor for a range of life problems including criminality and coercive and aggressive behaviours.

## **Chapter Four: The Coercive Model**

The coercive model proposed by this thesis consists of three primary sections. The first constitutes individuals' genetic inheritance and developmental experiences. Developmental experiences are broken down into four conceptual categories which describe the type of parenting received by the individual and the degree of exposure to an inappropriate socio-cultural context as experienced by the individual. The second section describes the pathways through which genetic inheritance, developmental experiences and other factors combine to produce coercive behaviour against women. The third section describes the different types of coercive behaviour utilised by these men against women.

The coercive model involves four primary pathways which are represented by the four theoretical categories: (i) Category One which feeds into the promiscuity / impersonal sex pathway; (ii) Category Two which feeds into the hostile masculinity pathway; (iii) Category Three which feeds into the extreme circumstances pathway; and (iv) Category Four which leads to the non-use of coercion against women. Figure Three (refer to page 50) shows the coercive model in diagrammatic form.

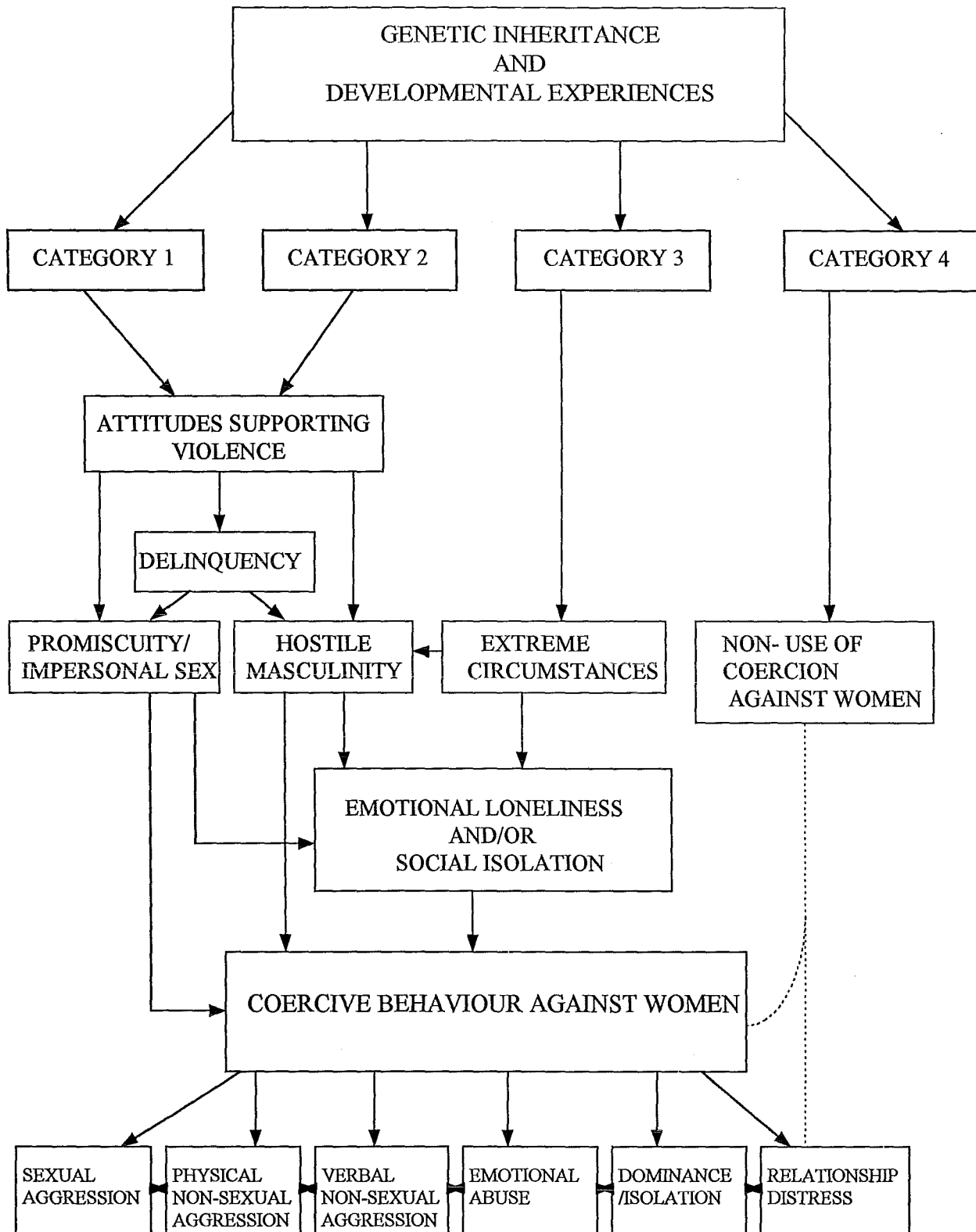


Figure Three: The Coercive Model.

### **Genetic Inheritance and Developmental Experiences**

Genetic inheritance refers to those items which are genetically 'handed down' and which are therefore, present at birth either manifestly or latently (e.g. underlying genetic vulnerabilities and predispositions, certain personality traits). There is some evidence to suggest that some individuals have a genetic predisposition or vulnerability towards aggressiveness and/or criminality, which is then mediated by their parents, peers and environment (Koss & Mukai, 1990; Polaschek et al., 1997). However, as noted by Marshall and Barbaree, these biological influences are minimal and serve to 'set the stage' for later learning. For males, genetic inheritance also refers to the "...propensity for self-interest associated with a tendency to fuse sex and aggression..." (Marshall & Barbaree; pg 257) which lies primarily dormant until the time of puberty when increases in hormones activate the sex drive in males (Bray, Cragg, Macknight, Mills & Taylor; 1994). There are several mechanisms by which this propensity begins to operate at the time of puberty: firstly, the same neural substrates involving primarily midbrain structures such as the hypothalamus, septum, hippocampus, amygdala and preoptic area are utilised for both sex and aggression; and secondly, the same endocrines (mainly the sex steroids) activate both sex and aggression.

Brain dysfunction and damage acquired through disruptions in fetal brain development due to: (i) organic factors, or (ii) the mother having smoked, consumed alcohol or ingested drugs while pregnant, are also included under genetic inheritance. It should be noted that subtle brain dysfunction and damage can also be acquired during a child's developmental experiences due to neglect, abuse and exposure to neurotoxins. Subtle (or otherwise) brain dysfunction or damage resulting from either of these sources (i.e. genetic inheritance or developmental experiences) can result in the child manifesting ADHD, reading and learning disorders, antisocial behaviour and delinquency all of which increase the likelihood that the individual will later utilise coercive behaviours. Researchers (e.g. White et al., 1994; Moffitt, 1990) have found that the comorbidity of ADHD and delinquency is a robust predictor of adult chronic criminal offending. Moffitt (1990; pg 137) states that



neurophysiological deficit (such as poor verbal functioning) appear to make children more vulnerable to the effects of a ‘criminogenic environment’, while “...strong verbal neuropsychological capacity...acts as a protector against the development of aggressive behaviour among children reared in even the most adverse family environments.”

The individual male’s genetic inheritance is mediated by their developmental experiences through several psychological processes (e.g. learning, modelling, socialisation), which either increase or decrease: (i) the inhibitions against fusing sex and aggression; and (ii) the likelihood that any underlying genetic predispositions or vulnerabilities will be actualised in coercive and/or criminal behaviour. Ward, Hudson and McCormack (1997) note that considerable evidence is mounting which demonstrates that family variables, particularly the quality of interpersonal relationships and the experience of sexual deviation and abuse during childhood, play a major role in the development and severity of later sexual aggression. Developmental experiences consists of two main components: (i) childhood experiences, and (ii) socio-cultural context. Table Four below shows the factors included under childhood experiences and socio-cultural context.

**Table Four: Factors Mediating Genetic Inheritance.**

<b>Childhood Experiences</b>	<b>Socio-Cultural Context</b>
- inappropriate home environments (e.g. abuse, neglect)	- availability of and degree of exposure to pornography
- quality of interpersonal relationships	- degree of exposure to and levels of violence against women as portrayed through the mass media
- modelling of violent behaviours	- broader cultural values and belief systems
- effects of insecure attachment	- individuals social units (i.e. family & peer groups)
- individuals social units (i.e. family & peer groups)	

Developmental experiences are then broken down into four theoretical categories. The four categories are as follows:

(i) Category One: inappropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context

(ii)Category Two: inappropriate parenting and high exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context

(iii)Category Three: appropriate parenting and high exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context

(iv)Category Four: appropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context

From a theoretical perspective the four categories described above are likely to result in individuals who are predominantly characterised by one or the other of the attachment styles and their associated working models. Thus, Categories 3 and 4 are the most likely to produce secure attachment in an individual due to appropriate parenting techniques. Males from these categories will operate on the basis of positive self / positive others internal working models. The problem for Category 3 males is that the high exposure to an inappropriate socio-cultural context desensitises them to aggression and violence and thus, can instil 'subconscious schemas' of coercion and aggression within the context of certain circumstances. Category 2 (with inappropriate parenting being defined as harsh, authoritarian, abusive / violent) constitutes the conditions most likely to produce a dismissive attachment style with the associated internal working model of positive self / negative others. Category 1 (with inappropriate parenting being defined as neglectful, inconsistent, rejecting, abusive) is likely to establish preoccupied (stemming from inconsistent and insensitive parenting) or fearful (stemming from consistent rejection from parents) attachment styles with their respective associated internal working models of negative self / positive others and negative self / negative others.

In this thesis the categories (and the attachment styles, internal working models and pathways they give rise to), will be dealt with as distinct and separate entities although in reality there is probably some degree of overlap between the attachment styles and categories and some degree of crossover between the pathways. However, these are issues to be dealt with by future empirical

research on the coercive model proposed by this thesis. In the following section the pathways which lead from developmental experiences to coercive behaviour are detailed and explained.

### **Pathways Leading From Genetic Inheritance and Developmental Experiences to Coercive Behaviour**

For clarity, each of the four categories will be followed down through their respective pathways to coercive behaviour against women (the different of types coercive behaviours will be dealt with in the third section). Thus, the specific pathway for each category will be presented in diagrammatic form followed by an explanation.

#### Category 1: (inappropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context)

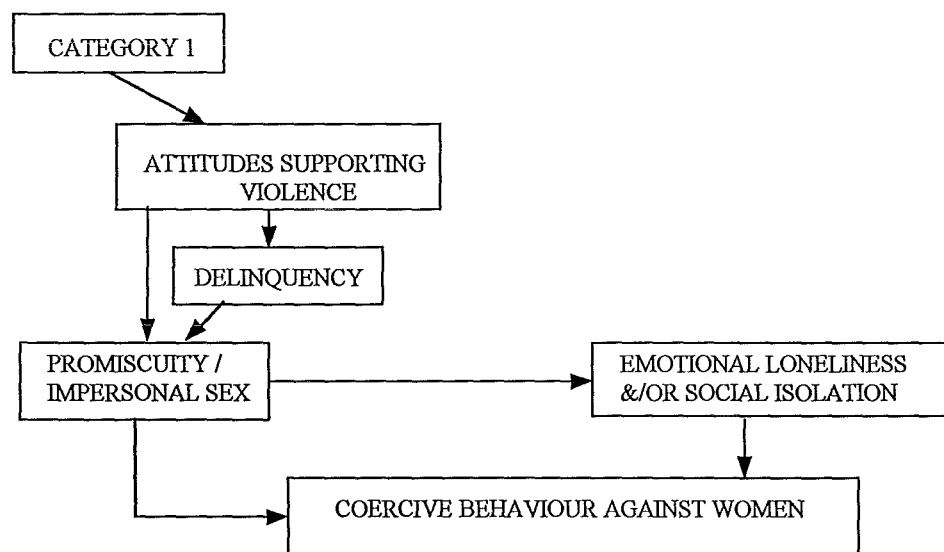


Figure Four: Category 1 Pathways Leading to Coercive Behaviour.

Males from Category 1 can develop attitudes which support violence due to several reasons. Poor socialisation due to their caregivers' style of parenting can facilitate the use of coercion as a means of solving interpersonal disputes. In addition, inappropriate attachment experiences deprive the young

male of opportunities to develop secure attachment bonds and the necessary templates, interpersonal and relationship skills which would allow them to develop and maintain successful relationships. The lack of appropriate interpersonal relationship templates and skills constitute major risk factors for the utilisation of coercive behaviour. A lack of empathy constitutes a major risk factor because it is easier to use coercive and aggressive behaviours when one has less of a regard for the feelings of others; while a lack of intimacy can lead the male to use coercive behaviours in an attempt to gain intimacy and emotional contact through sexual activity. Inappropriate templates for relationships also constitutes a major risk factor because this is the basis from which the male will establish and conduct future relationships. Thus, the general context typical of these boys developmental experiences means that they are more likely to adopt attitudes which support violence as these attitudes are a strong component of their everyday reality. It should be noted that the inappropriate parenting experienced by Category 1 males (especially the disruption of secure attachment bonds due to abuse and emotional issues in the family of origin), in all probability will not instil in them the confidence and self-esteem deemed by both Marshall and Barbaree and Malamuth et al. as so essential for achieving appropriate interpersonal relationships. Therefore, these males tend to seek self-esteem and confidence (among various other factors) through either delinquency, promiscuity / impersonal sex or both.

Attitudes supporting violence can lead directly to promiscuity / impersonal sex or via the delinquency stage. Males who follow the former (i.e. directly to promiscuity / impersonal sex) are more likely to be characterised by a fearful type of attachment style. This is because although they are fearful of closeness and intimacy in relationships due to a fear that they will be rejected, they still desire emotional contact with others and thus, will use sexual activity as an indirect means of making contact with others (Marshall, Hudson, Ward and Siegert; 1995). Those Category 1 males who take the latter pathway (i.e. via delinquency) tend to be characterised by preoccupied attachment styles and as such are very much preoccupied with relationships as a source of approval. Thus, these males

are likely to become involved with delinquent peers as a means of gaining approval and support which is lacking from their parents.

Delinquency leads to promiscuity / impersonal sex because the accelerated adoption of adult roles usually results in precocious sexual behaviour, firstly, because these males typically express their delinquent tendencies through 'sexually acting out'; and secondly, because these males are more likely to have developed a high emphasis on sexuality and sexual conquest as a source of peer status and self-esteem. The promiscuity / impersonal sex pathway can then either: (a) lead directly to coerciveness against women because these males place a high degree of emphasis on sexuality and sexual conquest and therefore tend to use a variety of means (especially coercion) to induce females into sexual acts; or (b) lead to emotional loneliness (due to low levels of intimacy inherent in relationships based on impersonal sex - that is, the high number and high 'turn-over' of sexual partners experienced by these males prohibits them from attaining a satisfactory level of intimacy) which in turn increases the likelihood that the male will utilise coercive behaviour against women.

Category 2: (inappropriate parenting and high exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context)

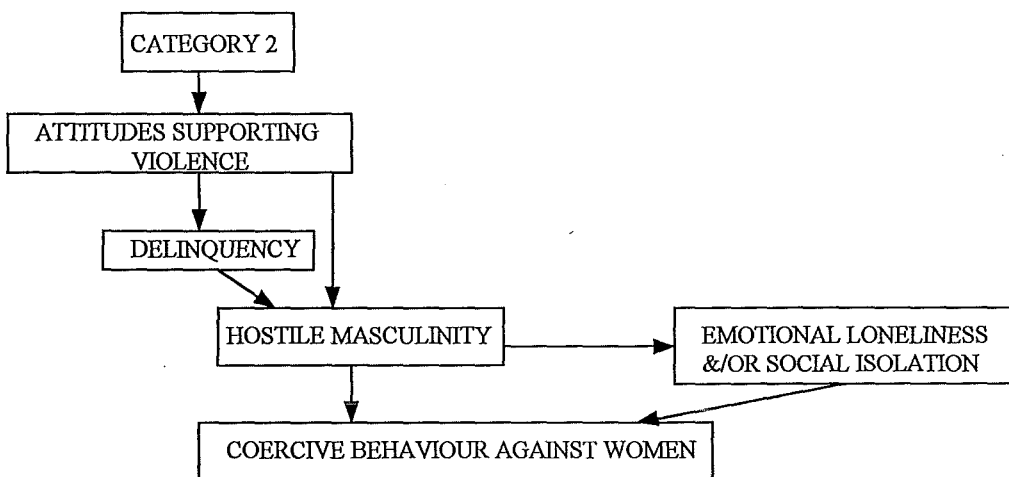


Figure Five: Category 2 Pathways Leading to Coercive Behaviour.

High exposure to an inappropriate socio-cultural context coupled with inappropriate parenting increases the likelihood that the individual male will develop attitudes which support violence due to

several reasons. Firstly, these males come from home environments in which for whatever reason, violence is an everyday reality. Thus, these males not only model the violent/aggressive behaviour of their parents, but are also highly likely to adopt their parents attitudes which tend to be more traditional notions of a patriarchal societal structure in which the male is the only source of power and control both within the family, within heterosexual intimate relationships and within interpersonal relationships generally. In addition, certain adverse consequences of male gender socialisation (i.e. 'masculinisation', especially in its more extreme forms), leads to hostility towards women, a devaluation of women, to a reduction in the capacity for empathy and a reduction in the need for intimacy with others, all of which tends to produce a predisposition for the use of coercive behaviours against women (Lisak & Ivan; 1995).

Secondly, poor socialisation (in particular, experiencing a violent parenting style in childhood), both facilitates the use of aggression (especially as a means of conflict solving), as well as depriving the male from access to more appropriate sociosexual interactions which then serve as a template for later more intimate relationships. Research has demonstrated that physical abuse among cohabitants has serious effects not only in physical, psychological and emotional terms for the participants and their children, but also because it appears to be an important component in the transmission of violence from one generation to the next (Malamuth, Linz, et al.). Thirdly, due to parental absence, indifference or ignorance, these males are more likely to grow up being consistently exposed, both within their family and through the mass media, not only to images of violence but also to images which degrade women and represent attitudes and belief systems which support both interpersonal violence and coercion against women.

For Category 1 males attitudes supporting violence lead to hostile masculinity either directly or via a delinquent stage. When attitudes supporting violence lead directly to hostile masculinity bypassing the delinquent stage it is because these males tend to have been raised to regard qualities such as power, risk-taking, toughness, dominance, aggressiveness, honour defending and

competitiveness as masculine, while at the same time being raised to suppress qualities associated with femininity. Thus, the 'code of true male honour' instilled in these young males inhibits them from acting delinquently but encourages them to internalise characteristics which lead them to be controlling and aggressive toward women both in sexual as well as in nonsexual situations.

For those Category 1 males who pass through the delinquency stage before reaching hostile masculinity, the subculture of delinquent peers serves to reinforce and further develop the attitudes, rationalisations, motivations, emotions and personality characteristics conducive to violence against women and others that the young male acquired from their inappropriate home environment. Thus, attitudes supporting violence lead to delinquency in early adolescence because firstly, males in a hostile home environment frequently associate with delinquent peers and engage in a variety of antisocial behaviours. Delinquent experiences (especially when coupled with an inappropriate home environment), affect various characteristics mediating aggression against women such as:

(i) encouraging hostile cognitions (including the reinforcement of those already acquired through the home environment); and (ii) interfere with the mastery of critical developmental skills such as dealing constructively with frustration, learning to delay gratification, forming a prosocial identity and negotiating disagreements. Both of these points tend to result in the accelerated adoption by such young males of adult roles (including sexual behaviours), but without the necessary growth and development typically needed to ensure success with these roles. This sequence leads to the development of behaviour patterns which stipulate the use of domineering and coercive tactics (particularly when dealing with weaker targets), rather than negotiating desired outcomes.

Hostile masculinity in turn feeds either: (a) directly into coerciveness against women; or (b) feeds into coerciveness against women via emotional loneliness and/or social isolation. In the case of the latter, this is because (as Marshall and Barbaree note), the possibility of developing strong and positive attachment bonds appears decidedly limited for those males originating from Category Two. Furthermore, the absence of a capacity for intimacy as an adult serves to alienate the

individual and cause him to experience emotional loneliness, which research has demonstrated to be highly related to hostility and aggression (Marshall; 1996). Thus, the failure to develop the capacity for intimacy tends to result ultimately in a general aggressive / adversarial manner of interpersonal interaction including those of a sexual nature. Those males displaying hostile masculinity are typically more socially isolated from women and tend to have fewer platonic relationships.

Category 3: (appropriate parenting and high exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context)

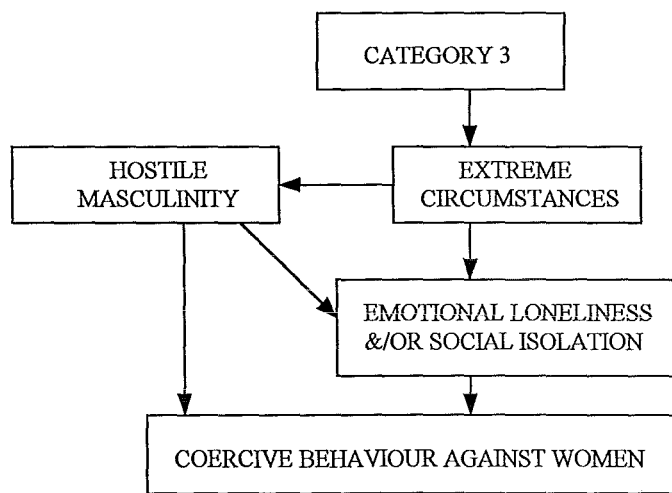


Figure Six: Category 3 Pathways Leading to Coercive Behaviour.

Individuals originating from Category Three should (due to their having been ‘parented’ in an appropriate manner), have acquired the inhibitory controls which will prohibit them from using coercive behaviours against women in all but the most extreme social and/or personal circumstances (e.g. warfare including urban unrest, anonymity of large city or foreign country, extreme levels of stress and/or poverty). It is proposed that due to these individuals’ high exposure to an inappropriate socio-cultural context in conjunction with the extreme circumstances, the inhibitions against using coercive behaviours instilled by the appropriate parenting are overcome. Thus, these males may follow one of two routes in utilising coercive behaviour: (a) via the emotional loneliness and/or social isolation caused by the extreme circumstances the male finds himself in; or (b) via the hostile



masculinity pathway. In the case of the latter the extreme circumstances: (i) overcome the inhibitions against using coercive behaviours instilled by the appropriate parenting; and (ii) activate 'subconscious schemas' instilled due to the high exposure to an inappropriate socio-cultural context during childhood. Hostile masculinity then leads directly to coercive behaviour against women or via emotional loneliness and/or social isolation.

Category 4: (appropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context)

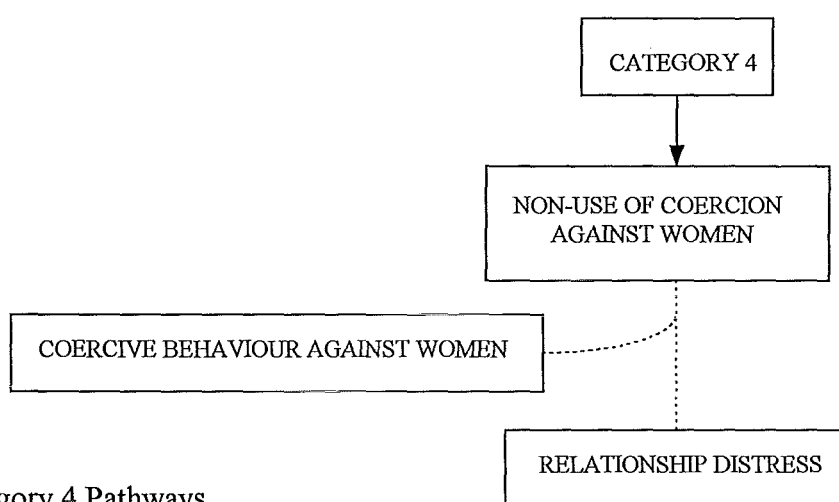


Figure Seven: Category 4 Pathways.

Theoretically and intuitively, Category Four is the category least likely to produce a male who utilises coercive behaviour against women. Self-confidence is seen by many authors as an essential prerequisite for love or intimacy, with the desire for intimacy evolving from the development of appropriate attachment bonds during childhood. Thus, arguably the two most important outcomes of appropriate parenting are: (i) to give the male a sense of self-confidence; and (ii) a strong emotional attachment to others. These outcomes are essential because the majority of appropriate adult sexual interactions occur within the context of an intimate, loving relationship which require the male to have developed the necessary skills during their childhood which then facilitate later more intimate bonds. However, the dotted lines on the coercive model represent the fact that even those males who have been raised in the most appropriate of circumstances conducive to the non-use of coercion

against women can: (a) still find themselves in relationships which are distressed for various reasons not to do with coercion (e.g. financial, growing apart); and (b) it is still possible for a male to use coercive behaviour against a woman, even if he were subject to the most appropriate conditions for non-coercion - hence, the link between this category and coercive behaviour against women cannot be entirely ruled out.

Several specific risk factors operate at various stages as the males from the categories (i.e. the first three categories) follow down through their respective pathways. Of particular interest are the following factors: (i) degree of masculine role stress (i.e. the degree of stress the individual male associates with certain situations that challenge traditional sex roles such as physical inadequacy, emotional inexpressiveness, subordination to women, intellectual inferiority, performance failures involving work and sex); (ii) degree of general hostility (i.e. the individual male's degree of irritability, emotional susceptibility, affective intensity and impulsiveness); (iii) motivation to commit a coercive act; (iv) reductions in inhibitions which usually prevent the individual from utilising coercion; (v) reductions in inhibitions which usually prevent coercion from being carried out; (vi) opportunities for coercive acts to occur; and (vii) stimuli in the immediate setting

### **Coercive Behaviour Against Women**

Thus, categories one to three (and occasionally Category Four), feed into coercive behaviour against women through various routes. Coercive behaviour against women can be broken down into six generalised groups of behaviours: (i) relationship distress; (ii) dominance and/or isolation behaviours; (iii) emotional abuse; (iv) verbal non-sexual aggression; (v) physical non-sexual aggression; and (vi) sexual aggression. It should be noted that although this thesis focuses primarily on the pathways leading to sexually coercive behaviour, the other types of coercive behaviour have been included in the coercive model because for these men the use of such behaviour represents a general pattern

which is applied in most if not all spheres of their lives when dealing with social problems or interacting with other individuals. In addition, most authors (e.g. Pollard, 1994; Dutton, 1995) note that there is a degree of overlap between the six generalised groups of coercive behaviour. For example, if a man is sexually aggressive within the context of a relationship this can produce relationship distress and he may also utilise other coercive behaviours (e.g. dominance / isolation, emotional abuse, physical abuse) to further control his partner and prevent her from leaving.

Relationship distress is interesting in that it can be either the cause of the coercive behaviour, or a byproduct of the coercive behaviour, or both of these simultaneously. Several authors (e.g. Koss, Heise, et al., 1994; Pollard, 1994) note that in the case of heterosexual relationships, domination and/or isolation, emotional abuse, verbal non-sexual aggression, physical non-sexual aggression and sexual aggression are situated on an escalating scale of violence with each one feeding both into and off of the following one. However, that is not to discount the fact that each can operate in isolation of the others as well.

In terms of sexual aggression (and based on Ward, Hudson, Marshall & Siegert's 1995 work), it would seem that Category 1 males who have a preoccupied style of attachment are the most likely to sexually aggress against children. These males tend to aggress against a child who is known to them. They rarely use coercion and if so it is mild. Category 1 males who have a fearful attachment style are characterised by either: (i) passively exhibiting; (ii) peeping secretively without attempting to gain entrance to the victim's premises; or (iii) sexually contact aggresses against an individual who is relatively a stranger to them. These males utilise overt or instrumental coercion if they deem it necessary to attain their sexual goals. Category 2 males who have a dismissive attachment style exhibit in an aggressive manner; peep nonsecretively and seek entrance to the victim's premises and sexually contact aggresses against individuals in an expressive manner which includes sadistic tendencies for some of these males. In terms of the sexual aggression for Category 3

males it is expected that they may engage in verbal or physical coercion in order to force the women to have sexual intercourse with them.

Most authors note that the majority of those males who use coercion against women do not suffer many sanctions as a result of their coercive behaviour (regardless of how violent it actually is) because it is either: (i) not reported to authorities; (ii) does not reach a level (i.e. death) where attention is absolutely required by authorities; or (iii) because of the religious and/or cultural structure of the society, even if severe maiming or death does occur, it is not regarded as serious by authorities (e.g. kitchen fire deaths in India, see Heise et al.; 1994).

## **Chapter Five: Where to From Here?**

The knitting together of existing theory is an essential, if somewhat time consuming and difficult step in the development of knowledge and understanding of coercive behaviours against women. As such, the coercive model draws together many components (as well as proposing new ones) from several different yet compatible theories and models in a fairly successful attempt to link and expand the scope of Level I theory in this area. Thus, the coercive model is as simplistic as possible in the face of the sheer range of diverse pathways which can lead to coercive behaviour against women during the lives of men. However, it is not a contention of this thesis that the coercive model covers all of the possible pathways leading to coercive behaviours against women. Indeed it is hoped that with future development the coercive model will be further expanded and will slowly grow towards becoming a unified theory of coercive behaviour.

### **Evaluation of the Coercive Model:**

Howard (1985) and McMullin (1983) distinguish between epistemic and nonepistemic values in the evaluation of theories. Such authors believe that it is epistemic values which should be employed as the criteria to evaluate theoretical explanations. Howard cites Kuhn (1977) and McMullin to give a list of six epistemic values which he considers to be crucial to the task of judging the value or 'goodness' of a theory. The six epistemic values he recommended are:

1. predictive accuracy (although it is noted that some degree of inaccuracy should be tolerated in the early stages of theory development)
2. internal coherency (a theory should 'hang' together with no inconsistencies or unexplained coincidences)
3. external consistency (the theory must be consistent with other theories and also the general background of scientific 'expectation')

4. unifying power (the degree to which the theory can bring together disparate areas of knowledge)
5. fertility (the degree to which the theory makes accurate, novel predictions and provides users with imaginative resources to overcome anomalies and make new, powerful extensions of current knowledge bases)
6. simplicity

Predictive Accuracy: the coercive model needs to be empirically validated both cross-sectionally and longitudinally in order to establish the degree of predictive accuracy it yields. However, given that significant components of it have been empirically validated (i.e. the hostile masculinity pathway, the promiscuity / impersonal sex pathway, the abusive personality and their outcomes) within the context of their original sources one would be hopeful that the coercive model would have a fair degree of predictive accuracy now that the different components (including some new ones) have been brought together. However, this model is only in the early stages of development and still obviously needs considerable future development and empirical validation.

Internal Coherency: the coercive model has a fair degree of internal coherency in that all the components 'hang' together quite well and the arguments for their inclusion flow together in a logical manner.

External Consistency: the coercive model would also gain a fair rating on external consistency as it is 'in line' with the concepts and constructs of other more specific theories in the sexual offending area regarding attachment style and intimacy deficits (e.g. Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert, 1995; Marshall, 1989; 1993; 1999).

Unifying Power: the unifying power of the coercive model is its strongest point in that it draws upon a number of different areas and theories within the domain of sexual offending and coercive behaviours against women. The coercive model as it currently stands would readily lend itself to further integration and unification with other aspects and knowledge related to this area.

Fertility: the degree of fertility which the coercive model contains is difficult to estimate. Ideally, the next stage in development would involve deriving specific predictions from the coercive model and then testing these empirically.

Simplicity: given that the coercive model is conceptualised at the abstract level and takes into consideration aspects from conception through to adulthood which lead to a male behaving in a coercive manner towards a female it has a relative degree of simplicity. Any models or theories involved in explaining the lifetime processes which lead to this type of behaviour will involve a broad range of constructs, motives, behaviours and pathways. Thus, it seems reasonable to expect that such models (i.e. like the coercive model) will involve a degree of complexity reflecting the complexity of the pathways that lead these men to behave coercively.

### **Critical Remarks:**

How generalisable is the model? It was the aim of this thesis to make the coercive model as generalisable as possible given the limits of conceptualisation (i.e. only includes coercive behaviours against females over the age of sixteen) and space. Obviously there are some differences in specific etiological factors for those men who become sexual aggressors and those who become wife/partner assaulters, as well as differences for those men who use coercive behaviours against relative strangers as opposed to acquaintances or intimates. However, it is the contention of this thesis (as it is of other previous authors), that it is the general type of inappropriate developmental, attachment, and learning experiences which give rise to personalities and specific types of cognitions which result in the use of coercive behaviours. It is also the contention of this thesis that the use of coercive behaviours is not just restricted to a single facet of these males' interactions with others (e.g. only in their intimate relationships with females). Rather the use of coercive behaviours represents a general pattern of behaviour which is brought into play whenever these males feel threatened, stressed or needing to exert their influence or control. To this end it is important that in the future an element of

classification is added to the coercive model presented in this thesis. This would allow the etiological differences to be made clearer for the different types of perpetrators of coercive behaviour.

However, it should be noted that this would in all probability be of more theoretical value than practical use due to the fact that many of the coercive behaviours are interrelated with perpetrators typically using several at any given time, as well as changing the types of coercive behaviours utilised over time (e.g. escalation from emotional to physical abuse in an intimate relationship over a period of time).

### **Future Research Directions:**

There are several areas in which the coercive model laid out and explained in Chapter Four of this thesis needs further development and research. Firstly, the coercive model lacks specific pathways for leading to coercive behaviours which do not include sexually aggressive behaviour (i.e. wife / partner assaulters). Such a pathway could be provided through Dutton and colleagues' work on the abusive personality and would be conducive with the coercive model because their conceptualisation revolves around the central fact that the etiology of the abusive personality can be traced to inappropriate families of origin which are characterised by parental abuse, parental rejection, shaming and trauma. Dutton's theory of wife/partner abuse focuses on men whose abuse is proactive, repetitive, specific to intimate relationships and which appears to accompany cyclical mood swings. Dutton notes that for this group of men the abusiveness is triggered by their internal mood states rather than by external events. For these men intimate attachment appears to generate rage. Thus, Dutton proposes that the origins of 'intimacy-rage' can be traced to the nature of their early developmental contexts (especially attachment experiences), where a template is established that then generates a complex of perceptions (attributions and projections) and behaviours (abusiveness) specific to intimate relationships. Dutton also notes that these men are differentially shaped by a patriarchal culture which provides justifications for their abuse of women in intimate relationships.



In Dutton's theory, a male who has an abusive personality cycles through three phases: (i) Phase One - tension building; (ii) Phase Two - acute battering; and (iii) Phase Three - contrition. Phase One is characterised by a 'dysphoric stalemate' in the male's intimate relationship due to their intimacy needs being unmet because the male lacks the requisite motivation and skills to communicate their needs. This results in escalating tension, anger and outbursts by the male, with the male realising that his behaviour is wrong but feeling that it is out of his control. The male also fears that the female is going to leave and this often causes them (the male), to react with greater oppression, jealousy and possessiveness in order to keep the female. Phase Two occurs when the male perceives the intimate relationship as possibly lost. As a defence against this loss, the male expresses anger, devaluation of the significant other and open rage. This uncontrollable discharge of the tensions which have built up during phase one can be triggered by either an external event or an internal state of the male, with the battering typically occurring in response to anything the victims do (e.g. both staying quiet and answering back escalates anger in the male). This uncontrollable rage generates acute battering which usually lasts between two hours and twenty-four hours, finishing when the male becomes exhausted and 'emotionally depleted'. Phase Three is characterised by exaggerated 'appeasement' behaviours such as confessions, promises of reform and attempts to convince the victim (and others), that the abuse will not reoccur, all of which occur when the female has temporarily left the relationship. These appeasement behaviours are motivated by a need to avoid imminent loneliness. Dutton notes that these behaviours persist until the woman emotionally returns then the cycle repeats itself.

Dutton and colleagues note that the chronic abuse habits are maintained by several cognitive mechanisms (such as a tendency to make blaming attributions to the significant other), that operate to neutralise self-punishment. Dutton and colleagues investigated the relationship between the abusive personality and attachment style. They found that there was a strong link between a fearful attachment pattern and abusive personality, that a preoccupied attachment pattern was less strongly

linked, while a secure attachment pattern was negatively associated with abusiveness. Dutton and colleagues also note that childhood posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) could be an important link or mediating variable between childhood abuse victimisation and adult perpetration of intimate abuse.

Secondly, the inclusion of self-talk as a mediator of sexual arousal could provide an explanation of one inhibiting mechanism which causes some men to sexually aggress and prevents others from doing so. Porter and Critelli (1994) examined the inhibitory-disinhibitory valence of the cognitive strategy of self-talk which they suggested was one of the mediating links between sexual arousal and sexual aggression. The sample in Porter and Critelli's study consisted of male university students who were classified as either high, low or non sexually aggressive. Porter and Critelli found that the cues of forced sex<sup>4</sup> activated inhibitory processes in nonsexually aggressive subjects who therefore showed low sexual arousal and a pattern of inhibiting self-talk; while high sexually aggressive subjects showed high sexual arousal and disinhibitory self-talk. Porter and Critelli note that because nonsexually aggressive males can distinguish forced from consensual cues in sexual activity, and respond to cues of force with lower sexual arousal and greater inhibition in their self-talk, that future research needs to determine whether: (i) sexually aggressive males fail to perceive differences between the two situations, or (ii) whether there is a failure in sexually aggressive men to activate inhibition once force cues are perceived. However, Barbaree and Serin (1993) suggest that for most rapists it is more likely to be the latter because they have developed a sexual preference for forced sex (for whatever reasons), and thus the force cues further heighten their sexual arousal. Porter and Critelli note that the findings of their study suggest that the ongoing self-talk men generate during sexual activity represents an important area for clinical intervention. Porter and Critelli (pg 237) state that: "In particular, sexually aggressive men can be trained to recognise the potentially powerful influence of their self-talk as it occurs 'in the moment' of sexual activity, to

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<sup>4</sup> subjects listened to audiotaped simulations of either consensual sex or date rape.

discriminate between consensual and nonconsensual sex by recognising cues in their own behaviour and in responses of their sexual partner, to discriminate between self-talk that is inhibitory versus disinhibitory, and to increase the frequency of inhibitory self-statements when cues of force are detected in a sexual situation. Such training may provide a specific tool that sexually aggressive men can use in sexual situations that may not inhibit their arousal but might suppress their aggressive behaviour.” This last statement seems particularly important given that Hall and Hirschman note that similar physiological processes may underpin sexual arousal which results in appropriate sexual behaviour as well as sexual arousal which results in sexual aggression when the two are directed at adult recipients.

Thirdly, future research could be directed towards expanding the coercive model in the following ways: (i) to include coercive behaviours utilised against both female and male children; (ii) the use of coercive behaviour by males towards their male partners. In this case the goal of future research would be to establish the incidence and prevalence of this and then to establish whether those males who utilise coercive behaviour against their intimate male partners show (dis)similar characteristics, backgrounds etc. and follow (dis)similar pathways to those males who use coercion against their intimate female partners; and (iii) future theorising could look at the possible inclusion of processes which ‘dehumanise’ and/or ‘deconstruct’ others as theoretically these would increase the likelihood that the individual will use coercive and/or aggressive behaviours against others.

Fourthly, research needs to be focused on establishing Level III theory (i.e. descriptive, fine-detailed analysis) of the specific processes, behaviours and mechanisms which facilitate coercion (especially sexual aggression) against women. This research could follow along the lines of Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert’s (1995) study which used grounded theory to establish a Level III descriptive theory of the offence chain for child molesters. Future research could focus on establishing the relevance and validity of the four theoretical categories (i.e. inappropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context; inappropriate parenting and high exposure

to inappropriate socio-cultural context; appropriate parenting and high exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context; and appropriate parenting and low exposure to inappropriate socio-cultural context) and their effects on specific attachment styles proposed by this thesis.

Malamuth, Linz, et al. suggest that it is important that future research focuses on possible mediator variables (e.g. dispositional empathy) which may attenuate the relationships between the risk factors and actual behaviour. Towards this end, Malamuth, Linz, et al. note that it would be useful in future longitudinal research to identify men at an early age (e.g. early teenage years) who may show differing configurations of risk and attenuation which could then be used to predict their future behaviour in terms of the hostile masculinity and promiscuity / impersonal sex pathways. Additional research into coercion against women using samples from the general population other than university students, also needs to be conducted. This would give researchers and theorists a broad data base from which they could compare: (i) the similarities and differences between coercive and non-coercive users, (ii) the similarities and differences between the types of coercive behaviours used by different categories of males, (iii) and the interactions between causal factors, mechanisms and behaviours spread along the continuum of coerciveness against women (and others).

### **Conclusions:**

What conclusions can be drawn from this thesis? At the general level it can be concluded that owing to the vast amount of literature on rape and other coercive behaviours against women, the process of theory knitting would appear to be one useful method by which the literature base for these topics can be made more parsimonious. In addition, the process of theory knitting typically results in a more comprehensive product which (hopefully) broadens one's understanding of the phenomenon under investigation and the relationships between its structure and the mechanisms and factors which generate and maintain it. However, theory knitting has one draw-back in that it invariably leaves

more questions than answers in its wake, owing to the fact that this process opens up a whole array of complexities and issues not previously considered in relation to one and other.

At a more specific level, the coercive model provided in this thesis highlights the need for more theory which examines in depth different types of sexually aggressive behaviours and coercive behaviours in relation to one and other; especially as they all appear to have similar etiologies originating in early childhood attachment, abuse/neglect and learning experiences which are then subsequently modified or exacerbated by other risk variables (e.g. stress, anxiety, poverty, use of drugs/alcohol). If the antecedents to coercive behaviour, and in particular sexual aggression, could be reliably established, perhaps intervention programs which target children and adolescents who are 'at-risk' for becoming perpetrators of coercive and aggressive behaviours could be implemented. A number of authors (e.g. Lanyon, 1991; Kershner, 1996; Pollard, 1994) note that it is in such intervention that perhaps the only true path to reducing the epidemic proportions of coercive behaviour against women lies.

This thesis represents only the beginnings of an integration of theory and research which should ultimately aim to become a global theory of coercive behaviour towards women in general. The coercive model presented in this thesis has internal globalness in that it has something to say about many of the aspects of coercive behaviour against women (especially the sexually aggressive behaviour of rape). However, it by no means covers all of the aspects, nor does it completely cover those aspects which it does consider. The thesis also provides to some extent for external globalness in that it suggests the first tentative links between the coercive model and other theories and research findings which can explain some of the underlying mechanisms of coercive behaviour against women.

It is clear from the literature that the majority of sexual aggression (and indeed other coercive behaviour) is committed by 'psychologically normal' males whose aggression is tacitly condoned by their immediate peer group and more indirectly by the attitudes prevalent in society generally. Thus, ultimately, a global theory of coercive behaviour towards women, while delineating the causes and

mechanisms of the coercive behaviour, should also clearly suggest the preventative measures that need to be taken in order to provide an effective response to the problem of coercive behaviour towards women not only at the individual level but also at the societal level. For as Lanyon (1991; pg 35, italics added) stated: "...it is an essential link in the chain of events leading to *prevention* that the topic of theories of sex offending assumes its greatest current importance."

However, Heise et al. (pg 1170) state that: "...many of the factors which perpetuate gender based violence are interrelated...highlighting the complexity of issues underlying gender violence and the range of structural reforms that are needed to be recognised and addressed in developing a comprehensive response." It therefore seems slightly staggering when one considers the range of reforms and interventions needed even in so called 'first world' countries like New Zealand. For example, at the grass roots level, intervention is required for children who live in the 'at-risk' categories so that: (i) the parents receive early and ongoing training in appropriate parenting strategies; and (ii) schools (especially those in low socio-economic areas) receive additional resources so that children from at-risk categories are given extra help with their education ensuring that they remain at school and learn thereby giving themselves more opportunities rather than the 'usual scenario' of becoming involved in delinquent activities, dropping out of school and becoming unemployed or incarcerated. It is quite conceivable that in the long-term not only would such interventions decrease the levels of coerciveness against women, but that they could also decrease the levels of other types of crime and violence.

However, in order to implement these sorts of intervention strategies a monumental shift in both public and political opinion would be required because as a society we regard having children as a fundamental human right regardless of the parents' physical, emotional, psychological or financial capability to provide an appropriate environment and care for their offspring. In a country like New Zealand with such a small population comparative to most, surely we could implement ongoing intervention strategies which aim to educate and provide support, beginning at a child's birth and

continuing throughout the child's schooling. The long-term benefits (e.g. less crime and therefore less incarcerated individuals, increased education levels and therefore less unemployment and increased productivity) would far outweigh the short-term costs involved in establishing such intervention strategies. Every child deserves the opportunity to achieve their true potential regardless of the accident of birth which may have placed them in a less than desirable environment.

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