

Sex Offenders' Relationship Frames (SORF):
A Qualitative Analysis of Value-laden Cognition in Child Sex
Offenders

Shruti Navathe

A Thesis

submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Psychology



August 2010

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted, either in the same or different form, to this or any other university for the award of a degree.

Shruti Navathe _____

Prof Tony Ward _____

Date :

Date :

Place: Wellington

Place: Wellington

This thesis is dedicated
To the loving memory of my grandfather

Dr. Dattatraya Vinayak Navathe

1913- 2001

Who was convinced that some day, I would follow in his footsteps; and would have been proud of,
and somewhat confused by, the way in which I have.

Acknowledgements

Over the course of the research project presented in this thesis, I have benefitted from the advice and assistance of many people. If I were to attempt to thank all these people individually, the exercise of identifying them would take almost as long as the research itself. Therefore, these acknowledgements should be treated as indicative rather than substantive.

I would like begin by thanking Prof. Tony Ward, my primary supervisor. At the point of commencing my research, I was in awe of the body of work he had created, and the knowledge and experience he possessed. I can now state with conviction, that in addition to being a brilliant theoretician and researcher, Tony is a generous and patient supervisor. He has continued to be supportive and encouraging of me throughout this research project, and has dealt with the many obstacles that have come up with equanimity. There have been several instances where it was his belief in me, and my research - rather than mine - that has been the driving force propelling this project to completion. He has my grateful thanks for his insight and generosity, both in academic and non-academic domains.

I would also like to thank my secondary supervisors for providing much appreciated support. I am grateful for the support and encouragement I received from Dr. Theresa Gannon, (whom I have come to know as TAG), in the early stages of my PhD. To her goes the credit for guiding me through the process and pitfalls of interviewing offenders. I especially appreciate that even after she has moved away to greyer pastures and ceased to be my supervisor, she continues to provide valuable guidance and feedback. I would also like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Jim Vess for taking over the responsibility of supervising my thesis after TAG moved to the UK. I greatly appreciate his continuing support.

My research would have got absolutely nowhere without the generosity and openness of my participants. They allowed me access to their lives and offences, through interviews that were often

long and always stressful. I am indebted to them for the richness of the information I received and the honesty with which this information was shared. I especially appreciate their willingness to discuss emotionally laden, and traumatic experiences with a relative stranger. I hope that I have done justice to their accounts.

On a related note, I would like to thank the Corrections Department of New Zealand in general, and the Psychological Services and Custodial staff of the Kia Marama treatment unit specifically, for allowing my research to be carried out. The correction officers and the clinicians working within Kia Marama were helpfulness itself when it came to meeting any of my requests. They ensured that I had the facilities to interview the participants effectively, and made themselves available to answer any questions I had. I especially appreciated the effort that went into making my time interviewing offenders safe as well as comfortable for me.

I have loving friends and family who have supported, encouraged, chivvied and cheered me on in the process of this PhD. They have all been co-opted into formatting fiddly figures, proof-reading, arguing over the argument, and the like. My grateful thanks to Mandie, Nick, Mum and Dad for the abovementioned, as well as: feeding me interesting food, waking me up at unearthly hours of the night, taking me out for walks, and putting up with my having no conversation but of sex offending. I would like to thank Kirsten Keown for assistance with the reliability check for my analysis; and Diane Lassche and Prashant Bordia, both of whom went through my thesis with a fine-tooth comb. Any errors remaining are mine alone.

Abstract

Over the past decades, sex offenders' cognition, specifically their cognitive distortions, have been the focus of extensive research. Traditionally, cognitive distortions have been described as any statements provided by the offender that justify, minimise, or excuse offending (Abel, et al., 1984). Recent research highlighted a need to expand current understanding of cognitive distortions with regards to value, affect and function. The Judgement Model of Cognitive Distortions (Ward, Gannon and Keown, 2006) argued for greater examination of beliefs, values, actions, and their interaction with each other. The current study examined the role played by values within the context of sex offenders' reasoning and decision-making processes. It also sought to understand the ways in which offenders' accounted for their offending, whether it was irrational, and if so, in what way. The research was qualitative, and used interviews gained from a sample of 27 adult, male, treated, child sexual offenders from within New Zealand. Grounded theory methodology (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was used to create a data-driven model of offenders' reasoning and decision-making, within the context of offending. Results indicated that values were an important part of the offenders' cognition, central to their sense of self, and critical to their perception of the world around them. Values were closely related to how offenders framed their relationship with their victims. Based on the clustering of values, the Sexual Offender Relationship Frames Model (SORF) emerged. This was used to understand and illustrate different pathways to offending using case-studies from the sample. The results have been evaluated within the context of existing literature on the study of sexual offending. Clinical implications, limitations, and practical applications are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	v
Table Of Contents.....	vi
List of Tables.....	xiv
List of Figures	xiv
 INTRODUCTION	 1
Sexual offending world wide.....	1
Cost and effects of sexual offending world-wide.....	4
Sexual offending in New Zealand	5
Cost of sexual offending in New Zealand	6
Effects of sexual offending in New Zealand	7
Grounding this Thesis.....	9
Structure of Thesis.....	10
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING THEORIES OF SEXUAL OFFENDING.....	12
Levels of Theory	12
Level I – Multifactorial Theories	13
Level II – Single Factor Theories	14
Level III – Micro-theories.....	14
Theories of sexual offending.....	15
Common threads	24

CHAPTER TWO: COGNITION AND COGNITIVE DISTORTIONS.....	26
Social Cognition: Structure, Processes and Products	27
Defining Cognitive Distortions	28
Cognitive Distortions in Theory.....	29
Cognitive Distortions in Empirical Research	39
Questionnaire-based investigations into cognitive distortions	41
Experimental investigations into cognitive distortions.....	43
Clinical Implications and Conclusions.....	49
CHAPTER THREE: VALUES AND VALUE-LADEN COGNITION.....	52
Definitions and Types of Values	53
Values in Psychology Research and Theory	55
Values in Forensic Psychology Theory and Research.....	58
Value-laden Treatment of sex offenders: Ethical concerns.....	63
Theoretical Frameworks.....	64
Human Rights and Dignity	65
Good Lives Model.....	69
Treatment Programmes.....	72
Relapse Prevention Model.....	73
Risk-Need-Responsivity Model.....	74
Self-regulation Model.....	77
Values, Cognition and Cognitive Distortion in Sexual Offending.....	78
CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY RATIONALE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	80
Theoretical underpinning	80
Methodology.....	81

Sample	83
Analytical tools	84
Research Questions	84
What role do values play in the cognitive processes of child sex offenders?	84
What mechanisms do offenders use to account for their offending?	85
In what ways is the reasoning and decision-making of sex offenders irrational?	85
Summary	86
CHAPTER FIVE: METHOD AND ANALYSIS	87
Method	87
Ethical Considerations	87
Design	90
Eligibility	90
Participants	91
Materials	91
Procedure	92
Analysis	93
Qualitative methodology	93
Analytical Procedure	101
Case study methodology	105
Analytical procedure	107
Conclusions	108
CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS - SEXUAL OFFENDERS' RELATIONSHIP FRAMES	109
Master – Slave Relationship Frame	117
Values	118

Cognitions	121
Actions	123
Non-offence related action strategies	123
Offence-related action strategies:	124
Intra and inter-frame links	126
Intra-frame links	126
Inter-frame links	126
Teacher – Student Relationship Frame	127
Values	128
Cognitions	132
Actions	134
Non-offence related action strategies	134
Offence-related action strategies:	135
Control	136
Intra and inter-frame links	137
Intra-frame links	137
Inter-frame links	138
Caregiver – Child Relationship Frame	139
Values	140
Cognitions	143
Actions	145
Non-offence related action strategies	146
Offence-related action strategies	147
Intra and inter-frame links	149

Intra-frame links	149
Inter-frame links	150
Lover – Partner Relationship Frame.....	151
Values	151
Cognitions	155
Actions.....	157
Non-offence related action strategies	158
Offence-related action strategies	158
Access.	158
Intra and inter-frame links	160
Intra-frame links	160
Inter-frame links	161
Inter-frame movement.....	162
Conclusion	165
CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS – CASE-STUDIES.....	167
Master – Slave: Luke	168
Background.....	168
Values	169
Cognitions	172
Self	173
Victim	173
Relationship	174
Actions.....	174
Non-offence related	174

Offence related.....	175
Review.....	176
Teacher – Student: Mark	177
Background	177
Values	178
Cognitions	180
Self	180
Victim	181
Relationship	181
Actions.....	182
Non-offence related	182
Offence-related	183
Review.....	184
Caregiver – Child: Matthew.....	185
Background.....	186
Values	186
Cognitions	188
Self	188
Victim	189
Relationship	189
Actions.....	190
Non offence related.....	190
Offence related.....	190
Access.	190

Review.....	192
Lover – Partner: Jack.....	193
Background.....	193
Values.....	194
Cognitions.....	196
Self.....	196
Victim.....	197
Relationship.....	198
Actions.....	198
Non-offence related.....	199
Offence-related.....	200
Review.....	201
Conclusion.....	202
CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION.....	205
Review of Findings.....	207
The Sex Offender Relationship Frames Model.....	213
Expertise.....	215
Aggression.....	219
Attachment.....	222
Courtship behaviour.....	225
Strengths and Limitations.....	228
Implications, Applications and Future Directions.....	231
Conclusions.....	235
REFERENCES.....	237

APPENDICES.....	256
Appendix A: Request for participation.....	256
Appendix B: Information about Research on Sexual Offending	258
Appendix C: Consent to Participate in Research on Sexual Offending	261
Appendix D: Semi-structured Interview Guide and Prompts	262
Appendix E – Sample Debriefing Sheet	265

List of Tables

	Page
Table 6.1 Summary of attributes for the Sex Offender Relationship Frames Model (SORF)	164

List of Figures

<i>Figure 6.1:</i> Elements of Sex Offender Relationship Frames (SORF)	110
<i>Figure 6.2:</i> Continua of relationships between the frames	115
<i>Figure 6.3:</i> Master – Slave relationship frame	119
<i>Figure 6.4:</i> Teacher – Student Relationship Frame	129
<i>Figure 6.5:</i> Caregiver – Child Relationship Frame	141
<i>Figure 6.6:</i> Lover – Partner Relationship Frame	153
<i>Figure 7.1:</i> Luke’s (Master – Slave) Values	169
<i>Figure 7.2:</i> Luke’s (Master – Slave) Cognitions	172
<i>Figure 7.3:</i> Luke’s (Master – Slave) Actions	175
<i>Figure 7.4:</i> Mark’s (Teacher – Student) Values	178
<i>Figure 7.5:</i> Mark’s (Teacher – Student) Cognitions	180
<i>Figure 7.6:</i> Mark’s (Teacher – Student) Actions	183
<i>Figure 7.7:</i> Mathew (Caregiver – Child) Values	187
<i>Figure 7.8:</i> Mathew’s (Caregiver – Child) Cognitions	189
<i>Figure 7.9:</i> Mathew’s (Caregiver – Child) Actions	191
<i>Figure 7.10:</i> Jack’s (Lover – Partner) Values	195
<i>Figure 7.11:</i> Jack’s (Lover – Partner) Cognitions	197
<i>Figure 7.12:</i> Jack’s (Lover – Partner) Actions	199

INTRODUCTION

Sexual offending has varied and far reaching consequences for society, as it affects those who have experienced it, families of all those involved, as well as the community at large. The breach of human rights inherent in sexual offending has fuelled wide-spread efforts to understand, arrest, and prevent its occurrence.

Over the past several decades, research into sexual offending, and changing societal mores have lead to continuous innovations in the policy surrounding the treatment of both victims and perpetrators. A number of theories have been put forward to account for the onset and maintenance of sexual offending, alongside theories that seek to understand and explain the effects of the abuse for the victims. A consequence of this dual focus within the field is that the same behaviour is referred to as both sexual offending, and sexual abuse. The term sexual offending is most often used when the focus is on the perpetrator of the offence, and the term sexual abuse is often used when describing the experience of the offence. Throughout the following pages the terms 'sexual offending' and 'sexual abuse' are used interchangeably and refer to the abusive actions undertaken by the offender without the informed consent of their victim.

Sexual offending world wide

There are instances of rape and child sexual offending all through recorded history (Foucault, 1978). From Greek mythology through the Marquis de Sade and Baron Gilles de Rais historians have recorded activities that are sexually abusive towards adults, as well as children (Faravelli, Paterniti, & Servi, 1997; Krafft-Ebing, 2010; Marshall, Marshall, Serran & Fernandez, 2006). In more recent times there have been numerous reports of sexual assaults; this reporting is perhaps facilitated by changes in the legal as well as social climate within which they occur. Arguably, these changes have made it more likely that instances of sexual offending tend to be reported and dealt with more effectively (Marshall, et al., 2006).

The prevalence and incidence of sexual abuse is almost impossible to accurately measure for any given time within a given society. This is for a number of reasons: (a) most surveys seeking to identify the incidence of sexual offending have neglected to obtain a representative sample; (b) there is an unaccounted for number of victims who do not report their abuse in surveys; and (c) there is no means of ascertaining the veracity of the reports received through such surveys (Marshall, et al., 2006).

A review of research on the prevalence of child sexual offending reported that between six and sixty-two percent of females, and between three and thirty-one percent of males reported being abused as a child (Peters, Wyatt, & Finkelhor, 1986). Koss, Gidycz and Wisniewski (1987) found that 15% of women in their sample of female college students in the United States of America reported being raped. In addition to this, a further 12% reported being victims of an attempted rape. Similarly, Russell (1984) reported that 44% of her representative sample of Californian women reported being raped. MacMillan, et al. (1997) reported that 11.1% of women and 3.9% of men in their sample reported being abused as children. When the definition of abuse was broadened to include non-contact abuse (e.g., exhibitionism), 12.8% of women and 4.3% of men reported being victims of abuse. Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman (1994) conducted telephonic interviews with a nationally representative sample of United States of America residents, and found that 6.9% of females and 1% of males in their sample reported being victims of sexual offending as children. Recently (Dunne, Purdie, Cook, Boyle & Najman, 2003) a cross-sectional, telephone-based survey of a national sample of men and women in Australia found that approximately 33% of women, and 15% of men in their sample reported being victims of non-penetrative child sexual abuse. This study further indicated that 12% of women and 4% of men reported having been victim to penetrative abuse (Dunne, et al., 2003).

Based on the observation that a very small percentage of women who report being raped in surveys made an official complaint, Koss (1992) estimated that the true rate of sexual assault against women was six to ten times the reported rate. A study by Abel, Becker, Mittelman, and Cunningham-Rathner (1987) indicated that convicted offenders reported having committed a number of unreported crimes, on having been assured of immunity from prosecution. In this study, 232 child sex offenders admitted to additional 55,250 attempted offences and 38,727 successful ones. This study lends support to the assertion made by Koss that sexual offending is under-reported.

One issue that is raised repeatedly when studying the prevalence and incidence of abuse is that of false accusations (Marshall, et al., 2006). A significant part of the investigative legal process is aimed at scrutinising the alleged experiences of the defendant in order to substantiate claims of offending against them. Since the defendant (in this case the offender) is deemed innocent until proven guilty, it is up to the prosecution to provide a robust case. This often means that both the facts, and the character of the victim are called into question as part of the judicial process. Westat (1987) reported that almost half of all complaints of sexual offending made in the United Kingdom were deemed to have been unsubstantiated. It is unclear however, how much of this is a function of the judicial process, and how much is because of false accusations being made. As a result the possible false accusations remain an unsolved mystery to researchers and police alike. Marshall, et al., (2006) point out that it is important to remember that a claim of sexual abuse being unsubstantiated does not mean that the abuse did not happen, but that the investigative process could not form a robust case that could be pursued to a conviction. They acknowledge the possibility that a complaint falsely accuses someone of abuse, as is evident from cases where the verdict is later overturned when new evidence is introduced. However this, they argue, happens extremely infrequently and should not be used to dismiss the majority of complaints.

Cost and effects of sexual offending world-wide

Sexual abuse incurs costs that can be examined under two broad categories: personal costs and societal costs. Survivors of abuse often have to pay for their own medical expenses. They are also called upon to contribute costs around the legal process, work related issues and so on. There are also major non-financial costs in terms of grief, loss and reduced quality of life. Societal costs are seen as costs of abuse that are borne by organisations, whether in terms of the loss of productivity experienced by employers, criminal justice processes, and any services that may be provided for the victim as well as others involved.

Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema (1996) in a report undertaken by the Department of Justice in the United States of America, estimate the cost of sexual assault at 87,000 USD per victim, per incidence of sexual abuse. In this estimate they include both long term and short-term costs such as those incurred as a result of medical services, mental health care, lost productivity, and pain and grief. Overall Miller et al. estimate that adult and child sexual abuse, combined, cost victims 23 billion USD annually. Of this, 1.5 billion USD is to cover medical expenses alone.

Victims of sexual offences experience a variety of effects as a result of the offending. In the case of child sexual offending the situation is especially complex and complicated. Research indicates that the incidence of sexual offending is not spread evenly through a population. Factors such as coming from a socially deprived or disorganised family (Finkelhor & Baron, 1986), marital dysfunction within the family, and domestic violence within the family are associated with creating a higher risk for sexual offending to occur (Mullen, Martin, Anderson, & Romans, 1993). Romans, Martin, and Mullen (1996) showed that adults with a history of child sexual abuse reported significantly lower self-esteem in adulthood. This was found to be particularly true in the cases where the abuse had involved penetration. A history of child sexual abuse has been found to be associated with problems with sexual adjustment in adult life (Herman 1981; Finkelhor 1979).

Victims of child sexual abuse are at higher risk of developing depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, substance abuse disorders, eating disorders and post-traumatic stress disorders (Briere & Runtz 1988; Winfield, George, Swartz, & Blazer, 1990; Bushnell, Wells, & Oakley-Browne, 1992; Mullen et al. 1993; Romans et al. 1996; Romans, Martin, & Mullen, 1997; Fergusson, Horwood, & Lynskey, 1996; Silverman, Reinherz, & Giaconia, 1996).

Sexual offending in New Zealand

It is difficult to accurately and reliably measure the incidence and prevalence of child sexual offending in New Zealand. The legal age of consent for sexual activity as set by the New Zealand Crimes Act (1961) is sixteen. There is a significant amount of research that indicates that between 13% and 30% of women in New Zealand have been victims of childhood sexual abuse (e.g., Fergusson, Horwood, & Woodward, 2000). Similar research shows that between three and six percent of men have been victims of sexual abuse as minors (Morris, Reilly, Berry & Ransom, 2003). As always it is difficult to know whether the reported rates are a true reflection of the prevalence of child sex offending within New Zealand. It is expected that there is a significant amount of under-reporting in the cases of sexual offending.

Morris et al. (2003) undertook research funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Justice as part of the National Survey of Crime Victims (NZNSCV) that indicated several reasons for the under-reporting of sexual offending. There were three categories under which the offence was not reported by the victim to the relevant authorities, namely: not naming the behaviour as abuse; fear of societal disbelief; and fear and guilt associated with the experience of abuse. Morris et al. also indicated a general unwillingness of victims of abuse, of all forms, to inform police and related authorities. Their report indicates that victims' reluctance to report abuse is a complex interplay of personal, abuse-related and societal circumstances.

The Christchurch Health and Development Study is a longitudinal study involving 1,265 participants. The study uses a birth cohort of individuals born in the Christchurch region in 1977 (Fergusson, Horwood, Shannon, & Lawton, 1989). As part of this study an interview using a structured questionnaire was conducted at age eighteen. Participants were asked to indicate whether they had been engaged in any of the fifteen listed sexual activities against their will whilst they were under the age of consent (16). The results indicated that 17.3% of females and 3.4% of males in the sample reported being abused prior to the age of 16. The interviews were then repeated once the participants had turned 21. Results of the interviews at age 21 indicated that 13.9% of females and 2.7% of males reported being abused prior to turning sixteen. A latent class model when applied to the combined data from both sets of interviews indicated that while there was little evidence of false reports of having been abused, there were a number of individuals who had been abused who provided unreliable reports. This is to say, that while there was little evidence that those who falsely reported being abused, there was an increased likelihood amongst those who had been abused to under-report their abuse.

Recently Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle, and Perese (2007) undertook a study replicating the World Health Organization multi-country study. They reported that in their sample of 2,855 female subjects, taken from both urban and rural settings in New Zealand, 23.5% of urban females and 28.2% of rural females reported sexual abuse prior to age 15. These results are in line with the results of Fergusson et al. (2000) and suggest that the rates of child sexual abuse in New Zealand for women can fall anywhere between 18-30%. Fanslow et al.'s research is limited in that it can shed no light on the prevalence of male childhood sexual abuse within New Zealand.

Cost of sexual offending in New Zealand

Sexual offending comes with great financial as well as social cost in New Zealand. The Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) spends millions of dollars every year in administering

cover for injuries resulting from sexual offending. The ACC is a Crown entity that is responsible for covering the costs of both work and non-work related injury for New Zealand residents. As a result they cover any mental injury arising as a result of being a victim of sexual offending and have been doing so since the early 1970s. Cases of victims of sexual offending are now processed by the ACC's Sensitive Claims Unit. This unit processes claims for sexual abuse or sexual assault, when there is evidence of physical or mental injury arising from the abuse. This is to say, that they approve claims for psychological conditions (e.g., post-traumatic stress disorder) that have arisen as a result of the sexual offending and require treatment. Claims that are accepted by the ACC are then processed, and the ACC provides payment for counselling sessions. On average ACC receives four thousand claims annually, of which most are historical cases. In 2007, the Sensitive Claims Unit received 678 new claims from children aged fourteen years and younger. In 2008, the Sensitive Claims unit received 1788 new claims of sexual abuse of all ages. The Accident Compensation Corporation estimates a cost of approximately 25 million NZD a year for claims lodged at the sensitive claims unit (R. Ellison, personal communication, June 29, 2010). While ACC can estimate the cost of claims that are approved by them, they are unable to give an accurate estimate of the total costs of sexual offending.

Effects of sexual offending in New Zealand

There exists a great deal of research that indicates the nature and extent of repercussions, faced by not just those who have been victims of sexual offending, but also their families and the community at large. In this section, the effects of sexual offending on the victims, the offenders and the community at large are examined.

Victims of sexual offending are found to be at risk of suffering from varied psychological problems such as depression, anxiety disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder, and personality disorders (Finkelhor & Hashima, 2001; Putnam, 2003). In New Zealand, a birth cohort study

($n=1,265$) linked the experience of being sexually abused with depression, conduct disorder, substance abuse and suicidal behaviour (Fergusson, et al., 1996). The risks of suffering from psychological problems remained significant once adjusted for childhood, and family related factors, for victims whose experiences had involved greatest severity.

In addition to psychological effects, victims of sexual offending are also found to be at risk of developing long-term neurological problems when coupled with other adverse childhood conditions. Victims of sexual abuse who have also been exposed to domestic violence, household dysfunction, substance abuse or mental illness were found to be at higher risk of health complications ranging from the physical to psychological (Felitti et al., 1998). The Otago Women's Health Sexual Abuse Study, initiated in 1989, found that victims of sexual offending were more likely to experience chronic fatigue, asthma and cardiovascular problems (Romans, Belaise, Martin, Morris, & Raffi, 2002).

Overall, it is clear that being a victim of sexual offending during childhood increases the risk for a number of psychological and neurological problems. This risk is dependent on the severity of abuse, adverse childhood experiences and circumstances, and is mitigated by protective family factors and appropriate psychological intervention.

The effects of sexual offending are not only experienced by those upon whom the offending is perpetrated. Most obviously, the families of the victim are deeply affected by the offending. The families are put under a great deal of psychological stress and the level of coping is affected by the existing family dynamics, as well as socio-economic factors and means of accessing support. Once again, adequate psychological intervention on the familial as well as personal levels is needed in order to deal with the grief, loss and distrust engendered by the offending. If the offending has been carried out in the presence of family members, those who have witnessed the offending are at greater risk of secondary trauma. This risk is elevated where the witnesses are themselves children.

Sexual offending can be an extremely stressful experience for all those affected by it. The family of the offender also suffers as a result of the offending. A complex interplay of grief, mistrust and defensiveness is created that can be navigated with the help of skilled psychological intervention. It is a deeply charged emotional issue, and one that has found its way into the collective consciousness of entire communities. As such, sexual offending affects everyone at a societal level in terms of its effects through policing, policy and support infrastructure.

Grounding this Thesis

It is evident from the literature surrounding sexual offending that such behaviour has far reaching consequences for victims, offenders, families of all concerned as well as society as a whole. The scope of sexual abuse intervention and policies, extends far beyond the narrow confines of the victim-offender discourse. This is reflected in the varied foci (survivor support, offender rehabilitation, community education, structural feminist analysis, anti-violence campaigns etc.) evident in the research that has been carried out on the subject of sexual abuse.

The focus of the current research is based on understanding the world-view inhabited by those who carry out sexual offences. This is grounded on the conviction that it is the offenders who have the ultimate responsibility to change, as well as to carry the consequences of their offending. This conviction in no way implies a lack of understanding of the impact of the structural, societal and developmental context of which each offender is a product. It does, however, emphasise the view that it is imperative to understand the point of view of the offenders, in order to change (or mitigate the effects of) the aforementioned influences.

The current study aims to understand and illuminate the role played by values in offenders' reasoning and decision-making. The research is qualitative, in that it relies on the information provided by offenders themselves through in-depth interviews structured around the subject of their offending. The interviews are analysed using grounded theory methodology (fully discussed in

Chapter Four), to create a data driven model of offenders' cognition and decision-making. The results of the study shed light on otherwise marginalised areas of offender cognition and create space for further dialogue and research.

Structure of Thesis

Chapter One of this thesis outlines Ward and Hudson's (1998) meta-theoretical framework, and uses that as a tool to understand and evaluate the existing theories around child sexual offending, and to identify the gaps. The research is then situated within the sexual offending literature.

Chapter Two focuses on reviewing the role of cognition, and more specifically, the existence of cognitive distortions as related to the offence process. To this end, theories of sexual offending, as well as empirical research on the subject are examined.

Chapter Three explores the value laden nature of research, treatment and rehabilitation of sexual offenders. The role of values within the offence process is also outlined. To do so, the chapter engages with literature outside of the sexual offending sphere, to illustrate the nature and scope of the reasoning and decision-making processes involved.

Chapter Four presents the rationale for the present research by bringing together the themes highlighted in the previous chapters. This chapter outlines the research questions which then lead directly to Chapter Five where the methodology is set out.

Chapter Six presents the results of the current study, in the form of Relationship Frames through which the offenders view their offending.

Chapter Seven provides one case study for each Relationship Frame, and illustrates the different pathways through which the offence can unfold.

Chapter Eight discusses the key findings of this study, and situates it within previous and current research. It outlines implications for theory and research, and suggests avenues for further

enquiry. Applications for treatment and rehabilitation are discussed. The chapter concludes with acknowledging the limitations of the current study and providing final comments.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING THEORIES OF SEXUAL OFFENDING

The previous chapter outlined the need for studying sexual offending in general, and child sexual offending in particular. It also reviewed some of the factors that make it difficult to pin-point the incidence and prevalence of the problem. The current chapter aims to set out the context within which child sexual offending is currently studied. To do so, it first outlines Ward and Hudson's (1998) framework for organising and understanding research. Ward and Hudson proposed a three tier framework into which theories of sexual offending could be organised. They suggested that doing so was essential to ongoing study, as it provided both a clear set of theoretical constructs for empirical study, as well as a robust theoretical framework within which to locate specific research. Having outlined Ward and Hudson's levels of theory, this chapter will then outline some of the most influential theories that have emerged from the last few decades of research on sexual offending.

Levels of Theory

Ward and Hudson (1998), argue that, in addition to attempting to specify causal mechanisms, the primary function of a theoretical framework is to inform research by providing constructs with which to approach empirical problems. They further argue that the main function of a good aetiological theory is to account for the onset, development, as well as the maintenance of the behaviour under study. Ward and Hudson propose a framework for classifying theories, based on their level of theoretical comprehensiveness, with specific reference to proximal and distal factors.

In relation to sexual offending, proximal factors are usually defined as those factors that emerge from the functioning of underlying vulnerabilities. These often act as triggers for events and can be affective states, dynamic contextual variables and lifestyle factors. Proximal factors can often act to disinhibit the ability of individuals to regulate their internal states. This inability can lead to an

increased likelihood of offending behaviour. Ward and Hudson (1998) state that proximal factors address *how* offending occurred, and point to micro-explanations of the behaviour under study.

Distal factors refer to vulnerabilities that emerge as a result of developmental history and genetic inheritance, and can be seen as predispositions, and thus proximally removed from the offending. Distal factors address *why* offending occurred and point to macro-level explanations. Of particular concern to researchers and clinicians is the interaction between distal and proximal factors, which leads individuals to be more vulnerable to offending. For instance, a skills deficit resulting from developmental experiences (distal factor) may contribute to poor social communication leading to loneliness, depression or anxiety. The negative affective state (proximal factor) can then act as a trigger that reduces the ability of the individual to control, or suppress, anti-social desires and behaviours such as sexual offending.

Level I – Multifactorial Theories

Level I theories describe the most comprehensive level of theory generation, and are representative of multi-factor theories of behaviour. These theories focus on distal causal factors, while also including triggers and proximal factors. Level I theories aim to explain the occurrence of phenomena with an integrated framework of key constructs. They also serve to identify important constructs (e.g., cognitive distortions) for empirical testing. Specific variables that have been outlined as important in sexual offending include: poor social skills, intimacy deficits, negative attitudes towards women, deviant sexual preference and the need to dominate.

In the area of sexual offending, several level I theories can be found. Chief amongst these are Marshall and Barbaree's integrated theory (1990), Hall and Hirschman's quadripartite model (1991) and Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, and Tanaka's (1993) interaction model of sexual offending. Each of these theories focus on distal causal factors and are limited, in that they fail to describe the mechanisms and processes by which these factors, play out in a sexual offence. More recently, Ward

and Siegert (2002) proposed the pathways model, which functions as a level I theory, by specifying a set of causal factors and processes that explain the onset, development and maintenance of sexual offending.

Level II – Single Factor Theories

Level II theories aim to provide a more detailed explanation of a particular variable of interest, with a view to providing the basis for level I theories. In level II theories, the relationships between the variable of interest and related mechanisms are more explicitly explored. Theories, at this level, tend to rely on abductive reasoning, to focus on distal causal factors, while at the same time, hypothesising the role they have in the phenomenon under scrutiny (Ward & Hudson, 1998).

Marshall and colleagues' theory of intimacy deficits (Marshall 1989; Marshall, Jones, Hudson, & McDonald, 1993) is an excellent example of a level II theory. Marshall and colleagues suggest that insecure attachment is a major factor for criminality in general, and sexual offenders in particular. They argue that an inability to establish close relationships as a result of intimacy deficits, lack of confidence and interpersonal skills is particularly influential in leading to sexual offending. In this theory, a single factor (intimacy deficits) is fleshed out, and the mechanisms described. Thus it is an excellent level II theory that can feed into level I theories and aid theory-generation.

Level III – Micro-theories

Micro-level theories focus on the 'how' of the phenomenon under study and specify the cognitive, behavioural, motivational and social factors associated with the behaviour. This level of theory incorporates both distal and proximal factors, and is able to differentiate between situational or preferential aspects of offending. These also include reference to a range of other proximal factors such as planning, offending style, etc. Micro level theories are descriptive in nature, and usually emerge out of qualitative descriptions. The level of detail makes these theories applicable to individual offenders, while also accommodating the population of offenders under that offence type.

Such models are valuable tools for identifying possible clinical phenomena, and as such, describe the issues that other theories can try to explain.

Ward, Louden, Hudson, and Marshall (1995) presented a level III theory of child molesters' offence chains. They identified nine distinct stages in the offence process, and outlined the proximal facts. In their model, they provided a clear description of the process of offending, and took into the account the affective, environmental, cognitive as well as behavioural factors. Such descriptive models can illustrate the complexities of the phenomena and aid the formation and evolution of level II and level I theories.

Theories of sexual offending

Early theories of sexual offending were based on classical behaviourist theory. According to these theories, sexual offending behaviours developed through the process of Pavlovian conditioning (Laws & Marshall, 2003). Later theories stressed the influence of deviant sexual preferences. They posited that deviant sexual preferences were the primary motives for sexual offending (Kirsch & Becker, 2006). According to the theories of the 50s and 60s, sexual offending behaviour patterns had developed primarily through conditioned association of sexual arousal and deviant sexual fantasies (McGuire, Carlisle, & Young, 1964).

Finkelhor (1984) argued for a wider, more holistic approach to understanding sexual offending. He proposed the four preconditions model to specifically explain onset and maintenance of sexual offending against children. This makes Finkelhor's Preconditions Model a level I theory. Finkelhor argued that sexual offending against children was a multi-faceted phenomenon, with a wide variety of needs being met within a dynamic context. Finkelhor argued that it was important to consider the sexual motivations involved in the offending, and that it was necessary for a theory to explain the sexual nature of the offending. Finkelhor cited four critical factors that were present in order for offending to occur, namely: emotional congruence, sexual arousal, blockage and

disinhibition. Emotional congruence implies that sex with children was satisfying the offenders' needs in some way. Blockage suggests that the offender was unable to have his needs met in a way that did not require him to offend. Sexual arousal indicated that the offenders were sexually aroused by the children they offend against. And finally, disinhibition shows that something causes the offenders to act in ways that they would not normally choose.

Finkelhor (1984) argued, that in order for offending to occur, four preconditions must be met. First, a potential offender must have some motivation to abuse; second, the offender needed to overcome their own internal inhibitions; third, the offender must overcome any external impediments and fourth, the offender must overcome the victim's resistance. Under his motivation to offend, Finkelhor included the factors of emotional congruence, sexual arousal and blockage. Finkelhor's second precondition, overcoming internal inhibitions, was essentially equivalent in his view to the fourth factor of disinhibition. Finkelhor argued that meeting precondition two was necessary for any offending to occur. Preconditions three and four were an acknowledgment of the fact that offending occurs in a social context, wherein it is not only the behaviour of the offender that affects the course of his offending. Under the third precondition Finkelhor cited family dynamic, especially the role of a mother figure, in being a significant external inhibition to offending. Precondition four dealt specifically with the agency of the victim, and stated the need for the offender to overcome the resistance of their victims through a variety of ways. Finkelhor emphasised that while each of the preconditions were in themselves necessary for any offence to occur, none of them individually constituted sufficient reason for offending. In other words, it was necessary in each offender, for each of the preconditions to be met.

Finkelhor's (1984) four preconditions model was remarkable, in that it used a wide array of psychological theories to inform it (Ward & Hudson, 2001). However, his theory had some notable problems. As pointed out by Ward and Hudson, Finkelhor's theory contained within it theoretical

contradictions as a result of incompatible causal mechanisms and theories used to explain sexual offending. It was also limited by its lack of attention to developmental factors, and was unbalanced in terms of attention to distal factors affecting offending. Finkelhor's theory makes no mention of cognitive factors and focuses entirely on the psychological motives of offending. A major concern with Finkelhor's conceptualisation of emotional congruence and blockage is the overlap. Both constructs depend on early developmental experiences that have contributed to the offender being unable to have his needs met, in ways that do not involve offending against a child. Ward and Hudson (2001) argued that there was a lack of conceptual clarity distinguishing the two constructs of emotional congruence and blockage. Ward and Hudson further argued that blockage should be distinguished from emotional congruence, by using blockage to refer only to situation factors that cause an offender to be vulnerable to offence supportive behaviours. The most compelling criticism of Finkelhor's theory is that despite its richness it fails to account for the heterogeneity of offenders. By arguing that each precondition must be met for each offender, Finkelhor closes the door on different pathways to offending. Finkelhor's preconditions assume that each offender has a desire to offend, yet has to overcome internal inhibitions; that they are conflicted. However, there are pathways to offending wherein the offender does not feel conflicted about their desire to offend, and for whom the offending is a valued outcome. Another criticism raised by Ward and Hudson (2001) is that it is conceptually problematic for the precondition of overcoming internal inhibitions to include both state factors (such as alcohol) and trait factors (such as values and beliefs). Overall, Finkelhor's preconditions model can be seen as an overarching theoretical framework for understanding child sexual offending, rather than a theory that seeks to explain it. As a theory, the model lacks depth and clarity, and fails to outline the mechanisms through which offending unfolds.

Hall and Hirschman's (1991) quadripartite model was presented as a level I theory of sexual offending. The primary purpose of this model was to explain the offending of adult males against

women. This model was subsequently expanded to include child sex offending. Hall and Hirschman aimed to provide a comprehensive and detailed analysis of mechanisms underlying the onset, as well as maintenance of sexual offending. The quadripartite model was made up of four significant factors. Each of these was implicated in extant literature as being a key underlying cause of sexual offences, namely: *physiological arousal*, *cognitive appraisal*, *affective dyscontrol*, and *personality variables*.

Physiological arousal was defined as deviant sexual arousal, whether relating to non-socially acceptable fantasies of rape against women, or an attraction to children. Cognitive appraisal referred to offence supportive cognitions such as rape myths. Affective dyscontrol highlighted the inability of offenders to effectively moderate their negative affect. Personality variables referred to individual characteristics of the offenders that enabled their anti-social behaviour. Hall and Hirschman argued that, while each of these four factors were causally linked to sexual offending, the presence of no one factor was in itself sufficient to prompt an offence. They argued that these factors could exist at levels that were manageable by individuals and it was only when the factors combined to reach a tipping point, which Hall and Hirschman termed the *critical threshold*, that an offence occurred.

The quadripartite model argued that, while each of the precursors had to be present for all offenders, offenders could be distinguished based on a factor that played a prominent role in their offending. Therefore, Hall and Hirschman (1991) proposed both a theory that explained the causal mechanisms leading to sexual offending and a typology for distinguishing offenders of different kinds. The dual focus on typology and causation, and the introduction of a critical threshold, were two innovative advances presented in their model. Hall and Hirschman's model was limited in that: it did not provide adequate insight into the distal factors affecting offending; failed to account for the interplay between the four factors presented; and did not distinguish between deliberate and unconscious errors in cognitive appraisal (Ward, 2001). However, overall the model was a

significant advance on existing theories in that it integrated causal factors into a holistic model which functioned as a level I theory of sexual offending.

Marshall and Barbaree (1990) put forward an integrative theory of the aetiology of sexual offending. They proposed a multi-factorial level I theory that aimed to explain the causal mechanisms underlying sexual offending. Marshall, Anderson and Fernandez (1999) subsequently updated the original theory, but the original paper stands as a comprehensive explanation of the factors involved. Marshall and Barbaree's theory was innovative, in that it was dynamic and developmentally focussed. Marshall and Barbaree argued that sexual offending was a product of a number of interacting factors, namely: biological factors, psychological factors, social factors, cultural factors as well as situational factors. They argued that there was evidence within evolutionary history to suggest that aggression could be used to gain sexual ends. They also stated that the evidence that most men, whilst having the capacity to use aggression to meet sexual needs, did not choose to do so, showed that biological drives were powerfully influenced by socio-sexual cues. They reasoned that males must learn to inhibit their biological capacity to be sexually aggressive, and cited puberty as a critical period during which this inhibition is learned and the vulnerability to offence supportive patterns mitigated. In discussing social and cultural factors contributing to sexual offending, Marshall and Barbaree cited interpersonal violence, male dominance, negative attitudes towards women and early use of pornography. The model outlined personal and developmental aspects of offenders' make up, such as a lack of empathy skills, self-esteem etc. as being important factors underlying their offending. In addition to somewhat stable 'trait' factors, Marshall and Barbaree included transient situational variables such as alcohol, hostility, sexual arousal and offence-supportive instructions (see Quinsey, Chaplin & Varney, 1981), anonymity, stress and anxiety. Marshall and Barbaree stressed that there was a wide range of mechanisms and pathways to the offender becoming disinhibited enough to commit an offence.

They further argued that it was important when treating sex offenders to consider all the particular circumstances that contributed to them offending.

One of the most important contributions of Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) theory of sexual offending was its emphasis on the causal mechanisms that arguably lead to sexual offending (Ward, 2002). They opened up areas of research (e.g., empathy deficits, self-esteem) and clearly identified domains within which offenders' functioning was critical (e.g., maladaptive beliefs, self-regulation). Marshall and Barbaree also extended the extant research in terms of both the comprehensiveness of their theory, as well as its degree of specificity (Ward, 2002). However, the theory did have some significant limitations. Marshall and Barbaree clearly described early onset offenders with their emphasis on the early developmental bio-psycho-social processes. However, their theory did not adequately account for late onset offenders or opportunistic/situational offenders. Another concern with Marshall and Barbaree's theory was the extent to which they relied on disinhibition. As Ward pointed out, they did not allow for offenders for whom offending brought positive affect. Ward argued that Marshall and Barbaree's theory needed to be expanded to have greater possibility for the heterogeneity of offenders. In other words, there needed to be more space for alternative pathways for offending to exist. A related criticism of Marshall and Barbaree's theory is that it did not outline the various pathways in which an offence could unfold. There appear to be pathways indicated implicitly in the theory outlined, however they are not explicitly outlined. For instance, it is unclear if the pathways are mutually exclusive, and if certain developmental experiences predispose an offender towards a particular kind of offending rather than another. The absence of a typology makes it difficult to tailor treatment to the individual differences presented by offenders. Marshall and Barbaree's model is also limited in that it fuses aggression and sex, which obscures important differences between phenomena, and impedes a clear aetiology and typology of offending.

Following a critical examination of the existing theories of sexual offending, Ward and Siegert (2002) proposed the pathways model of sexual offending as a level I theory that incorporated the best of existing theories and addressed the limitations of the same. Ward and Siegert used the theory knitting process put forward by Kalmar and Sternberg (1988) to develop their theory. This process engaged with the existing theories of sexual offending to develop the best aspects of each theory. The theory knitting process avoids the pitfalls of more competitive ways of looking at different theories and is arguably better for the quality of the research process. Ward and Siegert argued that a theory of sexual offending must meet the following criteria: it must accommodate the biological, psychological, socio-cultural and situational phenomena; it must adequately identify the clinical phenomena it is seeking to explain; it should be dynamic and able to explain the interplay between its component parts; it should include proximal as well as distal factors; it should be clear and detailed with regards to the phenomena it seeks to explain; and it should embody sound epistemic values (see Hooker, 1987).

Ward and Siegert (2002) identified clusters of phenomena commonly cited in literature around sexual offending (see Marshall & Anderson, 1996; Marshall et al., 1999) for clinical attention. They then outlined proximal as well as distal causal factors that are implicated in child sexual abuse. They argued that all clinical phenomena evident in sexual offenders could be seen to be a result of four interacting psychological mechanisms, namely: intimacy deficits, distorted sexual scripts, cognitive distortions and emotional dysregulation. These four mechanisms form the basis for their pathways model. Intimacy deficits have been argued to be a result of insecure attachment (Marshall, 1989) that can lead to abiding inability to form intimate relationships. Distorted sexual scripts refer to the mental representations offenders have learned over the course of their development, that help interpret intimate and sexual encounters, and guide sexual behaviour (Gagnon, 1990). Cognitive distortions are defined as maladaptive beliefs and attitudes and problematic thinking styles (Ward,

Hudson, Johnston & Marshall, 1997). Emotional dysregulation refers to a breakdown in the offenders' self regulation. Self regulation is defined as the internal and external processes by which an individual engages in goal-directed activities in different contexts (Baumeister & Heatherton, 1996).

The pathways model of sexual offending (Ward & Siegert, 2002) presents five pathways to offending. Each of the first four pathways is linked with one of the primary causal mechanisms outlined above. Ward and Siegert stress that while the primary causal mechanism presents a distinct profile, and provides a unique set of symptoms, this does not imply an absence of other causal mechanisms in the offending. The fifth pathway allows for there not being a clear 'primary' causal mechanism evident in the offence, and provides space for there to be several causal mechanisms that are central to the offending. Ward and Siegert argue that each sexual offence requires the presence of each of the underlying causal factors. They suggest that in each offence one (or more) causal mechanisms will have prominence, and impact on the remaining mechanisms to co-opt or activate them.

The first pathway outlined by Ward and Siegert (2002) is the intimacy deficits pathway. This is typified by offenders who possess normal sexual scripts and offend only at particular times. For example, an offender who prefers to have sex with women may under some circumstances substitute a child in the place of an adult. The primary causal mechanism underlying this pathway is insecure attachment that leads to subsequent inability to form intimate relationships. The second pathway of deviant sexual scripts, includes offenders who have subtly distorted sexual scripts. Their distorted sexual scripts are seen to be the main causal mechanism, and work in conjunction with dysfunctional relationship schemas. These offenders tend to equate sex with intimacy, and the error is often in the context of sex. The third pathway outlined by Ward and Siegert, is the emotional dysregulation pathway. These offenders have normal sexual scripts, but have dysfunctional self-

regulation patterns. This emotional dysregulation can manifest itself in a myriad of ways, from a lack of ability to identify emotions, to an inability to modulate their effects on their behaviour. Emotional need rather than sexual deviancy typifies these offenders. The anti-social cognitions pathway is the fourth pathway presented. Offenders in this pathway have generalised pro-criminal attitudes and beliefs, rather than specifically distorted sexual scripts. These offenders ignore social norms, and their offending is driven by their general cognitive distortions, rather than specific desire for sex with a child. The final pathway is the multiple dysfunction pathway. Offenders in this pathway show systematic problems across multiple causal mechanisms and are likely to be preferential paedophiles. These offenders have distorted sexual scripts in addition to disturbances in their emotional regulation and cognition.

Ward and Siegert (2002) describe their pathways model as a provisional theory that needs work. However, their theory still manages to bring together an impressive array of the best features of previous theories while also addressing their major limitations. The pathways model is innovative, in that it deliberately knits together existing theory and research, rather than creating another fragmented and competitive theory. It also includes both distal and proximal factors in its explanation of sexual offending, and gives space for early as well as late onset offenders. The theory is clearly conceptualised and follows simply from its basic tenets. The pathways model also allows for offending to unfold in different ways. Different kinds of offenders can be accommodated into the model, and there is scope for a variety of causal mechanisms to interact to produce varied outcomes. Perhaps the most impressive thing about the pathways model is that it stands up to the high standard, set in the beginning of the paper by Ward and Siegert, in terms of conceptual clarity and epistemic neatness.

Ward and Beech (2008) argued that a significant shortcoming of existing theories of sexual offending was the focus on surface level symptomology at the cost of biological factors. They

argued that neglecting the neuropsychology and biological bases for sexual offending presented an incomplete picture of the causal mechanisms underlying the offences. A further concern that was raised by Ward and Beech was that absence of an integrated approach to theorising sexual offending was detrimental to the progress of the field. Ward and Beech therefore presented a preliminary model of sexual offending that integrated the existing state of knowledge on various aspects of sexual offending into the Integrated Model of Sexual Offending (ITSO). Beech and Ward argued that there are three sets of variables that interact continuously and form the basis for offending, namely biological factors, ecological niche factors, and neuro-psychological factors. They argue that social learning, genetic and evolutionary history, as well as neuro-psychological systems interact in order to generate clinical problems in offenders. These clinical problems, such as deviant arousal, offence-supportive thoughts, social difficulties and the like, lead to sexually abusive actions. They further argue that the consequences of sexually abusive behaviour feed back in to the offenders' environment and psychological functioning in a positive-feedback loop. They posit that brain development and social learning interact to establish offenders' basic level of psychological functioning. Functioning can be compromised by any of the underlying aspects as well as state variables such as negative social situations. One of the key strengths of the ITSO is its unifying power in incorporating the key elements of existing aetiological theories. This enables the ITSO to include multiple trajectories to sexual offending and incorporates single factors that individually or collectively have great explanatory scope. This theory is also valuable in that it can be applied to treatment by identifying particular ecological factors that are implicated in offending and can be targeted for intervention.

Common threads

It is evident from the above review that there has been a great deal of research done on the subject of the causes of sexual offending. There is a rich literature base to draw from and recent

work by Ward and colleagues has greatly assisted in bringing conceptual clarity and cohesiveness to the theoretical base for understand sexual offences.

There is growing acknowledgement, that theories of sexual offending need to be clear about the level of analysis they are undertaking. There is space for purely descriptive theories of offending that shed light on particular parts of the offence process. Single factor theories that outline and evaluate the influence for particular phenomena are useful for treatment, as well as theory generation. And, level I theories that open up further domains of study, and illustrate clearly and adequately the causal mechanisms underlying sexual offending, need to be multi-factorial.

A subject that has gained increasing importance over the course of the theories formulated is the role of cognition and cognitive distortions. The cognitive processes underlying offending, as well as the beliefs and desires of offenders, have been a part of each major theory of sexual offending. However, there has not always been explicit mention made of the role of cognitive distortions and cognition in the literature (e.g., Finkelhor, 1984). In the cases where there has been explicit mention of the cognitive processes involved, a great deal has been said about the nature and scope of cognitive distortions, and the mechanisms through which they lead to offending. Understanding the cognition and cognitive distortions has become the focus of much research in recent years. The following chapter aims to outline the research that has been undertaken on the subject of cognitive distortions, with a view to aiding our understanding of sexual offenders' offending process.

CHAPTER TWO: COGNITION AND COGNITIVE DISTORTIONS

A great deal of clinical and research attention has been paid to understanding and explaining child sex offenders' cognition. Cognitive distortions have been implicated as a core feature of child sex offenders' offence-supportive cognition. In order to further understand the behaviour of sexual offenders, a number of theories of sexual offending have been proposed, each with their own strengths and weaknesses. The description of cognitive distortions that are held to be responsible for the creation, maintenance and justification of offending is a central part of each of the theories.

The notion of cognitive distortions has found favour in the study of sexual offending for a variety of reasons; the most compelling of which is that it provided an intuitively appealing and plausible explanation for an offence. It provides a clear and treatable goal for the clinician, and is as such, infinitely preferable to suggesting that the offender's behaviour and thinking, either genetically or socially, is impervious to change (Gannon & Polaschek, 2006). However, the conceptualisation of cognitive distortions suffers from a lack of clarity that has only recently come under serious scrutiny (Dean, Mann, Milner, & Maruna, 2007; Gannon & Polaschek, 2006; Maruna & Mann, 2006; Ward, 2000).

Cognitive distortions is a term that has been applied variously to explain the cognition of child sex offenders. Cognition is understood in social psychology as being a complex process by which information is organised, stored and retrieved by an individual according to their needs. Cognitive structures refer to the configuration of cognition; cognitive processes refer to the on-line mechanisms involved in understanding events, and cognitive products to statements reported. The phrase cognitive distortion implies two things: first, that it has something to do with cognition and second that it is in some way distorted from a normative understanding of reality. Over the years the term has been used to describe excuses, minimisations, denials, and justifications as well as entrenched beliefs that have been implicated in child sex offending. As a result of the widespread

use of the term, understanding exactly what these distortions are has been the object of much interest and research over the past three decades.

Social Cognition: Structure, Processes and Products

Social cognition is used to describe cognitive processes associated with social interactions (Adolphs, 1999; Augoustinos & Walker, 1995). According to the social cognitive perspective, each individual has a particular world view, and experiences the world and their own behaviour in a way specific to them. The perceptions of individuals are understood to be complex and change, both rapidly and slowly over time, in accordance with their emotional states as well as their own goals (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Thus, human behaviour differs as a result of each individual's unique knowledge (knowledge content) and the manner in which this knowledge is organised (knowledge structure) (Hollon & Kriss, 1984). The knowledge that makes up this content and structure is acquired through a lifetime of experience. However, developmentally, by the time most individuals reach adulthood they have strongly developed networks of associated information. These networks of associated information are termed schemata (Anderson & Bushman, 2002).

Schemata are heuristic devices that are used by individuals in order to simplify the world enough to understand and predict social interactions. However, as Gannon and Polaschek (2006) pointed out, using stored information to predict social information means that individuals' predictions are based on what is likely, rather than what is objective. It is important to note that individuals do not always use schema to inform their decisions and actions. In times of adequate time and information, individuals behave as naïve scientists; making meticulous and well reasoned decisions. It is in times of stress or when cognitive resources are impoverished that individuals rely on pre-existing schemata, sometimes with unfortunate effects (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995). Pre-existing schemata tend to guide individuals' attention to information that is congruent to the schema, thus strengthening the schema and acting as a self fulfilling prophecy. Not only do schema

get strengthened by repeated activation, they also become chronically accessible (Gannon, Polaschek & Ward, 2005) and therefore extremely apt to shape all other social information processing (Pettit, Polaha, & Mize, 2001). However, even chronically accessible schemata are subject to motivational and affective primes (Tiedens, 2001) and emotional states act as extremely effective tools to compensate for cognitive impoverishments, causing individuals to be cognitive misers (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995). Pettit et al. (2001) found that sexual arousal, alcohol and drug use also lead to individuals using cognitive processing short cuts.

Cognitive products are defined as self-reported cognition. While these provide researchers with valuable information, (Gannon & Wood, 2007) it is important to remember that individuals are not held to be generally insightful about their own cognition (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). As such the quality of cognitive products is highly suspect and susceptible to individual differences and social desirability biases (Gannon & Polaschek, 2006).

Defining Cognitive Distortions

Over the past few years, several definitions and conceptualisations of the term cognitive distortion have been proposed. Murphy (1990) defined cognitive distortions as any self statements that served to deny, minimise, rationalise or in some other way justify the behaviour of child sex offenders. Several other researchers broadened this scope by including irrational thinking (Vanhouche & Vertommen, 1999), defensiveness (Rogers & Dickey, 1991) and deviant beliefs (Hall & Hirschman, 1991) under the rubric of cognitive distortion.

The term cognitive distortion has been used by a number of researchers to refer to several different and conceptually distinct phenomena: justifications and excuses made by the offender after the offence (Abel et al., 1984); denials or minimisation of the offence (Murphy, 1990); defensiveness (Rogers & Dickey, 1991); rationalisations (Neidigh & Kropp, 1992); offence-supportive assumptions and beliefs (Bumby, 1996); irrational thinking (Vanhouche & Vertommen, 1999); implicit theories

(Ward & Keenan, 1999); schemata (Mann & Beech, 2003); and deeply held beliefs (Ward, 2000) that were held before the commission of the offence. A number of the theories reviewed so far have included more than one of the above mentioned phenomena in their definition of cognitive distortion. In seeking to be more and more inclusive, definitions of cognitive distortions have cast a wide net and caught a variety of disparate phenomena within their reach.

In a recent paper Maruna and Mann (2006) argued that aspects of these broad definitions resulted from a fundamental error of attribution. Researchers and clinicians alike ascribe child sex offenders' behaviour to distorted internal beliefs rather than locating the behaviour in its context. Maruna and Mann suggest that a child sex offender's desire to explain or justify their behaviour with reference to their external situation is neither unhealthy nor a departure from the norm. Maruna and Mann's paper is a useful link that highlighted the clinical and research pitfalls encountered when assuming that any attempt a child sex offender makes to explain his behaviour is *ipso facto* taken as evidence of him "explaining away" his behaviour.

Recent research has sought to deal with the expanding definition by conceptualising cognitive distortions under an overarching framework. Ward and Keenan (1999) organised the cognitive distortions within the framework of implicit theories. Along similar lines, Mann and Beech (2003) organised cognitions that support child sex offending into a schema-based framework. The significance of these approaches lies in their ability to treat the disparate phenomena that have come to be known as cognitive distortions under a unifying theoretical framework.

Cognitive Distortions in Theory

The term cognitive distortion has a history longer than that of its use in sexual offending literature. It was originally conceptualised by Beck (1963) with reference to the distorted view of reality experienced by those suffering from depression. The extrapolation of the concept from abnormal psychology, where it was used mainly to describe the intrusive, disruptive and often

unrealistically negative cognitions of the clinically mentally ill, into the realm of criminal psychology is credited to Abel et al. (1984).

Abel et al. (1984) argued in their paper that men engaged in sexual relationships with minors as a function of their sexual attraction to them. They suggested that most young men were exposed to stimuli, that in principle could be related to the formation of deviant sexual arousal (images, societal attitudes etc.), and those adolescents who did not offend against minors successfully inhibited their response to inappropriate stimuli. The implication for those who did go on to offend against children, was that they had failed to inhibit deviant sexual responses. Abel et al. further argued that an offender engages in a process of creating a set of thoughts and attitudes that justify his sexual feelings (and behaviour) and serve to reduce his guilt. They referred to such thoughts and attitudes as cognitive distortions, and suggested the following categories of commonly found distortions: (a) a lack of physical resistance is equivalent to consent; (b) sexual touching is not in and of itself harmful to a child; (c) adult-child relationships are enhanced through sex; (d) children do not disclose/report offending because they secretly enjoy it; (e) adults are educating children by engaging in sexual contact with them; (f) Children are naturally curious about sexual activity; and (g) future generations will come to accept the validity of adult-child sexual relationships.

Abel et al. (1984) credited these cognitive distortions with the role of maintaining the offending pattern once the offence has been committed. In other words, they appeared to think that cognitive distortions had a maintenance rather than a causal relationship with sex offending (Mann & Beech, 2003). The function of cognitive distortions was thus to act as a defensive mechanism (Thakker, Ward & Navathe, 2007), protecting the offender's ego from negative appraisal and consequent emotional states such as guilt. Mann and Beech recently critically evaluated Abel et al.'s original explanation of cognitive distortions and pointed out that it was unclear from the original paper whether they believed that cognitive distortions were conscious or unconscious.

Mann and Beech suggested that cognitive distortions could be used intentionally as post-hoc justifications or excuses; or could equally well be automatic protective mechanisms that get triggered in the offender without his conscious intention.

Hall and Hirschman's (1991) quadripartite model is a theory of child sexual offending that explicitly includes cognitive distortions as one of four major factors. The quadripartite theory was constructed mainly to explain the onset of sexual offending against women and later extended to include offending against children (Ward, 2001). Hall and Hirschman argued that a significant shortcoming of most theories of sex offending prior to theirs was that previous theories had tended to focus on a single factor that had been implicated by the research to the exclusion of other relevant variables. In doing so, they argued, existing theories therefore failed to address the complexity of processes underlying child sexual offending. They also felt that existing theories failed to provide adequate treatment goals for different types of child sexual offenders. Hall and Hirschman therefore proposed an aetiological model based on four previously researched factors implicated in the onset and maintenance of sexual offending: *physiological arousal* – suggesting that child sex offenders' responses to children are deviant, and distinguish them from those who do not offend against children; *cognitive appraisal* – such as rape myths or other justifications that permit the offender to commit a sexual offence; *affective dyscontrol* – referring to the inability to control negative affective states that occur prior to the offending; and *Personality variables* – defined as enduring trait variables that facilitate sexual offending.

Hall and Hirschman (1991) introduced the concept of a critical threshold, stating that, while each factor contributed to every sexual offence, one factor is usually more prominent for individual offenders. The prominent feature exerts more influence on the other factors relating to the offence and helps “push” the offender into offending (Ward, 2001). The critical threshold is in fact the point where the weight of the dominant causal factor precipitates offending. Another key point

made by Hall and Hirschman was that for each offender, while any of the four aetiological factors outlined by them could play a role in offending, only one stands out as a primary precursor. Hall and Hirschman suggested that the relative prominence of a primary precursor could be used to create a typology and that each offender could be viewed as characterised by one predominant deficit or factor.

Close reading of Hall and Hirschman's (1991) argument suggests they conceptualised cognitive distortions as misperceptions used to blame the victim, excuse offending and justify offending (Ward, 2001). They neglected to describe the cognitive processes through which these misperceptions occurred, nor did they give reasons for their emergence. They also failed to clarify whether these are unconscious or wilful misperceptions and to what extent the discounting of contrary evidence (e.g., victim crying) was intentional. Overall, Hall and Hirschman's explanation and definition of cognitive distortions/misperceptions – like Abel and his colleagues' – is ambiguous and somewhat over-inclusive.

The theories of sexual offending presented so far have used the statements articulated by offenders post-offence as evidence of their cognitive distortions and treated them as discrete entities. In contrast, Ward (2000) suggested that it would be more helpful to integrate the statements made by offenders into a theoretical framework. He posited that the statements generated by the offenders were the product of implicit theories (ITs) and that these ITs played a causal role, actively informing the individuals' understanding and experience of the world. Ward asserted that ITs operated outside the realm of intentional processing. Ward imported the concept of ITs from developmental and social psychology into the realm of forensic psychology and argued that offenders (like most other people) behave like naïve scientists and try to use the evidence and their understanding of the world to explain and predict events around them. Implicit theories therefore produce interpretations of evidence, as opposed to theory-neutral descriptions of

evidence, and all observations are theory-laden. Ward further suggests that sexual offenders' ITs are structured mainly around the offenders' beliefs and desires with regards to entities (themselves, victims) and properties (of their victims, of the world).

According to Ward (2000), an offender's theory or model of a victim contains a representation of the victim's desires (needs, wants, and preferences), beliefs and attitudes. These ITs guide the processing of information or evidence that is relevant to the theory's truth or falsity. Evidence that does not fit the offender's basic assumptions and predictions is rejected or re-interpreted in light of their core assumptions. Thus, ITs are conceptualised as influencing the way in which an offender interprets his experience. For example, when a child states that he or she does not want to engage in sexual activity with the offender, the offender may assume that the child actually wishes to participate but is too shy to articulate his or her desire. Or he may assume that the statement is simply an extraneous piece of data which can be ignored because it does not fit with his view of the world. Ward's theory of cognitive distortions is able to account for the way the content of ITs can distort offenders' interpretations of other people and also how and why they are used to manage social and self-impressions.

On the basis of a review of existing empirical research, Ward and Keenan (1999) argue that five key ITs are evident in child sex offenders: *Children as sexual beings* – which is based around the belief that children desire and are willing to have sexual relationships; *Entitlement* – which revolves around beliefs of superiority of the offender that entitles him the compliance of his inferiors; *Dangerous world* – which is based upon beliefs that the world is a frightening place and that the offender needs to be able to protect himself since no one can be trusted; *Uncontrollability* – which asserts that the world is uncontrollable and unchangeable and therefore the offender's behaviour is the result of factors he cannot control nor be held responsible for; and *Nature of harm* – which

involves beliefs that sexual activity is inherently harmless, and that refraining from greater harm excuses the commission of lesser harm.

Ward and Keenan (1999) define cognitive distortions as the cognitive products resulting from these ITs. They suggest that cognitive distortions, rather than being random justificatory propositions, are in fact based on the developmental experiences of the offender, and reflect their entrenched beliefs and desires, as well as their attempt to make sense of the world. They suggest that ITs may be seen as a necessary but not sufficient condition for child sex offending to occur, since it is possible to have ITs of entitlement that manifest themselves in other behaviours (e.g., being dominating at work). Ward and Keenan argue that one or more of the above mentioned ITs may be held by the offender. They further argue that different types of child sex offenders hold specific ITs and can be allocated into subgroups on that basis.

Ward's (2000) conceptualisation of cognitive distortions is innovative, as it acknowledges the inter-relatedness of offenders' cognition and places it within a wider context, as opposed to prior researchers who viewed each distortion as an independent and discrete entity. Second, Ward's theory highlights the manner in which cognitions may work together to create a self-serving base of support, that can thereafter be used to justify behaviour. However, this conceptualisation still leaves room for greater attention to be paid to process distortions such as minimisation, denial etc. In other words, it does not help to answer the question of how one is to distinguish distorted cognitions that were instrumental in the commission of the offence, from those that emerged as a result of it. This distinction may be significant, in that post-offence cognitive distortions may be more likely to be explanatory or justificatory, and less likely to be based on entrenched belief or personality trait.

Recently, Ward, Gannon and Keown (2006) presented the Judgement Model of Cognitive Distortions (JMCD). Drawing on the study of rationality, they argue that beliefs and values have

been under-represented in the conceptualisation of child sex offenders' offending process. The JMCD depicts the complexity of child sex offenders' cognition and outlines how: (a) beliefs are translated into action; (b) child sex offenders can hold proximate distortions rather than long-standing distorted beliefs; and (c) a variety of social and psychological processes can produce cognitive distortions. Ward et al. argue that cognitive distortions stem from varying combinations of beliefs (a proposition or set of propositions that are held to be true), values (what is considered worthwhile or desirable by the child sex offender) and actions (or strategies to best meet the valued goal). They suggest that beliefs, values and actions interact in a dynamic way to help child sex offenders navigate their way in the world and resolve the problems they encounter. Most importantly, they argue that cognitive distortions are evident in each of the domains of beliefs, values and actions. For instance, a child sex offender's cognitive functioning and outputs could be distorted, in that he based his beliefs on unsound evidence, that he pursued goals of minimal value to himself, and that he engaged in sloppy reasoning. They argue that all cognitive distortions involve judgements of one kind or another being made by the child sex offender, and that these judgements are part of the evaluations of the world being made by the child sex offender. The value-related aspects of the JMCD are discussed in some detail in the following chapter.

A recent attempt to clarify cognitive distortions has also used a schema-based approach. Mann and Beech, (2003) utilise the notion of schemata which feature prominently in cognitive psychology literature and which have been used by other researchers (e.g., Ward & Keenan, 1999) to organise cognitive distortions. As explained by Mann and Beech, schemata are essentially memory structures that inform an individual's attitudes, thoughts, beliefs and assumptions. They contain prototypical responses to the multitude of stimuli that individuals come across. They allow for more efficient processing of information by simplifying and classifying past information. So, rather than having to sift through a large amount of detail in one's recollections, one can simply apply the

generalised ideas or schema and use these as a framework for interpreting current experiences.

Dean et al. (2006) suggest that there are three critical offence-related cognitions that need to be focussed on when trying to understand child sex offending: statements of cause, which involve the child sex offender's explanation of his behaviour in which the offender makes external as well as internal attributions; explanations offered by the offender, that suggest that the victim was encouraging or provocative (treated as a separate issue on the basis that this way of shifting blame is correlated with underlying attitudes held by the offender that his offending was not harmful to the victim); and schemata, relating to the offender's beliefs, thoughts and assumptions.

A recent innovation in the study of cognition and cognitive distortions of sexual offending has been provided by Ward and Casey (2010). Ward and Casey put forward a theory of cognitive distortions based on the extended mind hypothesis. Their theory argues that the mind extends into the world and that cognition has been conceptualised much too narrowly in the field of forensic psychology. They further argue that the extension of the mind into the world allows for greater inclusion of values, emotions and situational variables than has heretofore been possible.

Ward and Casey (2010) introduced the concept of the extended mind into the study of sexual offending. However, the extended mind theory has been around in the field of psychology under different names (e.g., situated cognition) for some time (Robbins & Aydede, 2009). The extended mind hypothesis argues that cognition can happen in different physical locations and has been studied under the labels of distributed cognition, wide computationalism, cognitive integration and cognitive extension. The basic thesis shared by these theories is that the functioning of the mind extends beyond the physical boundaries of the brain and body (Robbins & Aydede, 2009). Ward and Casey use the term Extended Mind Theory (EMT) to refer to the above cluster of labels. They argue that EMT has the explanatory scope and variability to cover both internal as well as external components of cognition.

The EMT, according to Ward and Casey (2010) is based on three key assumptions, namely: embodiment; plasticity of cognition and agency; and cognitive extension. Embodiment refers to the assumption that all human beings are a unified embodiment of their body and mind. This implies that while all psychological processes are a product of neurological and biological processes, it is not possible to reduce the psychological processes to their physiological substrates (Johnson, 2007). Theorists of the Embodiment Hypothesis argue that humans actively collect information about the world, rather than passively perceiving it (Gibbs, 2006). They place primacy on the agent choosing to extract certain information from their senses, and place them in the position of directing their physical and mental processes to understand the world. This is in contrast to traditional theories, which assume that sensory perception is arbitrary and requires cognitive functioning to sift through information.

According to embodiment theorists, the body is a tool through which internal cognitive processes and external ones are integrated. This is arguably as a result of the body's ability to manipulate and construct external representations and objects (e.g., tools to help understand a phenomenon) (Ward & Casey, 2010). Embodiment theorists also argue that our thoughts are shaped by our sensory perceptions of the physical world, for instance the reason we think of weighing a moral decision, is that, that is how we perceive difference in the physical world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). The second assumption made by extended mind theorists is that individuals have soft selves (Clark, 2007). The term soft selves implies that humans have the ability to show considerable cognitive as well as behavioural plasticity. This means that humans have the ability to integrate with their environments through extending sensory and motor functions outside of the body. This is in keeping with Clark's principle of impartiality according to which humans use whatever means suited to achieve their ends irrespective of whether the tools exist in their minds, bodies or the environment. Part of what makes the argument of embodiment theorists interesting,

is that they argue that physical processes, brain processes and the central nervous system, all work together to create an information gathering process that allows us to interact with the world. It also opens up the possibility that there are other valid sources of information, rather than just the brain (Johnson, 2007). The final principle put forward as part of the EMT is that of cognitive extensions. Cognitive extension is the process by which the mind is extended into the world. Clark and Chalmers (1998) argued that if an external component is tightly intertwined with internal cognition and emotions, it can be considered part of an extended cognition. For instance, if in order to remember the number of a friend you need to refer to your address book, and if the number cannot be found without recourse to the address book, the address book has become part of your extended cognition.

Ward and Casey (2010) argued that the core assumptions of EMT apply to the study of sexual offending. They further argued that using the EMT to sexual offending would make it richer and more comprehensive and would have a transformative effect. For example, they suggested that acknowledging that the therapist, treatment group and social support, were part of the offenders extended minds would radically change the manner and rigour with which each of these would be treated. Ward and Casey pointed out that EMT easily explained otherwise contradictory phenomena, such as the changes in cognitive distortions observed with a change in context. Finally, they argued that seeing offenders' minds as extending into the world improved the decision-making and goal setting for offenders. By rejecting the internalist view of cognition being contained within the mind, Ward and Casey open up a range of ways in which to engage with and change offending behaviours.

Ward and Casey (2010) argue that the study of cognitive distortions has been impeded for a number of reasons connected to an overly narrow understanding of cognition. A key reason is the failure to unpack the meaning of terms typically used to describe offenders' reasoning, such as

‘maladaptive’ or ‘offence-supportive’. This, they argue, is because the cognitive distortions refer to a normative concept but has been studied largely as a descriptive construct. In other words, while cognitive distortions can be value laden and normative, the study of cognitive distortions has treated them as entities describing certain aspects of cognition. Ward and Casey further argue that the term cognitive distortions should be replaced by ‘incorrect or deviant cognitive practices’ which makes it clear that the construct is based on practice that is clearly based on social norms. The significance of values for understanding the cognition of sex offenders will be further discussed in the following chapter.

Cognitive Distortions in Empirical Research

Alongside (and often derived from) the attempts to theoretically ground the cognitive processes of child sex offenders, has been the attempt to create an evidence base for this phenomenon. This section briefly outlines the methods employed to investigate the phenomenon of cognitive distortions over the course of the past three decades. Specifically, the aim is to: discuss the contributions made by the empirical literature in furthering the analysis of cognitive distortions; illustrate some of the limitations of the research; and address some of the gaps that are apparent.

Traditionally, cognitive distortions have been measured by using explicit questionnaires. Explicit self-report testing assumes that offenders are aware of their own thoughts and beliefs, and are motivated towards articulating them accurately (Gannon & Polaschek, 2006). Developing a questionnaire requires creating a list of propositions which are relevant and specific to the aspect of the phenomenon being tested. A clear awareness of what phenomena to test for depends on a grounding in theoretical and empirical literature.

Neidigh and Krop (1992) asked a sample of child sex offenders ($N = 101$) the kinds of thinking that served to contribute to the offending. The emerging 357 statements were coded into 38 categories, some of which were in line with Abel et al.’s (1984) model. There also appeared a

number of categories that did not fit Abel et al.'s model. However, this work has not been applied in re-conceptualising cognitive distortions.

The next major advance for questionnaire style assessments of child sex offenders' cognitive distortions was made by Hartley (1998). Hartley used grounded theory, which is a 'bottom-up' qualitative method used to analyse data and allows key themes to emerge. It therefore avoids the pitfalls of 'top-down' interpretations of the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Hartley examined child sex offenders' self report, and found that offenders: indulged in thinking that reduced their responsibility; and insisted that the offending was innocent, that the abuse wasn't harmful, and that the child appeared to consent to the sexual activity.

In 2003, Saradjian and Nobus looked at offence-supportive (or "pro-offending" as they termed it) thinking using a grounded theory analysis of the clinical files of a sample of child sex offenders who were also members of the clergy at the time of their offending. They found that offenders displayed ten pro-offending cognitions during the offence process: (a) Thinking they had special permission to offend sexually; (b) thinking that sexual offending would meet important needs; (c) thinking that sexual offending is acceptable; (d) thinking that offending would be short-lived; (e) thinking that offending would not adversely affect the child; (f) thinking that the child played an active and consenting role in the offending; (g) downplaying the seriousness of offending; (h) externalising responsibility for offending; (i) focussing on positive personality traits to protect self-image; and (j) justifying offending by citing previous undetected offending. Saradjian and Nobus found that these cognitions could be grouped into those that were found prior to offending (a, b, c and d); those that were present during the offence (e and f); and those that were present post-offence (g, h, i and j). This study is unique since it attempted to clarify different cognitions based on their temporal appearance, highlighting the distinction between cognitions that played causal, maintaining and post-hoc justificatory roles.

A problem common to each of the above methods of creating a list of what constitutes a cognitive distortion, is that such lists are of limited value for research or treatment, since it is almost impossible to pinpoint the exact mechanisms generating such statements (Gannon & Polaschek, 2006; Maruna & Mann, 2006). Put another way, such lists of offence-supportive statements may simply reflect normative impression management strategies, employed by all individuals called to account for socially unacceptable behaviours (Maruna & Mann, 2006). Despite this potential problem, offence-supportive statements inform many of the items used on questionnaire assessments of child sex offenders' cognition (e.g., see Abel et al., 1989). The resulting questionnaires are typically distributed amongst child sex offender and differing non-child sex offender comparison groups, the hypothesis being that if cognition plays an aetiological role in child molestation, child molesters should display differential (and offence-supportive) endorsement of the cognitive items.

Questionnaire-based investigations into cognitive distortions

A number of questionnaires have been designed over the years to discriminate between child sex offenders and non child sex offenders on the basis of their cognitions. Most of these questionnaires contain a list of offence-supportive propositions and the respondents are expected to state their agreement with each proposition on a Likert scale. The analysis is conducted by creating total scores across all items of the scale.

The Abel and Becker Cognitions Scale (ABCS) was the first scale for measuring cognitive distortions of child sex offenders and was developed by Abel et al. in 1989. The scale contained 29 offence supportive statements, for example, "when a young child has sex with an adult it helps the child learn how to relate to adults in the future". The ABCS could discriminate child sex offenders from non-offending controls. However, the scale failed to discriminate child sex offenders from other offenders. A consistent concern with the ABCS has been its vulnerability to social desirability

biases. There is some concern that offenders are deliberately under-reporting their cognitive distortions in order to appear in a better light (Gannon & Polaschek, 2006).

Another scale that is widely used in the realm of child sex offender research and therapy is Bumby's (1996) MOLEST scale. Extending the work of Murphy (1990), Bumby used some items from the Abel and Becker Cognitions Scale but also focussed upon measuring and minimising socially desirable responses. Bumby defined cognitive distortions as "self-statements, learned assumptions or beliefs" made by offenders that permitted them to "deny, minimise, rationalise or justify their behaviour". The MOLEST scale contained 38 items rated on a 4 point Likert scale (thus reducing the likelihood of there being an easy 'mid-line' response). MOLEST was not significantly correlated with the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Child sex offenders were found to endorse cognitive distortions significantly higher than either rapists or non-offending controls. Furthermore, rapist and non-offending controls did not differ significantly in their endorsements of the cognitive distortions.

Similar results have been found by several other researchers (e.g., Arkowitz & Vess, 2003; Bumby, 1996; Feelgood, Cortoni, & Thompson, 2005). For example, in the first study describing the development of the MOLEST, Bumby found that child molesters—in statistical terms—were significantly more likely to endorse items supporting child molestation than rapists, and other non-sexual offenders. Feelgood et al. found similar results when they gave the MOLEST to groups of child molesters, rapists and violent offenders. However, Feelgood et al. pointed out that child molesters' answers tended to cluster into the *slightly disagree* response option.

McGrath, Cann, and Konopasky (1998) have developed the Child Molester Scale (CMS). This scale contains 22 items. Each of the 22 items is a commonly observed justification presented by child sex offenders in defence of their behaviour, for example: "Children usually outgrow problems resulting from a sexual experience they had as a child". The offenders were asked to rate

their agreement on a 5-point Likert scale. McGrath et al. included child sex offenders as well as two comparison groups of non-sexual offender and non-offending controls (students). The results indicated that child sex offender groups endorsed significantly more cognitive distortions than the non-offender controls. However, in a later study Tierney and McCabe (2001) were unable to show that the CMS had discriminant validity and found that sex offenders against adults (rapists) were more distorted on the scale than child sex offenders.

In summary, the results from questionnaire based studies of child sex offenders' cognitive distortions to date have been equivocal. Some studies have found significant differences in the endorsement of cognitive distortions between child sex offenders and controls while other studies do not. Arguably the most interesting finding that has emerged from this research, is that even when there are differences in the number of cognitive distortions endorsed by child sex offenders when compared to other groups, the difference is usually that sex offenders disagree with the items endorsing cognitive distortions less vehemently than the controls. In other words, child sex offenders are not agreeing with cognitive distortions more, they are *disagreeing with them less* than the controls. The majority opinion on the reason for the inconclusiveness of the results has been that the questionnaires are transparent and offenders are therefore deliberately lying to the researchers about their beliefs (Gannon & Polaschek, 2006). Researchers using experimental methods, less vulnerable to socially desirable response biases have challenged this opinion recently.

Experimental investigations into cognitive distortions

In order to overcome some of the limitations of transparent questionnaire-based studies Gannon (2006) conducted an experiment using the bogus pipeline method. The Bogus Pipeline (BP) is a social psychological measure used to increase participants' honest responding; usually a type of fake lie detector. This is the first time however, that the BP was applied to the field of sexual offending. It is suggested that the presence of a lie-detector (albeit a fake one) would motivate the

child sex offenders to give more honest and truthful responses than they would under other circumstances. This study used the BP method with child sex offenders in an effort to see whether being attached to a fake lie detector changed their responses significantly.

32 (treated and untreated) child sex offenders were recruited from United Kingdom prisons and divided into the BP or control condition. During the first part of the study, all child sex offenders were asked to complete a 14-item pen and paper questionnaire created specifically for the study to measure the “children as sexual beings” implicit theory. A week later, participants in the control condition were asked to complete the questionnaire under the same conditions as earlier. However, those in the BP condition completed the standard pen and paper questionnaire again whilst attached to the fake lie-detector. The questionnaire also included a measure of the degree to which the child sex offender thought the lie-detector was able to ‘catch them out’. In addition to the cognitive distortions questionnaire, all participants also completed a shortened MMPI (LIE) scale to test the effect of social desirability on their responses.

It was found that the child sex offenders (BP and control) had significantly ($p < .05$) greater overall scores for cognitive distortions than the non-offender controls. A majority (93.3%) of child molesters’ responses *did not* fall into the categories of ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’. This seems to indicate that the difference in scores was not a result of child sex offenders agreeing or disagreeing with non-offenders, but was more a function of the degree with which the item is being disagreed with. Interestingly, child sex offenders under the BP condition reported *fewer* cognitive distortions at Time 2 than the control child sex offenders. This result was in spite of most child sex offenders (67%) indicating moderate to high belief in the ability of the lie detector to accurately detect whether or not they were telling the truth. This was contrary to the hypothesis that stated that child sex offenders being more honest would report more cognitive distortions.

In order to overcome the above limitations Gannon, Keown, and Polaschek (2007) set out to replicate the above study with untreated extra-familial child sex offenders. Using a similar methodology, they asked child sex offenders to complete Bumby's (1996) MOLEST scale under conditions where they were free to impression manage, that is change their responses in order to be more socially acceptable. In this case the mean endorsement of cognitive distortions lay between disagree and unsure on a 5 point Likert scale. When the same questionnaire was re-administered under the BP condition (with the child sex offenders attached to a lie-detector) the endorsement of cognitive distortions increased compared to their own previous reports and those of the controls. Therefore, in this study, unlike its predecessor, there appeared to be some support that untreated extra-familial child sex offenders were impression managing by, endorsing more cognitive distortions when they were expecting to be caught out. Another interpretation of the result would be that the definition of cognitive distortions as deeply held beliefs was more appropriate to the extra-familial offenders in this sample, and less relevant to intra-familial offenders included in the previous study. Consistent with previous research, while there was an overall increase in cognitive distortions, child sex offenders were not agreeing with the items more. Rather they were disagreeing with them less.

In another study, Gannon and Polaschek (2005) used response time measures to examine whether sex offenders were "faking good" on questionnaires by deliberately responding in a way that made them appear more socially acceptable. They argued, based on parallels drawn from personality related research, that if sex offenders were in fact trying to create a positive impression by responding in a socially desirable way (i.e., faking good) they would respond faster to the items than if they were responding honestly. It is expected that responding to a question honestly requires deeper cognitive processing than it does giving the expected response. Gannon and Polaschek conducted their research on untreated as well as treated child sexual offenders. The results were

intriguing: the ‘faking good’ pattern was found only for treated offenders. This finding runs counter to the previous assumptions made by researchers and clinicians, as one would expect those who are untreated to feel the need to impression manage the situation. Gannon and Polaschek suggested that their results could stem from some kind of practice effect. Once again, it was found that general agreement with cognitive distortions was low, indicating that cognitive distortions (defined as well developed offence-supportive belief systems) need not be present in all offenders.

Another attempt to clarify what constitutes a cognitive distortion was made by Mihailides, Devilly and Ward (2004) who set out to test Ward’s IT theory. They used an Implicit Association Test (IAT) paradigm to test ‘children as sexual beings’, ‘uncontrollability of sexuality’ and ‘sexual-entitlement bias’. They hypothesised that child sex offenders’ cognitive distortions would be evident when implicit motivations intersected with cognition. They suggested that if child sex offenders held the ITs they would associate the concept ‘child’ with each of the three ITs being tested. The IAT paradigm used response time to measure the difference between speed of classifying semantically congruent versus semantically incongruent constructs. They hypothesised that words that were congruent with the beliefs of the offender would be classified faster than pairs of words that were incongruently paired.

Mihailides et al. (2004) found that it took child sex offenders longer to classify incompatible pairs of words than it did for them to classify compatible pairs for ‘children as sexual beings’ and ‘uncontrollability of sexuality’ ITs; and that they were significantly slower than both non-sexual offenders as well as non offender comparisons. However, their results for ‘entitlement’ implicit theory showed that the association was only found to be significantly stronger than for the non-offenders. Their results would lend support to the idea that cognitive distortions (at least for the 25 sexual offenders in their sample) were implicitly held beliefs that could be accessed using non-transparent measures.

Other successful findings using IAT measures are emerging, but these have tended to focus only on the concepts of children and sex. For instance, Gray, Brown, MacCulloch, Smith, and Snowden (2005) confirmed that child molesters showed a stronger likelihood of associating children and sex words, compared with offender comparisons. The *Receiver Operating Characteristics Curve* (ROC) was also used to assess the predictive ability of IAT scores. The ROC defines predictive ability using the area under the curve (AUC), which expresses no predictive ability as an AUC of 0.5, and perfect predictive ability as an AUC of 1. Using these statistical procedures, Gray et al. report that IAT scores showed very respectable predictive validity ($AUC = 0.73$) for predicting child sex offenders' group status.

Stermac and Segal (1989) developed a novel way of assessing on-line errors of social perception in sex offenders by using a vignette based design. They asked a variety of sex offenders as well as three non-offending comparison groups to read a series of vignettes describing adult-child sexual contact. The degree of sexual contact was varied as was the description of the child's response. After reading through each of the vignettes the participants were asked to respond to a series of questions meant to highlight offence-supportive perception. They found that child sex offenders perceived greater child responsibility as well as lesser responsibility for the adults. They also found however, that when the child's behaviour was unambiguously negative (i.e., crying) their responses did not differ significantly from the comparison groups.

In a more recent study; Gannon, Wright, Beech, and Williams (2006) developed a short vignette describing an interaction between a child and an adult male (child was playing in offender's view). Their study aimed to investigate whether information that was presented would be interpreted in a way consistent with Ward's ITs. Twenty-eight intra-familial child sex offenders and twenty non-sexual offenders were asked to read through the vignette and were given questions to answer that were unrelated to the actual aims of the study. After a short break, participants were

asked to perform a free recall test of the vignette they had read. It was expected that if the child sex offenders had underlying ITs they would remember the vignette incorrectly, in an offence-supportive manner (i.e., in line with their implicit beliefs). Gannon et al. found that while child sex offenders made mistakes in recall for each of the implicit theory themes, there was no evidence of distortion that could be linked to ITs. Gannon et al. suggested this may be because the task was too transparent but found that a post-test questionnaire indicated that most of child sex offenders (79%) were unaware of the true aim of the study. Gannon, Ward and Collie (2007) point out that their results may have been skewed by having a sample of only intra-familial offenders. Another concern is that the child sex offenders' ITs may not have been activated by the presentation of a vignette in the absence of any sexual context. In order to address this concern Keown, Gannon and Ward (2008) tested a sexual priming technique for assessing both intra-familial as well as extra-familial child sex offenders' interpretations.

What we can see from the empirical literature so far is that the framing and definition of cognitive distortion has a crucial influence on the results. The broader the definition, the easier it is to find cognitive distortions. For example, the MOLEST scale, which has had the most success in discriminating between child sex offenders and control groups, also uses the broadest definition of cognitive distortion, and defines cognitive distortions as cognitive products. Narrower definitions of cognitive distortions have tended to produce ambiguous results. For instance, defining cognitive distortions in terms of entrenched beliefs produced positive results for extra-familial offenders, but not for child sexual offenders more generally (Gannon, Keown & Polaschek, 2007). Similarly, empirical studies which have used explicit measures such as questionnaires or direct questions, have found evidence of cognitive distortions where these have been defined as explicit cognitive products (Bumby, 1996; Feelgood et al., 2005). On the other hand, studies using IAT have found evidence of cognitive distortions defined as unconscious cognitive products and structures (e.g., Mihailides et al.,

2004; Gray et al., 2005). Interestingly, the studies that found greatest support for the presence of cognitive distortions were the IATs, lending some weight to the definition of cognitive distortions as ITs/underlying schemata.

Clinical Implications and Conclusions

Given that as of now, almost all types of intervention programmes designed to treat sexual offenders include cognitive restructuring of offenders' cognitive distortions (McGrath et al., 1998) it is vitally important that only those cognitive patterns that have been most implicated in the offence are targeted. When identifying cognitive distortions during treatment, it is therefore important to distinguish between cognitive products, processes and structures. Each of these has different roles in the cognitive functioning of the child sex offender and therefore must be treated with an awareness of its role. It has been pointed out elsewhere that often clinicians working with child sex offenders tend to assume that any attempt made by the offender to explain his offence is seen as rationalisation or neutralisation (Dean et al., 2006). This has led to an increased focus on compelling the offender to 'take responsibility' for their own offending (Dean et al., 2006) often at the cost of uncovering cognitions crucial to the commission of the offence. Through too much focus on cognitive products (e.g., offence-supportive statements) we run the risk of losing information about the underlying cognitive processes and structures that motivate offending.

This point has been made by Mann and Hollin (2007), who argue that in discounting excuses made by the offender by classing them as cognitive distortions, clinicians lose valuable information about the offenders' cognitive processing. For instance, when an offender excuses his offending by saying that he was lonely since his wife had left him and he was drunk at the time of the offence he is giving the clinician vital information: that the offender has and recognises intimacy problems and that he struggles with self-regulation. So the excuses and explanations given by child sex offenders are critical in informing the clinician of the dynamic risk factors involved in his offending.

Dean et al. (2007) stress the importance of managing the cognitive distortions of child sex offenders. They argue that it is critical to the formation of a working therapeutic alliance that the clinician find a balance between colluding with the offender by supporting their socially undesirable statements of cognitions and rejecting their statements as cognitive distortions. They suggest that the clinician should balance the need to form a working alliance and protecting the health of the offender with the need to act in a way consistent with preventing harm to future victims. There are, of course, implications here for forensic nursing staff too. Clinicians should actively communicate with nursing staff about patients' cognition to ensure that progress made in therapy is maintained in the everyday ward setting. Here too then, forensic nursing staff must be careful not to reject all cognitions as being unhealthy and distorted or to collude with offenders on aspects of cognition that are clearly unhelpful and offence supportive. To this end, it would be beneficial for there to be clear and ongoing communication between clinical teams and nursing staff; and for nursing staff to be provided with ongoing education and training on cognition.

A final concern with treating all child sex offenders as though they have the same cognitive distortions, or as if their cognitive distortions all serve the same function, is that treatment may serve to entrench those cognitive statements into beliefs. Through rehearsal and repetition of post-offence justifications, the offender may over a period of time, come to believe their own rhetoric. There needs to be more research to examine whether the same treatment can be meted out to offenders who believe what they are saying, and offenders who are only trying to make a good impression.

The literature shows clearly that both theory and research around the subject of sexual offending so far has: (a) tended to study aspects of offenders' decision making in isolation rather than studying the interaction between them; (b) failed to unpack the role of values within offenders' reasoning and decision-making; and (c) placed undue emphasis on the cognitive aspects of offending

at the cost of extending the scope of cognition that includes affect and values. Ward and colleagues have considerably extended the state of knowledge by focussing research on the subject of offenders' reasoning and decision-making as outlined in the JMCD. The inclusion of values in the model is timely and provides an excellent framework through which to examine the role of values within the offence process. Research in the area of sexual offenders needs to examine the domains suggested by Ward and colleagues (Ward, Gannon & Keown, 2006; Ward & Casey, 2010) with a view to expanding the scope of cognition, as well as our understanding of cognitive distortions. It is important to understand the value system that the offender is working from; focus attention on the function the cognitive distortion plays in the offending rather than the labelling of it; encourage a strength based approach that provides offenders with viable alternatives to offending; and recognise the agency of the offender to make changes within their own value system.

CHAPTER THREE: VALUES AND VALUE-LADEN COGNITION

The previous chapter reviewed the research and literature around the subject of sex offending. Three key issues that were highlighted were: (a) the growing consensus among researchers that deeper conceptual clarity was needed to take the field further; (b) that whereas there had been a great deal of innovation and progress made in the study of the cognitive aspects of sexual offending this had been limited by a narrow understanding of what cognition entailed. Specifically, recent work such as the extended mind hypothesis considerably broadened our understanding of the scope and nature of cognition and placed a higher emphasis on the study of affective, value-laden and contextual factors; and (c) the acknowledgement within the research community that the philosophical basis for treatment of sexual offenders needed to be made explicit. Taken together, these insights indicate a need to examine current practice in terms of its underlying principles and assumptions.

The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the development of the conceptual frameworks for understanding cognition in sexual offending, by making explicit the role of values. To do this, we first examine the various ways in which values have been defined and conceptualised in psychological literature generally, and in forensic psychology specifically. Having gained an understanding of how values are defined, the chapter goes on to consider how the concept of values relates to the specific theories and practices of treating sexual offenders. To do so, the key theories outlined are revisited with a view to examining their value-related dimensions. Values are discussed in relation to ethical concerns such as those posed by human rights in punishment and rehabilitation. The main theories of treatment for sexual offenders are examined and evaluated on the basis of their implicit and explicit values. Having discussed the key treatment approaches, the chapter then examines ways in which the study of cognition of sexual offenders can be widened so

as to include a focus on values. This is discussed in the light of recent innovations in cognitive and forensic psychology.

Definitions and Types of Values

Values have been studied for decades in philosophy, and are now an integral part of many other disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, social psychology, moral philosophy and business ethics. Various schools of thought have emerged, each presenting a particular place for values within human decision making. Values can be seen as ranging from abstract and codified prescriptions to particular desires and preferences held by an individual. The nature of values has been the subject of much theoretical study and there exists a rich literature around the term.

Values have often been seen as individual preferences or desires. They have, however, also been treated as universal entities that are present in all social relationships, and indeed as fundamentally constitutive of the world (Rescher, 1993). For instance, values have been described as a “dominating force in life” (Allport, 1961, p. 543) and are posited to be the driving motivation for all action. Values can be seen as a product of human interactions and as part of the evolution of societies. They can also be seen as primary and absolute, and following from the authority of the spiritual. Values can also be taken to reflect individuals’ judgements about what kind of activities and experiences are worth pursuing in their lives, and as being likely to meet their core and related interests (Day & Ward, 2010). One definition that encompasses the extant understanding of values is provided by Kekes (1993) who defines values as important features of individuals’ lives and experiences, based on human needs and shared living conditions, that reliably meet their core interests and promote individual and community well-being.

Values can be seen to be deontological or teleological. Deontological values are seen as those which are considered to be ends in themselves. Teleological values are those which are judged on the basis of the results they produce. In deontological terms, value-laden decisions are made on

the basis that they are morally right (lying is bad because it is wrong and because truth or veracity is a worthy value.). In teleological terms, decisions are made on the basis of the consequences they have (it is okay to lie because telling the truth results in a harmful or morally wrong outcome).

Another way of understanding values is by categorising them into a hierarchy of needs. Values have different weights attached to them depending on what end they serve. In other words it is possible for one value to be subjugated to a more important and highly valued goal. Therefore values can be served as an end in themselves or as instrumental in achieving goals.

Values can be categorised into the personal or the collective. Collective values are defined as those values that a group or groups of individuals subscribe to. These values can often take shape as societal norms or organisational culture. While there is variation in personal values within a group it is expected that commonly held collective values will be shared by all members of the group. Values have been linked to morality quite strongly. So there are different values that have come in and out of favour over time and place. Values are seen to be held by moral agents. Thus, only sentient beings are considered able to make value judgements based on values. There is a lively debate in philosophy about whether a person can justifiably be punished for their actions if they do not meet the requirements to be a moral agent. Personal values are defined as those values that an individual holds themselves. These values can be different from the values held by another individual or group.

This chapter focuses on the possible role that values play in the offence process of sexual offenders with a view to using these values as a means to engage them in the process of rehabilitation. It is evident from the lack of empirical literature on the subject that values have not been the object of systematic study in the area of sexual offending. Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2006) suggest that use of the term values is inherently problematic. They argue that values are a diffuse and contentious subject and that the use of the term in a situation tends to serve to polarise

debate and occlude the actual issues under discussion. Given that the area of sexual offending itself evokes strong emotional reactions from most people it is not surprising that the research has tended to focus on cognitions and actions which are more easily observed than values.

Values in Psychology Research and Theory

In the realm of psychology values have most often been differentiated by their function; whether instrumental or terminal. Mayton, Ball-Rokeach and Loges (1994) argue that values are enduring prescriptive beliefs around a specific manner of behaving (mode of conduct) or more generally the meaning of life (end state). There has been a tendency in the study of values to focus on a single value. Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2006) argue convincingly that this tendency has to do with the political and social ideologies of the time.

Values can be studied in many different ways for various different purposes. In the field of organisational studies, values have been studied (most often) through quantitative measures, with a view to understanding their role in interpersonal relationships in order to enhance productivity or work-place efficacy. Pendleton and King (2002) defined values as guiding principles for individuals and organisations. There exists extensive literature on the values held by ideal workers, managers and work environments. The research conducted places values as being integral to the process of creating a mutually beneficial workspace. Recent research has also investigated how values are operationalised in the context of workplace behaviour. Fischer and Smith (2004, 2006) have investigated how the values held by employees affect their judgements about organisational justice, and mediate the link between these beliefs behaviour. The key insight by Fischer and Smith is that values do not provide a straightforward explanation of behaviour in an institutional setting, but rather act as mediating variables at every stage of the process of translating beliefs into judgements and actions (Fischer & Smith, 2004; Fischer & Smith, 2006).

Values have also been studied in social psychology as a way of understanding attitudes and beliefs. Values have been recognised as significant, as it is evident that peoples' behaviour is (in at least some part) motivated by their values. However, values have often been treated as either the same, or subordinate to attitudes and beliefs. Research on values in social psychology has focussed on the orientation of individuals towards socially determined values. Bogaert, Boone and Declerck (2008) for instance, did an excellent review of the nature of co-operation when faced by social dilemmas. They presented an integrated model and suggested that the relationship between social value orientation and co-operation was mediated by two key factors: the presence of a co-operative goal and specific expectations around behaviour.

In the field of community psychology as well as clinical psychology, attention has been paid to the role of values in the psychotherapeutic process. The bulk of research has focussed on the role of certain values in creating a good therapeutic relationship, or on the blocks to such a relationship. As such, a number of personal qualities have been identified in both the treatment provider as well as the client that make a therapeutic bond effective and lead to a positive outcome for the client (Andrews et al., 1990). The values held by each participant in the treatment process have been shown to affect the outcome. For instance, a counsellor's interpersonal behaviour has frequently been implicated as a determining factor and possible barrier to forming a psychotherapeutic working alliance (Marshall & Serran, 2004; Ross, Polaschek, & Ward, 2008). One study indicated that in a sample of high risk offenders, and irrespective of offenders' motivation for change prior to commencement of treatment, those whose engagement through the therapeutic alliance developed showed greatest treatment change (Polaschek & Ross, 2010).

In the field of cross-cultural psychology, the focus of studying values has been to understand the similarities and differences that exist between cultures. It has been difficult to establish a set of values that holds true for every culture, but it is equally evident that there is considerable overlap

between cultures (Scwartz & Bilsky 1990). There has been a huge emphasis on understanding the differences between Western and Eastern civilisations and the debate has often centred on the values of individualism and collectivism. Fischer (2006) found, based on questionnaire-based studies carried out in multiple countries, that overall, individual values and behaviours were loosely correlated with cultural background. However, when grouped together, certain clusters of cultural values were found to be strongly correlated to individual values, beliefs and actions. This study shows that while social norms and cultural background can be shown to influence certain individual values, the study of values cannot be reduced to an effect of socio-cultural identification. The research shows that the centrality or mutability of values has created interesting challenges for people moving between cultures and their ability to integrate into a new culture.

Day and Ward (2010) suggest that in order for values to be applicable to the field of forensic psychology, it is useful to conceptualise values in naturalistic terms as arising from shared experience and based on core interests and desires for well-being. In this way values are seen as derived from individuals' cultural and social experiences. These values then serve as a guide for making important decisions and choices based on individuals' allegiances. Day and Ward argue that values emerge through the process an individual goes through in trying to make sense of their environment and find purpose. They see forming a set of values as an important part of the development of an individual from a child to a truly autonomous agent. These values can be ultimate goals and abstract principles that are used by an individual to judge themselves and the world, and also translate into specific ways of acting with integrity in everyday contexts. It is worthwhile at this point to note that while some values are grounded in the experiences of the individual, they can still come in conflict with prescriptive values suggested from another source. Problems can arise from values in two main ways, first where maladaptive values are allowed to remain unchallenged and thus come into conflict

with or contradict others, or second, when a worthwhile value is sought to be actualised in counter-productive ways.

Values in Forensic Psychology Theory and Research

Values have not been at the forefront of examination in the study of sexual offending. However, examination of the theories and research undertaken shows values to be implicit in them. The original paper by Abel et al. (1984) makes no mention of values in their analysis of the motivations for sexual offending but focussed on outlining common cognitive distortions that these offenders hold. Looking closely at the cognitive distortions outlined by Abel et al., however, it is evident that there are values implicit in the statements. For example, in saying that offenders justify their offending by claiming that they are educating their victims the authors indicate: first, that the offender purports to value passing on knowledge and second, the offender claims sexual contact to be beneficial to the victim.

Finkelhor (1984) proposed the preconditions model as an explanation of sexual offending against children. He held that there were four factors that contributed significantly towards offending. Of these, the factor of emotional congruence explicitly acknowledged the affective aspects of the offence process. Values were not explicitly mentioned within the precondition model. However, examining the four preconditions themselves it is evident that there are values inherent therein. For example, in order for the first precondition of 'motivation to offend' to be met it is necessary for the offender to have a value set that allows him to believe that sex with a child is either appropriate or at least justifiable within certain circumstances. It also assumes that the offenders attributed values to the victim and the offending that are reconcilable with his world-view.

Hall and Hirschman's (1991) quadripartite model was an improvement on Abel et al. (1984) in that it included reference to affective factors. However, the model referred to affective dyscontrol only in terms of the effect that negative emotions have on the offence process. Their model was

based on observable precursors to sexual offending, but did not address the role of values in underpinning and influencing the relative importance of one or the other precursor in a particular offender. While they conceptualised cognitive appraisals in several different ways (misperceptions used to blame victim, excuse sexual offending or morally justify offending) the different value bases for each of these types of cognition slipped past attention. It is safe to assume that the examination of values must have been a factor that needed consideration in order for the offender to make cognitive appraisals.

Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) integrated model of the aetiology of sexual offending was a considerable step forward in theory building, since it focussed on proximal as well as distal causes of offending. The offending was approached in a bio-psycho-social framework with a great deal of emphasis on the developmental antecedents to offending. A number of domains of study were outlined by Marshall and Barbaree as a result of their theory such as self-esteem, intimacy deficits etc. However, they neglected to focus attention on the role of either affect or values specifically. Affect was somewhat more fully explored than values as a mediator of other cognitive and developmental processes.

Ward (2000) suggested ITs as being pivotal in understanding sexual offending. Ward proposed that sexual offenders' ITs about their victims are structured around two core sets of mental constructs, beliefs and desires. These theories contain a number of distinct ideas and mental constructs, including propositions about victims' desires (wants, wishes, preferences etc) and their beliefs. These ideas are organised in the form of ITs in which basic entities (e.g., women or children) and their relationships and properties are represented. This work was innovative both because it used the offenders' narrative to construct a framework and also because it was the first explicit mention of the offenders' beliefs, values and desires as directly affecting the manner of their

offending. It is only recently however, that attention has been paid to the values aspect of ITs rather than the cognitions.

Ward and Siegert (2002) proposed the pathways model. In outlining their model they stressed the need for theory to be grounded in sound epistemic values. Their model outlined five pathways to offending, each with one or more underlying causal mechanism. Examination of the pathways outlined shows that they were not value neutral and that the causal mechanisms underlying each pathway (for example emotional dysregulation) were themselves value laden. The pathways model explicitly acknowledged the role of beliefs and desires of the offender as well as the cognitive processes used by them. While Ward and Siegert did not explicitly state the role of values within the pathways model, they certainly opened the door to enquiry by creating space for value laden offending through different antecedents.

Dean et al. (2007) argued that it was essential to understand the function that offenders' cognitions perform in order to effectively understand offending. In their paper they outlined critical offence-related cognitions that need to be focussed on: statements of cause (including internal as well as external attributions); explanations that shifted the blame from the offender to the victims; and underlying attitudes held by the offender that the offending was not harmful to their victims. Dean et al. suggested that in addition to understanding the function of cognition; empowering individuals and targeting offence supportive cognitions would be essential to effective treatment. Dean et al. did not explore what the possible functions of cognitive distortion of sexual offenders could be in terms of their values. However, their suggestions are at least compatible with a framework of value-laden perception. Their research shows that it is not so much the cognitive processes but the function that the cognitions are performing that is worthy of attention. It therefore becomes important to try and understand the values that are driving and directing the function of the cognition.

As outlined in the previous chapter, Ward et al. (2006) presented the Judgment Model of Cognitive Distortions (JMCD). The JMCD is a model of cognitive distortions that works at various levels of analysis. This model places cognitive distortions within the context of practical reasoning and thus focuses on different kinds of judgements. There are three key components for the JMCD that interact with each other to produce judgement, whether erroneous or sound, namely: beliefs, values and actions. Beliefs are defined as statements regarding the nature of the self or the world that an individual holds to be true (Nisbett & Ross, 1980), values are defined as experiences or attributes by which an individual discriminates the worthiness of events and experiences. Actions are merely the activities carried out in response to the environment that individuals find themselves in. Ward et al. argue that the JMCD provides a much more comprehensive and clinically informative understanding of cognitive distortions by placing it within the framework of practical reasoning.

The JMCD builds on existing research within the area of practical reasoning, that highlights the manner in which decision-making is affected by various aspects of human experience. The focus on beliefs, values and actions broadens the scope of cognitive distortions and clarifies the multiple mechanisms that contribute towards offence supportive behaviour. As outlined in the framework proposed by Baron (2000), beliefs, values and actions interact dynamically with each other. Baron outlines the basic building blocks of practical reasoning and then proceeds to investigate the manner in which reasoning can fail. In his analysis individuals make irrational decisions when they engage in 'sloppy thinking': not collecting adequate pertinent information; discounting evidence not in line with their prejudices; and making judgements that are not borne out by the evidence. This opens up a range of process through which cognitive distortions can arise. As Ward et al. (2006) point out, within the context of sexual offending, cognitive distortions can arise because: (a) information is evaluated in light of pre-existing enduring beliefs held by the offenders

that are offence supportive; (b) irrational temporary decisions have been made by offenders because they have failed to evaluate the evidence appropriately; and (c) the offenders' understanding of what is a goal worth achieving has been skewed as a result of their developmental experiences.

The JMCD is based around the fundamental idea that cognitive distortions arise as a result of a combination of offenders' beliefs, values and actions. Ward et al. (2006) argue that this is in keeping with wider literature on the subject of human reasoning and decision making which suggests, that individuals' practical reasoning skills are a product of learning as well as evolution. From an evolutionary point of view, beliefs, values and actions act as the means by which humans make their way through the world and its attendant challenges. Ward et al. suggested that beliefs, values and actions interact in a dynamic way to help child sex offenders navigate their way in the world and resolve the problems they encounter. Most importantly, they argued that cognitive distortions were evident in each of the domains of beliefs, values and actions. For instance, a child sex offender could be distorted in that he based his beliefs on unsound evidence, that he pursued goals of no value to himself and that he engaged in sloppy reasoning. They argued that all cognitive distortions involved judgements of one kind or another being made by the child sex offender and that these judgements were part of the evaluations of the world being made by the child sex offender.

The JMCD (Ward et al., 2006) depicts the complexity of child sex offenders' reasoning and cognition by outlining how: (a) beliefs are translated into action; (b) distortions can be proximate rather than long-standing; and (c) a variety of social and psychological processes can produce cognitive distortions. Ward et al.'s work is innovative in that it makes clear links from distorted beliefs to action. This is an area that has previously been ignored by other researchers. Ward et al. argue that values are vital in making the link between distorted beliefs and action. They suggest that values act as the "motor" (p. 326) that drives human behaviour and posit that values are intrinsically

linked to an individual's core beliefs. In doing so, Ward et al. highlight the need to link values with beliefs in the field of sexual offending.

This insight into the central role of values has been further developed in the Extended Mind Theory (EMT) of Ward and Casey (2010). By treating an individual's actions and relationships as extensions of their individual's cognitive processes, the EMT gives a context for studying the influence of values on behaviour. The three core elements of EMT reviewed in the previous chapter – embodiment, cognitive and agency plasticity and cognitive extension – are all relevant to understanding the core role of values in social cognition. In relation to sexual offending, a cognitive model in line with the EMT approach would take account of: embodiment, by treating offenders as agents in whom cognitive, affective and physical factors combine to produce offending; cognitive and agentic plasticity, by allowing for and explaining changes in the cognitions and actions of offenders; and cognitive extension, by analysing the practical reasoning of offenders and their interactions with their environment in the specific context of the offending.

Value-laden Treatment of sex offenders: Ethical concerns

The key distinction between punishment and rehabilitation is that while punishment of the crime is based on whichever philosophical framework it is coming from, rehabilitation is the response that is aimed at facilitating reintegration of the offender and is based primarily on values relating to well-being. However, it has been argued that this distinction is often lost and some aspects of what is commonly understood as treatment are in fact punishment (Glaser, 2003; Leveson & D'Amora, 2005). Cognitive restructuring of sex offenders in intervention programs is an example of this overlap between punishment and rehabilitation processes. One purpose of cognitive restructuring is to change offenders' cognitive functioning to bring it in line with non-offending norms. One of the key ways in which this is accomplished is by making offenders feel remorseful and take responsibility for the harm they have caused. This has been argued to be closer to

punishment ideals than rehabilitation ideals. Ward (2008) points out that the key issue here is the need and the ability of practitioners to justify such punishment in order for it to be included in rehabilitation practices. If it cannot be justified he argues it should be avoided.

Ward (2009) argues that it is not possible for the role of practitioners to be dissociated from the ethical issues associated with punishment. He states that correctional practitioners must endorse punishment and rehabilitation practices that are grounded in and consistent with an acceptable theory of punishment. He further argues that any theory that is used must be responsive to the dignity and human rights of offenders in order to stand up to scrutiny. He posits that the communicative theory of punishment should form the basis of understanding punishment within correctional settings. The communicative theory of punishment is based on liberal communitarian politics (Duff, 2001).

Theoretical Frameworks

There are a number of theories of punishment and they can be understood broadly under the following categories: consequential theories of punishment, non-consequential theories of punishment and communicative or restorative theories of punishment. Consequential theories of punishment are based on an evaluation of the total harm or good that the punishment process will result in. Non-consequential theories focus primarily on the intrinsic moral value of inflicting proportionate punishment on someone who has harmed (Boonin, 2008). Communicative and restorative theories advocate treating offenders with respect and acknowledge their right to be reconciled with the community (Duff, 2001).

Punishment is defined within the criminal justice system as state-inflicted intentional harm on an offender who has unjustifiably harmed a citizen (Bennett, 2008; Duff, 2001). Boonin (2008) argues that punishment in the criminal justice system has five necessary elements, namely punishment is: authorised by the state; intentional; reprobative; retributive; and harmful (i.e.,

involves the imposition of sanctions). This makes it clear that the intent of punishment within the criminal justice system is to cause harm in the form of suffering or deprivation to the offender in response to a harmful act committed by the offender. Punishment expresses the disapproval of the community authorised through or mediated by the state criminal justice process. Ward (2009) argues that there are three key problems with punishment practices within correctional settings. First, those working with offenders can be and often are unnecessarily abusive towards the offender. Second, the assumptions around the justification of punishment are embedded (or intrinsic) within the criminal justice system's tasks, roles and policies. Finally, punishment and rehabilitation though conceptually distinct come from overlapping normative frameworks and are often confused (Ward & Salmon, 2009). Ward (2009) reiterates that any restrictions on human rights need to be rigorously ethically evaluated and that punishment needs to be evaluated and implemented within the framework of human dignity and rights (Lazarus, 2004).

Human Rights and Dignity

Ward (2009) points out that in the case of criminal actions the normative components and the descriptive components are inextricably linked. This is because concepts that are embedded within the discourses of crime are value laden and have normative as well as factual associations (Duff, 2001). Ward and Maruna (2007) have pointed out that the rehabilitation of an offender into their community has to be both an evaluative process as well as one that builds the capacity of the offender to function in their community. They also point out that part of this process has its roots in practical reasoning. Practical reasoning is defined as a form of rationality that involves translating evaluation goals and the values that underlie them into actions that achieve desired outcomes in an energy efficient manner (Ward & Nee, 2009). A limitation of current correctional practice highlighted by Ward (2009) is its failure to acknowledge the normative aspects within rehabilitation with offenders. He points out that the search around rehabilitation has lacked probity of ethical

concerns and has focused almost exclusively around practical and procedural concerns. He further argues that as a result of this the ethical integrity of correctional practice is questionable when carried out without an understanding of the assumptions that underlie its moral acceptability. In his paper Ward conceptualises an ethical framework for correctional practice based around the concepts of human dignity and human rights. He grounds his analysis in an understanding of the norms and theories through which human rights are construed. The definition of human dignity has undergone several changes over the years (Sulmasy, 2007) however; the core idea has remained unchanged. Human dignity is centred on the moral worth of all human beings, being an inherent quality that gives agents equal moral status in their lives and communities.

Dignity has however been defined in many different ways. Nussbaum (2006) for instance defined human dignity as the basic living conditions that were required in order to sustain life, including practical and emotional needs. Driver (2006) defined dignity in terms of the right to self determination, while Beyleveld and Brownsword (2004) have it as being contingent on agents acting within the norms of their community. This definition places greater limits on autonomy which form the basis for the definitions used by Driver and others. Another definition of dignity posited for instance by Miller (2007) is based around the ability of an agent to fully express their potential and flourish. In an important book Beyleveld and Brownsword unified the various definitions and reworked the concept of dignity while making a distinction between *dignity as empowerment* (where there is uncensored choice and freedom) and *dignity as constraint* (where dignity follows from acting within the norms of their community). Dignity of human beings thus resides in the ability to pursue goals in life without unjustified interference from others. An interesting point, however, is that individuals' own judgements are not seen as the sole determinants of what dignifies their lives. Ward (2009) argues that human beings need certain primary goods and opportunities in order to act in ways that actualise their intrinsic values. This is to say, that in order for human beings to

recognise and follow their goals they need to have basic needs met and opportunities provided.

These needs and opportunities are seen as entitlements that are therefore protected as fundamental human rights.

Ward (2009) emphasises the inviolate nature of human dignity and stresses the impossibility of ethically taking away someone's dignity. He also follows Darwall's (2006) distinction between recognition respect and appraisal respect when understanding human dignity. Recognition respect is based on assumed moral equity, it is equal across all people, whereas appraisal respect is variable and can be lost or gained based on the actions of people or groups. Ward also emphasises the role of recognition respect modulating appraisal respect when looking at ethical responses. He points out that punishment should be meted out only such that it diminishes appraisal respect of individuals while leaving recognition respect intact.

The concept of human dignity forms the basis for human rights. Human rights, therefore, are a specific set of norms based on the concept of human dignity that are designed to protect and enhance the well-being of humans. Freedman (1991) defines human rights as a conceptual device that privileges certain human and social attributes as essential for human beings. He points out that human rights are intended to act as protective capsules around people.

Nickel (2007) summarises the key properties of human rights as being: universal to all peoples of the world; moral norms that exert normative force; constituting a minimum rather than ideal standard; and evident in specific lists as well as more general values. Of course, as Ward (2009) points out, human rights are necessary although not sufficient conditions for human beings to lead rich and satisfying lives. Therefore, the provision of basic human rights does not automatically lead to a rich and satisfied existence. The meeting of human rights instead is merely useful if it results in the acquisition of basic capabilities that are needed to create a value directed life.

Human rights are in essence *claim rights* which are possessed by persons simply because they are humans (Griffins, 2008; Morsink, 2009). A claim right is defined as one where a person has a right to expect another person or agency to meet their needs for a certain human good. Within the framework of claim rights there are five main elements. These are: a rights holder, the claim, the object of the claim, the recipient of the claim and the grounds of the claim. Human rights can be traced from Middle Eastern legal codes to declarations such as the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (Donnelly, 2007). The one most commonly cited now is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1948). This declaration sets out 30 articles specifying the rights of humans world-wide irrespective of any secondary characteristic such as race culture, gender etc. A commonly cited problem with this declaration is its list-like nature. This is problematic as it gives no unifying philosophical or theoretical underpinnings and a lack of conceptual cohesiveness. Orend (2002) brought some degree of conceptual simplification to the articles of the UDHR by collapsing them into five clusters, each associated with a set of human goods, namely: personal freedom, material substance, security, elemental equality and social recognition. While this is useful in understanding the philosophical ontology of human rights it does not shed any light on their justification to be human rights. Ward (2009) argues that the defence of human rights goes beyond legal conceptions as they are universal in nature. Human rights have been understood as being grounded in three main features: autonomy, minimal resources and liberty. Human rights function to protect the fundamental needs that need to be met in order for people to act as independent agents (Gewirth, 1996). Miller (2007) argues that human rights are justified by their ability to facilitate people's needs, therefore, human rights create positive and negative duties on people as well as states and when there is a conflict it is necessary to evaluate each claim with respect to all individuals' entitlements. It is understood that it is not always possible to satisfy all entitlements and they may be prioritised in

line with the need and urgency of each. Ward (2009) argues that the breach of human rights occurs when individuals are not treated as valued agents in and of themselves and are seen to be instrumental means to other goals.

Good Lives Model

The Good Lives Model (GLM) (Ward & Stewart, 2003) was a considerable step forward in theorising rehabilitation of sex offenders for several reasons. To begin with, it was the first comprehensive, correctional strength-based approach to rehabilitation. The GLM argued that treatment should aim to equip individuals with the capabilities to secure primary human goods in socially acceptable as well as personally meaningful ways. Ward and Stewart defined 'goods' as aspects of human functioning and experience that are judged to be beneficial to human beings and therefore result in higher levels of well-being. They named several primary goods namely, life, knowledge, excellence or mastery in work and play, agency, inner peace, intimate friendship, community, spirituality, happiness and creativity. They defined secondary goods as instrumental means of securing primary goods. For example, having a stable relationship would be instrumental in achieving intimate friendships. The GLM explicitly stated that the grounding of human agency resides in primary goods (valued states of affairs, states of mind etc) that are sought. It also focussed on the creation of a personal identity and concept of what a good life would look like. Therefore the chief aim of treatment becomes equipping the offenders with the knowledge, skills and competencies they need in order to achieve primary human goods in a socially adaptive manner. This means an increased focus on the psychological and spiritual well-being of the offenders as well as the alternative to their maladaptive criminal lifestyle (Kekes, 1989; Ward & Stewart, 2003). The GLM approach is innovative and exceptional in that it: (a) acknowledges the agency of the offenders and engages with their values; (b) explicitly constructs treatment in terms of the offenders' preferences, values and strengths; (c) acknowledges the context in which the offending occurred and

offers a way of getting the same goods in a pro-social manner; and (d) engages with the offenders in a dialogue about primary goods and possible ways to achieve them.

In the GLM, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the creation of the personal/practical identity of offenders and details of the kind of life they are seeking to have. Criminogenic needs as well as dynamic risk factors are seen as blocks to the acquisition of human goods. Ward and Gannon (2006) suggest that there are four kinds of problems that routinely come up in the good life plan of the offender, namely the use of inappropriate means of obtaining primary goods, narrow scope, incoherence and a lack of capability. The GLM presents a systematic and comprehensive framework for treating sex offenders.

The Good Lives Model Comprehensive (GLM-C) (Ward & Gannon, 2006) was created by combining the GLM (Ward & Stewart, 2003) with the integrated theory of sexual offending (Ward & Beech, 2006). The GLM-C can be divided into three levels, the first dealing with the values and principles that are dealt with in the original GLM. Second, the aetiological assumptions that come from the integrated theory of sexual offending (Ward & Beech, 2006). Third, the treatment implications for clinical practitioners. The GLM-C places value on psychological well-being, personal identity, contextually dependent factors and agency of the offender. It also adopts an explicitly pluralist position in relation to the range of values that humans including offenders can seek in order to be fulfilled. The GLM-C explicitly states the value laden nature of therapeutic practice and invites dialogue around the epistemic and prudential values.

The GLM-C provides two routes to offending: the direct pathway is when sexual offending is used as a means for securing primary goods; and the indirect route is when the pursuit of some goods is frustrated in some ways. In the direct path Ward and Gannon (2006) argue that the basic internal skills that are necessary to achieve human goods are impaired therefore offenders using the direct pathway have through habit found inappropriate methods of obtaining primary human goods

in the form of sexual offending. These offenders are argued to be unconscious of their desire for any primary goods and are unaware of what need they are seeking to meet through their offending. The indirect pathway is associated with conflict, where a valued primary good has not been achieved due to some block, either internal to the offender, or external. In this case, the inability of offenders to deal with the conflict arising is instrumental in leading them to offending. The direct and indirect routes reflect the variety of motivations evident in offenders and allow space for different emotional and behavioural responses.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Good Lives Model is that it moves away from the traditionally neutral psychotherapy. It has been argued that there are paradoxes inherent in the attempt to create a value neutral psychotherapy (Richardson, 2006). Given the emotional and upsetting nature of sexual violence it would be fair to say that attempting to be value-neutral when dealing with a sexual offender is practically impossible. Indeed as stated previously, both the criminal justice system and the therapeutic process are rife with un-stated value judgements. The benefit of using the GLM is that it allows value judgements to exist. For instance, it would easily be possible for an offender to see how his own values compare to those held by others and examine critically the means he has used to achieve them and the consequences of his actions. In this sense to acknowledge the value-laden nature of the subject allows both the offender and the therapist to engage with and critique offence-supportive discourse.

Ward and Marshall (2007) built on the strength-based approach of the good lives model (GLM) in proposing a focus on building narrative identity in the context of offender rehabilitation. The focus on narrative identity foregrounds the importance of values in structuring the existing offence-supportive cognitions of offenders. In other words, offenders are treated as agents who act in accordance with their values and pursue goals that are important to them, even if the results are harmful. The goal of rehabilitation, Ward and Marshall argue, is to enable offenders to find pro-

social ways of fulfilling their core values and life goals without resorting to offending. This requires an intensive engagement of treatment providers with the beliefs and life-strategies of the offenders. Ward and Marshall argue that this is best achieved by understanding the connections between values, beliefs, cognitions and actions in an individual offender in terms of a 'narrative identity'. By treating offenders as individuals and engaging with their narrative identity, treatment providers can build a therapeutic alliance based on the particular needs of offenders. Focussing on narrative identity also allows treatment to identify offender-specific 'approach goals' to meet core needs and 'avoidance goals' to avoid re-offending.

Treatment Programmes

Typically, researchers have dealt with offenders in the 'protectionist' manner. This is to say that the key principle governing rehabilitative practice has been the reduction or containment of harm to victims and potential victims. As a result of this focus a great deal of attention has been paid to factors that can be linked with increased risk of offending. In this process the key aim of treatment becomes to reduce the chances of a further offence occurring rather than equipping the individual with the means to pursue worthwhile life goods.

Most instruments that measure risk in sex offenders focus on static factors. Static risk factors are those factors that are not subject to change from either individuals or environment. These include factors such as previous offence history, general criminality, absence of stable long-term relationships etc. Bonta (1996) introduced the concept of dynamic risk factors. He argued that fluid, changeable factors made up a significant component of risk. Further researchers validated this claim and added the need for acute factors of risk (Quinsey, Coleman, Jones & Altrows, 1997). Here dynamic risk factors are defined as those factors that are subject to change and acute risk factors are defined as immediate contextual factors that tip the balance in favour of offending. Hanson and Harris (2001) further extended this by stressing the need to attend to both stable

dynamic factors as well as acute dynamic factors. They defined generally stable but changeable factors such as sexual interest and pro-offending attitudes as being stable dynamic factors. Acute dynamic factors were defined as those factors that change and fluctuate over time, such as substance abuse and mood, and can quickly and suddenly change the level of risk present.

Relapse Prevention Model

One of the basic principles underlying treatment programmes the world over is the prevention of offence through relapse. The assumption appears to be that since the offence behaviour has been isolated and to some extent controlled the next steps are to ameliorate its effects and manage problematic symptoms or behaviours (Polaschek, 2003). The relapse prevention framework was welcomed by clinicians and researchers working with sexual offenders as it provided a clear and quantifiable outcome.

Relapse prevention as a method of treatment emerged in the 1980s. Marlatt and Gordon (1985) produced research that investigated the role of relapse in those indulging in substance abuse, especially alcoholics. They argued that understanding the nature and function of a lapse was critical. The concept of relapse was introduced to the treatment of sexual offending when Pithers, Marques, Gibat and Marlatt (1983) presented an adapted form of the relapse prevention model for use with sexual offending. Both the practical and theoretical merits of the model were appreciated by clinicians and researchers working on the area as research on treatment within sexual offending researchers (Polaschek, 2003).

There were three key elements leading up to a lapse as outlined by relapse prevention model (Pithers et al., 1983) namely: *lifestyle imbalance*, *apparently irrelevant decisions* and finally, *a high-risk situation*. Lifestyle imbalance was understood as a convergence of circumstances that left an individual feeling deprived and desirous of indulging. This could be a result of either positive (obligation after having had fun) or negative (dealing with a stressful situation) factors. This

heightened state of emotion then leads individuals to make several small but crucial decisions that bring them closer to the object of their desire. The idea here was that the emotional state made it difficult for individuals to maintain self-restraint and therefore lead them into situations that were high risk. A high-risk situation was defined as one where the possibility of an individual indulging in their desire was increased significantly.

According to the Marques – Pithers (Pithers et al., 1983) Relapse Prevention Model (RPM) a high risk situation that threatens an individual's continued abstinence leads to a *lapse*. Here a lapse is described as a precursor to the offence such as offence-supportive fantasy. At the point of lapsing from abstinence the individual is said to be suffering from the *problem of immediate gratification* which indicates the conflict between the perceived short-term benefits represented by the lapse and the long term benefits of remaining offence-free.

In its infancy the RPM model was used as an additional tool to be used in the maintenance phase of existing treatment programmes (Polaschek, 2003). Given that in the case of sexual offending the offenders are already in a state of abstinence (whether self-imposed or state-sanctioned) the relapse prevention programme quickly emerged as a framework for organising entire treatment programmes. The RPM has become a staple part of most treatment programmes in the western world starting from the early 1990s (Polaschek, 2003). The overwhelming majority of North American sexual offender treatment programmes use the RPM, as do a number of programmes in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. In most cases programmes use the principles of the RPM though they have often been criticised for not making the nature and extent of the RPM component explicit (Marshall & Anderson, 2000; Ward & Hudson, 1996).

Risk-Need-Responsivity Model

The risk-need model of offender rehabilitation was developed by a number of correctional researchers and theoreticians. The key point of this model is that the way to reduce recidivism is to

identify individuals' array of dynamic risk factors. These factors then become the clinical needs or problems that should be explicitly targeted. The risk-need model assumes that there are cognitive, behavioural, affective and situational risk factors that are reliably associated with re-offending. It is also assumed that individuals vary in their predisposition to commit crimes. The basic idea underpinning the risk-need model is that recidivism rates can be reduced by either eliminating or attenuating the individual dynamic factors of each individual offender. These dynamic factors are defined as the criminogenic needs that the offender is seeking to meet.

The three main principles that underlie this model are those of risk, need and responsivity (RNR) (Andrews & Bonta, 1998). The principle of *risk* deals with finding a balance between the risk posed by the offender on the one hand and the amount of treatment provided on the other. Under this paradigm offenders who are at higher risk of offending should receive more treatment. The principle of *need* is concerned with targeting specific criminogenic needs that have been empirically researched and identified and can be reasonably altered. Thus this principle applies to changing those behaviours that have been explicitly associated with sexual offending. The *responsivity* principle examines the degree to which a treatment programme can engage with the offender and make sense to them. This places some emphasis on balancing the content of the programme with the intensity and duration of it. Andrews and Bonta also emphasised the need for treatment flexibility under unusual circumstances. In such circumstances they argue the matter should be at the discretion of the practitioners working with the offenders.

Most treatment programmes use a combination of relapse prevention and RNR approaches to treating offenders. The RNR has been criticised for collapsing risks and needs as well as for the ambiguity in the terms. Ward and colleagues argued that the primary focus of treatment should be the modification of dispositional factors underlying the offenders' offending. Ward, Hudson and Keenan (1998) argued that the focus on risk factors and the avoidance of relapse formed a

necessary, but not sufficient treatment aim. They argued that reducing risk of re-offending was a basic aim that all treatment programmes needed to meet, but that it was not enough to successfully rehabilitate the offender into a non-offending lifestyle. In accordance with this they argued that treatment should instead be focused on two kinds of goals namely approach goals and avoidance goals. Approach goals were defined as those treatment goals that encouraged the offender to proactively seek out the human goods that would make their life meaningful such as autonomy, freedom and mastery. The avoidance goals were defined as those goals which focused on avoiding pathways to relapse and re-offending. These goals focus specifically on the reduction of risk. Ward and Stewart (2003) posited that providing offenders with the conditions necessary for meeting their needs in adaptive ways would lead to offenders being less likely to harm themselves or others. Another criticism of the RNR model is its failure to appreciate the importance of contextual factors. The RNR approach tends to treat offenders as isolated individuals who can be treated within themselves alone. This fails to recognise the social, environmental, cultural and personal context within which each offender has learnt to function (Ward & Gannon, 2006). Ward and Gannon suggest that in order for treatment to be successful it must enable the individual to return to their context in adaptive ways. The RNR approach has also been criticised for its lack of acknowledgement of the agency of offenders. This model tends to down-play the role that offenders' agency has in their life and offending as well as the role of contextual and relationship factors. Ward and Gannon argue that this leads to a generic style of treatment that fails to recognise the uniqueness of experience within offenders. They suggest addressing relationship variables and contextualising the offending as being key factors of effective treatment.

Ward et al. (1995) developed a descriptive model of sexual offending (the Ward-Louden model). The key benefit of this model was that, unlike the RPM, it used a bottom-up approach with the data obtained from the offenders being more important than theoretical processes. The Ward-

Louden model outlined two pathways to offending. One pathway to offending was relatively similar to that outlined in the RPM leading from negative affect, to covert planning, entitlement and negative evaluations post offence. The second pathway outlined led from positive affect, explicit planning, offence supportive cognitions and a post offence desire to commit further offences. This model was innovative in that it overcame some of the limitations of the RPM and opened the door to the possibility that there are offenders who feel positively about offending and may, for whatever reason, value it. The Ward-Louden model was more firmly grounded in that it recognised the agency of offenders and allowed for a variety of experiences.

Self-regulation Model

The self-regulation model (SRM) represented a meeting point between offence chain based descriptive modelling and theoretically driven treatment. Ward and colleagues (e.g., Ward et al. 1998) reformulated their offence pathways model using self-regulation theory. They suggested four pathways to offending: (a) avoidant-passive, which looks very similar to the RPM pathway; (b) avoidant-active, with active but often counter-productive attempts to avoid offending; (c) approach-automatic, in which offenders follow their own scripts unthinkingly and feel good post-offence and (d) approach-explicit, involving conscious, planned offending with positive post-offence affect. Bickley and Beech (2002) empirically validated the self-regulation model for child sexual offenders and found that offenders could be reliably classified into the model. The SRM has more recently been further validated by Webster (2005) for treated sexual offenders and Keeling, Rose and Beech (2006) for special needs sexual offenders.

The self-regulation model again broadened the scope of the values the offender could be driven by. It did not however, make any explicit mention of the clusters of values that underpinned each of the four pathways. This model was grounded in a much greater analysis of offenders' goals and motivations and was a considerable step forward in terms of understanding their world view.

Values, Cognition and Cognitive Distortion in Sexual Offending

Previous chapters have highlighted some of the gaps in the literature around child sex offenders. One of the things that has recently been the subject of much discussion and challenge is the definition of cognitive distortions in the study of child sex offending. Recent studies have attempted to define cognitive distortions in terms of their function. Traditionally, cognitive distortions have been described as any statement provided by the offender subsequent to the offence that justifies, minimises or in any way reinforces their offending (Abel et al, 1984). Others (Vanhoeche & Vertommen, 1999) highlighted the irrational nature of cognitive distortions and attributed these to a lack of adequate rational thinking on the part of offenders. Subsequent research has developed clearer and more specific definitions and typologies of cognitive distortion. However, the core assumption has remained that child sex offenders have irrational and impaired cognitive processes.

Recent work by Ward and colleagues (Ward & Keenan, 1999; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Ward et al., 2006) has highlighted the problems with this assumption: first that this removes agency from the offender; second that there is no empirical basis for assuming that offenders are incapable of rational thinking. Moreover, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that offenders behave in a goal oriented and motivated manner and are capable of achieving their ends (Bickley & Beech, 2002; Yates & Kingston, 2006). In other words, arguably it is not so much that the cognitive processing of offenders is distorted, but that their underlying values and goals are maladaptive.

Another area that has been under-researched is the role of values and affect in the offending process. The study of sex offending has focussed almost exclusively on understanding offenders' cognitions. The models that study the influence of affect have focussed on proximal moods such as the presence or absence of negative affect prior to the offending (e.g., Finkelhor, 1984). Marshall and Barbaree (1990) developed a theory of sex offenders that included proximal as well as distal

factors and included affect as one of several different types of factors. However, the role of affect was the least developed aspect of Marshall and Barbaree's model and only focussed on the effects of negative affect. Ward and Siegert's pathways model (2002) expanded this to include the presence of positive affect prior to and as a result of offending. In developing the JMCD, Ward et al. (2006) suggested that values and beliefs play a pivotal role in motivating and maintaining offending. They argued that: (a) beliefs and values and actions interact in dynamic ways to give rise to cognitive distortions or offence-supportive statements; (b) values have been under-represented in the conceptualisation of child sex offenders' offending process; and (c) understanding the role of values within the practical reasoning of sexual offenders was key to understanding the psychological states leading up to, during and after the offending. While the theoretical framework developed by Ward et al. is compelling, there is a need for further empirical research to investigate the nature and scope of the role values play in the offence process.

The purpose of the current study is to create a set of conceptual maps of offenders' cognition and offence processing. Specifically, the aim is to understand the offenders' world view in terms of their beliefs, values, processes of reasoning and social context. This builds on existing literature which acknowledges the role that goals play in creating and maintaining cognitive distortions. It also builds on the arguments made by extended mind theorists by seeking information not just contained within the offender's head. It is argued that understanding the values of offenders will complement and round out the empirical and theoretical work that is being done on goal-directed judgements. This study also seeks to develop a fine-grained application of the JMCD in an empirical context.

CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY RATIONALE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Previous chapters have highlighted some of the gaps in the literature around child sex offenders. The purpose of the current chapter is to systematically outline the reasoning that led to the construction of the current research project. To begin with, the salient points that have arisen from a review of existing literature on sexual offending are reviewed. This then leads logically to constructing the parameters set for the current study. The selection of the method, sample and general analytical process are then outlined. Then, based on the outlined literature, a set of research questions are formulated and presented. The chapter closes with an overview of the contributions this research is expected to have for the area of sexual offending generally.

Theoretical underpinning

As outlined in previous chapters, there has been a growing awareness of the need to address the role of values and affect within the offence process of sex offenders. Recent innovations in the field such as the presentation of the Judgement Model of Cognitive Distortions (JMCD) (Ward et al., 2006) have highlighted this need. While a great deal of work has been done on the role of cognition and cognitive distortions in the sex offenders' offence chains, little has been done to understand the nature of values within them. In the JMCD, Ward et al, make a compelling argument in order to include the study of beliefs, values and actions as well as their interaction with each other. Ward and Casey (2010) in turn have extended the scope of cognition itself by arguing that processes of cognition can extend beyond the mind. By drawing attention to the links that cognitive processes form between the mind, the body and the social context, Ward and Casey (2010) have provided new avenues for research and greater scope theoretical and practical advances on the subject of sex offenders' decision making.

While there have been significant theoretical innovations and advances made in the understanding of sex offenders' cognition, there is a lack of empirical research examining and

evaluating these theories. There is therefore, still a need to empirically validate the presence and role of values within the context of offenders' cognition and decision-making.

The current study aims to examine the role of values in the decision-making processes engaged in by child sexual offenders. In the first instance, the study seeks to describe the cognitive processes and decision-making that child sex offenders engage in with a view to understanding the relationship between their values, beliefs, and offence related actions. To the extent that this study describes and illustrates the role of values and beliefs in offence related actions, it acts as what has been termed a level III theory (Ward & Hudson, 1998) and seeks to unpack the JMCD. However, the primary purpose of the study is to locate the role of values within the offence process. It aims to expand our current understanding of values and examine the manner in which they affect the decision-making and cognition of sex offenders. In doing so, the study functions as a level II theory that illustrates the role of a single factor involved in a process phenomenon. The results of study aim to provide a descriptive analysis of the offence process with an emphasis towards understanding the role of values therein.

Methodology

Most of the research that has been in done in the field of psychology as a discipline, and more specifically in criminal psychology, has used quantitative methods. Lately researchers have utilised qualitative methodologies to develop and strengthen psychology theory at the micro-level. The judicious use of qualitative methodology has been useful in addressing theoretical and empirical gaps in the extant research on sexual offending (e.g., Ward et al., 1995). Since the purpose of this research is to create a conceptual map of offenders' decision-making throughout the offence process, it was deemed important to preserve the immediacy of the data. It was expected that the greater scope the offenders were provided to describe and reflect on their offending themselves, the

richer the information gathered would be. It is for these reasons that a qualitative approach was taken to collection of data and analysis.

The aim of this research is to understand the offenders' own world view, with the intention of examining their processes of reasoning and decision-making. It was therefore necessary to gather in-depth information about the offenders' thoughts, feeling and belief systems both prior to and after the offending. To make an empirical contribution to unpacking and developing the JMCD (Ward et al., 2006) it was necessary to explore the connections between values, beliefs and cognitions in the sample of offenders. In-depth interviews were chosen for this study because they give the widest range of information about the offenders' experience in their own words. The interviews were semi-structured to gain the best balance between covering all of the areas of interest to the research and allowing subjects to elaborate fully. The semi-structured format also allowed subjects to make their own connections between different areas of their experience, giving additional data on the connections between their values, beliefs and cognitions. Semi-structured interviews were preferred to other methods of gathering qualitative data, such as structured interviews or questionnaires, in order to reduce response bias as much as possible. The interview questions were open-ended and broad, with follow-up questions to clarify or elicit more specific responses.

One common criticism of using a small sample of in-depth interviews as data is that the results have limited generalisability. However, in-depth interviews provide a valuable *starting point* for analysis to develop a descriptive model and generate theory. The models and theories developed can then be subject to further testing using other methods to establish how far they can be generalised.

The research generated a data set comprising transcripts of the interviews which were subject to analysis. Grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) was chosen as the method of analysis in order to create a rigorous and bottom-up model of the offenders' world view. Grounded theory

is useful for this purpose as it follows a transparent process in which the coding decisions of the researcher can be followed at every step. This provides a process of qualitative analysis which is replicable and minimises experimenter bias. Grounded theory therefore avoids the common criticisms of qualitative analysis, that the process is overly subjective and mysterious.

Sample

The participants involved in the research were a sample of 27 male child sex offenders in the Kia Marama treatment unit in Christchurch, New Zealand. The offenders displayed a mix of intra-familial and extra-familial offending against children. The research focussed on child sex offenders in particular because previous research has demonstrated that the psychology of child sex offending differs significantly from that of sex offending against adults (see Ward & Keenan, 1999; Polaschek, Hudson, Ward & Siegert, 2001). The sample combines intra-familial and extra-familial offenders to understand common elements in sex offending against children. An added advantage of including both types of sex offenders in the study is that this provides a richer data set, one that is sufficiently broad to provide a more comprehensive understanding of values and their roles in offender decision making and abuse-related actions.

The sample was restricted to offenders who either, (a) had completed a treatment programme for sexual offenders during their incarceration, or (b) were at least part way through undergoing a treatment programme targeting their sexual offences. Offenders who had neither undergone nor were undergoing treatment were excluded from the sample. This was done on the basis that, (a) it was detrimental to the structure of the current research to include offenders who absolutely denied their offending, (b) it was important for the offenders involved to have some degree of acceptance of their offending and a manifest willingness to discuss it, and (c) it was expected that offenders who had undergone treatment would be more easily able to engage in a process of examining their own cognition; adding richness to their narrative. The research was

restricted to male offenders as emerging literature on female child sex offenders suggests that there are significant gender differences in the motivation and execution of offending (Murdoch, 2006).

Analytical tools

There were several methodologies to choose from within qualitative approaches. The three main analytic approaches that were strongest contenders for examining the data being gathered were: Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (IPA), Discursive Analysis and Grounded Theory (for a fuller discussion of each of these methods see Chapter Five). IPA is primarily concerned with the person's own interpretation of their experience and is considered to be almost entirely subjective. Discursive analysis is usually more concerned with the manner in which language is used to create different versions of reality and the various discursive worlds that people inhabit, than an objective or verifiable social construction of reality. Grounded theory takes a social constructivist position and therefore gives scope for the consideration of subjective experience as well as its interaction with objective reality. Grounded theory was particularly suited to the current research project since it used in-depth and precise processes for understanding and categorising the offenders' narrative. It also had the advantage of producing a data driven model of the offending that was both replicable and transparent. The emphasis on the agency of the offender was also preserved by the process of using their own narratives in order to create a conceptual map of their actions.

Research Questions

What role do values play in the cognitive processes of child sex offenders?

Traditionally, models of sex offending have focussed almost exclusively on cognition, ignoring the role played by values in motivating offending. Recently, Ward et al. (2006) have included the role of values in their JMCD framework, alongside beliefs and actions. However, to date there is no empirical literature examining the existence or function of values within the psychology of sexual offending. This research will test for the role suggested for values in the

JMCD as the primary motivating factors in goal-directed cognition. Further, the research seeks to understand the specific roles that values play within each offence process and to examine the connections and interactions between values, cognitions and actions.

What mechanisms do offenders use to account for their offending?

The post-hoc justifications that offenders give to minimise, excuse and explain the effects of their offending have been the object of several decades of research in forensic psychology. These justifications have generally been classified by type as excuses, minimisations, denials, and more recently as components of implicit theories (ITs). Work on justification as part of ITs differs from previous research in attributing a causal role to justifications during the offence process. This research will build on this work by examining the specific mechanisms of justification used by offenders and evaluating the function of these mechanisms in the offence process.

In what ways is the reasoning and decision-making of sex offenders irrational?

One of the core assumptions of a great deal of the research on child sex offenders is that the cognition of offenders is somehow impaired or flawed. Over the years, their cognition has been characterised as self-serving and deliberate or as unconscious, uncontrollable and instinctive. The main point of contention in the literature has been over whether offenders are being deliberately misleading in describing their offending, or whether their cognition is in fact abnormal. However, not a great deal of work has been done to examine exactly what failures in rational thinking are being committed by offenders in describing their offending. By asking whether and how offenders are thinking irrationally, this research will examine and unpack the phenomena of cognitive distortions. This research question includes the following sub-questions: (a) what kinds of cognitive heuristics do offenders employ that support their offending; (b) what errors of reasoning do offenders make in describing their offending; and (c) how do offenders respond to cognitions or information that are counter to their offending?

Summary

Reviewing the literature on the study of sexual offending has shown both the strengths and the weaknesses of current research and practice. Over the past two decades there have been significant achievements and innovations that have furthered the state of knowledge around sex offenders' motivations, cognition and action. The gaps identified in the literature have lead to the formulation of the research questions outlined above and the purpose of the current research is to add to the already existing body of knowledge on the subject. The following chapter outlines in detail the methodology employed in exploring the research questions. It also outlines the analytical tools used to evaluate and illustrate the data.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHOD AND ANALYSIS

The current research provides a model for understanding the role that values play in the offence process for child sex offenders. This research also seeks to examine the role of cognitive distortions and evaluate their functions in light of the Judgement Model of Cognitive Distortions (JMCD) (Ward et al., 2006). Previous chapters have focussed on the theoretical and experimental literature around the cognition of sex offenders and values. The current chapter outlines the methodology used in this study. The first part of this chapter focuses on the issues directly involved in the conduction of the study, namely: the sample, participants, materials and procedure. The latter half of this chapter focuses on the process of analysing the data collected using the grounded theory methodology. This chapter is then followed by a presentation of the results.

Method

Ethical Considerations

Prior to commencing the research it was necessary to consider and appropriately deal with ethical considerations pertaining to working with sex offenders. Working with sex offenders requires attention be paid to issues of safety, for the participants as well as the researcher, issues of confidentiality and issues of cultural appropriateness. In order to address these concerns, several steps were undertaken.

In order for the research to be approved by the School of Psychology an application was submitted for consideration to School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee (SOPHEC). Once SOPHEC indicated their satisfaction with the design of the research the research was proposed to the Department of Corrections. The Department of Corrections has its own rigorous process for evaluating the safety, appropriateness as well as value of research being conducted within their jurisdiction. Once the Department of Corrections had been satisfied on all concerns pertaining to

the research and their formal approval had been gained, the process of recruiting participants from within their treatment facilities commenced.

The research was introduced to the participants through a *Request for Participation* (Appendix A) that was circulated amongst them by their therapists. Prior to the research being conducted the researcher also addressed all the offenders during their morning tea-break. The address included a description of the research and a further request for participation. If any of the offenders had expressed an interest either through the written request or in response to the address they were invited to make a time with the researcher to discuss their participation. At this discussion each offender was provided with a detailed *Information Sheet* (Appendix B) that outlined the nature of the research and their rights, as well as addressing common questions and concerns. This information sheet was read by the offender and researcher together or read to the offender by the researcher if literacy was of concern. Once it had been established that the offender understood all the information outlined he was asked if they would like to be part of the research. If the offenders expressed agreement, formal consent was obtained by giving them the *Consent Form* (Appendix C). The consent form re-iterated their role and their rights with regards to confidentiality as well as withdrawal from the process. The consent form also included consent to examine the police records of the participant. No information about the participant was collected prior to informed consent being granted by them for the research.

Given the nature of the information being shared by the participants, it was important to take steps to protect their identity. The desire for their information to remain protected was a major concern shared by most of the participants in the research. Each participant was assured of anonymity within the research. The offenders were reassured that their names would not appear on anything other than the consent form and all personal information that could be linked back to them would be removed or changed in the final write-up. To this end several safeguards were put in

place: (a) audio recordings were only heard by the researcher and the supervisor and were destroyed at the completion of the research; (b) each offender was assigned a number and all information pertaining to them was coded by number; (c) demographic data and transcription files were stored in a locked cabinet and any data stored on a computer was password protected; (d) the signed consent forms were kept in a separate location to the data in a locked file cabinet; (e) the master list, which was the only document linking the participant's name to their numerical code, was kept in a password protected file on a secure computer separate from other documents on the same research; (f) whenever the participants are referred to within the thesis, they have been labelled alphabetically from A to Z, however the alphabetical order varies randomly from one chapter to the next to protect the identity of the offenders. In the final results chapter, which examined three case studies, pseudonyms were created to protect the participants.

In developing and interpreting the *Interview Schedule* (Appendix D), consideration was given to the diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds of the participants. A deliberate effort was made to ensure cultural safety. This included making sure that the researcher had training on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and that they had an adequate working knowledge of Kaupapa Maori. In addition to this a senior Maori researcher within the School of Psychology was identified as a contact and support person should any issues arise that the researcher did not have the knowledge or experience to deal with. Another measure that was taken to ensure that the interviews were appropriate for the participants included adapting language and vocabulary to that of the participants. The open-ended questions and the interview process allowed participants greater freedom through acknowledging their community of origin and allowing space for them to talk about how that affected their life, their offending and their response to their offending.

A final measure undertaken to increase the comfort and safety of the participants was the debrief process. At the end of an interview, the recorder was turned off. The participant was

provided with a *Debriefing Sheet* (Appendix E) that served as a guide for the debrief itself. The participant was thanked for their engagement in the process and offered the opportunity to share their experience of being part of the research. This ensured that all participants were fully aware of the purpose of the research and were able to provide feedback on both the research process as well as their own involvement with it.

Design

The study consisted of a single, semi-structured interview conducted by the principal researcher with each of the participants. Each participant was interviewed separately and the interview recorded for later transcription and analysis. The interview addressed the period in their life prior to the offence, the time leading up to the offence and what ensued following the offence. Each part of the interview left space for offenders to reflect on and narrate their experience of what had been going on for them during those times. Open-ended questions were asked, allowing the participant to narrate their experience in their own words. Closed questions were asked either to clarify something already said by the participant or to ask them to amplify or return to a previous point. Following up areas of interest or asking the offender to expand on a point he had previously made in passing often elicited detailed information on particular aspects of their offending. Care was taken to not ask the participants leading questions. The contents of the interview were transcribed verbatim by the researcher and grounded theory methodology was used to code and analyse their responses.

Eligibility

In order to be considered eligible for this study, each participant needed to meet three basic criteria. First, each offender needed to be under correctional control so as to provide access to prior criminal records and verifiable personal information. Second, the index offence for each offender had to be sexual abuse of a child. Offenders with any paraphilia other than paedophilia or a sexual

offence against an adult were excluded. However, child sex offenders with a history of non-sexual offending were included. Finally, it was required that the offender was not in total denial of their offending. All participants had to have admitted to having committed their index offence and were at various stages of treatment.

Participants

A total of 27 male, child sex offenders consented to participate in the outlined research. All participants were currently incarcerated for a sexual offence in New Zealand. All participants had been through the Kia Marama treatment programme for the treatment and rehabilitation of sexual molesters. Twenty-two of the participants were in residence at the Kia Marama treatment facility at the time of their interviews, four participants were at the Wellington Prison. Each participant's eligibility to participate in this study was judged by both their index offence and the recommendation of a Senior Psychologist or Prison Officer at each facility.

Materials

Each participant attended an interview with the principal researcher during which their narrative was obtained. All interviews were recorded on a digital audio recorder with the participants' knowledge and consent. On completion of the interviews, the corresponding digital audio file was downloaded directly from the recording device to transcribing software (Olympus) on a secure computer. These files were subsequently transferred onto a laboratory computer (PC) within the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington. An interview schedule was developed and used to ensure that all relevant information about the lives of the participants prior to, during and post-offence was collected and was used primarily as a guide. As such it was flexibly adapted to the content of each participant's narrative as it unfolded, negating, for instance, the need to ask questions where the answers had been volunteered within the narrative or a need for rigid adherence to a specific order of questions.

Procedure

Where possible, demographic information about the participant and offence related information was obtained from the prison files prior to the interview. As such the files acted as a reliability check of the participants' self reports. The prison files contained: demographic information, previous convictions, probate reports, reports made by psychologists, police summary of acts, notes relating to presiding judge's comments, medical reports etc. The interviews were conducted in a designated interview room at both facilities. Each interview room afforded the participant complete privacy and had a panic button installed (or similar) for the safety of the researcher. Neither facility was subject to remote camera surveillance.

Overall, the interviews covered the main areas of each participant's life prior to, during and after their offending. The length of the interviews varied across participants, ranging from 45 minutes to 3 hours. One interview was conducted in two sessions over the course of two days. The researcher checked in with the participant regularly during the course of each interview and breaks were provided as required. Most participants tended to prefer an unbroken interview with only five taking a break in the middle of their narrative.

Once the interviewer was satisfied that a complete picture of the participant's offence related information had been elicited, the interview was terminated. The process of termination included consent from the participant and they were given the opportunity to provide information that they felt the interview had failed to elicit as well as any concerns or questions that had been brought up during the interview that were causing the participant distress.

The audio files from the interviews were transcribed verbatim including information on pauses (of more than 10 seconds), laughter, and physical descriptions (e.g., signifying height of victim). Each transcript represents the raw data used for analysis in this study although it should be

noted that interviewer questions were not coded nor coded in the data analysis but merely provided the context for the participants' responses.

Upon transcription the interviews were divided into four sections: background variables, pre-offence variables, offence variables and post-offence variables. The background variable category included developmentally salient information, family relationships, trauma, abuse and community contexts. It also included information about education, peer association, substance abuse patterns, employment history, and relationship history and so on. The pre-offence category included factors relating proximally to the offence of interest and the post-offence category included factors or events relating to the period after the offence.

Analysis

Qualitative methodology

Qualitative methodology tends to be focussed around meaning rather than content. As such it is well suited to studying processes and reasoning underlying offending, rather than rates of prevalence and incidence. The strength of using qualitative methodology lies in the depth and richness of the data that is available for analysis. Since qualitative methods use words as data rather than numbers, they produce a more complex and detailed understanding of the phenomenon under study. In order to gather this data, in-depth interviews are usually conducted, meaning that the sample size is often small. This can lead to limited generalisability, which can be seen as a problem in using qualitative methodology. However, in the study of complex cognitive processes, qualitative methods can provide far greater information and scope for theory generation than traditional quantitative methods. The current research focuses on understanding the manner in which offenders structure and understand their offending. As such it is an exploration of offenders' cognitive and emotional processes through their own narrative. A number of methodologies are available to carry out an analysis of such data. However, since the current research comes from a

partially social constructivist approach that accepts that the offenders' reported narrative is situated within those available to him, three methodologies emerged as possible contenders for use, namely: discourse analysis, interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and grounded theory.

As with any methodology, it is important to understand the epistemological bases for qualitative methods. In considering transcripts of interviews conducted it is necessary to examine the assumptions made about what the transcript is representative of (Willig, 2008). These assumptions form the basis of the theoretical approach underpinning the methodology. The underlying assumptions about data have been termed the *status of the text* (Flick, 1998) and the status of the text determines the path taken in analysing the text. This is to say that all qualitative methodologies have either explicit or implicit epistemological values embedded within them. For instance, discursive methodology is predicated upon a social constructivist epistemological stance. This stance therefore determines the status of text to be a version of events created by the interviewee within the context of discursive frameworks available to her/him. Similarly, if one is approaching the text from a more empiricist standpoint, the status of text being an expression of the interviewee's psychological state, methodologies such as IPA and particular versions of grounded theory are appropriate analytical tools.

Discourse analysis can be understood within the broader scope of discursive psychology. Discursive psychology, in brief, is primarily interested in language as a means of social performance. This is to say that it focuses on an individual's use of language and its productive potential. The emphasis here is on speech acts (Austin, 1978), discursive practices etc. Two key methods have emerged out of discursive psychology: (a) discourse analysis, which concerns itself with how people use discursive resources people use in interpersonal relations and (b) Foucauldian discourse analysis that focuses on the kinds of discursive objects, subjects and ways of being are available to people.

Given that the focus of the current research is on interpersonal use of discursive resources, discourse analysis is more suited for further examination.

One of the main strengths of discourse analysis is the emphasis on *discursive actions*. Therefore a concept (e.g., prejudice) invoked by a participant is treated as something they do rather than something they have or are. Discursive psychologists analyse cognitive processes such as justification, categorisation etc. as ways in which participants manage their interests (Willig, 2008). In other words, the above are discursive practices engaged in by participants in order to navigate interpersonal situations. Discourse analysis therefore requires naturally occurring conversations to be the unit of study (Hepburn & Wiggins, 2005). The typical means of collecting data is by using tape-recordings of natural or commonly occurring conversations within their own context. Another approach that is sometimes used is holding a group discussion. This is done to simulate a natural conversation and reduce the tension and artificiality that can arguably occur in individual interview situations. Transcription in discursive analysis is detailed and includes pauses, inflections and the like in order to accurately understand the meaning of the language used.

A limitation of discourse analysis is the assumption that all discourse is driven by interest and stake. As Willig (2008) highlights, there is no explanation for why some individuals use discursive tools in particular ways and others do not. In other words, discursive analysis cannot account for why discursive objectives are followed. This is a significant problem because discourse analysis at once reifies and fails to theorise its most critical component (Willig, 2008). Another serious limitation of discursive analysis is its sole focus on the text as its source of knowledge. This fails to recognise that existing social, material structures enforce limitations on the discursive tools available to individuals. There is therefore a dangerous tendency in discourse analysis to ignore the wider social context in which a conversation is situated.

The phenomenological method used in psychology is derived from Husserl's (1931) formulation of transcendental phenomenology. Phenomenology is primarily interested in the phenomena that appear in our consciousness as we engage with our environment. Transcendental phenomenology as outlined by Husserl identified clear steps for coming to a phenomenon with fresh perception with a view to identifying the essence that makes it unique. The wide application of phenomenology within the realm of psychology is apparent in the volume of research conducted on phenomena that make up human experience (see Van Kaam, 1959; Giorgi 1975). Such research not only highlighted the diversity of human experience but also illustrated the reflexivity of the researcher within the process of researching a phenomenon.

In recent time empirical phenomenology has been distilled into two main forms: descriptive phenomenology and interpretive phenomenology. Descriptive phenomenology argues suggests that perception is merely infused with ideas and judgments (Van Manen, 1990). Therefore it is true to the original conception of transcendental phenomenology that states that phenomenological perception is bias and judgment free. Interpretive phenomenology does not make a distinction between description and interpretation. The argument in interpretive phenomenology is that no description is free of interpretation and that as such, the process of analysis requires a circular and ongoing process of reflexivity.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a specific form of interpretive phenomenology that accepts that the researcher does not have access to the world of the subject. In other words, IPA seeks to understand a participant's world view while maintaining reflexive analysis of their own world view as well as the nature of the interaction between them and the participant. IPA uses semi-structured interviews to gather its data. The interviews are entirely non-directive and primarily comprise open-ended questions. Follow up questions are asked solely for the purpose of elaboration. This means that the focus is on the participant's world view rather than accuracy and

no questions are asked to clarify the responses in the mind of the researcher. IPA also places a great deal of emphasis on the researcher's *initial encounter* with the text and encourages reflexive analysis.

IPA has come out of a rich and varied study of phenomenology in a philosophic context and is a clearly formulated methodology that allows researchers access to another person's world. The unified view of perception, where the world and individual are not seen as distinct entities allows for an interactional model of perception. The emphasis on reflexivity as well as treating the interpretations of the researcher as essential to the process of understanding (rather than biases that need to be eliminated) are considerable strengths. However, IPA also suffers from some significant limitations. Willig (2008) suggests that IPA is overly reliant on the representational nature of languages. This is to say that IPA assumes that the language used by participants is an accurate and complete representation of their experience. Language therefore becomes what is experienced, rather than what a participant is able to communicate about her/his experience. Another major criticism of IPA is its sole focus on perception. Arguably, there are aspects to knowing that are not limited to perception alone. That is, perception of a phenomenon does not shed light on its cause or origin and thus limits understanding of the phenomenon somewhat.

Grounded Theory was designed in order to aid theory generation (Willig, 2008). In its original form Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory represented a break away from traditional top-down methods for theory generation. It was developed in order to create a systematic method for researchers to move from data to theory such that the resultant theory was 'grounded' in the data itself rather than external categories provided by existing research.

Grounded theory is built around the identification of categories of meaning from the data. This means that a significant part of grounded theory methodology deals with the categorisation of the units of meaning in the data. Initially the labels are descriptive and as the levels of interaction and embeddedness increase, they can become more abstract and interpretive. In other words, the

categories that emerge from the first level of analysis are descriptive in nature while categories at higher levels are analytical and represent different levels of abstractness.

Categories are identified through a process of coding. Coding is defined as the analytical process of fracturing, conceptualising and theorising data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The early steps in coding are descriptive in nature. Phenomena are identified and labelled into appropriate codes. At this point there are a large number of open codes that are created and the purpose of these is to capture the diversity of the meaning of the data. Further on in the grounded theory process, coding begins to be more analytical, creating codes with semantically similar categories. During this process the researcher looks for negative cases and constantly compares the higher level categories against the original categories to ensure that no data are being lost. The next step is axial coding which involves the researcher drawing links between higher level categories and organising them into semantically and theoretically comprehensible categories. This process finally ends with the formation of a model of the data that is grounded in the data and accurately reflects it.

Grounded theory analysis rests on three key strategies: constant comparative analysis, theoretical sensitivity and theoretical coding. Constant comparative analysis is the process by which categories are clarified through constant comparison between categories as well as within categories. Therefore, there is ongoing validation of the stability and usefulness of the categories and this provides the opportunity to edit the categories to better reflect the data. Theoretical sensitivity refers to the process by which the researcher interacts with the data to make the transition from descriptive to analytical levels. Theoretical sensitivity on the part of the researcher requires a dialogue between the data and the researcher and involves the researcher going back through data analysis as well as potentially collecting more data. Theoretical coding refers to the process of data collection, analysis and coding that proceeds in a cyclical format. Ideally, the researcher conducts preliminary analysis on the first interviews with a view to refining both the questions asked of the

data as well as the process of analysis. This is then followed by a second round of data collection, coding and analysis until a point of theoretical saturation has been arrived at.

Grounded theory as presented by Glaser and Strauss (1967), was a 'bottom-up', data-driven method for theory generation and a process for new discovery. A conflict emerged between these authors, from which two versions of grounded theory were formed, one of discovery as proposed by Glaser, and the second of construction as prescribed by Strauss and later Strauss and Corbin (1998). Charmaz (2007) introduced the social constructionist version of grounded theory and argued that categories and resultant theories did not emerge from the data but were constructed by the researcher influencing the data with their theoretical, methodological and philosophical biases.

A major strength of grounded theory is that it is versatile and can be applied to a wide range of phenomena as well as forms of data. Because of its focus on process, grounded theory is best suited to examining phenomena where there is an interaction between an individual and their environment. Grounded theory can use semi-structured interviews, diaries, focus groups, participant observations and a wide range of texts as their unit of analysis. Another strength is the constant comparison that goes on during data collection and analysis. Unlike most other methodologies, grounded theory goes back and forth between collecting and analysing data. This provides a more dynamic as well as comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under question. However, grounded theory also suffers from some limitations. It has been suggested that a limitation of grounded theory is that it is descriptive rather than exploratory. This criticism is typically levelled at manual-based attempts at grounded theory analysis which, while producing systematic maps of concepts and categories do not further the cause of theory generation. A related concern that has been raised is that grounded theory provides the structure of an individual's experience rather than a theory of their experience (Willig, 2008). Another limitation of grounded

theory in some of its forms is its realist ontology. This has been addressed by other theorists (Charmaz, 2007) who have provided social constructivist approaches to grounded theory.

Reviewing the aforementioned three methodologies available for this study, it was evident that each has its own strengths and limitations. IPA was a clearly formulated method for gaining access to another individual's world view, and its emphasis on the reflexivity of the researcher was a significant contribution. However, it was limited in terms of the kinds of data that could be used. It was also ill-fitted for answering questions around the origins and causes of the phenomena under study. Discursive analysis provided an excellent framework for understanding the interaction between an individual and their environment. There was an increased emphasis on discursive actions rather than on inherent or essential characteristics that was a significant strength. The focus on level of comfort for participants and the effort to ensure that the conversation is as unforced as possible was also a strength. However, the need for naturally occurring conversations as the unit of analysis was a limitation of this method for the needs of the current study. Grounded theory provided the greatest scope for addressing the phenomena under study for a number of reasons: (a) it allowed the possibility of constructing broad research questions that were subject to review throughout the research process, (b) the process of engagement was reflexive and acknowledged the role and world view of the researcher without making that the subject of study, (c) social constructivist versions of grounded theory were open to and to a certain extent incorporated strengths of the other qualitative methodologies outlined, (d) it came from a robust epistemological and ontological position that simultaneously permitted material structures to exist while acknowledging the effects of human interaction with them and finally (e) there was an emphasis on understanding the processes used by individuals that encompassed their experience as well as their meta-narrative around their experience without privileging either.

The purpose of the current study is to examine the role of values in the offending of child sexual offenders. The study is based on the idea that to do so it is essential to understand the world-view inhabited by the offenders. It is also deemed to be important that the accounts of the offenders be as open and non-directive as possible. The underlying assumption of this study is that offenders' narrative provides insight into their cognitive and decision-making processes. The study comes from a social constructivist position that acknowledges that the reality inhabited by offenders is a product of their experiences and interaction with the world. This study also acknowledges that there are material and social structures that have a basis in reality distinct from the experience of the offenders. Therefore having examined the strengths and weaknesses of the methodologies available in conjunction with the epistemological basis of this research and its consequent research questions, it was readily apparent that grounded theory is best suited for the current study. An attempt was made to be aware of the limitations of the grounded theory methodology, most importantly its tendency to become merely descriptive rather than exploratory, and to critically examine both the methodology and the implementation of it.

Analytical Procedure

This research is primarily concerned with understanding the processes through which an offender makes sense of himself and his surroundings. The research process utilises the social constructivist grounded theory methodology as set out by Strauss and Corbin (1998). In the case of the present study it was important to have an intentional approach to the data and an acknowledgement of the researcher's own biases as well as existing literature. However, no attempt was made to curtail the narrative of the offenders or to restrict what they could talk about.

On completion of the first four interviews, and in line with Grounded Theory methodology, interviewing was temporarily halted to provide the opportunity for transcription and initial data analysis. This initial analysis was used to examine the content and process of the interview and to

ensure that the structure of the interview was allowing scope for varied information. A review of the research questions was conducted at this point as well as a review and update of the interview guide. Categories that emerged as important from the initial four interviews were included in the interview guide for further examination. For instance, the initial four interviews revealed a need for greater scope of questions around the offender's own comparison of their valued goals. This aspect was incorporated into the interviews that followed and improved the quality and comprehensiveness of the data obtained. Once it was ascertained that the research questions and interview process better reflected the preliminary data reviewed, further data collection was undertaken.

On completion of the remaining interviews, five interviews were picked at random by the principal investigator for the preliminary analysis. The first stage of analysis commenced with each transcript been broken down, line by line, into constituent meaning units. Each meaning unit had to be complete in and of itself while retaining the context within which it was elicited - that is, each meaning unit expressed a complete idea that made sense in the context of the study. In some cases a sentence broke down into two or more meaning units, and occasionally some meaning units spanned several sentences. The latter occurred when the meaning of the sentence also included descriptive contextual factors not germane to the relevant meaning of the sentence (e.g., detailed description of the offender's motorcycle). The entire transcript was used to ensure that the final categories were well grounded in the data. Each meaning unit was differentiated from the next by enclosing it in slash marks.

A fresh document was created for each transcript wherein the meaning units that emerged from the data were listed. Depending on the length of the transcript and the density of meaning contained in it there were between 100 and 500 meaning units found per interview. A new word document for each transcript was used in order to ensure that there was complete transparency with regard to the break-down of individual information that could be easily tracked through later stages

of analysis. During the initial stages of coding categories were organised into open codes. Open codes were descriptive in nature and had the minimal amount of abstractness possible. The next stages of axial coding involved greater abstraction. At this point open codes were organised into semantically similar categories. Categories were then nested within each other in to provide an analytically coherent framework that reflected the data.

To illustrate the process of open coding a sample extract from the interviews is included below. This part of the interview was about the offender relating his experience of initiating the first stage of his offending with his victim. In this case the offender had a number of things to express about the nature of his attraction as well as his prior sexual experiences. The offender's attraction was coded here as feeling inexplicable to him at the time. It was also coded that the offender found the feelings towards his victim strong and pleasurable. In the context of the surrounding text the researcher could infer that the offender's attraction to his victim took him by surprise in terms of his reactions to it. As per this indication, any further perceptual markers pertaining to sexual attraction and pleasure were coded similarly.

so what did you figure? Hmm, um, /what I, what I put it down to it is, was something in here (point to head) that I couldn't explain./ Then. Now I see it as, um, it's the emotional feeling to get through arousal. / So at that time I was like "whoa!"/ **I couldn't explain what was happening in a sense of this, this, these feelings. They were strong and pleasurable.** *Uh huh.*/ Um, and with that, having the, um, the shyness of being at high school too/... wanting to go up and ask a girl if she'd go out with me ra ra ra but yet shy. /So I had, timid... so I wouldn't say anything. Yeah so was sort of the adult.

The block of text included above is divided into meaning units by the use of a forward slash (/). The researcher's questions and comments are included in italics for ease of understanding the context of the offender's statements. However these questions do not form a part of the analysis at

any point. The meaning unit of interest is in bold. This extract demonstrates the process through which a meaning unit was picked out of the surrounding context.

In the next phase of analysis, axial coding, all open codes were clustered into primary clusters based on their semantic similarity. The labels were chosen to reflect the semantic content of the category. At this stage the labels used were descriptive rather than analytical, that is, a clear descriptive label was found while maintaining a low level of abstraction. Each open code was assigned to one or more category and new categories were created where codes did not fit an existing category. These codes were then related to each other and abstracted to a higher level where possible to create the model of the participants' experiences, perception, behaviours, beliefs, values and affective states. Often open codes that were clustered closely would become nested in a higher order category. For instance the category of 'violence' that was described as 'sexually violent attitudes' as well as 'rigidly masculine power' both nested under the category of 'misogynistic norms'.

The remaining interviews were then analysed using the same process outlined above. The preliminary model that emerged out of the first five transcripts was used as a guide for the continuing analysis. Wherever a category emerged that did not exist in the preliminary model, the model was expanded to accommodate the new category.

Each transcript was checked against the model in the search for new categories of meaning. Saturation was reached when no new codes emerged and all meaning units from the transcripts could be satisfactorily coded into the existing categories. A total of 27 interviews were coded for this research wherein each interview was transcribed, broken into its constituent meaning units, open coded and axially coded. Once it was apparent that the model satisfactorily accounted for all the codes that emerged from these transcripts, saturation was considered reached.

Once the model had been established to be sufficiently saturated and grounded in the data an independent researcher was asked to perform a reliability test. Since the bulk of the work at the

open coding stage had been done in conjunction with the primary supervisor of this research, and because the nature of the model that emerged needed confirmation that the higher order categories were well founded, it was decided that an independent researcher would be best utilised in testing this phase of the analysis. In order to do this, the independent researcher was familiarised with the model that emerged and the basic principles it rested on and then asked to code 6 randomly selected interviews (22% of the total sample) into the axial, high order categories. In terms of the model presented in Chapter Six, these high order categories are represented as relationship frames. After a brief training period in the methodology, the coding was completed by the independent researcher and compared to that of the primary researcher.

The overall level of agreement between coders for classification of relationship frames was found to be high (92%). The differences were a function of the relative weight each researcher gave to particular parts of the transcript rather than to a difference in the meaning of the statement. Taking into consideration the porosity of the final categories found, these differences could be easily be reconciled as being two equally appropriate interpretations of the content of the transcripts.

Case study methodology

Case studies have a long and varied history. They have been used by theorists in many fields and used to study widely different subjects: from the effects of various phenomena such as depression (Benazzi, 1999), politics (e.g., Niesser, 1981), and child abuse (Orbach & Lamb, 1999); to meta-theoretical examinations of the case study itself (e.g., Loftus & Guyer, 2002). The case study is not a research method *per se*, but rather is seen as an approach to a single case and can use different research methods and analysis (Willig, 2008). A case is defined as a self-contained organic occurrence and can be an event, an individual, a group or an experience or a situation (Bromley, 1986; Willig, 2008). Willig identifies some key elements found in case studies: an *idiographic* perspective – where the researcher is concerned with the particular rather than the general; attention

to *contextual* data; *triangulation*; a *temporal* element; and a concern with *theory*. Case studies can be distinguished into different kinds: intrinsic versus instrumental case studies; single versus multiple case studies; and descriptive versus explanatory case studies. Intrinsic case studies are those where the case is chosen purely for its own merit whereas instrumental case studies are where the case is chosen because of the manner in which it illustrates wider phenomena. Therefore in an intrinsic case the research would choose the case that is of most independent interest. In an instrumental case the research question identifies the phenomena under study and then the researcher picks the cases in order to explore it within particular contexts.

Case studies can be single or multiple. The single case study design is best suited to verifying an existing, robust theory or illustrating a unique case of a phenomenon. Yin (2002) argued that a single case study can be revelatory, unique or constitute a critical test to a theory. Therefore the single case study is used to illustrate, reveal or verify. On the other hand the multiple case study design allows the researcher to generate new theories. In this case multiple cases are used to explore the phenomenon under study and formulate a theory. Multiple case studies are therefore instrumental in nature rather than intrinsically interesting. Examining various cases in turn allows the theory to evolve and is often seen as a process of analytic induction (Willig, 2008).

Case studies can also be described as descriptive or explanatory. Descriptive case studies exclusively describe the phenomenon under study with no reference to wider theoretical concerns. Explanatory case studies seek to generate explanations for the phenomena being studied through examination of the particular case.

Another distinction that has been made in describing case studies is whether they are naturalistic or pragmatic (Chamberlain, Camic, & Yardley, 2004). Naturalistic case studies are carried out in the real world context and are typically a single case study. In this case there are no

hypotheses or expectations. The pragmatic case studies are more theoretically focused and seek to examine particular phenomena in relation to specific (if tentative and flexible) hypotheses.

In the current study case studies were used primarily as descriptive tools. The purpose of the case study therefore was to illustrate the phenomena under study. Case studies were chosen to illustrate each of the categories of offenders that emerged from the analysis. Applying the model developed in the process of analysis to the case studies chosen allows a more fine-grained consideration of the dynamics and connections between aspects of the model than is possible with an abstract presentation of the results. Use of the case studies therefore serves to refine the description of the model as well as to give examples of how the model can be applied in practice.

Analytical procedure

The primary purpose of the case studies in this research was to clarify and illustrate the typical pathways followed by offenders in the course of their offending. The cases to be used for the case-studies analysis were chosen once the grounded theory analysis of the interviewed had been completed.

The first step in identifying which case studies to use was ascertaining what phenomena needed to be clarified or illustrated. The results of the grounded theory analysis were used as a tool, forming the theoretical basis for the presentation of specific cases within a case study format. The grounded theory analysis identified four particular pathways within the sample that needed to be outlined and compared against each other. Therefore a case study was completed that illustrated each one of those specific paths.

The first step in the process of presenting four case studies was identifying which cases were most typical. One typical example of each pathway was selected from the interviews and that interview formed the basis for the case study presented. Each of the interviews was thoroughly examined and all information that could be used to identify the participants was systematically

removed. In cases where it was deemed important to have personally identifiable information for illustrating a particular aspect of the case, a similar signifier replaced the actual content of the interview. For example, if an offender stated that precision was a value held dear and it was part of his work as a typographer that he pay close attention to detail; the term ‘typographer’ was removed and replaced by another job that required a similar level of attention to detail (e.g., draftsman).

Once the case-studies were selected and all identifying information had been reviewed and dealt with as required, each of the cases was examined in terms of the theoretical literature and the results of the grounded theory analysis. The results and literature formed the basis of both the content covered in the presentation of the case-studies as well as the format in which they were presented. An important point to note is that while the theory, as well as the results, were used to select and locate the place of case-studies within the research, the case-studies were nonetheless a complete and coherent unit within themselves.

Conclusions

The previous chapters have brought together research from various fields within psychology and outside psychological literature with a view to grounding the current research. The means through which the research questions posed by the research could be answered was a main concern for this chapter. This chapter therefore outlined the methods used to collect and analyse data. The following chapters present the results of the research undertaken, and discuss them in the light of existing research.

CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS - SEXUAL OFFENDERS' RELATIONSHIP FRAMES

In the literature to date, the term cognitive distortion has been used to refer to various underlying phenomena such as false beliefs, illogical thinking, impression management strategies, and maladaptive goals. Some limitations of the research have been the almost exclusive attention being paid to cognition, the lack of recognition of agency of the offender, and the assumption of disingenuousness on the part of offender. The Judgement Model of Cognitive Distortions (JMCD) has expanded the understanding of cognitive distortions by explicitly including values as part of the reasoning process. The current research was guided by the JMCD and examined the interaction between cognition, values, goal-setting and action. What clearly emerged from the analysis of the data was that offenders differed primarily in the manner in which they framed their relationship to their victim(s). The model that emerged, referred to as the *Sex Offender Relationship Frames Model* (SORF), is presented in this chapter.

The use of Grounded Theory allowed the themes to emerge from the data organically. A significant part of what emerged from the data analysed were the value-laden statements made by offenders about their offending. Using Grounded Theory enabled these value-laden statements to be examined in a systematic manner, rather than discarding them as just distortions of the data. This approach is consistent with the JMCD emphasis on the agency of the offender. Where the JMCD utilises values and beliefs as important components of judgements made during offending, the SORF model gives primacy to the values held by offenders in describing and accounting for their offending. The themes in the data were most conceptually clear when viewed in terms of the relationships between the offenders and their victims. Each of these themes was termed a *Relationship Frame* and all relationship frames together form the basis for the model presented. The presentation of the data in relationship frames makes it possible to illustrate the relationships between values and cognition and allows us to explain different pathways to offending based on

value-laden actions. This means that the links between core values held by the offender, their cognitions (beliefs, attitudes etc.), their goal setting, and the consequent actions undertaken by the offender can be viewed as an integrated process.

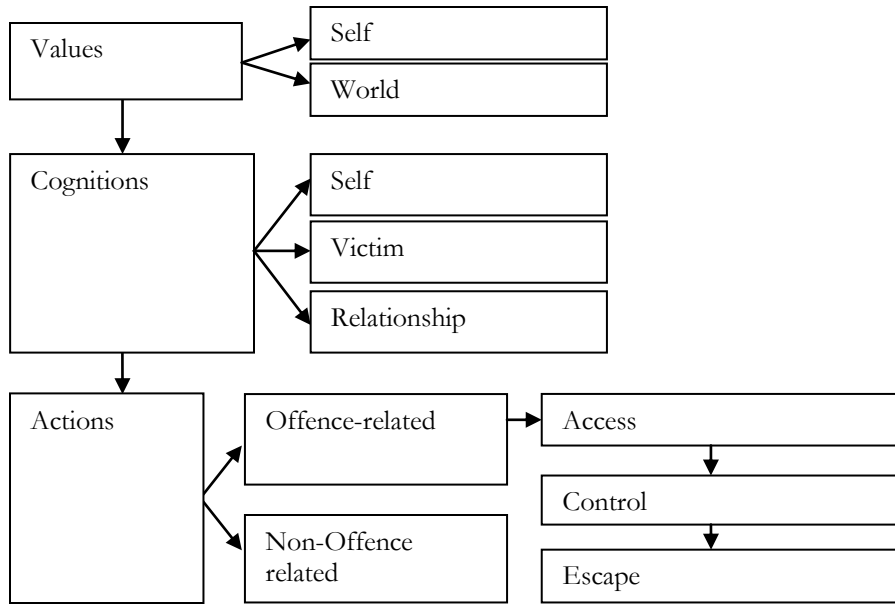


Figure 6.1: Elements of Sex Offender Relationship Frames (SORF)

Figure 6.1 outlines the internal dynamics of each relationship frame. It also forms the structure for the presentation of the results in this chapter. The primary phenomenon in each frame is the cluster of values held by the offender, pertaining to themselves and the world around them. The values emphasised by the offenders can be inappropriate in themselves, or inappropriately applied in their lives. The existence of these values, however, signals what offenders think is good or bad, what they believe would be worth pursuing, and what they see as important for their quality of life. The values held by the offenders inform their cognition with regard to themselves, their victims and the relationships between them. These cognitions are often a way of operationalising their values into their day to day life. The cognitions include the beliefs, attitudes and preferences of the offender, and are typically congruent with at least some of their core values. This part of the model allows us to see how cognitive distortions displayed by sex offenders arise from values being

inappropriately applied in their relationships. The final part of the model deals with the ways in which offenders put their values and beliefs into action. Patterns of offence-related behaviours are described in terms of action complexes, which are divided into offence-related and non-offence related behaviours. The non-offence related behaviours are those that the offender employs as a global tactic across different domains of his life whereas the offence-related actions are restricted to the actions undertaken by the offender for the preparation or commission of his offending. The argument here is that offenders' values and cognition can be translated into both pro-offence as well as pro-social actions. The presence of global tactics also signifies the extent to which the offenders' values are consistently applied across domains. The offence-related actions are further examined in terms of the methods through which the offenders gain access to their victims, gain compliance from their victims during offending, and seek to escape the detection or consequences of their offending. This provides a snapshot of their offence chain and links it to their underlying values and beliefs.

The analysis of the interviews indicated that there were clusters of values that appeared to be central to the commission of the offence. It was further noticed that the values clustered around the nature of the relationship each offender sought to create with his victim. Given the importance of the narrative provided by the offender, it was decided that the results be presented in a way that best reflected the way in which the offenders themselves framed their relationships with their victim. Four main relationship frames emerged from the data: *Master – Slave*, *Teacher – Student*, *Caregiver – Child*, and *Lover – Partner*. Each of these relationships is recognised as being socially unacceptable when including sexual contact between the adult and the child. This is to say all the relationships described in the model are inappropriate within their social context. The social inappropriateness of these relationships suggests that they are driven by the offenders' desires and goals. As such the

relationship frames act as a marker of these desires and shed light on the kinds of narratives created by different offenders in order to justify the relationships between them and their victims.

The titles of the frames give a general picture of the kinds of relationships between the offenders and their victims. The *Master – Slave* relationship is one where the offender (Master) has absolute power over the victim (whom he treats as his Slave) and expects a high level of control over his or her behaviour. Offenders in this frame usually emphasise their own freedom while negating the rights of their victim. The *Teacher – Student* relationship is characterised by the offender seeing himself in the role of skilled benefactor (Teacher) and the victim as a willing and eager recipient of knowledge (Student). These offenders usually placed undue emphasis on their own expertise and described their victims as receptacles for the said expertise. In the *Caregiver – Child* relationship the offenders create a hierarchical relationship where they have authority over their victim (Child) as a result of the victim being practically or emotionally dependent on the offender (Caregiver). Offenders in this frame emphasised their nurturing qualities and described their victims as needing their support to blossom. The *Lover – Partner* relationship is one where the offender (Lover) uses co-operative structures to create a seemingly equal relationship between themselves and their victim (Partner) and expect victims to take equal responsibility for everything that happens in the relationship. These offenders emphasised their emotional bond with the victim and saw this bond as being mutually desired.

Each of these four frames is characterised by a set of core values that the offenders use to inform their cognition as well as actions. These values relate to what the offender thinks of as worthy and good. These values give rise to various ways of thinking about themselves, others, and their relationships. Accordingly, these cognitions can be categorised in terms of self-perception, victim-perception and relational-perception. The sets of value-laden cognitions inform specific actions and strategies that offenders use to meet their goals.

The relationship frames can be seen as being on different points on a number of continua. The first continuum runs from *coercion to consent*. This continuum relates to the degree to which offenders like to present themselves to the victim and the interviewer in terms of their coerciveness. It is worthwhile to note that given the nature of the offence, a degree of coercion is inevitable within each relationship frame. What this continuum highlights is the offenders' own perception of the extent of consent within their relationships. While the offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frames place little to no emphasis on perceived consent and indeed seemed to revel in the lack of consent on the part of the victim, offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame emphasise their perception of a consensual and mutually desired relationship between themselves and their victim. The relationship frames in the model are arranged from most coercive to least coercive with the offenders' roles moving from Master, Teacher, and Caregiver to Lover.

A related continuum visible between the frames is from *authoritarian to cooperative* use of power by the offender towards their victims. Once again, this is a reflection of how the offenders see the balance of power as well its nature within their relationships with their victims. Authoritarian use of power is defined as those cases in which there is a clearly defined hierarchy within the relationship. There is evidence that the needs and desires of one member in the relationship are more important than those of the other member. It also usually assumes a level of subservience on the part of the person who has less power. The co-operative use of power is typified by a less clear hierarchy. In this case there is an effort to have less of a dichotomy between the members involved in the relationship in terms of the amount of power they hold over each other. The Master – Slave frame is typified by offenders who used power in authoritarian ways to gain compliance from their victims. They expected absolute power and total compliance and treated any deviations from this as an affront worthy of punishment. The Teacher – Student frame comprised offenders who relied more on the authoritarian power than the Caregiver – Child

offender but less than the Master – Slave offenders. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship had clearly defined roles that gave them automatic power over their victims whereas offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame had less inherent authority. The Lover – Partner frame was made up of offenders who shied away from the use of authoritarian power and used co-operative structures to engage and gain compliance from their victims. These offenders, even more so than those of the Caregiver – Child relationship frame, relied on mutual dependence and affection as a means to power.

Another continuum evident in the data relates to the degree to which offenders from different relationship frames justified their abuse in terms of *socially adaptive relationships*. Given that each of the relationships created was inappropriate, this sheds some light on the manner in which the offenders constructed their own offending. It also illustrated the importance of relationship frames in terms of the limitations they create for explaining or justifying the offending. Offenders from the Master – Slave relationship were quite invested in maintaining their view of their own mastery, and therefore made no effort to justify their offending in terms of its social acceptability. These offenders were, at least in part, motivated towards offending by the absence of it being socially acceptable. Offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship also made little effort to justify the social acceptability of their relationships. These offenders showed recognition of the norms governing consensual relationships, and an awareness that by seeking sex with a child they were transgressing these norms. Offenders from the Teacher – Student as well as those from the Caregiver – Child relationship frames tried much harder to justify their offending by appealing to the existence of supportive, non-abusive relationships that are possible in their roles. Offenders in both the relationship frames emphasised the pro-social goals they were achieving with their relationships in order to excuse their offending. Overall, the rationalisations and justifications provided by offenders in different roles reflected their views of the social adaptability of the relationships they

were creating: those in the Master – Slave and Lover – Partner relationship frames focussed on their grievances against the world and their sense of lack in justifying their entitlement to offend; whereas those in the Teacher – Student and Caregiver – Child relationship frames emphasised their pro-social influences, the beneficial effects of their relationships and their appropriateness for their roles.

Collapsing together the role of coercion and authoritarian use of power provides a conceptually clear image of the similarities and differences evident between different relationship frames (see Figure 6.2). Each relationship frame is located in a unique space, dependent on the level of authoritarian coercion and social adaptability of the relationship.

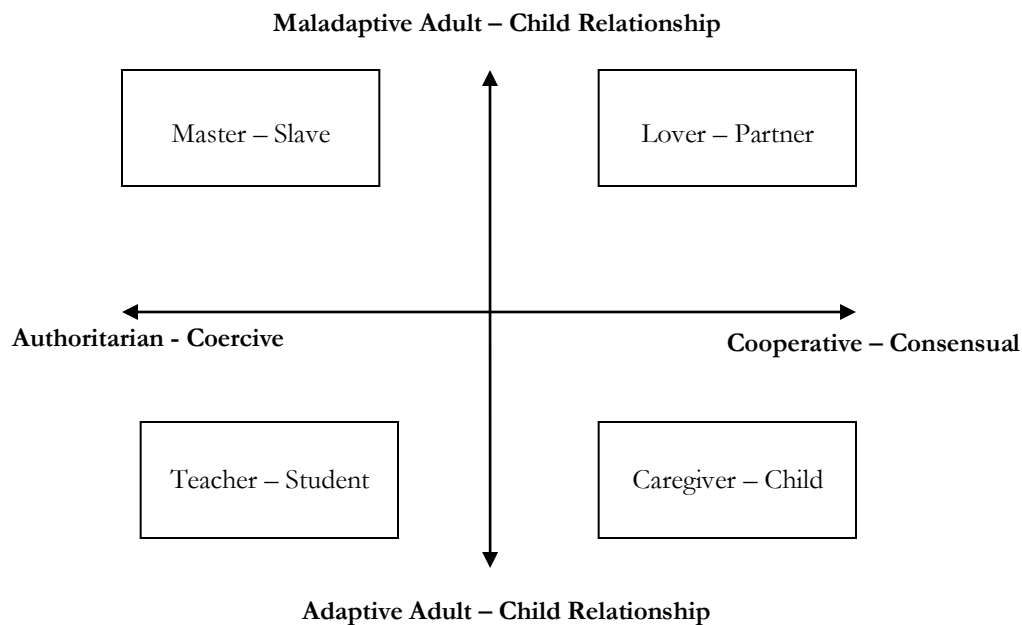


Figure 6.2: Continua of relationships between the frames.

Both the Master – Slave relationship frame and the Lover – Partner relationship frame fall in the quadrant of socially maladaptive relationships. They are similar, in that neither of them gives the offenders any perceived moral high-ground from which to justify their offending. This is evident in the manner in which offenders from both these frames justify the offending, and in the ways in which they attempt to avert detection. However, these relationships do differ significantly in the ways in which they use power over their victims. The Master – Slave relationship falls in the

quadrant of coercive, authoritarian use of power and these offenders clearly intend to dominate their victim. The Lover – Partner relationship, however, lends itself to offenders using co-operative power to create an illusion of consent. Similarly, two relationships fall within the quadrants of “socially acceptable” relationships: Teacher – Student relationship and Caregiver – Child relationship. The similarities between these two relationships are evident in the manner in which the offenders talk about their offending and the mechanisms they use to justify as well as conceal it. In spite of this overlap, these relationships are significantly different in terms of the use and balance of power. The Teacher – Student relationship frame affords the offender considerable structural power and creates a natural hierarchy between the offender and the victim. This is in contrast to the Caregiver – Child relationship frame where the offender relies much more on co-operative power and emotional attachment to gain compliance.

Every offender in the sample fitted within at least one of the relationship frames. While most offenders fitted one relationship frame throughout the process of their offending, there were some who shifted from one frame to another over time. For example, an offender may have started out with values, cognitions and actions consistent with the Teacher – Student frame but later in their offending shifted to being more congruent with the Lover – Partner relationship frame. It is important to note that when there was a shift from one relationship frame to another it was possible to track this shift in the offender’s narrative. The movement from one frame to another was clearly accompanied by a change in the way that offenders talked about themselves, their victims as well as their relationships. The shift was also evident in what the offender chose to emphasise in terms of what was good or worthwhile about his offending. The boundaries between the relationship frames are thus seen to be porous rather than fluid, and while offenders might shift from one frame to another, the boundaries between the frames are stable. The movement between frames does not

occur at random and a change in values at a particular point in time will lead to a corresponding shift in the type of cognition and action displayed.

The following sections of this chapter outline the results in more detail. First, each relationship frame is described in turn with the structure presented in Figure 1 as guide. Each relationship frame is then described in detail, and the values, cognitions and actions pertaining to the relationship frame explored. Each section includes consideration of the key elements that link offenders within a frame (intra-frame link) as well as elements that overlap with other frames (inter-frame links). The nature of the movement between frames is described and attention paid to the types of offenders who shift from one frame to another, and the circumstances under which this happens. The chapter concludes by giving a brief overview of key results.

Master – Slave Relationship Frame

The Master – Slave relationship is one where the offender has absolute power over the victim and expects a high level of control over their behaviour (see Figure 6.3).

Six offenders from the present sample fitted this relationship frame. All of the offenders who fitted this frame were in paid employment at the time of the offending. None of them were self employed or worked in a well paid position. Most of them described being dissatisfied with their work and life environment. Half of them were in long-term, monogamous relationships and all of them were unhappy with their relationship status. All of the offenders in this category described feelings of powerlessness and shame around their work and relationships. Offenders in this frame emphasised their own freedom while negating the rights of their victim. Victims were typically post-pubescent and included both males and females. The degree of contact with the victim prior to the offence varied, with two of the offenders having offended against deliberately cultivated acquaintances and the remaining four offenders choosing victims based on chance encounters.

Values

Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame were characterised by three main values: *Desire for domination*, *Hedonism* and *Novelty-Seeking*. Each of these central values was associated with a group of subsidiary values.

A desire for domination was associated with a general respect for authority, particularly patriarchal authority figures. These offenders displayed a desire to maintain traditional gender roles in their relationships, exhibiting dominant male behaviour. These offenders also showed a desire for autonomy, and to be answerable to no-one else for their decisions and actions. This desire to avoid being dominated themselves led offenders in this frame to seek dominance over others. Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame were at once defiant of any authority that claims power over them while being invested in having similar kinds of power over others in their life. One offender in this relationship frame summed up his sense of control by saying:

Oh it was wonderful before. Total... domination. I mean they did exactly what they were told. I was very, ah a very strict parent. But there was no favouritism; the four of them were treated as equals.

Another offender emphasised the sense of ownership that he felt over his victim, and illustrated the manner in which he objectified her, by saying:

But, I was also aware that this is my... my daughter. Not just a daughter, it is my daughter. And [laugh] everyone else stay away, you know. This is my property. And I'll treat it any way I like.

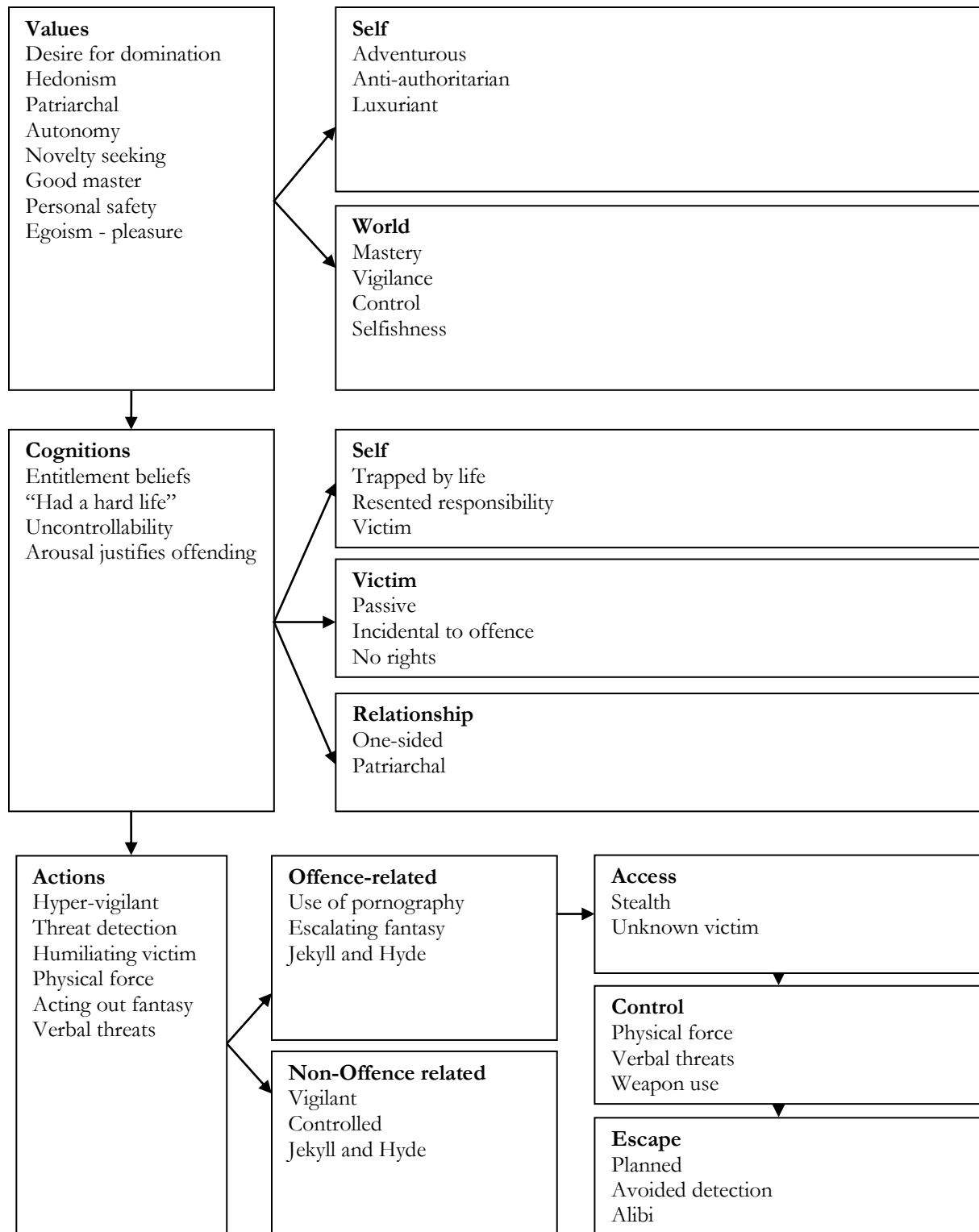


Figure 6.3: Master – Slave relationship frame

Offenders in the Master – Slave frame were hedonistic. They sought pleasure in an egotistical and selfish manner, showing little concern for the effects on others. These offenders set a high value on their own pleasure, both in sexual terms and in other facets of their lives. Offenders in this relationship frame had a driving need to seek out and attain pleasure for themselves. One of these offenders described their values by saying:

Everything was about pleasure and satisfaction... it was all about me. How I was going to be satisfied. It pretty much always was (about sexual needs). Something I really enjoyed right from the beginning so... I guess I became, it was like a drug for me.

The offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame tended toward the luxurious and the abundant, often spending large amounts of money on themselves. Offenders in this relationship frame valued pleasure for its own sake, and believed that in seeking to fulfil their desires they could do no harm. As such, they justified their acting on their desires by saying that if they desired it, it must be right. Offenders in this relationship frame tended to show little insight into the desires and needs of their victims but were highly attuned to their own.

These offenders actively sought out novelty. Novelty seeking was associated with looking for things that pushed their boundaries and those of others around them in all spheres of their life.

Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame placed a high emphasis on strength and experience and strove to reveal their prowess to others. They enjoyed taking part in dangerous and unusual activities and often value novelty above their actual enjoyment of these activities. A number of those who fitted this relationship frame stated that they got a “rush” from doing socially unacceptable things. These offenders also often sought out sporting and leisure activities involving an adrenaline rush. They consequently enjoyed and valued new sexual experiences and playing out fantasies for their own sake. Several offenders in this relationship frame had a pattern of escalating

sexual fantasies that they met either through pornography or with their existing partners. For instance one revealed:

It's like Jekyll and Hyde... fulfilling a form of goodies here for myself and yet going home and I guess being a parent type of thing... and that would fill the gratification part up here (points to head) (C).

Overall, these offenders valued having mastery over themselves and their circumstances and used more and more extreme measures to establish as well as exercise this mastery.

Cognitions

The main cognitions under this category were of *entitlement* and *uncontrollability*. Offenders from the Master – Slave relationship frame had a global grudge against the world and endorsed and acted on the belief that the world owed them payment of some kind. These offenders saw themselves as victims of fate. They believed they were good people who had been given a raw deal in life and were doing their best to make do. One explained his motivation to offend by citing revenge against his then partner:

She came and told me that my partner wanted nothing to do with me. Well I thought was... I just used it as an excuse to offend actually. To get back at my sister- in-law. And my girlfriend at the time. Cause I was like, yeah. So what I did to my niece (A).

They were usually resentful of any responsibility placed on them and believed that life owed them more than they currently possessed. Offenders in this relationship frame often related being unhappy with social and familial obligations. They also saw themselves as deserving rewards for complying with basic familial responsibilities.

Offenders fitting the Master – Slave frame perceived their victims as valueless. These offenders tended to ignore the victims desires and needs unless these somehow impact directly upon the offenders own desires. Often they treated the victim as having no rights and as being more or

less incidental to the offence. These offenders struggled to come up with reasons for picking one particular victim over another and tended to focus almost exclusively on themselves when describing their offending. One offender described their feelings during their offending by saying:

I remember thinking have.. I don't have to do this. Then I told myself that I deserve this. I spent so many hours fantasising about it... so it was like I'd invested a lot of time and so I owed it to myself because I put all that effort into it and here I had a the opportunity to do it. And then I was thinking well I don't even find her attractive so what's the point. And then it was like, it was like because this is your chance. If you don't do it now you'll regret it and things like that.

Offenders in this relationship frame often described the victim as being unattractive or 'not the right type'. Some stated clearly that the attractiveness of the victim was entirely irrelevant to their choice. Ease of availability of the victim appeared to be more important to the offender than particular victim characteristics. Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame were most likely to need the victim to comply with their imagined offence. For instance, one offender stated that he found the victim to be too compliant and that this interfered with his fantasy of the offence. He also said that he'd have enjoyed it more if there had been more of a fight or a struggle and that that had been a part of his fantasy. One said categorically: "The majority of my fantasies involve the victim resisting. And being afraid and... in my fantasies there's a lot of interactions with the person whereas with her (victim), she was just like a doll" (O).

In this frame the relationship to the victim tended to be authoritarian. The offender believed that he has absolute power over the victim and could direct them in any way he chose. There was no illusion of mutuality of desire, and offenders often reported feeling disappointed if the victim did not resist in the way they wanted them to. The relationship was based on humiliating the victim and illustrating the offenders' mastery over them.

Actions

Offenders in this relationship frame reported spending a great deal of time thinking about and planning their offending. These offenders often actively sought out media that allowed them to view and flesh out their offending either through watching pornography or guided fantasy. They also described a number of activities that made it possible for them to become desensitised to pain. They often sought out more and more extreme behaviours to satisfy their urge to be seen as powerful.

Non-offence related action strategies

Offenders who fitted the Master – Slave frame shared some strategies that followed from their values and cognitions. Offenders in this frame were hyper-vigilant, and always on guard for a possible threat in the environment. This vigilance was applied both to physical dangers as well as emotional threats. These offenders responded to physical threats by retaliating in kind, and emotional threats by retreating behind a façade of invulnerable masculinity. One of them disclosed the disconnect within himself saying

I was... always appeared to have everything under control... but that was that presenting.

Underneath I was really paranoid. So the outside I might have looked busy and stable but I was just crazy really. Not crazy, but (O).

Offenders from the Master – Slave relationship frame typically played out traditional gender roles. In their intimate relationships, these offenders had total financial control, as well as controlling their partners' social and work-related activities. Offenders in this frame reported masturbating to fantasies of power and control and using fantasy as a retreat from the world. They also tended to isolate themselves from their living and work environment and often reported feeling like they had a “split personality” (C). Offenders in this relationship frame described feeling powerless in some domains of their life (usually work) and seeking to balance this by achieving

power in other domains of social functioning. They were, in general, more social than offenders in other frames, and had a reasonable network of people around them, even though they were socially paranoid.

Offence-related action strategies:

Access. Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame reported using stealth and planning to gain access to their victims. These offenders spent time thinking about how they would like to offend, and against whom, and then actively sought out their victims. Offenders occasionally offended against unknown victims, but the bulk of the offences involved victims that the offender was, at least superficially, acquainted with.

Now my victim actually ended up being a boarder in my house. She had nowhere to go, and ah, neighbour next door, know there were a lot of young people around my place. So she asked if she could move in (G).

In these cases the offenders used this superficial knowledge of their victim (such as where the victim lived) to gain access to them. They also reported using threats and coercion to gain access and compliance from the victim. Several offenders in this relationship frame clearly stated to their victim that there would be adverse consequences if the victim were to try and resist or report them. These offenders also tended to be prepared for the offence and often carried supplies and weapons. Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame were thus always on the lookout for a potential victim or a situation that would make it possible for them to offend.

Control. Once the offender gained access to the victim, they continued to use violence and threats of violence to gain the compliance of their victim. Offenders in this relationship frame reported using a weapon (usually a knife) to control the victim. For example, one reported

I had a balaclava that's turned down for a hat, pulled that down and, go behind her and... grab her. Hand over her mouth, and yanked her into the toilets. I kept my hands over her mouth (I).

Offenders threatened their victim with bodily as well as social harm and used intimidation to gain compliance. These offenders isolated and frightened their victims and put them in vulnerable positions where the victim had no option other than to comply with the instructions of the offender. The offenders continued to use coercive and aggressive tactics to gain the compliance of the victim and punished any lack of compliance. Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame demanded the performance of all their commands, and made the consequences of non-compliance reasonably high, and often brutal.

Escape. Offenders in the Master – Slave frame usually planned their escape route carefully. They usually took pains to ensure that the offending would not be detected, while also using threats to ensure the silence of the victim - both during and following the offence. They counted on the fear of the victim keeping them from telling anyone, and also threatened their victim with consequences in the event that they should report the offending.

These offenders took care to eliminate incriminating evidence. Often they keep the victim unaware of the location at which the offence took place or did not give them a great deal of personal information. Some of these offenders reported wiping down surfaces and burning evidence in an attempt to avoid detection. One stated that “like I hid the knife I had used to... I hid her clothes I think and like. So I had always been thinking about covering my tracks (P). These offenders usually had a justification/alibi worked out in advance and let the victim know the reasons why no one would believe them.

Intra and inter-frame links

Intra-frame links

Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame liked to think of themselves as slaves to none. These offenders valued their own pleasure irrespective of the cost to other people, enjoyed pushing the boundaries of their experiences, and were intensely focussed on themselves. Offenders in this relationship placed great emphasis on their own agency and resented any demands that were made on them, whether by individuals or society. These offenders would go to great lengths to ensure their own autonomy was protected. Regardless of their actual responsibilities and obligations, offenders in this frame expressed feeling unfairly burdened by obligation. As a result, offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame believed themselves to be the persecuted ones in society, and saw anything they did as a form of payback, or evening the score. These offenders believed that anything that gave them pleasure was intrinsically good, and that their needs and desires did not need to be justified to others. The Master – Slave relationship frame was one that is socially unacceptable, both as a relationship and in its coercive use of power. The offenders in this frame tended to focus on their entitlement rather justifying their offending. These offenders saw the victim as being almost irrelevant to the offending and did not give the same value to the autonomy and agency of the victim that they gave their own. As such, these offenders tend to treat their victims with little or no consideration, and focused on their own needs and desires being met through offending.

Inter-frame links

Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame overlapped with offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame in the manner in which they used power over their victims. The offenders from both these categories made use of authoritarian styles of power and demanded a high level of obedience from their victims. Both sets of offenders had similar values around their

entitlement to the compliance of their victims and saw themselves as being answerable to no one but themselves. While this made the offenders in the Master – Slave and Teacher – Student relationship frames similar in some of the ways in which they thought about and treated their victims, there were significant differences. Where the offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame derived pleasure from the unwilling compliance of their victim, those in the Teacher – Student saw that compliance as willingly given. While both sets of offenders had an extremely good opinion of themselves, the foundations for both were quite different. The Master – Slave offenders had a very fragile self-esteem and their desire to dominate seemed to come from their experience of powerlessness in their life. The Teacher – Student offenders on the other hand appeared to have reasonably stable self-esteem that was based on the value they place on their education and experience, and were therefore much less focussed on domination in the way the Master – Slave offenders were. There was also some overlap between the Master – Slave relationship frame and the Lover – Partner relationship frame in terms of the social acceptability of the relationship. Offenders in both of these relationship frames were aware of the inappropriateness of the relationship they were creating with their victim, and tended to justify their offending through other means. Again, there were significant differences between these relationship frames. Offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame tended to use their values of autonomy and beliefs around entitlement to justify their offending while offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame tended to use their values of partnership and beliefs around mutuality.

Teacher – Student Relationship Frame

The Teacher – Student relationship frame is characterised by the offender seeing himself in the role of skilled benefactor and the victim as being a willing and eager recipient of their expertise (see Figure 6.4).

There were five offenders who fitted the values of this relationship frame. All of these offenders were employed at the time of their offending. They all also possessed good support networks. Two of the offenders described themselves as being preferentially attracted to young people while the remaining stated that they were not. Only one of these offenders was in an age-appropriate relationship at the time of the index offence. However, all of the offenders in this frame reported having been in a significant, long-term, age-appropriate relationship at an earlier point in their lives. Most of these offenders described feeling secure in their own esteem. These offenders usually placed undue emphasis on their own expertise and described their victims as receptacles for the said expertise. The victims in this category were predominantly male, with four male victims and one female victim. The victims ranged in age from eight to thirteen years at the beginning of the offence, with the majority of the victims being post-pubescent. Three of the victims were known to the offender from social or educational activities that they were engaged in, while two were more distant acquaintances.

Values

Offenders in the Teacher – Student frame valued their ability to pass on knowledge. They saw themselves as offering their expertise to willing students. These offenders valued their own knowledge as well as the intellectual curiosity of their victims. They valued knowledge and experience greatly, both in themselves, as well as in others around them. The main clusters of values under this category centred on *benevolence*, *worthiness of knowledge* and being a *good role model*.

The value cluster of *benevolence* included values of generosity, intuitiveness and nurturing. Offenders saw themselves as generous to others, often going above and beyond the call of duty to help out. In their relationships with others, they saw themselves as always being there when others need them and as giving of their time, money and energy

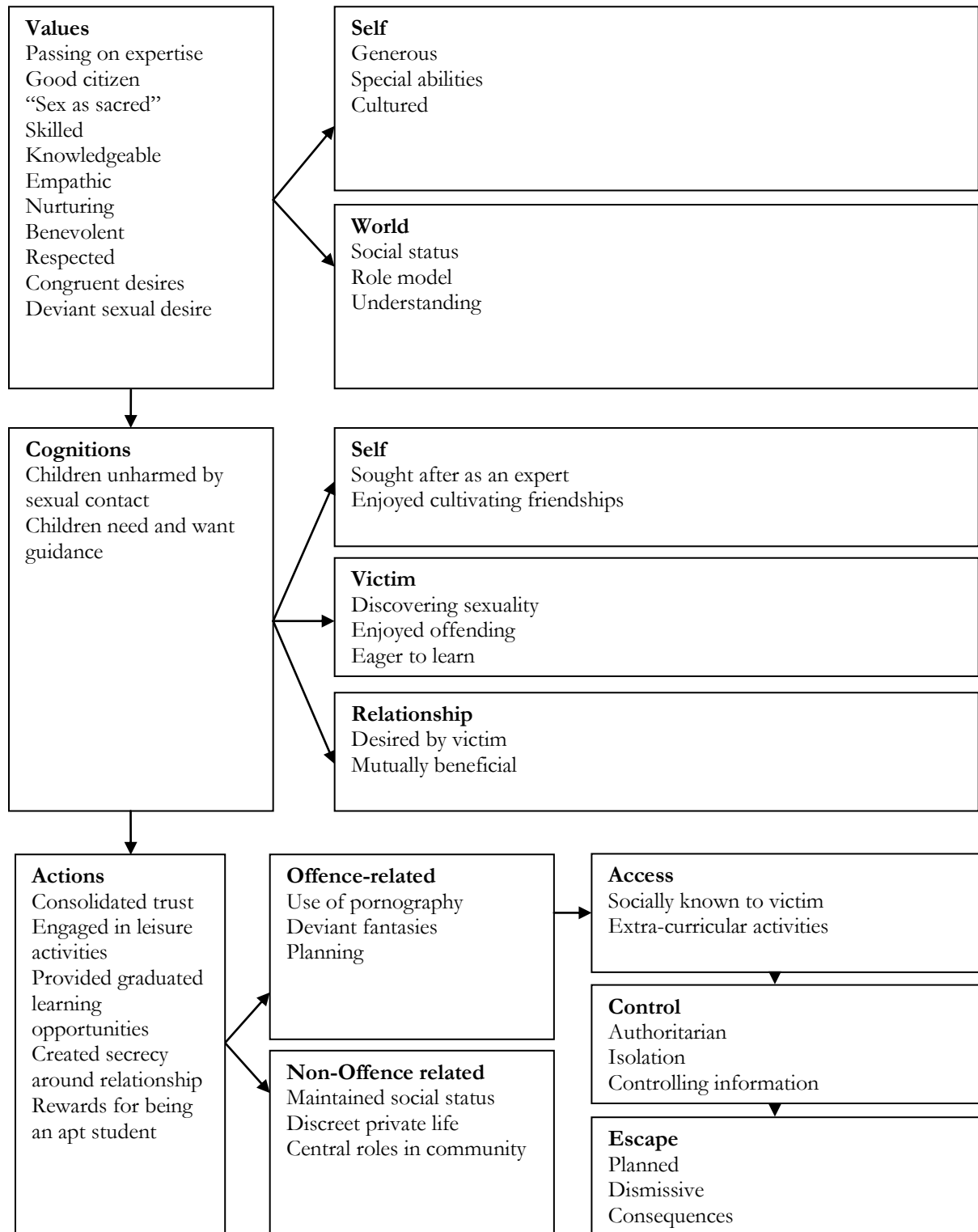


Figure 6.4: Teacher – Student Relationship Frame

One offender in the Teacher – Student frame described himself in the following words:

Very loving person. Help anybody out. If you're my neighbour and you're stuck for something, yeah, I just went away did it straight away... didn't ask for payment or anything like that. As long as you were happy, you know... the main thing (L).

These offenders felt that they had a special ability to connect with people and intuitively know what they needed. They believed that they had a genuine understanding of people and were able to share their insights in a supportive manner. One offender reported his pride in this ability to engage and educate others saying:

I'd been approached to become a scout leader, which I'd agreed to. It kept me in touch with where my boys were... it gave me time to spend with my own boys... and I could pick out boys who wanted a bit of guidance, mentoring. (J).

Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame saw themselves as nurturing, valuing what they saw as their capacity to encourage and inspire others to develop themselves and their abilities. There was a great deal of emphasis placed on their own ability to provide a necessary support that would otherwise be lacking in the lives of their victims.

Offenders in this frame placed a high worth on their knowledge and skills. This cluster of values included the importance of education, widespread life experience and appreciation of high culture. In evaluating their own worth and that of others, these offenders placed a strong emphasis on level of education and expertise. Many saw themselves as being ahead of their time and their environment, possessing unique knowledge and recognising social phenomena that others around them are blind to. For instance one described themselves in the following way:

I feel that I am a pedagogue, a teacher. And you know I believe that maybe we have yet to recognise sex as not being the horrible thing that it is suggested to be (M).

They saw broad life experience as important, seeking to widen the horizons of themselves and others through travel and recreational activities. They valued social status and saw themselves as highly cultured individuals, with an appreciation of arts and literature. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame therefore placed a great deal of importance on being intellectually sharp and socially adaptive.

The value these offenders placed on being a good role model included values associated with self-actualisation and their social status within the community. Offenders in this frame tended to have high self esteem. They valued being in control of their life, and being able to meet all of their own material needs. As an example, one member of this frame stated that his independence and life situation was part of his identity and said:

I got into a routine, like work and stuff, set up a company... I'm my own boss you know so I don't have a problem (L).

These offenders valued being self-aware, and placed a high emphasis on being true to themselves. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame often emphasised having integrity in their work and personal lives. They also considered it important to be honest about their needs and desires and to act on them, irrespective of whether society considered them acceptable or not. Offenders considered that these personal attributes made them good role models and valued the respect that this brought them in the community. For instance, one offender reported that he was a most respected member of the community, “through parents as well as children” (I). These Offenders valued being socially skilled, and able to communicate their ideas to different people effectively. They valued being in the role of ‘translator’, helping other people communicate their needs and ideas clearly. They valued being looked up to and being considered a worthwhile, contributing member of the community. As such, they thought it was important to have a strong work ethic, valuing responsibility and honesty in terms of employment.

Cognitions

Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame believe themselves to be *experts* in their field. They felt that they had considerable knowledge and experience of the world. They also felt that they had a duty to share their knowledge and to educate people around them and open their minds to new experiences. These offenders had a desire to pass on their expertise and saw themselves as being altruistic in their motivation to teach. Offenders in this relationship frame genuinely believe that they were doing a good thing in exposing their victims to new ideas around sex and sexuality. They also believed that children, being more honest than adults, would be curious and interested in learning new things. One of these offenders said about his victims, “If you don’t know something and someone offers you a chance to learn, most kids would say yes, not turn it down (L)”.

Offenders in this frame enjoyed cultivating friendships and making new friends. These offenders enjoyed companionship and had a range of interests. They saw themselves as sought-after experts and as self-made individuals who were well read and educated. These offenders often had wide-spread experience and skills that they offered to the community. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame prided themselves on their ability to make a life for themselves. They enjoyed their work and their leisure, and had a great deal invested in being socially acceptable.

Offenders believed their victims to be independent autonomous beings. These offenders saw their victims as being intelligent and interested human beings who were learning to think for themselves. They also enjoyed being able to direct their victims in their thoughts. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame argued that children were unharmed by sexual contact and desired guidance. These offenders saw themselves as doing no harm to their victims, and probably doing a world of good to them by expanding the scope of their experiences. One offender put it in the following way:

I guess the big one that hung around my neck was, I'm, I'm helping her. I'm educating her. I'm giving her the real experiences without hurting her physically or mentally. And that when she comes to have a boyfriend and sexual experience, she'll know all about this and she'll know what to expect and she'll know, know how to handle it (R).

Offenders in this relationship frame also believed that their victims were in need to direction and guidance as to what path to take in their life. Victims were believed to be inexperienced and confused or ignorant of their own sexuality. Offenders saw their role as one of awakening their victims. Victims were seen as discovering their sexuality and exploring their desires through the offending. These offenders believed that their victims were eager to learn, and willing to be initiated into sex.

Offenders saw their relationship with their victims as a respectful one. They believed that their bond was based on complementary desires: the offender's desire to teach and pass on their expertise and the victim's desire to learn and experiment. The offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship desired a relationship wherein the victim was a willing recipient. In one of the cases the victim was described as finding “affection from me delightful” (M) . Offenders in this frame said they were insightful enough to know when the victim was unwilling, and that they would never force their attentions on anyone who was not interested. One offenders described this saying:

Because if a body isn't comfortable it will tense... And I do know that from experience. I do know the male anatomy, you know, I'm a penis connoisseur (L).

Another stated that he found his victim easier because, “he didn't have any inhibitions. We could strike up a conversation about anything” (J). Those who fitted this relationship frame also felt that the lack of social acceptability around the offending created an unfair pressure on the victim and their relationship with the offender, and that they had to work hard to overcome this pressure. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame found that they had to work harder to

educate the victim because of the social taboos around adult-child relationships. They also believed that society does children a disservice in refusing to recognise the sexuality of young persons (M). In their relationship with their victims, the offenders saw themselves as correcting this error. One offender described what he was doing as the best thing for his victims, saying:

I thought they'd learn something from it, you know.... How to be human. Y'know it's the way of life... I always thought it was about time they learnt it. May as well. Y'know when is a good time to start? (I)

The offenders in this relationship frame saw the relationship between the offender and the victim as consensual and loving. Offenders recognised that their relationships were not socially acceptable and attributed this to society being uncultured or rejecting of their desires.

Actions

Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame had a number of patterns of behaviour that focused on creating a relationship of authority and obedience with their victims. These offenders spent a great deal of their time planning activities that made offending possible. These offenders were likely to use pornography as a source of arousal and often had the most marked attraction to young people. Offenders in this relationship frame described a number of behaviours aimed at bolstering their belief that they were educating the victim and were adept at creating situations where their victims had very little choice.

Non-offence related action strategies

Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame used their positions of authority, and expert knowledge, to maintain a presence in the community. For one of the offenders this meant being “involved in a thing called the Kids Club (I)”. Others described being engaged in outdoor activities such as tramping clubs, with one instance where the offender was in charge of a cross-country running team (J). Offenders in this frame tended to be socially active, and got into central

social roles in order to keep abreast with news, and have access to information about people. These offenders also engaged in extra-curricular activities that brought them into contact with people, and often had a wide network of acquaintances. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame tended to keep a clear distinction between their personal and public personae and kept their private life more or less invisible.

Offence-related action strategies:

Access. Offenders in this frame use their roles in the community to gain access to potential victims. Often the offenders were in social roles that made it possible and even appropriate to be in contact with young people, and the offenders used this position to pick out their victims. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame were usually reasonably friendly with their victims prior to offending against them, and stood in positions of trust with the victim. The offenders had easy access to a number of potential victims and tended to use extra-curricular or leisure activities to single out their victim. One offender in this relationship frame described it thus:

The parents trusted me... I used to pick out a few kids and help them out... no cameras, no other doors except for the way out and I offended against the children in ther. Pot luck, whatever I wanted. It was like smorgasbord I called it. Had children when I wanted. And essentially, I was getting away with it 'cause, see all these parents just thought I was an innocent little person (I).

Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame used graded learning opportunities to ascertain the willingness of the victim to engage with the offending. Offenders in this frame often selected their victims meticulously based on personality characteristics, level of support available to victim, and ease of offending. These offenders built relationships relatively slowly, and spent considerable time building trust. There was a reasonably long period of time spent on getting to know the victim and ascertaining their boundaries prior to commencing offending. In one instance,

this meant spending over three months deliberately establishing a daily routine that was able to be escalated into offending (J). These offenders were also vigilant for signs of distress from the victim and escalated the offending very slowly. .

Control. Offenders used their authority to ensure secrecy and compliance. These offenders used graded leisure activities to initiate and maintain offending, and the victim's response was closely monitored. They also isolated the victim from their peers, often by marking them out as 'special', and discouraged discussing their relationship with anyone else. The offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame kept the balance of power within the relationship firmly with themselves, and only give the 'student' such information as supported the continuation of the offending. One offender stated categorically that

I never threatened them. And I knew that, well, they weren't gonna tell anyway. I just believed in myself that they wouldn't tell. 'Cause I was doing nothing wrong, y'know (L).

They thus created a sense of their own expertise that precluded the victim from raising questions or objections to the offending. On the occasions that either of these arise, the offenders in this frame dismissed the concerns as coming from ignorance, and re-asserted their own authority. For instance, one member explained to a victim that society frowned upon their relationship.

If, I understand if you hear that what we are doing is wrong. We can talk and you can decide for yourself how you feel (M).

Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame thus used their power over their victim to control how much and with which other people the victim interacted. Since the offending itself was clandestine and compliance on the part of the victim was rewarded; the threat of expose was minimal.

Escape. Offenders in the Teacher – Student frame were very keenly aware of the consequences that would follow if the offending were detected. As a result these offenders took

great pains to maintain control over their victims. They created an atmosphere of secrecy around the offending and continually reminded their victim of the importance of keeping their relationship secret. In order to ensure the silence of the victim, the offenders used a number of strategies ranging from controlling to pleading. In a particularly interesting instance, an offender reported that he:

told him that I was entirely in his power. If we get caught I'll get in trouble, but no one will blame you. So if you think that what we're doing wrong, you just say so (M).

A number of offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame made their victims doubt their abilities to convince anyone else of their experience. In other words, the offenders told them that no one else would believe them if they talked about the offending. One offender said to his victim that "... if people found out. There'd be a lot of disbelief" (J). Some of these offenders also manipulated the victims by bribing them to silence and using their role as a teacher/authority figure to allow them special privileges. These offenders also threatened their victims with negative consequences such as shame and notoriety that would result from the victim reporting the offending.

Intra and inter-frame links

Intra-frame links

The offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame placed a great deal of value on their expertise. A great deal of their evaluation of the world had to do with the recognition of their structural power as well as individual abilities. They emphasised the experience and skills that they possessed, and saw them as being foundation stones for the rest of their interactions. Consequently, offenders who fitted the Teacher – Student relationship frame believed themselves to be gifted and their victim to be an eager student. These offenders saw the desire for knowledge as being the driver in the relationship between them and their victims. The victims were seen as subordinate to

the offender who liked to think of himself as having the power of both knowledge and experience. The Teacher – Student relationship frame relied on the presence of this structural inequality (of knowledge and experience) between the offender and the victim. Offenders in this relationship frame made use of authoritarian power in a coercive manner to have their needs met. Given that the offenders in this relationship believed themselves to be more skilled and able to make accurate judgements, it is unsurprising that most of the activities undertaken were driven by the offenders and followed by their victims. There was no pretence of equality between the offender and the victim, though there was definitely an attempt to create a supportive/dependent relationship that precluded the victim talking about the offending. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship recognised the social unacceptability of the relationship they were creating but they believed that they knew better, or were better informed. These offenders were usually aware and dismissive of the social codes that govern behaviour and fully cognizant of breaking them.

Inter-frame links

Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame shared their desire for authoritarian control over their victims with offenders from the Master – Slave relationship frame. Offenders from both these relationship frames placed a great deal of value on having complete autonomy themselves while not seeing their victims as sharing that need. However, the offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame differed from those in the Master – Slave frame in that they did not overtly desire the subjugation of their victims, merely their obedience. Additionally, these offenders perceived the compliance of the victim as recognition of the offender's superior knowledge and experience, whereas those from the Master – Slave relationship frame saw it as a function of fear. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame placed emphasis on their expertise, and had reasonably good self-esteem and social standing. This was in contrast to offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame, who reported lacking social status and feeling

unworthy around their peers. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame fell in the same bisection of the continuum as the Caregiver – Child offenders in their appeals to socially adaptive norms. Both sets of offenders sought to justify their offending by making reference to the existence of non-offensive relationships which bore similarity to the ones they were seeking to create. In the case of both sets of offenders, they introduced evidence of socially sanctioned relationships within their own history, as well as within wider society. However, there were some significant differences between the offenders who fitted the Teacher – Student relationship frame and those that fitted the Caregiver – Child relationship frame. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame valued obedience much more than those in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame. Those in the Teacher – Student relationship frame also relied much more on the presence of structural inequalities between the offender and the victim whereas the Caregiver – Child offenders sought to minimise these differences by bringing themselves down to the level of the victim. The bond between the offender and victim in the Teacher – Student frame was much more based on an imbalance of power than in the Caregiver – Child frame where the bond seemed to be deliberately created through emotional dependence.

Caregiver – Child Relationship Frame

In the Caregiver – Child relationship the offenders create a hierarchical relationship where they have authority over their victim as a result of the victim being practically or emotionally dependent on the offender (see Figure 6.5).

Seven offenders met the criteria for this relationship frame. Only half of the offenders in this relationship frame were employed at the time of the offending. The remaining offenders were either beneficiaries or unemployed. Five of the offenders in this relationship frame were in age appropriate relationships but only one of them reported a long-term stable relationship at the time of the index offence. Many offenders in this relationship frame reported feelings of alienation and

loneliness. They also described their lives as empty of meaning, and expressed a desire to ‘do good’ in the world. Offenders in this frame emphasised their nurturing qualities and described their victims as needing their love and support to blossom. These offenders placed a great deal of emphasis on their ability to create a stimulating and safe environment for their victims. Four of the victims were acquaintances that were deliberately initiated by the offender based on a chance encounter, while three of the victims were known to the offender through connection to the family. Victims ranged from nine to fourteen years, with three girls and four boys.

Values

Offenders in this category saw themselves as being good caregivers to their victims. They saw their main role in the relationship as being the person who protects the victim and encourages them to express themselves. Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame saw themselves as being good at creating a respectful relationship that included an understanding of the rights and the responsibilities involved. The main clusters of values under this category were around *having good boundaries*, being *nurturing* and *facilitating* development.

Offenders valued having clear roles within the caregiver – child relationship and emphasised the need for clear boundaries. To offenders in the caregiver-child relationship frame, this means having a commonly agreed set of rules that governed the behaviour of the child. These offenders valued obedience from their victims. To these offenders, obedience was not merely a fulfilment of orders, but was linked with an outward show of respect for the care that they were providing for the child. They did not value obedience for its own sake, but used obedience as a marker for the respect that they felt was due to them in return for being a good caregiver to their victim.

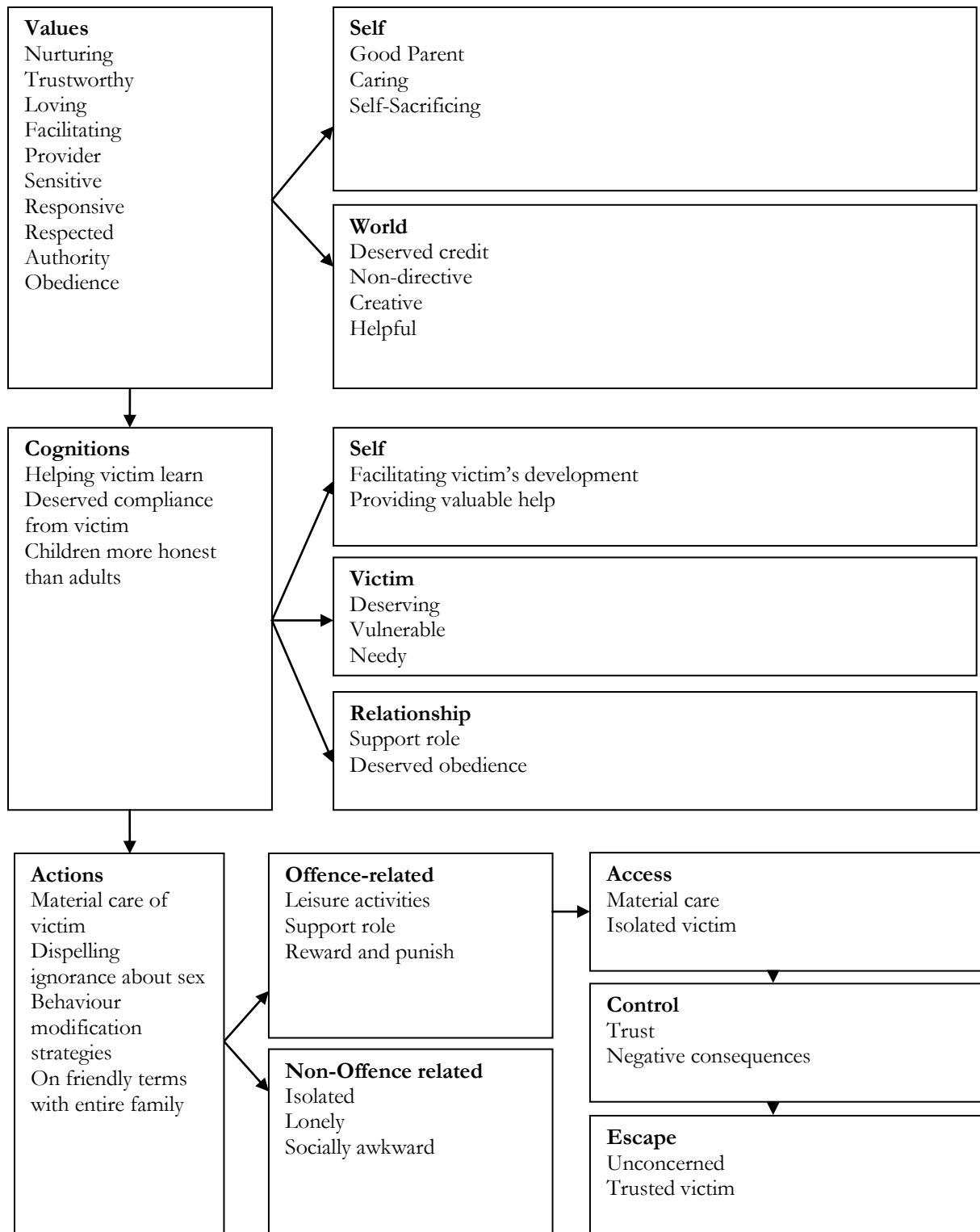


Figure 6.5: Caregiver – Child Relationship Frame

Offenders in this relationship frame placed a high value on having a mutually respectful relationship with their victims. On the part of the offender, this respect was manifested by taking material care of the child, being cognizant of their physical as well as emotional well-being, and providing them with the opportunities to develop themselves. On the part of the victim, offenders valued respect manifested as unquestioning compliance, caring and emotional connectedness.

Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame placed a great deal of emphasis on building a trusting relationship. They valued trust that their victim had in them and they also valued their own ability to create a trustworthy relationship. These offenders sought to be worthy of the trust placed in them by doing a good job of being a caregiver to their victims. The building of trust was also seen by offenders in this frame as a necessary part of being a nurturing role model for their victim. Offenders valued their role in developing the skills and personality of their victim and believed that they were well suited to bringing out the best in their victims.

These offenders clearly stated the importance of consistent rules and consequences. They expected to be seen as an authority figure by the child but strived to not be authoritarian in their use of their power. This is to say, while they desired obedience, they wished the obedience to be based on a shared understanding between them and the child, rather than having to enforce autocratic rules. In effect, the offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame valued a form of benevolent control over the child. Offenders in this relationship frame also express the need for a balance between discipline and nurturing in a caregiver – child relationship. The qualities emphasised nurturing of the child as being loving, providing for their physical and emotional needs, earning trust and being sensitive to their moods and desires. These offenders expressed the desire to nurture the natural abilities as well as the curiosity of the child. They also stated that the bond of trust between them and their victim was unshakeable, and earned by their consistent care towards the victim.

Offenders saw themselves as facilitating the development of the child rather than directing it. They value feeling that the victim was learning from them, being guided rather than directed. They valued accurately perceiving and responding to the needs of their victim. They liked to be thought of as coming up with interesting, fun and creative ways of stimulating interest. Offenders got a sense of satisfaction out of being there for their victims and being physically and emotionally present for them. This often coincided with the child's parents being absent, which the offenders saw as a problem and deplored.

Cognitions

Offenders in the Caregiver-Child relationship frame saw themselves as facilitating the development of their victim. They believed they were helping their victim learn and providing valuable help. These offenders saw themselves as being in a support role for their victims. They felt that their victim was interested and needy of their time and effort, and that they had a duty of care towards their victim. For example, one offender reported that, in his opinion, his victims were trying to meet a need through him:

They were after someone that was an adult. That would show them some attention, that wouldn't go yelling at them and getting pissed and telling them to piss off and go and find something else to do (H).

While these offenders believed that the offending was meeting their victims needs, they also felt that they had the right to the compliance of the victim. The offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame believed that they could reasonably expect compliance from their victims in return for the support they provided. They often did not explicitly state that the compliance of the victim must include a sexual relationship but that seems to have been the expectation. These offenders appeared to prioritise the obedience their victims showed them above the sexual intimacy.

In other words, they were more interested in getting what they believed they were entitled to than they were in getting sexual favours.

Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame believed that as long as they did not physically hurt their victims they were doing no lasting harm. These offenders made very clear distinctions around physical harm, and did not see the sexual relationship as being detrimental to their victim in and of itself, saying for example:

Well they weren't saying stop or anything like that, pulling away or wanting to run away or anything like that... and because there was no physical pain involved, as soon as you have physical pain then it wakens your senses up... that there's pain then there's something wrong (T).

Furthermore, these offenders believed that their victims were capable of making un-coerced, informed decisions. They felt that children are more honest and more direct than adults and that they can forge more genuine relationships. These beliefs enabled the offender to ignore the lack of consent on the part of the victim and continue to feel assured of their own integrity. One member of this relationship frame described his view of his victim's agency by saying the following:

One of the most honest judges you will ever get is a young person. If they don't like something they're gonna tell you they do not like it. Um especially if they see themselves as being in control of the situation... You have asked and they have given their permission. Um and so you follow along with what they've given permission for you to do (H).

Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame, therefore, believed that children are more capable of saying no than adults. They saw their victims as deserving of their attention while also being vulnerable and needing their support. They believed that the victim needed to be protected as well as introduced to novel ideas. Offenders in this relationship frame tended to see

the victim's role as being that of a curious child who knows their own mind and has the confidence to say no to anything distasteful.

Offenders saw their relationship with their victim as one that allowed their victim space to learn from experience. Thus in a Caregiver – child relationship the offender was facilitating the development of the victim rather than directing it. This allowed the offender to distance himself from the consequences of his actions and see them as being outside of his control. Finally, these offenders saw the relationship between them and their victim as being one that met the needs of both parties. They saw that their needs were different from the needs of their victim but believed them to be compatible with each other. Therefore, these offenders saw the relationship as being one where there was an imbalance in power but an equitable relationship nonetheless. One offender clarified this by saying that he had felt more secure with his victim than in other relationships explaining:

He (victim) showed me compassion that no-one ever had, he came up to me and gave me a hug and said he understood (sic) the loss... but he gave me kindness in a way that sometimes only they, they know (N).

Overall then, offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame reported feeling safer and having more genuine relationships with their victims than with adults. These offenders believed that they had a mutually satisfying relationship with their victim in which both parties' needs are being met.

Actions

Offenders in this relationship frame tended to focus on the actions they undertook to care for their victims. These offenders often felt isolated from their peers and emphasise their own naiveté and the 'fit' between their mental state and that of their victims. For instance one mentioned, "I get along better with children than I do with adults (D)". Offenders in the Caregiver

– Child relationship frame spent a great deal of time being vigilant to social threats such as humiliation and ridicule, and expended a great deal of energy protecting themselves. These offenders had a number of patterns of behaviour that made it possible for them to push the boundaries of their relationship with their victims. They used subtle kinds of manipulation and relied on trust.

Non-offence related action strategies

Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame often tended to be lonely and isolated from a community. Several offenders who fitted this relationship frame reported having few intimate social relationships. However, a number of these offenders also reported having a large network of casual acquaintances. In their intimate relationships these offenders tended to isolate themselves and avoid overt conflict. They also tended to have low self esteem and be socially awkward. One of them said:

My own self-evaluation was that I was a failure, I was a loser. I couldn't fit into my peers, I didn't want to, because I've seen what they do to you, so, ah, it just reinforced my self image that I couldn't do anything. I didn't excel at school; I didn't excel in sports, so therefore I felt, (I was) nothing.

As a result, these offenders retreated from social situations and often found relief in solitary activities. They also tended to retreat to activities with children, who they saw as being as gentle and playful as they were themselves. One offender in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame said:

They (victims) were... they were like me. They, um every time they saw me they'd be excited. They'd, y'know, give me a kiss and a cuddle, umm, but others didn't. It's weird like that, maybe I'm weird like that... yeah but that's it.

While a number of these offenders admitted to using pornography for gratification of their sexual fantasies, this tended to be a solitary activity. The same was true of drug use, which they tended to use by themselves, rather than as part of a group.

Offence-related action strategies

Access. Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame gained access to their victims by taking material care of them. They manipulated circumstances to be the primary caregiver to their victim, irrespective of whether or not that was their social role. With regards to his offending, one said:

I would lead... in the direction that I wanted things to go with them, but if they weren't comfortable I'd back off and, try again later, or, just not try again at all (H).

They also isolated their victims from their family and friends and made them largely dependent on themselves. These offenders related to their victim on the victim's own terms and were often seen as a role-model. The relationship between the offender and the victim blurred the boundaries between parent and child, and the offender acted more as a friend and confidante. Offenders often referred to the relationship they shared with their victims as that "between mates" (D). Often, the offender consolidated their relationship with the victim by keeping on friendly terms with the rest of the family and gaining their trust. This could also include isolating the victim from their family's sphere of influence while maintaining the position of a "family-friend" (N). In this manner they were able to use the trust of the victim and the threat of consequences over them in order to continue offending.

Control. Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame used their positions of trust with the victim to gain compliance. They created a relationship that was based on co-operative use of power that gave the victim a measure of control over the relationship.

They used an array of subtle behaviour management strategies to have their needs met. Such tactics included both physical isolation as well as emotional manipulation. They reported using rewards and punishments to control the behaviour of their victim. One described this in the following way:

The lounge was set up, it was a good set up. But the bedroom was like perfection... for the first couple of times they stayed over, they stayed down in the lounge... I'd let them into the inner sanctum. Then I started having him (victim) come down and stay on his own.

These offenders prioritised the desires of their victim over others and create a 'special' bond which came with its own perks and responsibilities. They negotiated payments and rewards, in return for being allowed to have a sexually intimate relationship with their victim. For instance one offender said, "it was sort of true of everyone, what they wanted they got" (N). Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship reported the use of verbal intimidation. They did not use physical force; however, they did use a wide array of coercive tactics to maintain offending. For instance, they used emotional blackmail and coaxing to make the victim perform sexual favours for them. They also used bribes to keep the victims satisfied, and used the threat of removal of privileges as an incentive for the victim to remain silent about the offending.

Escape. Offenders in Caregiver – Child relationship frame were least concerned with intentionally escaping detection. They did not admit to doing specific things in order to escape detection, and seemed to be most unaware of the consequences of their actions. One of them went as far as to say,

The quickest way to spread any information is to tell them this is a secret... So, well I was talking about how, Mum, y'know, this is man's stuff and Mum would be horrified to find out we were doing this. And she would probably stop it. So all this, good stuff, wouldn't happen any more (N).

These offenders felt that they were in a supportive role, and what they were doing in their relationship with their victim was not worthy of blame or punishment. The majority of the escape planning of offenders in this frame centred on normalising the relationship between them and the victim. They strove to create an impression of sanctity around their relationship with their victim that precluded the victim from talking about it. In one case the strength of this tactic was borne out by the reaction of the victim when confronted with police investigation, reported by the offender as:

I got a call from him saying, hey look, the cops have been around, but don't worry we haven't said anything. And, I'm like, well this is just, weird (H).

Offenders in Caregiver role also stressed that their relationship was an expression of love that was private and natural, and not something that needed to be discussed. Offenders in this relationship frame were astonished when their victim reported the abuse to others and saw this as a betrayal of trust.

Intra and inter-frame links

Intra-frame links

Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship placed a great deal of emphasis on nurturing the development of their victim and saw themselves as facilitating that process. Their values required them to be caring and nurturing towards the child in their care, and to do them no harm. To this end, offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship focused on those elements of their offending which illustrated their positive impact in the life of their victim, while simultaneously emphasising the lack of harm done by their relationship with the victim. The values held by these offenders led them to believe in the role that they were performing. They saw themselves as benevolent and selfless people who were doing their duty by the individual left in their care. They often underplayed the role they had in creating their influence over the child, and overplayed the role they had in creating a co-operative relationship. The Caregiver – Child relationship frame falls

in the quadrant that uses social acceptability and co-operation as its main tools to gain compliance. Offenders in this relationship frame reported feeling that their relationship with the victim was not far removed from other socially acceptable relationships. The values and cognitions of these offenders often led them to engage in activities that were low-key and socially sanctioned.. They also pointed out that they used no physical force in order to gain compliance.

Inter-frame links

Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame were similar to those in the Lover – Partner relationship frame, in that they both used co-operative power. This is to say that offenders from both these relationship frames relied heavily on negotiations and trust from their victims in order to establish their authority over them. While in the case of the Caregiver – Child there was a natural hierarchy in structural terms, there was still considerable effort put in to building trust with the victim. In contrast, those in the Lover – Partner relationship frame tended to negate any structural hierarchies between them and their victims. Offenders in both these relationship frames value nurturance and care. While in the Lover – Partner frame, this took the form of creating a mutually dependent relationship, in the Caregiver – Child relationship there were much stricter boundaries around control and autonomy. The offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship, while acknowledging the agency of their victims still demanded some level of obedience. They were also similar in some ways to the offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame. Both sets of offenders sought to justify their offending in terms of the social acceptability of such relationships between adults and children. Both sets required at least some measure of recognition of their care of their victims. However, while the offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame relied almost solely on the emotional dependence of their victim, those in the Teacher – Student relationship frame relied more on their own personal expertise. The offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame placed a great deal of emphasis on their emotional capacity for love and

nurturing their victim. In contrast, those in the Teacher – Student relationship frame valued their own knowledge and skills. In both sets of offenders there was a desire to pass on their knowledge and facilitate the learning of the victim but in the Caregiver – Child the offender's role was seen as fewer directives than in the Teacher – Student relationship frame.

Lover – Partner Relationship Frame

The Lover – Partner relationship is one where the offender uses co-operative structures to create a seemingly equal relationship between them and their victim and expects victims to take equal responsibility for everything that happens in the relationship (see Figure 6.6).

Six offenders from this sample fitted the Lover – Partner relationship frame. All but one of these offenders was employed at the time of the index offence, with one receiving a benefit. Most of these offenders reported being satisfied with their work, but also described it as being stressful. Over half the offenders in this category said they were deeply dissatisfied with their relationship at the time and three clearly stated that this was a leading cause of their offending. These offenders emphasise their emotional bond with the victim and see this bond as being mutually desired. They also felt that the relationship between them and their victim was based along egalitarian lines with both people having equal power to effect change. Victims in this category ranged from ten to fourteen years. Three of the offenders commented on their interest in the victim coinciding with puberty. Four of the victims were female and two were male. All but one of the victims were well known to the offender through familial and social networks, with one being a deliberately cultivated acquaintance.

Values

Offenders in this relationship frame placed a great deal of emphasis on being skilful and desirable lovers. They valued their ability to please their victim and felt that in absence of their prowess being recognised by the victim, the offending would have been unable to continue.

Offenders in the Lover – Partner frame placed a high value on being good partners to their victims. This meant that in addition to being good lovers they also emphasised their ability and willingness to meet their victims' needs in other domains. The main values clustered around *intimacy*, *mutuality* and *skilfulness*.

Offenders in the lover – partner relationship frame valued intimacy and want to be seen as loving and supportive of their partner and as supportive of their needs. They valued physical as well as emotional intimacy with their victims. They emphasised the need to be emotionally connected with their victims and to be their 'best friends'. These offenders also expected physical intimacy as a part of a healthy relationship, and put a great deal of pressure on sexual compatibility. One offender put it quite succinctly when he said that, “To me, part of that feeling of love, and intimacy, is um, is sex... I equate that, I guess I then equated sex and love and intimacy (K).

Offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame placed great value on a respectful relationship and wanted to be respectful of, as well as be respected by, their partner. To these offenders, respecting their victims meant being appreciative and encouraging of their talents. They also valued the input their victims provided and prided themselves on taking their victims' views under consideration. For example one offender stated that, “she was not a silly girl at all. She was quite smart and talented (O)”. Offenders in this relationship frame also valued being respectful of their victim's emotional needs, and often pointed out instances where they had changed their behaviour in response to criticism from their victim. They expected the same level of respect from their victims as they saw themselves as providing.

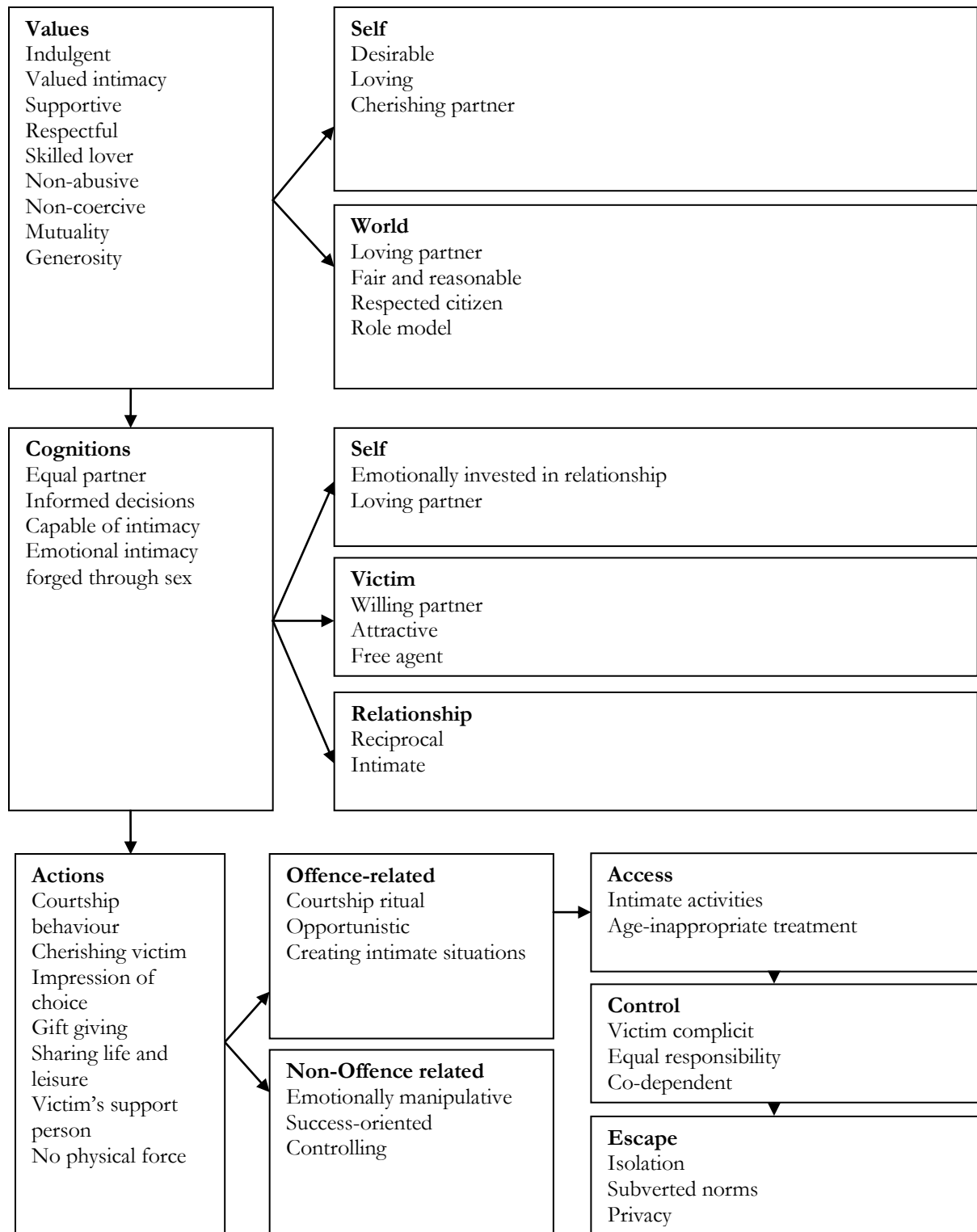


Figure 6.6: Lover – Partner Relationship Frame

Offenders in this category placed a high emphasis on mutuality. They saw their relationship with their victim as being non-abusive. They placed importance on not being violent, whether physically, verbally or sexually. For example, one offender stated the following:

So I'd take one item off her and she'd do the same... I just told her, you make me choose what clothing you want me to remove of mine and I'll choose what, I'd take off of yours (E).

They placed a similar emphasis on not being coercive, and prided themselves on all aspects of the relationship being reciprocal and mutually desired. These offenders liked their victims to take equal responsibility for the relationship. They also expected a high level of emotional support and love from their victims as they saw themselves as providing the same to the victims. They often talked about equity in the relationship and being understanding and encouraging of the needs and skills of the victim.

In terms of being a skilled lover, they emphasised sexual prowess and being able to meet their victim's sexual needs. They considered the health of the sexual relationship as reflecting the health of the rest of the relationship and therefore placed great value on how it was unfolding. For instance, one reported that

It was one sided completely. It was me wanting to make her feel good. She said to me it was better with my hand rather than her own... First time I gave her oral sex, She loved it (O).

Offenders in this relationship frame focused on their ability to make their victim happy, and judged the health of their relationship by the satisfaction expressed by the victim. They also emphasised being skilled at meeting the victim's emotional needs, for instance by taking them out, lavishing time and attention on them and making them feel loved (E). These offenders saw themselves as generous, giving, and indulgent of their victims. They valued their skills and

knowledge and were eager to show off their prowess to their victims. Offenders in this relationship frame saw themselves as having the skills to make their victim happy.

Cognitions

Offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame saw themselves as being ideal and loving partners. They saw themselves as attractive individuals worthy of being desired as a mate. They took great pride in their physical appearance and health and considered themselves to be sexually desirable. To this end, these offenders took pains to keep themselves in shape, and felt that this entitled them to the affection of others who were equally attractive. Offenders in this relationship also considered themselves to be hardworking, self-less and caring individuals. One offender, for instance emphasised his drive to work and provide for his family (K). They also put a great deal of emphasis on their altruistic deeds. They considered themselves soft-hearted and gentle, as well as being perceptive to the needs and emotions of others around them. Offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame placed great importance on their ability to understand and support their family, and especially their partner. They were emotionally invested in the relationship with their victim, and described being in love with them, and the relationship with their victim making the offender “feel alive”. One offender said:

So I withdrew from my wife even more and put all than on to her. We became emotionally attached within a few, possibly three, months... I'd want to get out of the house so I'd go and walk one of the dogs and she would come with me... started off like an hour a day, some days there were eight. Eight hours of walking the streets with our two dogs (O).

These offenders felt that they understood their victim and supported their needs in preference to their own. To them the feelings of closeness and emotional intimacy were at least as important as sexual intimacy between themselves and their victim. They also believed that they were highly intuitive when it came to understanding their victim, and would be able to sense if something

was wrong. It was important to these offenders that this intimacy was freely given by equal partners. To this end, it was vital to them that the victim be actively engaged in the offending.

Offenders perceive their victims as being attractive and mature for their age. Several of them state that their victims dressed and looked older than they were. The physical attractiveness and apparent maturity were seen as being crucial to the interest that the offenders had in the victims. Victims were seen as being 'free agents' who were capable of intimacy and willing and equal participants. Offenders saw the victim as being an autonomous, independent entity who was capable of making informed decisions about themselves and their relationships. As one said,

Basically it started with emotional closeness and then became affection. I think she started feeling more adult because I was giving her responsibility... She'd come to work with me and go tell the staff what had to be done. And they'd do it. I was blown away. So they obviously gave her respect anyway (O).

The offenders believed that their victims made free choices that they alone were responsible for. They also believed that the victim was equally emotionally invested in the relationship and desirous of it. They saw the victim as enjoying the attention and affection, and deliberately seeking out the attention of the offender. They believed that the victim initiated as much intimacy as the offender. Often the offenders believed that the victim was as culpable in the offending as the offender himself. One offender described the intimacy of the relationship in the following way:

Yeah, sooner or later she's falling asleep in the bed and I'd just leave her. Or I'd cuddle her. She'd cuddle into my back. Um at that point we became totally emotionally close. Her brothers and sisters had gone. Her mother had gone. So she was alone. Bar me. So she became, I'll rephrase that, we both became completely dependent on each other.... At that stage because there was no one else around we were like a little couple I suppose, if you like.

I'd be chasing her she'd be chasing me everywhere, be play fighting, she'd be kissing me, I'd be kissing her back... (O)

Offenders believed the relationship between them and their victims to be between two consenting adults. In the Lover – Partner relationship frame the offender saw the relationship as equal. They believed that the victim was capable of, and had the opportunity to, make free choices. This was based on the premise that both the offender and the victim are aware of what they desired from each other and were actively seeking it together. This was exemplified as:

I mean I didn't have to grab her hand, pull her into the bedroom and take her clothes off, it was the other way around... I could satisfy her ten-fold better than she could satisfy herself (O).

These offenders also saw the relationship between them and their victim as being capable of meeting the needs of both partners. They saw their victim as an adult who was on an equal footing with the offender and hence failed to acknowledge the imbalance in power within their relationship. They felt there existed a deep and abiding emotional bond between them and their victim that transcended all other aspects of their life. They believed that the victim was equally in love with them, and felt deeply in love with their victim themselves.

Actions

Offenders in this relationship frame reported spending a great deal of time thinking about their offending. They often actively sought out situations where the victim and they could be intimate and saw this as a natural part of a courting ritual. They tended to use activities that underscored the relationship of intimacy between them and the victim and sought to make the victim complicit in the offending. They reported feeling genuinely in love with their victims and maintained that all their actions stemmed from this love rather than a desire to offend.

Non-offence related action strategies

Offenders in the Lover – Partner frame tended to lean towards emotional manipulation in their relationships. The majority of the offenders in this frame had jobs that encouraged individual drive and thus reinforced their lack of social interactions. A number of them described being motivated and success-oriented in relation to their work. This desire to succeed and have control extended to their relationships within the family as well. Most offenders in this relationship frame conceded that they could be seen as demanding and that they expected their needs to be met (V). They restricted their social interactions and tended to keep their work life and home life quite deliberately separate. They also reported controlling the social interaction of their families and made it difficult for them (the families) to have autonomous relationships.

Offence-related action strategies

Access. Offenders in this category used courting strategies to gain access to their victims. A few of the offenders in this relationship frame were in positions of caregivers and thus had easy access to their victims. However, they did not seek to subvert that relationship to one of a lover but would ask their victim out on a ‘date’. One offender explained this by saying

I was looking for a, um, emotional intimacy, and I didn’t think I was getting that with my wife... They were showing me attention. And love. And I gravitated towards them. To get what I wasn’t getting from my wife (K).

Some offenders met their victim(/s) briefly through other social channels and then proceeded to pursue them for romantic involvement. Occasionally, offenders would deliberately go out looking for a victim to begin a relationship with. This could include going out to a party or a social event or organising an event themselves where they could control attendance.

Control. Offenders in the Lover – Partner category used subtle social tactics to control their victims. These offenders used presents and rewards to gain compliance from their victims. In the

majority of the cases the rewards were material and often financial. In addition to using material compensations these offenders created an atmosphere of consensual courting. This is say that the offenders replicated a relationship between consenting adults with their victims. They made the victim feel independent and 'grown-up' and validated their self esteem by giving them adult responsibility. One offender said: "She was an adult. I perceived that we were actually in a relationship (V)".

Offenders in this relationship frame also used a variety of control strategies to gain the continuing compliance of their victim. One offender stated that he would "play with her emotionally to keep her in line (E)". In keeping with their role as intimate partner, they used jealousy and anger to isolate the victim from their peers and limit their social relationships. In doing so, they created a mirror of a co-dependent relationship and made it the responsibility of their victim to be their sole support.

Offenders in this frame created a climate of trust and informed choice which made the victim complicit in the offending, and used this to ensure both the compliance as well as the silence of their victim.

Escape. Offenders in this category relied on the strength of the bond between the offender and their victim, as well as the isolation of the victim to avoid detection. They placed equal responsibility for the relationship with their victim and made them answerable for their behaviour and reactions. One offender reported saying to his victim, "If we get caught doing this, then I'll be put in jail (E)". These offenders expected their victims to act like consenting partners and respect the privacy of their relationship. Often they expected the victims to feel shameful about their part in the offending and attributed their reluctance to report the offending to this feeling of shame. One of the offenders stated:

A lot of what she put down was complete and utter lies but I think that the reason she did that was that she didn't want to admit to herself or to anybody else that typical period of offending where she thought it was okay and I thought it was okay. I mean that would be such an embarrassing, horrible thing for her. One to admit to herself two to admit it to anybody else that at the time she thought it was okay, because she did (O).

Offenders in this relationship frame subverted the norms from a consenting adult relationship such as trust, equality, and discretion and applied them to their relationship with their victims

Intra and inter-frame links

Intra-frame links

Offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame were committed to being what they saw as being good partners to their victims. It was evident from their values that they desire an equal relationship and believed that their relationship with their victim was a valid means of finding an equitable relationship. These offenders valued consent and partnership and sought to gain this in their relationships. In keeping with their values, offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame treated their victims as autonomous beings who were capable of making their own decisions. These offenders felt that their victims enjoyed feeling like capable adults and that this enjoyment was a significant part of their relationship. Offenders in the he Lover – Partner relationship frame tended towards co-operative use of power (see figure 2) and did not usually use overt force to control their victim. Given that these offenders chose to see their victims as equal, consenting partners; the decision to use co-operative strategies to have their emotional and sexual needs met makes sense. Offenders in this relationship frame were aware of the inappropriateness of the sexual relationship between them and their partners. Often this was the only part of the relationship that reminded the offender that however much autonomy was granted to the victim by them, the victim was still seen

as a minor by society and the law. This contradiction was often dealt with by emphasising the role played by the victim in the offending and the evidence of reciprocity. The values and cognitions of offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame led to the offender treating their victims with courtesy and caution, and often being intensely sensitive to their moods. In general, these offenders tended to perceive and treat their victims as their equals; and view all their responses through the lens of an adult consensual relationship.

Inter-frame links

Offenders in this relationship frame shared with the Caregiver – Child relationship the use of co-operative power, and a reliance on the emotional dependence created between the offender and their victim. In both relationship frames the offenders valued the freely given affection of their victims and sought to be nurturing of their victims. However, the degree to which the emotional dependence was created varied widely, as did the strategies used by offenders in different frames. Offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame used play and recreation to create situations where offending was possible, while offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship behaved as though courting an adult. The offenders in the Caregiver – Child relationship still saw the victim as needing the offenders in order to develop, whereas those in the Lover – Partner relationship frame saw the victim as a consenting equal.

This concept of mutual dependence and consent is a key difference between these relationship frames. Offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame are similar to those in the Master – Slave relationship in terms of the lack of social acceptability of the relationship frames they are engaged in. Both sets of offenders justify their offending by using internal justifications, the Lover – Partner offenders usually use emotional bonding and mutuality as their justifications, while those in the Master – Slave frame rely on their personal sense of entitlement. These offenders also differ in terms of their core values. While the offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship value the

appearance of consent and reciprocity, those in the Master – Slave relationship consider it irrelevant and are often even annoyed by it being ‘too easy’. Additionally the offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame place a great deal of value on their victim and are invested in the victim meeting their standards of intelligence, beauty and maturity. In contrast to this, offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame place little intrinsic value on their victim and are invested in the victim meeting their standards of access, availability and opportunity.

Inter-frame movement

From the results presented so far it is evident that, for offenders in this sample, the manner in which they framed their relationships with their victims was critical to the understanding of their offending. The model of offenders’ relationship frames was presented in the SORF. SORF outlined four relationship frames namely: Master – Slave, Teacher – Student, Caregiver – Child and Lover – Partner. Each of these relationship frames was based on a specific set of value clusters. These value clusters in turn determined the offenders’ perceptions, cognitions as well as actions. The four relationship frames were found to be distinct from each other and varied from each other along the continua of coercion to consent, authoritarian use of power to co-operative use and along degrees of social adaptability. The narrative provided by offenders was found to vary significantly based on which relationship frame they employed to construct their relationship with their victims. Table 1 provides an easy comparison of the characteristics of each of the relationship frames that comprise SORF.

All of the offenders interviewed during the course of this research fitted at least one of the relationship frames. This means that the values and cognitions of each offender in this sample were consistent with those of a single relationship frame, as were their actions. While the majority of the offenders only fitted the criteria for one relationship, there were some notable exceptions in this sample that seemed to meet the criteria for more than one relationship frame. While parts of their

offending were consistent with one relationship frame, other parts were not. Close examination of the offending patterns of these offenders revealed that they were moving between two or more relationship frames in a systematic manner.

At each point in their offending, the offenders' values, cognitions and actions were congruent with a single relationship frame. It was possible to track the shift in their offending by listening to the manner in which they described their world-view. When the values of the offender shifted, their cognitions and actions followed suit. This change is evident in the data in the way that offenders describe themselves, their victims as well as the relationship between them. For instance, an offender who initially fitted the Caregiver – Child category described the early instances of taking his victim out in terms of 'treats' and would talk about doing something that they'd enjoy in a childlike manner. The same offender, later on in the offence, described taking his victim out for a date. While referring to this stage of the relationship, the offender stressed the romantic and adult qualities of the interaction.

It is evident from the set of values, that offenders in different relationship frames hold that there is some overlap between the frames. It is equally evident that each frame is distinct and that offenders in each frame have subtle but important differences in the values that they prioritise, and that these differences have a discernable effect on their relationship with their victim(s). The fact that most offenders have values and cognitions that are consistent with a particular relationship frame is evidence that the frames are relatively stable constructs. The data show that when the offenders move from one frame to another, they appear to do so systematically, and the shift initiates changes in their relationship with their victim. The boundaries between the relationship frames are therefore neither rigid nor fluid but instead porous. A shift is possible, but it requires a fundamental change in the way in which the offender is viewing themselves, their victim and the world.

Table 6.1

Summary of attributes for the Sex Offender Relationship Frames Model (SORF)

Attribute	Master – Slave	Teacher – Student	Caregiver – Child	Lover – Partner
Values	Domination Hedonism Patriarchal Autonomy Good master Personal safety Egoism Sensual pleasure	Passing on expertise Good citizen Knowledgeable Nurturing Benevolent Respected Congruent desires Deviant sexual desire	Trustworthy Loving Facilitating Provider Sensitive Responsive Respected Authority	Indulgent intimacy Supportive Respectful Skilled lover Non-abusive Non-coercive Mutuality Generous
Cognition	Entitlement Uncontrollability Arousal justifies offending	Children unharmed by sexual contact Children need and want guidance	Helping victim learn Deserved compliance Children more honest than adults	Equal partners Informed decisions Capable of intimacy Intimacy forged through sex
Victim perception	Passive Incidental to offence No rights	Discovering sexuality Enjoyed offending Eager to learn	Deserving Vulnerable Needy	Willing partner Attractive Free agent
Self perception	Trapped by life Victim Nice guy – bad breaks	Sought after as expert Enjoys cultivating friendships	Facilitating victim's development Providing valuable help	Emotionally invested in relationship Loving partner
Actions	Hyper-vigilant Threat detection Humiliating victim Physical force Acting out fantasy Verbal threats	Consolidating trust Leisure activities Graduated learning opportunities Creating secrecy around relationship Rewarding apt students	Material care of victim Dispelling ignorance about sex Isolating victim Behaviour modification strategies Friendly with family	Courtship behaviour Impression of choice Gift giving behaviour Sharing life and leisure Victim's support person No physical force
Use of power	Authoritarian Coercive	Authoritarian Coercive	Co-operative Consensual	Co-operative Consensual
Social adaptability	Maladaptive External justification	Adaptive Societal justification	Adaptive Relational justification	Maladaptive Internal justification

The most common movement was from the relationships where the offender was already in a position of power, to relationships that were closer to what the offender desired. For instance, offenders most often used their role as caregivers to gain access and compliance from their victim, before moving to a Master – Slave relationship, which is closer to what they desired. Often this shift can be seen simply as part of the process of ‘grooming’ the victim. However the process appears to be much more complex than that. A great number of offenders, who had a measure of influence over their victim prior to the offending, did not show any evidence of movement between two frames. It may be that those who moved between frames did so with clear intent and calculation;

however, the interviews do not show much evidence of this. In the majority of the cases the changes in the relationship seem to be an effect of a shift in their mental and emotional state as well as practical circumstances.

Three offenders fitted into two relationship frames during the course of their offending. In two of these three cases, the movement was from a Caregiver – Child relationship to a Lover – Partner relationship. The last offender moved from a Caregiver – Child relationship to a Master – Slave relationship. In each of these instances the offenders initially fitted the values for one relationship frame. It is possible to see when the values of the offender shifted during the course of the offending and led to a change in the manner in which they were constructing their own identity - and that of their relationship with their victim. Two of these offenders reverted to the original relationship frame towards the end of their offending. This shift is evident in the manner in which they changed their strategies for controlling the victim and for escaping without detection. Once again, by following their narrative, it is possible to see a difference in these strategies when they shifted from one relationship frame to another. The movement between the relationship frames did not appear to be deliberately calculated, and offenders often described having shifted the way they were interacting before they consciously realised what was happening. However, in the case of the third offender, the move from Caregiver to Master was entirely dependent on his desire for that relationship with his victim. As such, his role as a Caregiver was deliberately constructed to enable him access to the victim. Interestingly, this offender did not revert to his role as Caregiver at the end of offending, or use any of those strategies to escape detection, but remained consistent to the Master – Slave relationship frame.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the relationship frames that were found in the sample of child sex offenders interviewed. Their core values, beliefs and cognitions as well as the types of action

they undertook have been outlined. Four main relationship frames emerged embodying all of these variables along two continua; the socially acceptable – unacceptable axis and the coercive – co-operative axis.

Most offenders fitted one relationship frame throughout the course of their offending. There is a minority of offenders who move from one relationship frame to another. This shift is seen to systematic in each of the offenders who fitted the criteria for more than one relationship frame. The relationship frames are therefore seen as having reasonably stable but porous boundaries. The offenders who fitted more than one relationship frame show a corresponding shift in their values, cognitions and actions. This chapter provides the basis for the evolution of these frames and the SORF model.

The following chapter will look at four case-studies to understand the process through which the offending unfolds. The chapter will illustrate one example of each relationship frame with detailed analysis of their values, cognitions and action and make the links between them explicit.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS – CASE-STUDIES

This chapter is devoted to the presentation of four case studies demonstrating how the SORF model applies to offenders with varying relationship models. One prototypical example is presented for each relationship frame and discussed in terms of the SORF model. The offence history and personal background of each offender is presented, followed by discussion of the specific process of their index offence in terms of the values, cognitions and actions displayed.

The four offenders presented in this chapter each represent a relationship frame namely: Master – Slave, Teacher – Student, Caregiver – Child and Lover – Partner. Each of these relationship frames gives a general picture of the kind of relationship between the offenders and their victims. Briefly, in the Master – Slave relationship, the offender exercises power over the victim (whom he treats as his Slave) and expects a high level of control over their behaviour. The Teacher – Student relationship is characterised by offenders who place undue emphasis on their own expertise and describe their victims as receptacles for the said expertise. In the Caregiver – Child relationship, the offenders create a hierarchical relationship where they have authority over their victim as a result of deliberately engendered dependence. The Lover – Partner relationship is characterised by offenders who use co-operative structures to create a seemingly equal relationship between themselves and their victim, and expect victims to take equal responsibility for the offending. As has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter, each relationship frame is characterised by a set of core values that the offenders use to inform their cognition as well as actions. These values relate to what the offender thinks of as worthy and good. These values give rise to various ways of thinking about themselves, others and their relationships. Accordingly, these cognitions can be categorised in terms of self-perception, victim-perception and relational-perception. These sets of value-laden cognitions inform specific actions and strategies that offenders use to meet their goals.

The offenders chosen had the best fit with the relationship frame, and are the most typical of it. They were specifically chosen to be representative of the relationship frame to clearly explain how the relationship frames work. The group of offenders in each frame demonstrate various variations from the case histories represented here, however, these cases can be thought of as representing the norm for each frame.

Each case study focuses on the story of an offender who epitomises the values, cognitions and beliefs typical of the relationship frame in question. The case study begins with a description of background factors relating to the offender's life and experience growing up until the time of the index offence. Having established the context within which the offending took place, the case study then examines the specific ways in which the offender's cognitions, values and actions relate to and reflect the relationship frame.

Master – Slave: Luke

The master – slave relationship frame is typified by offenders who desire absolute control over the behaviour of their victims. In this relationship frame the victims are seen as having no autonomous rights, while the autonomy of the offender is treated as paramount. A high degree of control and a desire to humiliate the victim are common features of the master – slave relationship frame. Luke was a typical example of this relationship frame. Luke was incarcerated for the index offence. The offence included the abduction as well as sexual violation of a minor. Prior to this offence Luke had no history of sexual offending. However, he did have convictions for shoplifting. Luke was not particularly well acquainted with the victim of his offending prior to the offending. His victim was a female aged fifteen. Both Luke and his victim were pakeha.

Background

Luke was 24 years old at the time of interview. He had no previous history of sexual or violent offending. Prior to and during his offending he worked as a kitchen hand. He was married to

his partner of four years, with whom he had two children. He described his relationship at the time of his offending as shaky. Shortly before the offending his partner had left him. He was finding his job unsatisfying and described it as a dead-end.

Luke was an only child, brought up by Christian parents in a strongly religious family. He described his family as loving and reported no particular difficulties in childhood. He left school in sixth form because his girlfriend was pregnant. They married and he took a job to support his new family. He resented this but felt that he was doing the right thing by taking responsibility for his child, where others would have abandoned her.

Values

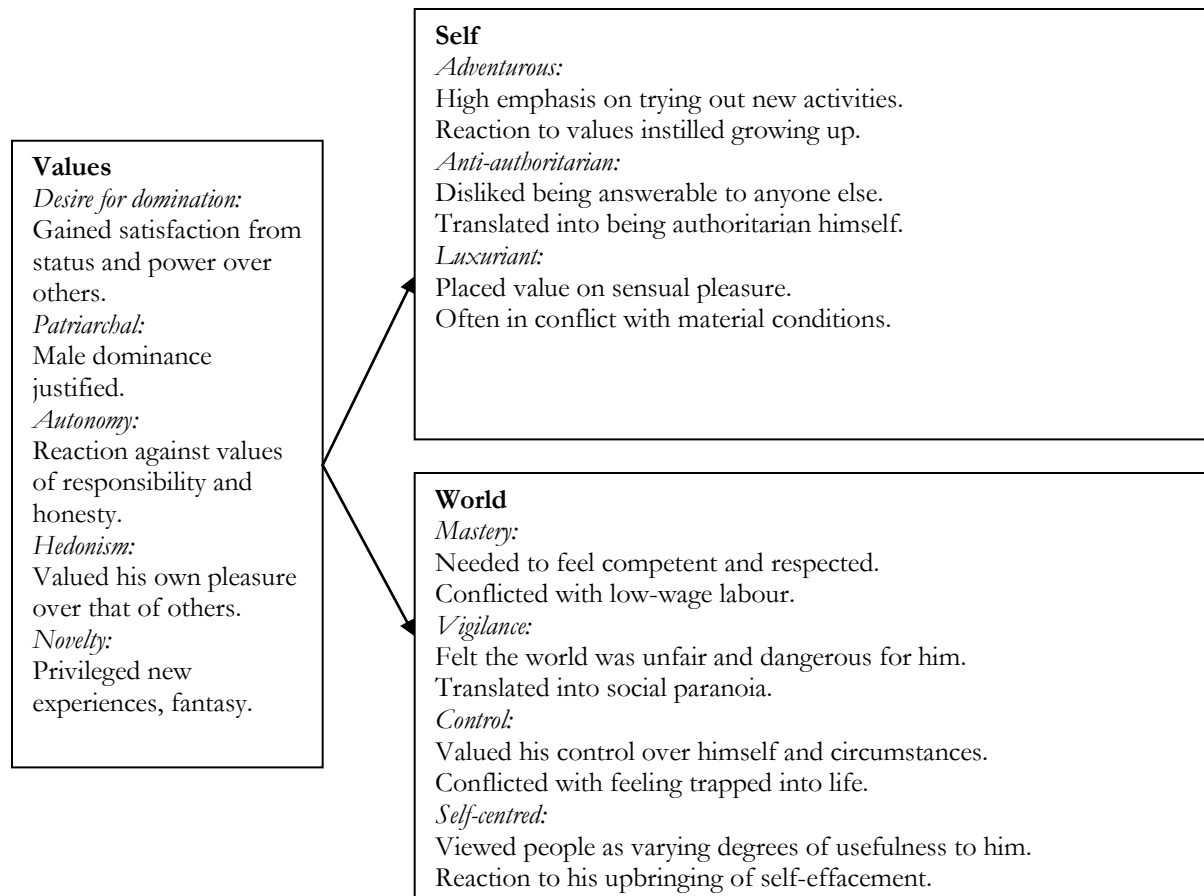


Figure 7.1: Luke's Master-Slave Values

Luke's values (as shown in Figure 7.1) were clustered around his desire to dominate people as well as situation, his patriarchal models of being, his need for absolute autonomy and his desire to pursue his own needs at the cost of others.

Luke thought of himself as a good person who had been unlucky in life and deserved better. He saw himself as a good father and a good son, but these aspects of his values were compartmentalised and he saw them as inconsistent with his offending. Luke saw himself as fulfilling his responsibilities as a father by providing for a family who was dependent on him. He saw his ability to earn money and support his family as something good about himself, that he deserved credit for.

Luke said that he respected his parents and took care of them. He tried to do what they expected of him according to their Christian values. He felt that his parents had brought him up to be caring, kind, responsible and honest. These were personal values that he tried to live up to. For instance, he felt that he had been irresponsible in getting his girlfriend pregnant but that by marrying her and supporting his family he was taking responsibility and deserved credit for this. For Luke, the value of taking responsibility for his own actions carried such a strong weight of moral obligation that he resented it and felt trapped by his responsibilities to others.

Luke's value of responsibility was in conflict with the value he placed on his own autonomy. Autonomy was something he felt was lacking in his life. He felt stuck with family and that he had been forced into it by his parents' values. Luke also hated his job and found it boring and repetitive. He felt that he had no status in his workplace, that he was the least important person there, and anyone could push him around. Luke felt that he had to continue working to support his family, and resented the lack of autonomy in his life. Autonomy for Luke was also connected with status and feeling important. Luke valued having the power to control other people, while resenting being

under the power of others himself. Luke's desire to control others in order to feel powerful and important, was a significant motivation for his offending.

Luke's valuing of honesty functioned in a similar way to his valuing of responsibility, as a moral obligation that he resented. Luke felt that honesty was a demand placed on him by others that required him to not cheat on his wife and to be truthful to his family. This value of honesty was in conflict with his need to be secretive about his sexual desires and fantasies of sexual violence. He felt guilty about wanting to cheat on his wife and for lying to her, but also resented this guilt, and felt defensive about his own desires.

Growing up, he had been taught not to value his own pleasure and to put others first. Luke felt that his own values were more hedonistic and that he wanted to value his own experience of pleasure. He was unsatisfied with a monogamous sexual relationship and wanted to have sex with other people. At the same time he was having fantasies of rape. He had tried playing out his rape fantasies with his wife but had not found this satisfying. Luke wanted the experience of real sexual violence, and justified his pursuit of this desire in terms of his hedonistic valuing of his own pleasure. It was not important to him whether the offending was against an adult or a child. His attractions were heterosexual, and the offending was driven by a desire to dominate, rather than a particular desire for children. Despite his hedonistic valuing of his own pleasure, Luke felt guilty about his enjoyment of sex, about having got his girlfriend pregnant and about his offending.

Luke valued his own freedom and autonomy, and was chafed by constraints placed on this freedom by his family and circumstances. He was unhappy in his relationship and felt trapped by it. This was similar to how he felt about his work environment, and often saw himself as having to present two very different faces to different people. Partly as a result of his resentment of his circumstances, Luke placed a great deal of value on novelty in choosing activities. He liked to be adventurous and talked about his offending as an outlet for his otherwise humdrum life. Luke's

dissatisfaction with his family life manifested itself in his adoption of an unduly patriarchal role within the family unit. He treated his wife as his inferior and expected to be able to make the decisions for the entire family himself. As such he put himself first in situations and needed to be in control of his family. To Luke, being the head of the family literally meant having mastery and control over them.

Cognitions

Luke's cognitions (see Figure 7.2) were typical of the Master – Slave relationship frame. He had a global sense of entitlement and felt that the world owed him better than he had received. As a result, he felt trapped by circumstances and resentful of the responsibilities placed on him. He placed a great deal of value on his own sexual pleasure and thought that if he desired something it could not be wrong. He therefore felt that his offending was justified because it was an honest expression of his desire.

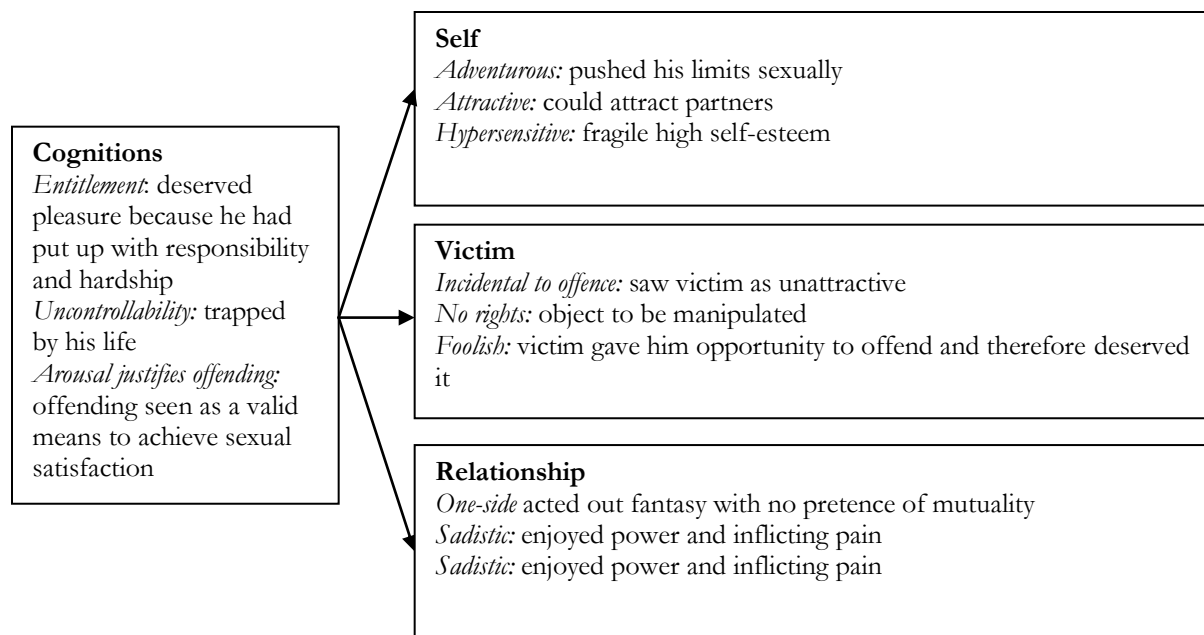


Figure 7.2: Luke's (Master – Slave) Cognitions

Self

Luke felt trapped by his life and that he was not in control. He thought that he deserved to have good things come to him given how much hardship he had had to survive. Luke also felt like he had taken on a lot of responsibility and was therefore entitled to enjoy himself. He wanted to push the limits of his sexual experience, and was attracted to violence and sadism. He treated his wife as an object that he could sexually manipulate but still felt dissatisfied by the consensual nature of the relationship. He was also frustrated by the relationship being monogamous and wanted to feel available for new sexual experiences.

Luke considered himself attractive and was confident of his ability to find sexual partners. He thought that the main obstacles to his sexual satisfaction were his responsibilities to his family. Luke said that he felt like he was wearing a mask around his family and workmates, and that he couldn't be honest about his beliefs and desires. While his self-esteem was generally high, it was also fragile and he was hyper-sensitive to criticism or disapproval from others. Luke's wife had left him shortly prior to his offending and he used this as an excuse to explain his offending.

Victim

Luke saw his victim as being irrelevant to his offence. He didn't find the victim attractive, but her appearance was secondary to the available opportunity to offend against her. He thought that his victim had been provocative and foolish by letting him into her house and giving him the opportunity to offend against her. He considered this to be evidence that on some level she wanted the offending to happen and enjoyed it. Luke found his victim to be strangely compliant to his offending and this interfered with his fantasy of coercion and control. Luke said that he thought of his victim as an object to be manipulated for his own pleasure and that he gave no consideration to her own experience or rights as a person.

Relationship

Luke primary desire in relation to his victim was to be in control. He enjoyed having power over his victim and knowing that he was inflicting pain and suffering on her. Luke's offending against his victim was entirely one-sided with no pretence of a mutual relationship. His victim did not talk or participate in any way, but was treated by him as a sexual object. Luke said that he was surprised at how different the offending felt, compared to role-playing his rape fantasies with his wife. In his offending against his victim there was no 'bubble' of affection or communication to fall back on, and he said that this made it difficult for him. Luke said that the offending did not live up to his fantasy, but that once the offending had begun, he had too much invested in it to stop.

Actions

Luke's actions are detailed in Figure 7.3. He was hyper-vigilant to threats to his ego and masculinity and responded aggressively to any perceived threats. His behaviour had significant sadistic aspects and he enjoyed humiliating and hurting his victims. He employed both physical and verbal aggression to respond to threatening interactions and usually planned his behaviours well in advance.

Non-offence related

Luke regularly used pornography for masturbation and was particularly attracted to pornography involving violent sex and rape. He also acted out these fantasies of rape and abduction in sexual role-plays with his wife. While he enjoyed pushing the sexual boundaries in his relationship with his wife, Luke found these role-plays unsatisfying and fantasised about abduction and rape.

Luke was controlling of his wife, and rigidly enforced patriarchal gender roles in his family. He decided who his wife could socialise with and when, and would get jealous if she was socialising with anyone else. He also kept a tight control over money and allocated a housekeeping allowance to his wife.

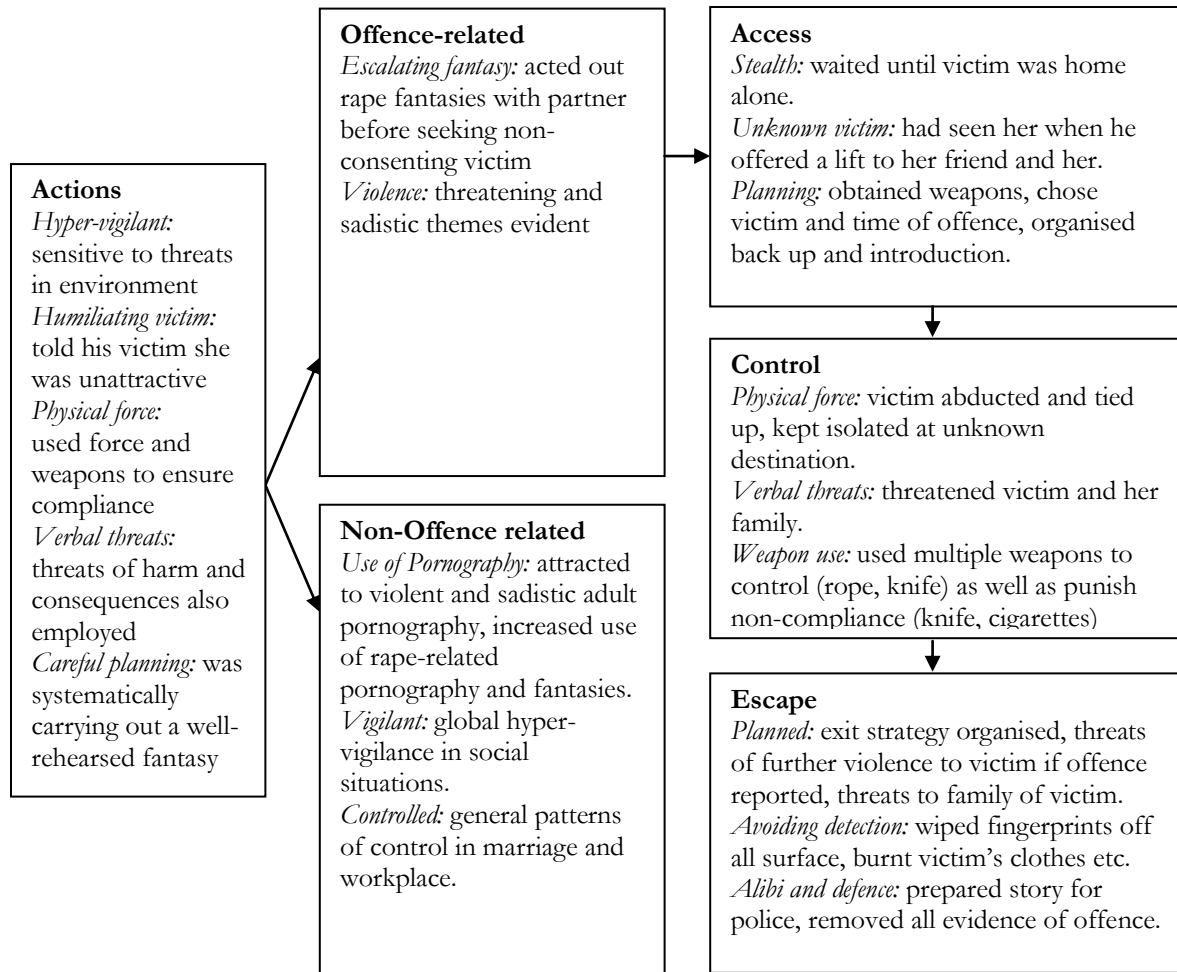


Figure 7.3: Luke's (Master – Slave) Actions

Luke's high but fragile opinion of himself meant that he was hyper-vigilant to threats in social situations. He was generally uncomfortable socialising, and would avoid social situations unless he was convinced that he would be welcome and liked by everyone. He tended to take offence easily and would frequently get into arguments and fights.

Offence related

Access. Luke had decided to act on his fantasies of rape and abduction and was looking for opportunities to offend. He prepared for the offence by keeping a weapon and rope in his car. After giving a ride home to two sisters he decided that he wanted to offend against one of them. The following day he went to the house of his intended victim and found that she was gone but her sister

was home. Having ascertained that the girl was alone at home, he made an excuse to come inside and then kidnapped her.

Control. Luke used physical force and threats of further violence to control his victim. He tied her up and threatened her with a weapon. He then abducted her, removing her from her familiar environment and safety zone. Luke kept his victim tied up throughout the offence and deliberately scared her with threats of violence.

Escape. Luke threatened his victim with dire consequences if she reported him. He threatened further violence against her and her sister if she told anyone what had happened. He deliberately frightened his victim, and counted on her not being able to describe him or the surroundings where the offence took place accurately. Following the offence he wiped down his surroundings for fingerprints, and prepared an alibi in case he was questioned.

Review

The master – slave relationship frame typically involves the offender being dominating and assertive of their own power while not allowing the victim any agency. Luke's behaviour as well as his values typify this relationship frame perfectly. Luke placed a great degree of importance on his own freedom of action and autonomy. He however, denied that his victim had the right to make similar decisions for herself. Luke felt aggrieved with the world and felt that he was owed recompense for his life. He considered the victim largely irrelevant to the offending, as is evident from his choice of continuing the offence even in the absence of his preferred victim. Luke's actions put him at the authoritarian end of the spectrum in terms of his use of power. However, unlike the teacher – student relationship frame, Luke attempted no normative justification of his behaviour. His explanations and justifications for offending stemmed from a sense of entitlement and vengeance.

One similarity between the Master – Slave relationship frame and the Lover – Partner relationship frame in that there is a clear acceptance of the social unacceptability of the offending behaviour. However, the key difference is that, as in Luke's case, the unacceptability is the driving motivation behind the offence, whereas in the Lover – Partner relationship frame it is something that the offender tends to try and ignore or minimise. Overall, Luke's offending is a clear example of the power and control that characterises the Master – Slave relationship frame.

Teacher – Student: Mark

The Teacher – Student relationship frame is characterised by a relationship of trust between the offender and victim that is based on the offender's superior knowledge and experience of the world. Offenders who fitted this relationship frame see both themselves and their victims as being free acting autonomous agents who have entered into a relationship that is both desired by and beneficial to the victim. This case study focuses on Mark. Mark was a pakeha male in his late forties at the time of the index offence. He had a history of offending against young male victims. He had no other criminal convictions other than those relating to his sexual offending. Mark offended against a series of males aged between 11 and 19. His offending often carried on over extended periods of time, the index offence having been the culmination of several months of relationship building. Mark stated a desire for relationships with young men.

Background

At the time of the interview, Mark was in his sixties and had been convicted of a series of offences that occurred in his thirties. Mark was raised by an affluent family that he described as loving and supportive. His childhood was marked by an emphasis on reading and developing knowledge which continued throughout his school years. Mark enjoyed school, and was happy to later secure a job as a teacher. He considered his career as a teacher to be both important and rewarding. He was married to his first long term partner, and had children. Mark loved his wife and

reported no problems in his marriage. He said that his partner was aware of his “predilection for young boys” and that she understood him. His offending against his young male students spanned several decades.

Values

Mark valued his expertise, his social standing, his desire for young people and the respect he was accorded in his community (see Figure 7.4). He felt that he had wide ranging knowledge and experience that entitled him to the respect of his fellow men. He also felt that he as generous in sharing his skills with others and possessed a nurturing and empathic nature. He placed a great deal of value on the sanctity of sex and needed it to be a beautiful experience. He also felt that his desire for young people was natural and harmless.

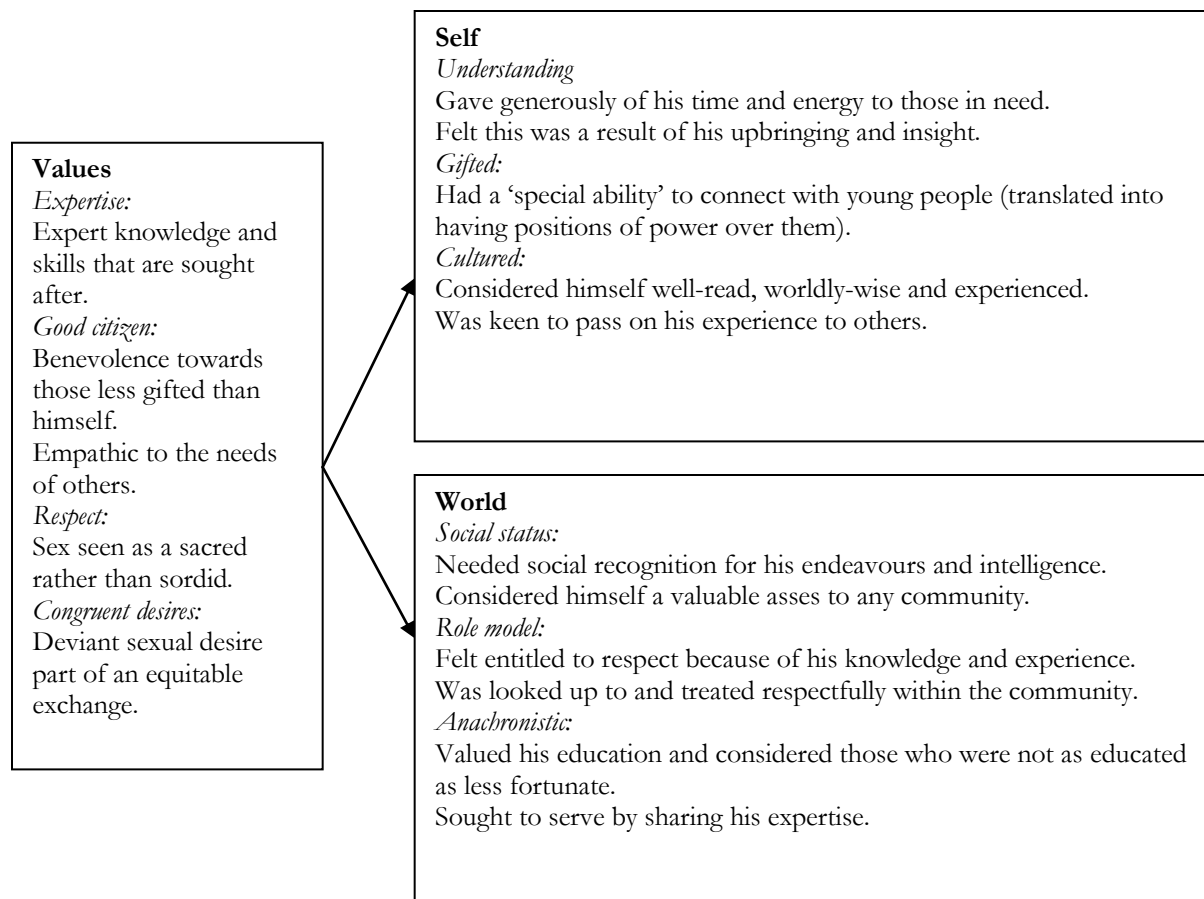


Figure 7.4: Mark’s (Teacher – Student) Values

In his work as a teacher and in other interactions, Mark valued opportunities to pass on knowledge. Teaching to him was good work, which was an important contribution to society. He valued his ability as a good teacher and communicator, who could win the respect of his students, and relate to them on a personal level. He felt that he had a special expertise in his subject area, as well as in his approach to teaching.

Mark also valued social standing, and wanted to be recognised for the contributions he felt he was making. He valued being recognised as a good teacher by his colleagues, his students and their parents. He also felt that he got on well with people, established a good rapport with his students and colleagues and was generally seen as a good person. It was important to him to be acknowledged and even honoured for the work he was doing, and for his skills and abilities. In discussing his offending, Mark applied similar values, arguing that he deserved recognition for the relationships he created with his victims, and for the positive effect he felt he had had on their lives.

Mark valued the opportunity and ability he had to influence the development of the students in his care. He wanted his students to be well rounded individuals with a wide range of intellectual, emotional and physical experiences. Mark felt that he was a principled man, who wanted to instil certain values in his students. It was important to him that his students had a sense of dignity, meaning that they were restrained, quiet and respectful. It was also important to him for students to be tolerant of each other and of diversity, and to show kindness in dealing with others. Mark wanted his students to have an active interest in the world and to be curious and open to new experiences.

Mark saw himself as a kind, generous and loving person. He felt that he was a good husband and had a respectful relationship with his wife. He said that he always treated women with respect and as equals.

Mark valued honesty. He felt that he had a genuinely honest relationship with his wife. In discussing his offending he emphasised the importance of honesty and had never been dishonest,

especially not to his wife. Mark has made his wife aware of his desire for young persons and felt his wife had being extremely understanding.

Cognitions

Mark described his desire for children as natural and argued that children needed and desired the guidance of a more experienced sexual person. He therefore saw himself in the role of mentoring their sexual curiosity. He also believed that sexual contact between an adult and child in no way harmed the child and in fact was a relationship that was to be valued. Mark's cognitions are outlined in Figure 7.5.

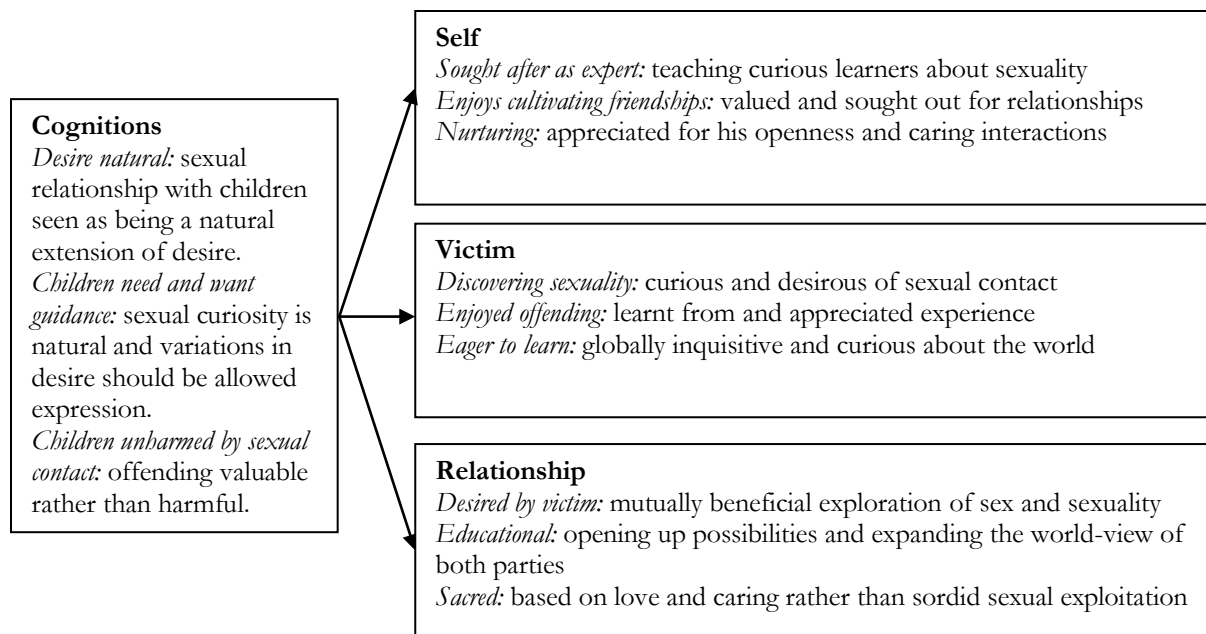


Figure 7.5: Mark's (Teacher – Student) Cognitions

Self

Mark thought of himself as a well-cultured and educated man. He saw himself as intelligent, and gifted beyond the average. The knowledge he had gained and books he had read, were central to his identity. Mark had wide interests beyond academic reading and knowledge, and saw himself as a well-rounded individual. He thought his intelligence and knowledge gave him a high standing in the community, and made him sought after for his expertise. He thought he was a kind and generous

man who acted benevolently towards others. He also thought that he had good social skills and enjoyed meeting new people and cultivating friendships. As a teacher, Mark saw himself as nurturing a wide range of abilities and interests in his students, and instilling the same intellectual curiosity as he valued about himself. Mark saw his sexual offending as a part of introducing his students to new experiences. As an older, more experienced man, he felt he had a lot to offer young people in navigating their experiences of growing up and discovering sexuality.

Victim

Mark saw his victims as enthusiastic students who were eager to learn and curious to try new things. He saw them as desiring knowledge as well as support, and a guiding hand with life experiences. In this, the victims were seen as motivated by a lack of support around them. Mark saw his students as curious about knowledge that they couldn't get from their parents. He thought that they wanted information about sex which they couldn't talk to their parents about. He saw them as being at the brink of adolescence, with a natural curiosity about sex and their own sexuality.

Mark saw his offending as a series of mutually beneficial relationships he had formed with his victims. The offender fulfilled his needs for sexual contact with someone he was attracted to, and he saw the victim as fulfilling their perceived need for an intimate, guiding relationship. Mark saw his victims as exploring their sexuality, and coming into adulthood through a relationship with an older man. He saw his relationships with his victims as opening up a range of possibilities for them, and encouraging them to pursue fulfilment of their desires even when these were not socially sanctioned.

Relationship

Mark thought that sexual touching, including sexual contact between adults and children, was a normal part of growing up. He stated that boys need to learn how to become men, and that sexual contact was part of this process. Mark's claim that children were developing sexual beings was framed within a justification of adult-child sexual relationships. He thought that young people

benefited from having someone older and wiser to teach them. He claimed that sexual contact between adults and children had been acceptable in the past, and would be acceptable again in the future.

Mark believed that his victims had consented to his offending. When asked how he had judged this, he stated that his victims had been physically aroused, which he took to mean that they were interested and consenting to sex. He also said that his victims had not objected to the sexual contact, citing this as further evidence of consent. In claiming that his victims had consented to sex with him, Mark did not refer to the fact that his victims were often drunk at the time. Neither did he refer to inequalities of age, status or power in his relationships with his victims, as a problem in taking a lack of objection as consent.

Actions

Mark acted in ways that were consistent with his world-view (see Figure 7.6). He spent a great deal of time gaining and maintaining his relationships as well as providing the children he was interacting with opportunities to learn. He introduced his victims to various outdoor and indoor leisure activities, taking them on treks, teaching them wishing, going to museums, concerts and the like. Mark was intensely private and secretive about his life and asked the same levels of secrecy be maintained by his victims. A large part of being able to maintain secrecy in an offending relationship was due to Mark's position of authority over his victims.

Non-offence related

Mark liked to be the centre of attention and achieved this in part, by volunteering for various roles which put him at the centre of a social scene. In his work, and in the wider community, he was active in organising social activities. He also made deliberate efforts to develop useful skills and knowledge, and to offer help and advice to others. In this way he cultivated a reputation as a person

that others could look to for advice and support. He also put effort into building close and trusting relationships with others in his community and family.

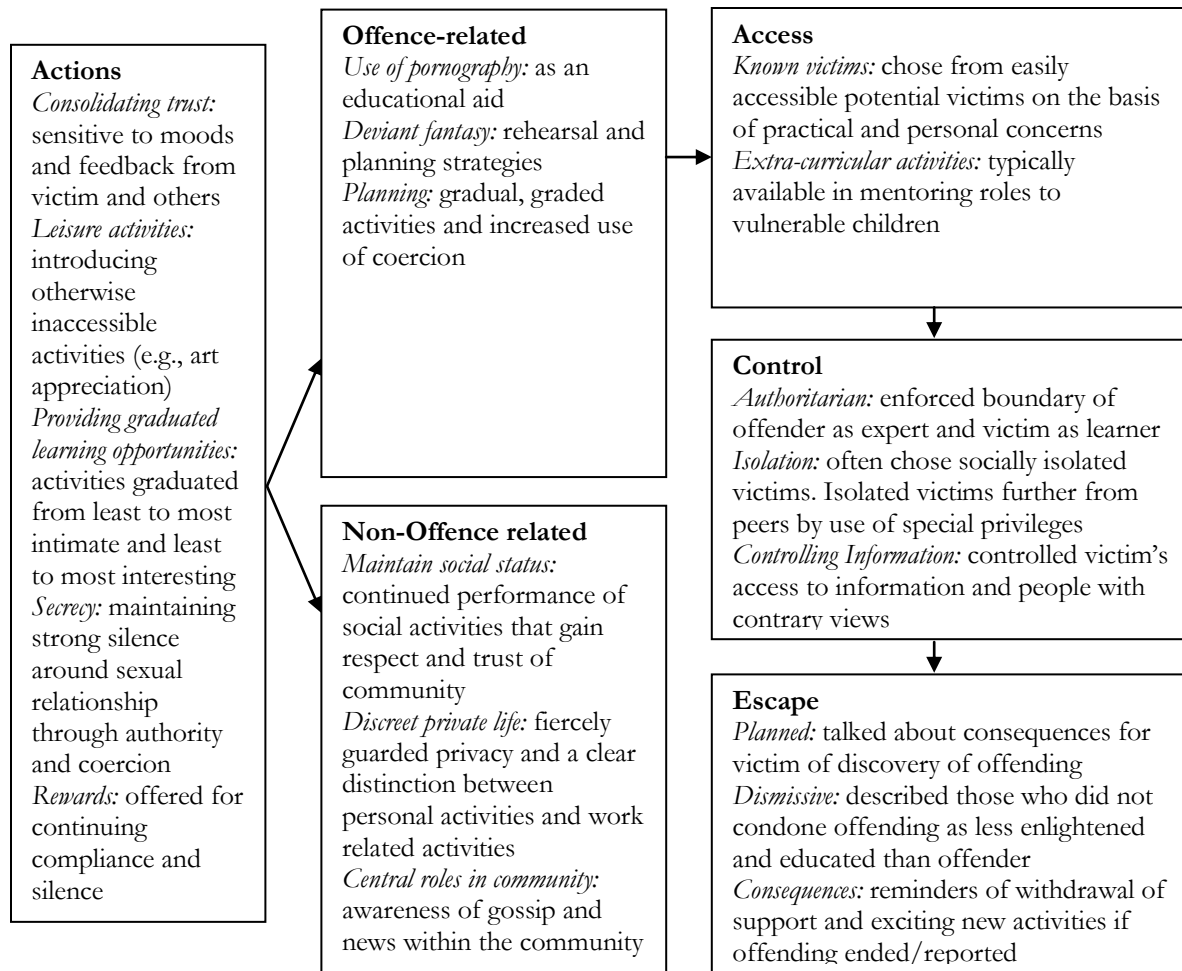


Figure 7.6: Mark's (Teacher – Student) Actions

Offence-related

Access. Mark found access to his victims through the social networks and activities that he organised around him. His primary means of access was through the extra-curricular activities that he organised as a teacher. He would organise hiking trips, and invite students to join, as well as setting up one-on-one tutoring and social activities with students. Mark selected his victims carefully, picking out those students who were from unstable family backgrounds or socially isolated, who needed someone to talk to and would be grateful for a friend. He also chose victims he thought

could keep a secret and be persuaded to keep quiet about his offending. He would then start developing a relationship with the intended victim, initially in a non-sexual manner. He would ensure that his initial approaches could be easily justified and explained as harmless if the child were to get scared and talk to someone about it.

Control. Mark established control over his victims by gradually escalating the intimacy of the relationship and the degree of sexual contact. Having invited his victims home for tutoring or social visits he would offer alcohol and get them drunk. He would then encourage them to participate in talk about sex and would initiate sexual touching. Mark maintained control over his victims, by offering privileges and rewards as long as they did not object to the sexual abuse. He would offer time and attention, social activities and trips away to his victims as a means of maintaining a relationship with them.

Escape. Mark pledged all of his victims to secrecy about his sexual abuse of them. He explained this to his victims by telling them that he was the one who would get in trouble if they were found out, that there was nothing wrong with what they were doing, but that society would judge them for it. He persuaded his victims that he was entirely in their power and made them feel that they would be responsible for the consequences if he were caught. He likewise persuaded his victims that they were responsible for deciding whether they wanted a sexual relationship with him, while using emotional blackmail such as the threatened withdrawal of privileges and other adverse consequences, to ensure that they did not object or speak out about the abuse.

Review

The Teacher – Student relationship frame is characterised by clearly delineated roles for both the offender and the victim, wherein the offender is seen as the expert and the victim as the novice. Mark epitomised this relationship frame. Mark saw himself as being particularly gifted at engaging young persons. He felt he had skills and experience that would be valuable to his victims and saw

himself as being generous in his sharing of those skills. Mark saw his victims as thirsty for knowledge, and felt that they looked to him for guidance. He also believed that the victims were interested in the sexual nature of the relationship, and that they had complete power to stop it at any point. Mark saw a clear hierarchy of roles between himself and his victims, and felt that it was a product of respect that he had earned.

There are similarities between the Teacher – Student relationship frame and others. In terms of the kind of power involved, Mark's patterns of behaviour overlap with those of a Master – Slave relationship. However, unlike the Master – Slave relationship, Mark's justifications for his offending included normative judgements normalising the offending. Mark stated on several occasions that part of what he was educating his victims about was the nature and acceptability of sex between adults and children. In the role of a teacher, there is also an element of the role of a caregiver. However, unlike offenders who fitted the Caregiver – Child framework, Mark's offending is characterised by an explicitly stated authority structure. Overall, Mark's offending fits the model of a self-styled authority who engages in normalised, illicit sexual relationships with victims who are seen as willing but naïve learners.

Caregiver – Child: Matthew

The Caregiver – Child relationship frame is characterised by an ostensibly loving and trusting relationship between the offender and his victims. Offenders who fitted this relationship frame see both themselves as being the facilitators of their victim's needs and see the victims as being delicate individuals in need of support and nurturance. They further believe that the relationship between them and the victim is beneficial to their victim and enhancing their quality of life. This case study focuses on Matthew. Matthew was a pakeha male in his early twenties at the time of the index offence. He had no previous convictions for sexual offending or violent offending but had previously been convicted on drug and alcohol charges. He was engaged in gainful employment at

the time of the offending. Matthew offended against an acquaintance. His victim was an eleven year old male at the time the offending began and was thirteen when it came to an end. Matthew offended against the same victim over a period of several months and attempted to offend against his victim's siblings.

Background

Matthew was 23 years old at the time of the index offence. After finishing school, Matthew worked odd jobs before taking a course at polytechnic. He felt that his mother was disappointed in him for not going to university and didn't respect him or his work. At the time of the offending, he was in part-time employment as a technician in the entertainment industry.

Matthew had a history of sexual abuse in his upbringing. He had been abused by friends of the family. Matthew felt that his family was emotionally detached, and that he had been neglected as a child. His father left when he was young, and he was brought up by his mother, but he didn't feel close to her. Matthew felt that his mother subordinated him to her work. He had been left in the care of people who abused him, and he blamed his mother for not noticing this or protecting him.

Matthew had a history of drug and alcohol abuse and had minor drug convictions. At the time of the offence, he felt that his addictions were under control. Matthew was known to his young male victim, having introduced himself and become friendly with the family.

Values

Matthew's values are outlined in Figure 7.7. Overall the values clustered around his desire for clear boundaries delineating his authority, his being an adequate provider, his being nurturing and facilitating of development and his loving nature.

Family was important to Matthew. His values centred around caring, nurturing and facilitating family ties. He valued the role played by a caregiver in the life of a child, and wanted to provide genuine nurturing support to children in his care. He valued authority, but felt that authority

in a relationship comes from the strength of the relationship. He desired relationships with others in which he felt worthy of trust and leadership. Matthew felt that he had lacked positive authority figures in his upbringing. He wanted to be a positive role model for children, and to help provide them with direction and guidance.

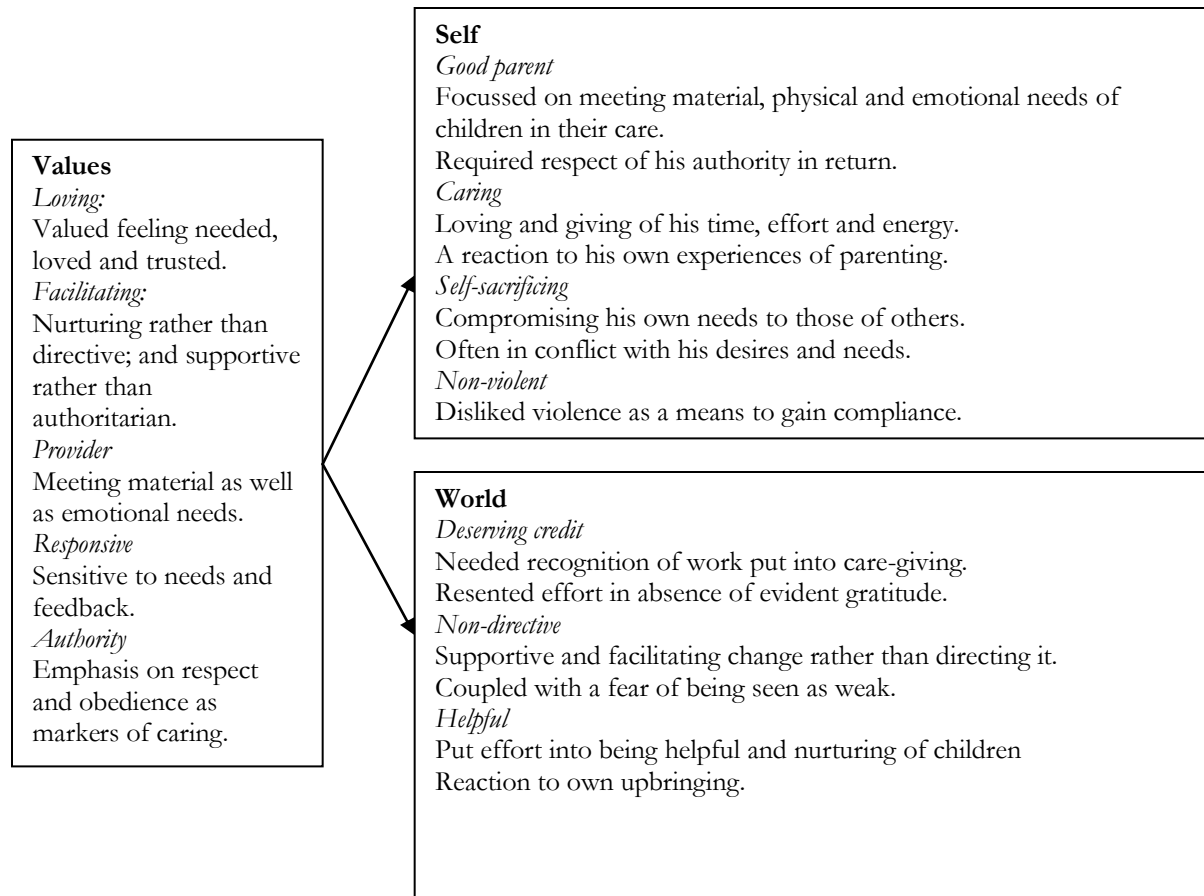


Figure 7.7: Mathew (Caregiver – Child) Values

In his own upbringing, fixed rules and principles had been important, and Matthew valued the stability that this gave him. He felt that clear boundaries and expectations were important in a caregiver-child relationship. It was important to him to be consistent and firm in setting boundaries, but also felt that these could be negotiated and discussed. In general terms he felt that he was entitled to respect and obedience in return for his caring and support.

Matthew valued non-coercive relationships and didn't like violence in any form. He wanted to be seen as facilitating rather than directing. He saw his most valuable skills as being interpersonal rather than intellectual. He valued his ability to care for others and to support them in achieving personal fulfilment. He felt that this support had been missing in his childhood and wanted to provide it to young people in his care.

Matthew valued honesty and directness in relationships. He appreciated children because he saw them as more genuine and honest than adults. He valued what he saw as children's willingness to give and receive feedback. He saw the caregiver-child relationship as being based on honest communication in a way that few adult relationships could be.

Cognitions

Mathew's cognitions centred around his belief that he was facilitating his victim's development. He also thought that his interaction with victims was that of a respectful caregiver and that he was owed a similar respect in return. Mathew also felt that his relationships with children were more honest and less complicated than those with adults. He believed this was because children were less disingenuous and stated their needs clearly.

Self

Mathew thought of himself as a kind and generous person. He believed that he was the only positive influence in the life of his victim. Mathew wanted to and believed he was helping his victim learn about himself and the world. In his relationship with his victim Mathew saw himself as being in a supportive, rather than a directive role. Mathew was emotionally tied up with the victim, and desired a relationship based on honesty and trust. Mathew also believed that sexual relationships between adults and children were acceptable, as long as there was no force used. Given his own experience of abuse, violence and neglect, he concluded that as long as he was being kinder to his victims than his abusers had been to him, he was doing nothing harmful.

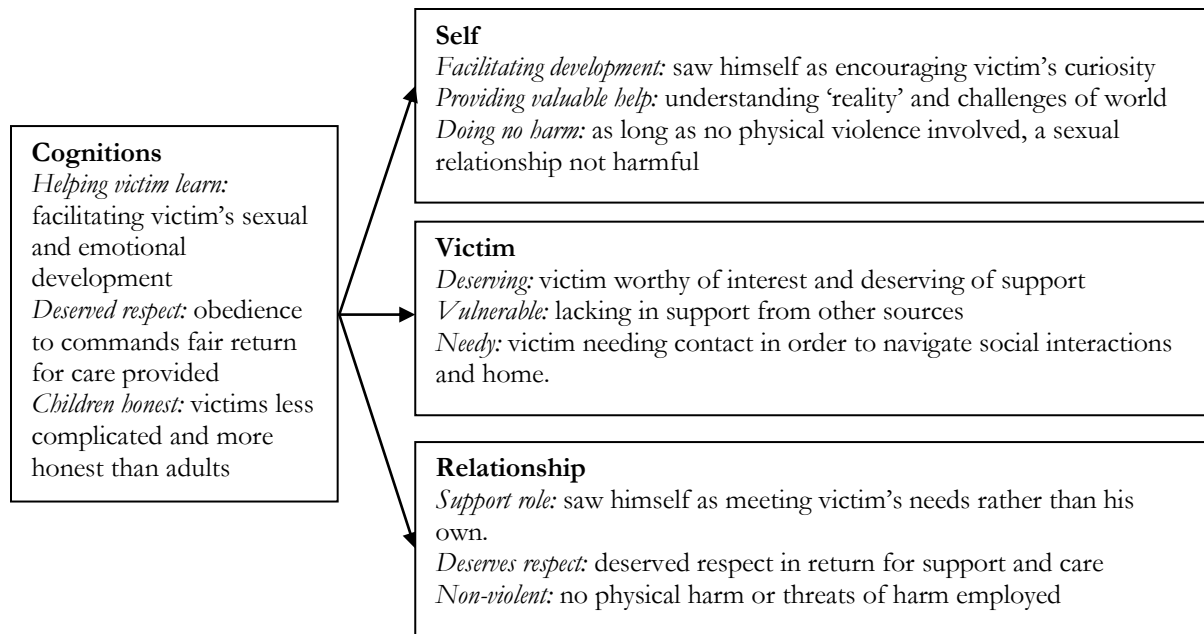


Figure 7.8: Mathew's (Caregiver – Child) Cognitions

Victim

Mathew believed that children were more genuine and honest than adults, and as such more capable of having genuine relationships. He felt that if a child didn't like something you were doing, they were more likely to tell you if it didn't feel right. Mathew found his victim to be an intelligent and intuitive person. He valued and respected the well-being of his victim, and did not have any desire to harm him. Mathew found his victim to be compliant to his wishes. On the occasions that victim did not wish to engage in a particular activity, Mathew was careful to respect the victim's wishes and step back. Mathew saw his victim as being in need of support that was lacking from the victim's immediate family, and appreciated the opportunity to provide the support.

Relationship

Mathew saw children as being well functioning autonomous agents. He felt that the victim was capable and willing to meet his emotional needs and physical desires. Mathew believed that the victim had ample freedom and opportunity to set and change the boundaries of their relationship. He felt that the relationship between him and the victim was based on mutual caring and respect.

Mathew felt that he had earned the respect of his victim by showing consistent and genuine caring for the victim's well-being; taking care of the victim's material needs; and being supportive of the victim emotionally. Mathew found that the support and caring was reciprocated, and that he got a great deal out of his relationship with his victim.

Actions

Mathew's actions, as shown in Figure 7.9, focussed on taking material care of others. He saw his role as meeting his victim's needs and dispelling ignorance about sex. He felt that he contributed to preparing his victims for adulthood. His actions included the use of reward and punishments to gain withdrawal as well as the creation of a network of relationships wherein he was a trusted member of the wider family.

Non offence related

Mathew was generally considered to be a loner, and didn't have very many social contacts. As such the activities he engaged in were generally solitary. As a result, Mathew had a socially isolated life. Addictions to alcohol and drugs played a significant role in his recreational activities, and Mathew often used his addictions to cope with feeling socially awkward.

Offence related

Access. Mathew befriended his victim walking back from school. He then gained the confidence of his victim's brother, and eventually his mother. Mathew became a trusted part of the family, and was often asked to baby-sit or take the children for recreational activities. The victim's mother was addicted to alcohol, and Mathew encouraged her addiction in order to create more opportunities to be alone with the victim. Mathew also established himself in the life of the victim as someone to go to for money and fun activities. For instance, Mathew paid for both the children to attend school camp, something that their mother was unable to afford. Mathew would also take

his victim out on his own. This isolated the victim from his mother and brother and made him more dependent on Mathew.

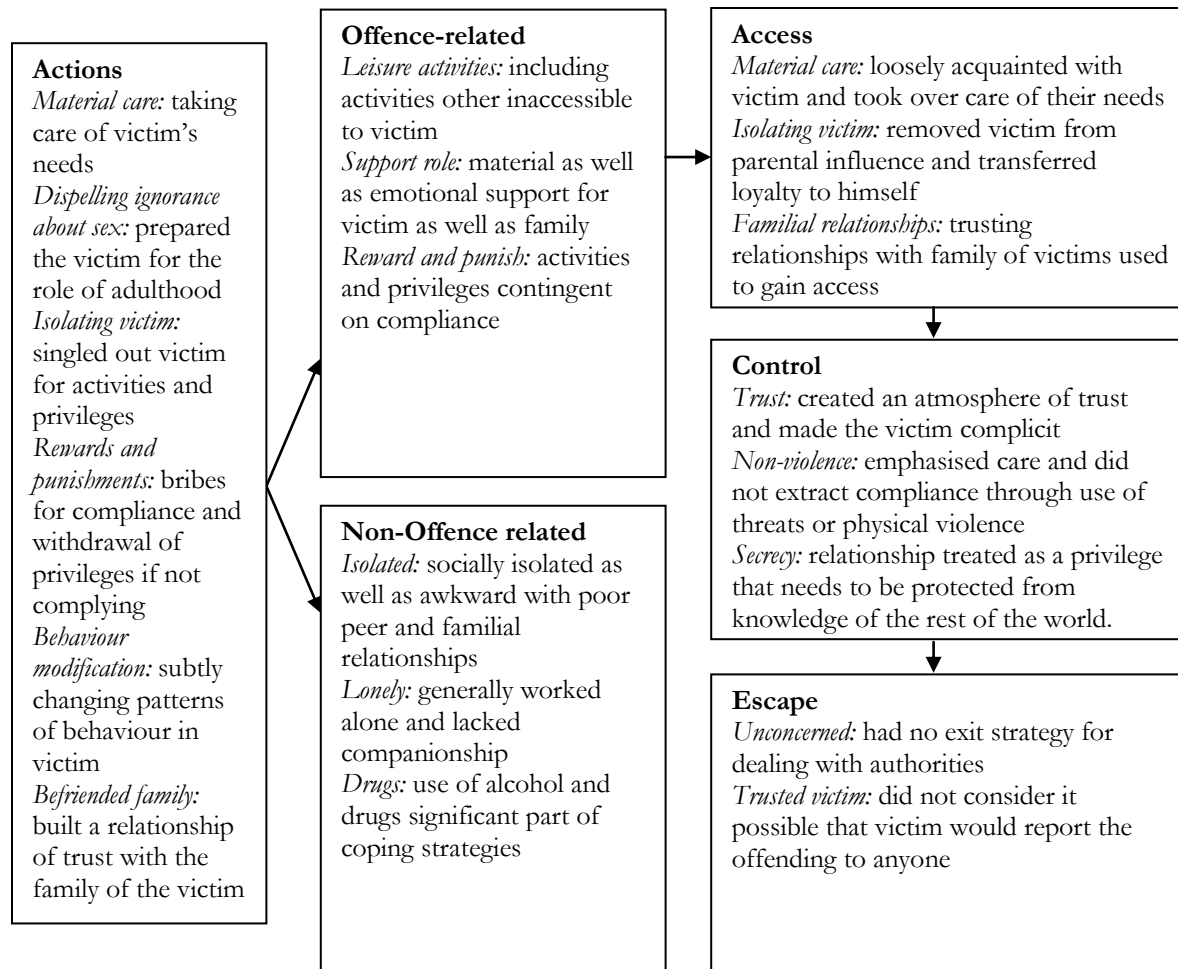


Figure 7.9: Mathew's (Caregiver – Child) Actions

Control. Mathew created a relationship of trust and dependence between him and his victim. The victim was financially dependent on Mathew for treats that his own family could not provide, and this gave Mathew some measure of authority over the victim. Mathew also encouraged an exclusive relationship between the victim and himself. The victim's brother was only occasionally permitted to be part of the 'special' activities that Mathew and the victim habitually engaged in. This created a distinction between the privileges accorded to the victim (who Mathew was offending against at the time) and his brother. Mathew also made the relationship between him and his victim

a secret between them. He told the victim not to talk to anyone else about their relationship, as other people would misunderstand the relationship. In talking about the consequences of them being found out, Mathew would emphasise the material and emotional costs to the victim. He told his victim that if he told anyone about their relationship it would end, along with all the privileges that came with it.

Escape. Matthew said that he trusted his victim not to reveal the nature of their relationship and believed that the victim would not want the relationship to end. Matthew had worked to make the victim complicit in the offending, as well as creating a bond of emotional and material dependence. He expected that the victim would feel guilty and scared of revealing the relationship. Matthew had impressed the need for secrecy on his victim so often, that maintaining the deception had become second nature for both of them. He relied on the relationship being a secret and was unconcerned about getting caught.

Review

Nurturing and facilitating are key features of the Caregiver – Child relationship frame. Matthew is an excellent exemplar of this frame for a number of reasons. He displayed a great deal of caring and affection for his victims, and undertook much of their material care. He also made it an object to be on excellent terms with the victim's family, and to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual regard. Matthew used rewards and punishment as ways of controlling the behaviour of his victim, and ensured that there would be negative consequences for the victim if the offending were to be revealed. In support of this objective he made his victim complicit in the offending.

The Caregiver – Child relationship frame has some overlap with the Teacher – Student relationship frame in that there is an element of caring in both. However, where the care role in the Teacher – Student relationship is a structural part of the relationship, in Matthew's case it stemmed more from a position of emotional connectedness. This makes it similar to the Lover – Partner

relationship frame, which also gains its power from mutual caring. However, the key difference between the two is that in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame, there is much more normative basis for an existing pro-social relationship between an adult and a child. Matthew used the nature of this relationship to justify his offending in a way that offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame can not. Matthew was also a good example of the use of co-operative power to control victims.

Lover – Partner: Jack

The Lover – Partner relationship frame is characterised by an ostensibly equally loving relationship between the offender and his victims. Offenders who fit this relationship frame see both themselves and their victims as being free acting autonomous agents, who have entered into a mutually beneficial relationship with full consent and fore-knowledge. This case study focuses on Jack. Jack was a pakeha male in his early forties at the time of the index offence. He had no previous convictions for sexual offending or violent offending. He was however, at the time of his offending, engaged in a legal battle over his tax returns. Jack offended against his step-daughter. His victim was 13 at the time the offending began and was 17 when it came to an end. Jack offended against the same victim over a period of several years with some degree to regularity as well as escalation of sexual contact.

Background

Jack was in his early forties at the time of the interview and had had no prior convictions. Jack grew up in a non-tactile, emotionally distant family. He described his childhood as happy and uneventful. He did not suffer any emotional, physical or sexual abuse. He went through school with good self esteem and with no major concerns. Subsequently he attended university. He had several relationships and considered himself attractive and a good catch. After working and travelling overseas, he began what he considered to be his first serious relationship, and got married. Jack's

wife had children from a previous relationship, and he saw himself as a father to them. He wanted to be an emotionally present father to his step-children, and break the mould set by his own distant father. Jack had a steady small business that he'd started himself, and he considered himself a self-made person. He was used to being looked up to, and respected as a hands-on manager. In the time just prior to his offending against his step-daughter, he was over-stretched and stressed at work. His relationship with his wife was also under strain.

Values

Jack's values (see Figure 7.10) clustered around; the mutuality of the relationship forged with his victim; the emotional intimacy that was gained by both partners; the respectful and supportive nature of the relationship; the non-abusive, non-violent and non-coercive nature of his relationship; as well as the independence he allowed both himself and his victim.

Jack was proud of his skills as a lover, and his ability to give pleasure to his partner. He saw sexual prowess as an important part of being a man: "a man should know how to please his woman". For Jack, being good at sex was an important part of being a good man. Being able to give pleasure to a partner was central to his self-esteem.

Jack was the main wage earner in the house. He described himself as considerate of his wife's interests and needs, in his decisions about how to spend his money. It was important to him to be financially and emotionally supportive of his family. He believed that he put his wife's needs above his own, for instance by supporting her desire for expensive renovations. When his marriage broke up, he resented the divorce settlement because he felt that he had always been generous.

Jack saw himself as a respectful person, both in his relationship with his wife as well as with the relationship he had with his step-daughter. He felt it was important to respect other people's boundaries, and not to push them into things they didn't want to do. Jack therefore placed a high value on consent in sex, saying that he had never had to force a partner to have sex with him. He

saw himself as courteous and polite in his interactions with others, and expected the same in return. In his work he preferred to deal with his employees politely rather than pulling rank. Jack was proud that he had never hit his partner, despite what he and his friends saw as provocation. He valued his ability to control his anger, both at home and at work.

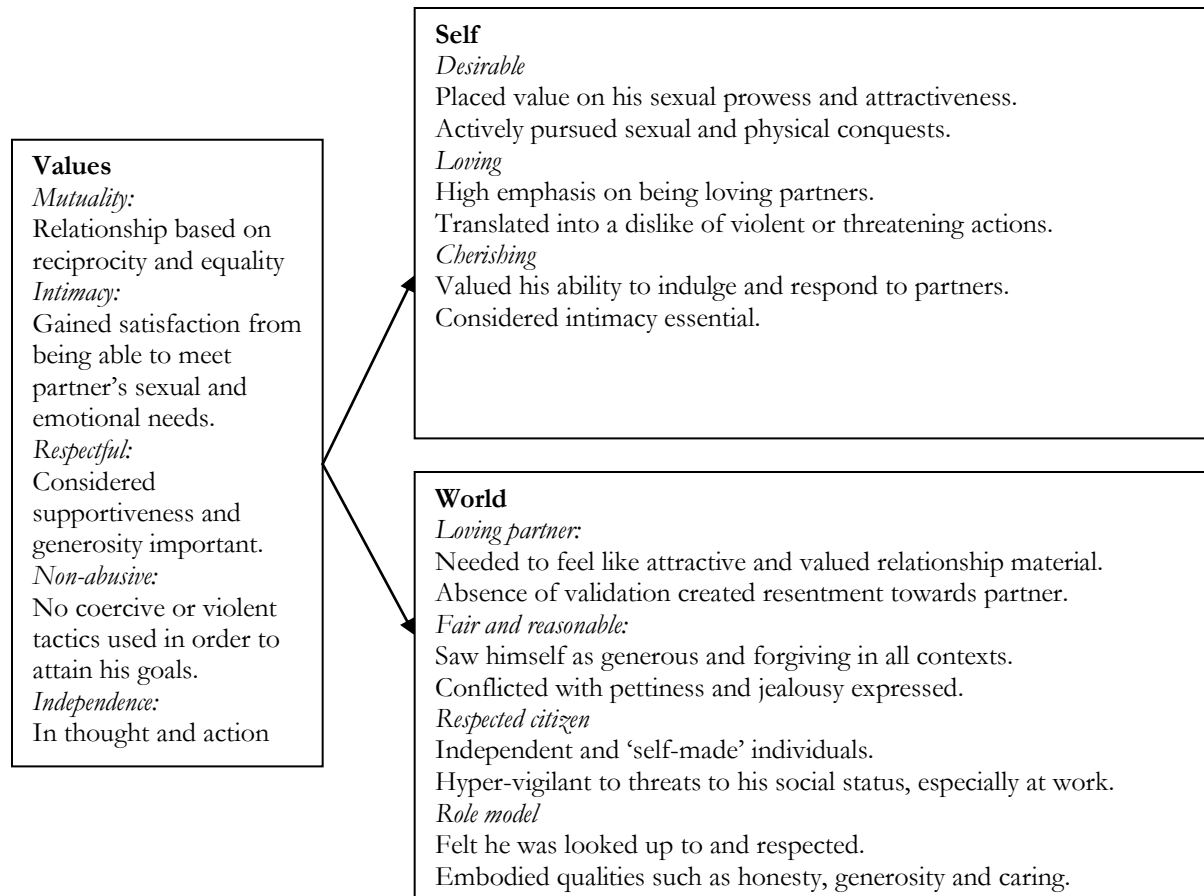


Figure 7.10: Jack's (Lover – Partner) Values

Jack wanted a cooperative and mutual relationship. He wanted his partner to feel comfortable enough with him to give and take feedback, and be able to say how they felt. It was important to him that his relationship felt equal, and that both partners had a similar amount of power, autonomy and voice within the relationship. In his relationship with his victim, he highlighted her independence and her initiation of intimate contact as being important. Jack said that he didn't just want "an object to have sex with" but rather a person who wanted him.

Jack thought he was attractive for his age. He said in the interview that he had let himself go somewhat while in prison, but was still working out. “You wouldn’t know it to look at me now, but before I got landed in jail I was considered quite a good specimen and a catch”. Jack liked others finding him attractive and placed a high value on his desirability.

It was important to him to be seen as a respectable member of society. He wanted people to accept and appreciate his generosity. This meant that having money and material things, and being able to gift them, was important to him. He wanted public and personal recognition for his generosity. He had a very clear work ethic. Jack “worked hard and played hard”. Jack thought that people looked up to him. His workmates liked him because he was kind and helpful. He was a hands-on manager, and liked to include his employees in the business. He saw himself as a valuable contribution to society and the economy, because he ran a successful small business and treated his employees well. It was also important to him to have a good standing in the community. He was an active member of several sports clubs and felt that he was generally well liked.

Cognitions

Jack’s cognitions are set out in Figure 7.11. He thought that both his victim and he were equal partners in a consensual relationship. He felt that his victim was mature enough to understand and give informed consent. He also felt that she was capable of intimacy and enjoyed their sexual and intimate relationship as much as he did. He also thought that his victim honestly cared for him as a partner and was sexually attracted to him.

Self

Jack saw himself as being deeply in love with his victim. He felt like he had finally found his soul mate in his victim and that they shared a bond that was unique. Jack described his feelings for his victim as being more intense and all-consuming than any of his previous relationships, including his marriage. He was emotionally invested in the relationship, and claimed that he genuinely cared

about his victim's happiness and welfare. He felt closer to his victim than to his partner, and felt a stronger connection with his victim. Jack felt he could be more emotionally vulnerable and open around his victim than around his partner. He found it easier to talk to his victim when he was stressed at work, and felt that she had a greater understanding of his life than his wife did.

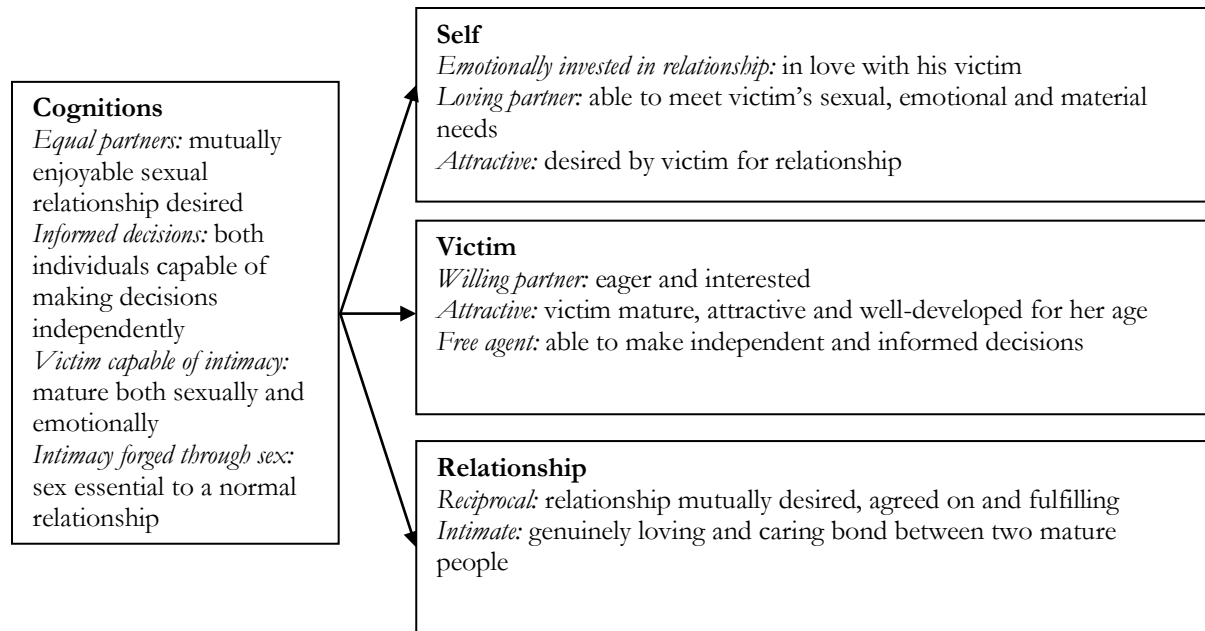


Figure 7.11: Jack's (Lover – Partner) Cognitions

Jack saw himself as being caring and loving towards his victim. He believed that he was acutely aware of the needs and desires of his victim, and that he was striving to be responsive towards them. He also believed that he was supportive of his victim. He prided himself on having assisted her work through issues. He felt that he deserved credit for the time and attention he had spent on his victim. Jack believed that he was a sensitive man who just needed affection and support to make him happy. During his offending he felt that his relationship with his victim was meeting his needs for unconditional love and support.

Victim

Jack thought that his victim was an engaging young woman who was discovering her sexuality and herself. He thought she was beautiful, smart and mature. She was “not a silly girl”. She

was respected by his co-workers, who would take instructions from her. She had a good head for business, and he saw her as capable of making an independent contribution to his work. She had a quick grasp of concepts and issues, both personally and in the workplace. Jack saw his step-daughter as independent and assertive. She had a clear idea of what she wanted from people, and could hold her own in intellectual and emotional terms. Jack saw his victim as a willing partner who knew what she was getting into.

Relationship

Jack thought that his relationship with his victim was an excellent example of a mutually beneficial intimate relationship. He believed that there was a genuine bond between him and his victim that was felt by both. He saw the relationship as being intimate rather than sexual, and did not want to have penetrative sex with his victim. He thought that his victim enjoyed their intimacy and their relationship, and contributed equally to it. He found the relationship helpful in giving him a sense of security, and making it possible for him deal with financial and other issues that were going on in his life at the time. Jack believed that the victim also found the relationship supportive of her needs. He saw himself as helping her through difficult times, listening to her problems and working through issues with her. He saw the money and time he spent on his relationship with his victim as “lavishing attention on her”.

Actions

Jack’s actions (as shown in Figure 7.12) were based around courting his victim. To do so, he took his victim out on dates and shared his life with her. He showered her with gifts as token of affection. He also provided her with emotional and material support. He treated her with respect and consideration; and gave her the choice to engage or walk away from a relationship with him. He also isolated her from her peers and reduced her other sources of support. Jack felt that both he and his victim were solely emotionally dependent on each other and did not desire contact with the

outside world. He maintained a non-threatening relationship where he subtle coercion rather than force to meet his needs.

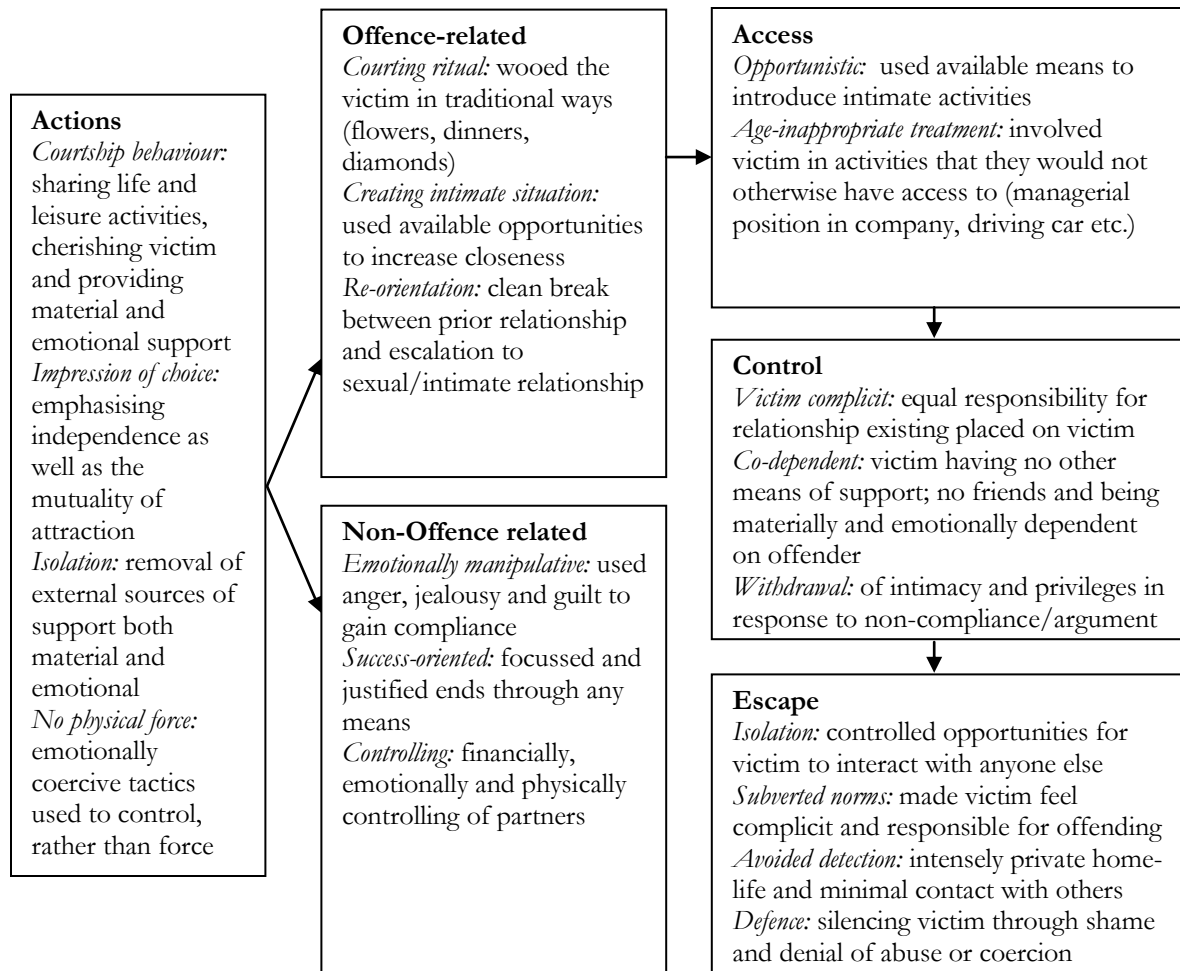


Figure 7.12: Jack's (Lover – Partner) Actions

Non-offence related

Jack was an extremely focussed individual, who wanted to be a success and placed a great deal of emphasis on material success. As such, he was very focussed on money and tended to be controlling of money in his relationships. He often had arguments with his partner as well as with his co-workers about financial decisions. He would use access to money as a way of controlling his wife. For instance, Jack would question his wife's daily spending and complain about money she spent on socialising with her friends. He also reported having anger-management issues, and had

received feedback from his wife that he was intimidating. Jack had a pattern of emotionally manipulative behaviour. He would threaten to withdraw affection if he didn't get his way, and would use anger or intimidation to get his partner to agree with what he wanted.

Offence-related

Access. Jack already had access to his victim in that she was his step-daughter. Prior to the offending, Jack had what he described as a 'civil' relationship with his partner's children. As his relationship with his wife started breaking down, he started spending more time with his step-children. He described his step-son as being considerably younger and less mature than his step-daughter, and cited this as a key factor in his decision to spend more time on his relationship with his step-daughter. Jack was aware that the victim had a strained relationship with her mother, and would use any excuse to get out of the house. He suggested they take their dog for walks together, and these walks became a regular feature of their relationship. He also started taking her with him to work and involving her in the business, giving her significant adult responsibilities. He would invite her to sit on business meetings and interviews, and took her with him for after-work drinks and business trips. When his relationship with his partner broke up he gained custody of his step-daughter and they moved into a smaller house together.

Control. Jack created a relationship with his victim where she was emotionally dependent on him for day to day support. Since the victim was living with him and away from her mother he was her sole source of emotional as well as financial stability. He treated her as he had treated his partner when their relationship was more functional. He took her out with him for expensive dates, and encouraged one-on-one time with her. He also gave her privileges, such as free use of the house and car, and spending money. But these privileges were dependent on her behaving like a partner and being intimate and sexual with him.

Escape. Jack controlled who the victim could socialise with, and made her emotionally dependent on him, to the point that she had no social life outside of the time she spent with him. Jack encouraged his victim to not visit her mother or to invite her family over. On the occasions that the victim's brother visited, Jack and his victim slept in separate bedrooms and no mention was made of the nature of their relationship. Jack didn't overtly forbid his victim from telling anyone about their relationship, but he did monitor her interactions with others and stressed the privacy of their relationship. He told her not to gossip or be vulgar by talking about sex.

Review

Jack was a prototypical example of the Lover – Partner relationship frame. This relationship frame is characterised by an ostensibly equal relationship between consenting adults. As is evident from the above description of Jack's values and behaviour, he certainly fitted this condition. Jack felt that he was deeply invested in having an intimate relationship with his victim. He saw his victim as sharing this desire and participating equally in building a mutually fulfilling and loving relationship. Jack thus saw himself at the non-authoritarian end of the continuum. When he justified his offending, Jack used claims of the equality and mutuality of the relationship between him and his victim as evidence that the relationship had been consensual, and did not attempt a justification of his actions in terms of social norms.

Jack's framing of his relationship with his victim makes him similar to those of a Caregiver – Child relationship in that his power was based on emotional connectedness rather than systemic authority. However, in contrast to the caregiver – child relationship frame, Jack needed to see his victim as an autonomous, consenting, adult. Therefore his understanding of the victim's compliance stemmed from her desire for the same relationship rather than a need to keep him satisfied. Overall, Jack's behaviour was that of a man who believed himself to be in love with a consenting, adult partner.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the presentation of four case studies demonstrating how individual offenders pass through the SORF model. One prototypical example was presented for each relationship frame and discussed in terms of the SORF model. The offence history and personal background of each offender was presented, followed by an analysis of the specific process of their index offence in terms of the values, cognitions and actions displayed.

The four offenders presented in this chapter each represented a relationship frame namely: Master – Slave, Teacher – Student, Caregiver – Child and Lover – Partner. Each of these relationship frames gives a general picture of the kind of relationship between the offenders and their victims. As discussed in the previous chapter, each relationship frame is characterised by a set of core values that the offenders use to inform their cognition as well as actions. These values relate to what the offender thinks of as worthy and good and give rise to various ways of thinking about themselves, others and their relationships. Accordingly, their cognitions can be categorised in terms of self-perception, victim-perception and relational-perception. These sets of value-laden cognitions inform specific actions and strategies that offenders use to meet their goals.

The offenders chosen had the best fit with the relationship frame, and are the most typical of it. They were specifically chosen to be representative of the relationship frame to clearly explain how the relationship frames work. Each case study focused on the story of an offender who epitomises the values, cognitions and beliefs typical of the relationship frame in question. The case study examined the background factors relating to the offender's life and experience growing up until the time of the index offence. Having established the context within which the offending took place, the case study then outlined the ways in which the offender's cognitions, values and actions relate to and reflected the relationship frame.

A number of things become evident from an evaluation of the above four case studies.

First, it is clear that offenders who fitted a particular relationship frame have a clearly defined set of values that underpin their cognitions and subsequently their actions. Looking at the case studies, a clear pathway can be traced between the values held by the offender and the thoughts and feelings about themselves, the world, and their victim. It is further evident, that the values held by the offender can, on occasion, be in conflict with each other, and that this conflict creates an internal process of justification and explanation. As such, it would seem evident that understanding the values of offenders is a key aspect of not only understanding their offending, but also of having a means of engaging with this narrative on their own terms within the treatment process.

Second, as was evident from the previous chapter, each offender's values and cognitions create a particular manner of framing their relationship with their victim. This framing dictates to a large extent the language used to describe the offending as well as the actions undertaken by the offender during the offence pattern. The examination of the case studies allows the complexity of the individuals to be visible. This makes it possible to see that there are numerous different ways of expressing the same values, as well as several different actions one can take based on them. Not every case that meets the requirements for a given relationship frame will manifest in the same manner.

The case studies highlight the need to focus on the specific patterns for each offender. Even while there are distinct relationship frames, consideration of case studies makes clear that each has a complexity within them that needs attention. This signals the importance of listening to, and valuing the narrative of, the offender, in order to obtain the most applicable treatment objectives for that offender. The case studies link the evidence of framing and the literature on narrative identity, by showing the nature of the framing evident in the narrative of particular offenders. The cohesiveness of the case studies points towards the existence of a stable narrative identity that is being expressed

by the offender. The implications of a narrative identity will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.

Overall, this chapter serves to track individual offenders through their pathway to offending, and create a narrative flow for the relationship frames that were explored in the previous chapter. In the following chapter, the implication and applications of the SORF model will be evaluated, with reference to the existing literature on the research and treatment of sexual offenders.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

This study has addressed two major gaps in the existing literature on child sexual offending. First, while there has been a great deal of attention to the cognitive products produced by sexual offenders in explaining their offending, there has been a lack of research looking at the cognitive processes underlying their offending. Second, as a consequence of this over-emphasis on cognition, the area of value and affect has been largely ignored in the study of sex offending. In gaining a better understanding of the values of sexual offenders, this study therefore makes a contribution to filling gaps in the literature, by explaining offenders' cognitive processes and motivations.

The primary purpose of the current study was to ascertain the role values play in the offence process of child sex offenders. This was based on existing literature that suggested the role of values in sexual offending had been under-studied. In presenting the Judgement Model of Cognitive Distortion (JMCD), Ward et al. (2006) argued that values were at the root of the cognitive processing of sexual offenders. They further argued that understanding the values underlying offending was key to both evaluating and rehabilitating offenders. Based on the arguments put forth in the JMCD and elsewhere, it was hypothesised that values would emerge as playing a key role in the offence process of the sample of sex offenders interviewed in the present study. It was further hypothesised that the values underlying each offender's offence process would be essential to understanding both the offence and the manner in which to engage the offender in treatment. This research sought to test for the role suggested for values in the JMCD as primary motivating factors in goal-directed cognition. Further, the research aimed to understand the specific roles that values played within each offence process and to examine the connections and interactions between values, cognitions and actions.

The second research question related to the manner in which, and the mechanisms through which, the offenders chose to account for their offending. Previous research had indicated a wide

range of explanations and justifications that were offered by offenders for the behaviours they engaged in (Gannon et al., 2007). Various researchers have treated these justifications in different ways. Some researchers seek to understand the function of the explanations offered, while others treat the statements as products of underlying beliefs that drive the offenders (Mann & Beech, 2003). The current study sought to understand the content, as well as the purpose of offenders' accounts of their offending. The purpose was to understand the offenders' intention in choosing certain ways of accounting for their offending over others. Drawing on narrative identity literature (Ward & Marshall, 2007) it was expected that each offender's value-based narrative identity would be central to the manner in which they chose to account for their action. It was hypothesised that offenders would choose to account for their offending in ways that were consistent with their values. This is to say that offenders would strive to be internally consistent to their world-view, or account for their departures from their world-view. This research aimed to build on existing research by examining the specific mechanisms of justification used by offenders, and evaluating the function of these mechanisms in the offence process.

A final research question posed for the current study pertained to the reasoning employed by sexual offenders. The cognition of sexual offenders has been characterised in the research as being irrational, deliberate or unconscious, instinctive and uncontrollable (Vanhouche & Vertommen, 1999). An enduring contention in research has been that offenders are being either deliberately or unconsciously misleading in their responses. A parallel theme in research has suggested that offenders have fundamentally flawed reasoning and decision-making processes, which make their cognition abnormal. Ward and colleagues have suggested over the years that the primary error in the cognition of offenders lies, not necessarily in their ability to think clearly, but in a combination of having maladaptive goals, and an inability to fulfil their needs through non-offending channels (e.g., Ward, 2000; Ward et al., 2006). By asking whether and how offenders are thinking irrationally,

this research has examined and unpacked the phenomena of cognitive distortions. Based on the reviewed research, it was hypothesised that offenders would have maladaptive cognitive processes. It was further hypothesised that the errors in reasoning would be a function of inappropriate values and goal-setting, that led to offenders pursuing ends that are incompatible with their long term well being. The purpose of this research was to extend the current understanding of explanations and justifications offered by offenders, and clarify them in terms of existing literature around cognition and cognitive distortions.

Review of Findings

The current study was based around three basic research questions:

1. What role do values play in the cognitive processes of child sex offenders?
2. What mechanisms do offenders use to account for their offending?
3. In what ways is the reasoning and decision-making of sex offenders irrational?

It was hypothesised that: (a) values would be found to play an important role in the offence process; (b) offenders' account of their actions would be internally consistent with their values, self and narrative identity; and (c) that the errors in reasoning would be a function of inappropriate values and goal-setting, that led to offenders pursuing ends that were incompatible with their long term well being.

As detailed in the previous two chapters, the results of the grounded theory analysis indicate that values are in fact an important part of the offenders' cognitive processing leading up to, during, and after the commission of the offence. It became clear during the process of coding that the values (both stated and implied) of the offenders were central to their sense of self, their practical as well as moral decision-making, and their perception of the world around them. As such, it was evident that values were at the core of offenders' construction of their narrative identities, which in turn were important for their behaviour on a day to day basis. Values were also found to be

underlying the beliefs and actions of the offenders. The analysis showed that offenders' beliefs and actions were strongly allied to their values. What the offenders valued often defined the nature of what they believed to be true about themselves and the world, and informed their action. Axial coding of the interviews illustrated that values tended to cluster together. This is to say that certain values tended to co-exist more easily than others. For instance, offenders who expressed the importance of the value of learning also expressed the importance of the value of benevolence. Similarly offenders who stressed the value of money also stressed the value of autonomy. Conversely, offenders who stressed the value of money tended not to stress the value of learning. It appeared that some values go better together than others.

An interesting note on the subject of the clustering of values was their purpose. During coding it became evident that some values (e.g., fiscal freedom) were nested within other more abstract values (e.g., autonomy). It also appeared that not all values were equal. This meant that values could carry different weights and that, depending on the circumstances at hand, one value could be subordinated to another. There was also evidence that suggested that some values were absolute. Therefore, for a particular offender there could be one or more values that could not be compromised under any circumstances, or the compromising of which had serious and severe consequences for the offender's sense of self. A core feature of values was that they were accommodating of the needs and purposes of the offender. This is to say that the offender's values were united around a central theme that was part of their identity. As such, values played an important role in creating and maintaining the offenders' narrative identity.

Overall then, in answer to the first research question, it appears that values have an important and necessary role to play in the offence process of sex offenders. Values are primary and productive constructs that assist the offenders in deciding upon courses of action, and inform their beliefs and judgements. Values are found to be dynamic and flexible to the needs of the offender,

and also present clear consequences if there is a significant breach. Values tend to cluster around other compatible values and there are some values that seem to be exclusive of each other.

Therefore the presence of a certain value set precludes the possibility of a contradictory one being exercised.

The offenders in this sample offered a variety of explanations to account for their offending. A large number of offenders cited their own developmental experiences as being important determinants of their behaviour. Among the most commonly reported experiences that contributed to the offenders' patterns of behaviour were early sexual experiences, relationships with parents/caregivers, interactions with social welfare agencies and familial upheavals (physical as well as emotional). Offenders often stated that their early childhood sexual experiences had a profound impact on their ideas around sex and sexuality. They also said that their particular sexual experiences acted as a barometer of their behaviour in later life. Those offenders who reported having been abused during childhood, themselves emphasised the degree of normalcy they gained from their own offending, and often compared their offending behaviours favourably against what they had been subjected to. A number of the offenders in this sample who did not report being abused themselves still felt that their early sexual experiences had a formative effect on their lives. Offenders often stated that this was a result of the negative consequences of sexual experiences.

Another factor that offenders credited as being critical to their behaviour was the family dynamic with which they grew up. A number of offenders reported having had neglectful and distanced caregivers. They credited their own lack of ability to relate to people as a consequence of this. Offenders who had been witness to abusive situations emphasised learning to keep their feelings to themselves and deliberately emotionally disengaging from others. They cited this as a defence mechanism that took them through their lives. Offenders who came from loving family backgrounds often reported having advantages in terms of their social functioning and tended to

emphasise their ability as well as desire to connect with people. A few offenders clearly stated that they had had normal, loving relationships with their families and were at a loss to understand why they had turned to offending. A number of offenders said that interacting with social welfare agencies had a lasting impression on them. Offenders described feeling powerless and enraged by the lack of control they had over their lives. These feelings were often directed towards both the agencies involved as well as their families. Some of the offenders in the sample credited these experiences with their later anti-social behaviours and dislike of authority.

Almost all the offenders interviewed reported proximal/situational factors for their offending. Offenders differed in terms of the degree of emphasis they placed on proximal factors, ranging from those who felt the effects had been minimal, to those who credited specific proximal factors as being the sole determinants of their offending. The most commonly mentioned situational factors were: alcohol consumption, drug use, anger, access to victim, and rejection of some kind. A number of offenders attributed their offending to the effect of alcohol and drug use. Offenders saw the function of alcohol and drugs as two-fold. For most, both acted as disinhibitors to behaviours they might have otherwise chosen not to engage in. Alcohol and drug use was also often seen to be a part of creating a social situation within which it was possible for offending to occur and where access to potential victims was increased. A number of offenders reported anger, often coupled with rejection of some kind, as a key motivating factor for their offending. Offenders stated that they felt out of control in their anger and that the offending was an almost unthinking result. In other cases, offenders used their offending as a way of coping with their anger and resentment. In the majority of cases, anger was coupled with the offenders' feelings of rejection and resentment towards some aspect of their life. This could be a person or a situation and varied from being a huge event in itself, to being a relatively minor incidence that exacerbated their existing feelings.

In addition to the abovementioned, offenders often blamed their victims for either deliberately or inadvertently having encouraged them. A number of offenders felt that the victim had, in fact, desired and initiated the sexual offending, and that they had failed to adequately protect themselves. Overall, offenders used a variety of ways of explaining their offending. They used internal as well external sources in order to account for their offending, and mentioned factors that were distal as well as proximal in nature. The kinds of explanations proffered by the offenders varied in line with their value systems. The specific kinds of explanations and justifications used are outlined in the Sexual Offender Relationship Frames (SORF) model discussed in detail in the following section.

Offenders interviewed for this study showed a number of ways in which their reasoning was compromised. The decision making and reasoning processes of offenders were found to have the following systematic errors: failing to incorporate relevant evidence, using maladaptive goals, failure to take into account long-term consequences, and using inappropriate ways to meet appropriate goals. It is important to note that the primary problems with the reasoning and decision-making were in terms of what they chose to value, what they set their goals as, and how they went about meeting those goals. A number of offenders used specious reasoning in order to achieve their goals. However, this does not change the fact these offenders had well defined goals that they were trying to achieve.

The majority of the offenders in this sample failed to rigorously examine their decisions at the time of making them. Offenders reported being in physical and psychological conditions that impaired their ability to make decisions and increased their reliance on pre-existing schema. A significant proportion of offenders for instance, reported being stressed as a result of their work, family, and financial situation at the time of offending. A few offenders also acknowledged that at the time of the offending they had been under the influence of alcohol and drugs that impaired their

ability to think clearly. However, it must be noted that while these reasons explain how offenders' thinking was compromised, it does not explain how this led to their offending.

Almost all offenders in this sample failed to take into account information that was contrary to their beliefs, or detrimental to their goals. Some offenders stated that they deliberately ignored information such as the resistance of the victim, or the ambiguity of their actions, in order to continue their offending. Other offenders reported that they genuinely believed that they were making the right decisions, even though it was evident from their narratives that they had neglected pertinent information. A number of offenders in the sample stated that looking back on their offending they could see that they 'weren't thinking straight'. However, on questioning most of the offenders revealed that they had not felt that they had made their decisions in a particularly unreasoning manner. Offenders stated that they felt that offending had been the desired outcome for them. A number of reasons were given for this, ranging from the emotions attached to the offending itself, to motivations that were related almost entirely to circumstances and domains of functioning separate to the offending.

Offenders also failed to think through the long-term consequences of their actions. A number of offenders reported being focussed entirely on the short term positive affect they received from the offending, to the exclusion of the cost of the offending thereafter. These offenders often reported failing to consider both internal as well as external checks during the process of offending. This is in contrast to other offenders who were aware of the long-term consequences of offending, but either valued the offending enough to continue in spite of these, or considered the consequences rationally and took steps to protect themselves from exposure.

Some offenders reported using offending to fulfil valued goals. For example, several offenders stated that their primary motivation for offending was to meet the goal of intimacy. These offenders gave numerous reasons why children were more able to meet their goals than adults.

Chief amongst these reasons was that the experiences offenders had had with adults had lead them to treat those interactions with caution. Offenders also stated that they felt more emotional congruence with a child than with an adult and therefore felt that it was appropriate to engage in a relationship with a child. In giving these reasons, offenders were stating a desire to meet a fairly normal goal (intimacy) but were choosing to engage in an activity (sex with a child) that is normatively unacceptable. This pattern of using inappropriate actions to meet normal, human goals is clearly visible in offenders' goal-setting.

Overall, it appears that the problems in the reasoning and decision-making of sex offenders are more closely connected to their values and goals than their ability to think rationally. Therefore while it is evident that there are ways in which offenders are making errors of reasoning, this is of less interest than the reason for which they are making these decisions. As such, this research has focussed more on the decisions that are made by offenders, and examining the values underlying them, than labelling them as mistakes. This is done, particularly, since it is evident from the actions of the offenders that their behaviour, while misguided and counter productive, appears to come from basic human needs.

The results of the current study as outlined above have been organised into the SORF model. There is considerable overlap between the SORF model and existing literature around sexual offending. These connections as well as the contributions of the SORF are discussed in the following section of this chapter.

The Sex Offender Relationship Frames Model

The main innovation in the SORF model presented here is its focus on the role of values within the offenders' cognitive processes and decision making. As outlined in the previous chapters, the values expressed by offenders were grouped into clusters in the form of four relationship frames. These relationship frames act as context for these values, and show how these values are translated

into cognitions and actions, both in the offender's day to day life, as well as in his offence process. Looking at the frames, one can see consistent themes emerging. The values connected to the Teacher – Student frame relate to an offender who prioritises his own expertise and relates to his victim as an expert to a novice. The main value clusters in this frame are benevolence, worthiness of knowledge and being a good role model. The Lover – Partner frame is characterised by cooperative, ostensibly consensual behaviours in which the offender sees himself and his victim as equal contributors to the relationship. The main value-clusters in this frame are intimacy, mutuality and skilfulness. The Caregiver – Child frame is characterised as a cooperative, if somewhat more hierarchical, relationship between the victim and offender, which the offender sees as creating a nurturing relationship in which the victims are willing participants. The main value-clusters in this frame are around having good boundaries, being nurturing and facilitating development. The Master – Slave frame is largely about the sense of power and sadistic control that the offender gets out of the offending and the victim is treated as largely insignificant to the offending. The main value clusters in this frame are desire for domination, hedonism and novelty-seeking.

Each of these frames is comprehensive and pervasive, in that the value clusters defining the frame produce associated clusters of cognitions and actions. The boundaries between the frames are porous but stable, meaning that while there is some overlap and offenders are able to move from one frame to another, such a shift in values leads to a consequent shift in cognitions and actions. Values are therefore identified as the primary causal factor explaining differences in cognition and actions between different types of offenders, and between offenders and non-offenders. Values are also identified as productive, in that they are the primary drivers of cognition and action within the relationship frames.

In the SORF model, each relationship frame is defined by particular clusters of values which produce associated cognitions and actions. This approach builds on earlier work, particularly in the

area of cognitive distortion, which suggests a role for values in the psychology of sex offending. The IT's model of cognitive distortion (Ward & Keenan, 1999) was the first time in the recent literature on sex offending literature that it was suggested that values might have a significant role to play in the motivation and maintenance of pro-offence cognitive distortions. The JMCD (Ward et al., 2006) built on this theory and is the most innovative work to date in which the research on decision-making and judgements has been incorporated into the study of cognitive distortions. The common elements in IT's and the JMCD which are relevant to the development of the SORF model are the phenomena of goal-directed decision-making and value-based implicit cognition. The SORF model builds on this work by foregrounding the role of values in producing offence-related cognitions and actions, and by conceptualising the clustering of values in terms of a typology of relationship frames.

The value clusters can be related to existing psychological literature in ways that shed light on the functions of these values within the associated relationship frames. The value clusters in the Teacher – Student frame of benevolence, worthiness of knowledge and being a good role model relate to the psychological literature on expertise. The value clusters in the Master – Slave frame of desire for domination, hedonism and novelty-seeking relate to the psychological literature on aggression. The value clusters in the Caregiver – Child frame of having good boundaries, being nurturing and facilitating development relate to the psychological literature on attachment. The value clusters in the Lover – Partner frame of intimacy, mutuality and skilfulness relate to the psychological literature on courtship.

Expertise

Offenders in the Teacher – Student frame see themselves as experts who have valuable knowledge and experience to offer to their victims. A better understanding of the values underlying this self-perception by offenders can, therefore, be gained through engaging with the literature around expertise. Ward and Marshall (2004) suggested that demonstrating sexual expertise was one

of a range of possible *goods* that offenders sought to gain from their offending. Ward and Hudson (2000) also drew on the psychological study of expertise to examine the way that offenders develop automatic patterns of behaviour through ‘implicit planning’. The SORF model presented here allows the value of expertise to be placed in its proper context within the relationship frames exhibited by offenders. Offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame were not the only offenders to value expertise. Offenders in the Lover – Partner frame also valued their self-perception as “skilled lovers”, within an overall cognitive structure based on their value of intimacy. In contrast, for offenders in the Teacher – Student frame, the value of expertise was paramount in structuring the relationship within which other values and cognitions were oriented.

The notion of expertise has been the focus of much research attention. A fundamental tenet of the discourse around expertise is that experts make better judgements than non-experts. The judgement of experts may therefore be deferred to as being beyond question, and experts may be given special status and decision-making powers based on their expertise (Ericsson, Charness, Feltovich & Hoffman, 2006). Therefore, to construct oneself as an expert is to claim an exceptional status as a knowledgeable and skilled person. For example: offenders in the Teacher – Student relationship frame were most prone to presenting themselves as experts to their victims on a range of subjects.

Broadly, the approaches to the study of expertise can be divided into two categories; those that argue that expertise is inherent and those that suggest that expertise is a learned skill (Ericsson & Smith, 1991). Galton (1962) argued that expertise was based on the innate intellectual capacities of superior individuals, implying that both the existence as well as extent of expertise in any given area was hereditary and predetermined. In contrast, other researchers such as Bryan and Harter's (1899) posited that all that was required to become an expert in a chosen field was extended experience in that domain. Simon and Chase (1973) significantly changed the focus of studying

expertise from the study of specific tasks (e.g. chess moves), to using performance on memory tasks as a direct method of studying the patterns that mediate building expertise. Recent research has also highlighted definitional ambiguity, and argued for greater clarity in the use of terms (Ericsson et al., 2006). It is evident that while there is considerable debate within the field of expertise as to what constitutes expertise and who can be termed an expert, there is general consensus that expertise is a set of characteristics that sets experts apart from ordinary people.

Ericsson and Lehmann (1996) reviewed the literature on expertise and concluded that the differences between experts and lay people were largely based on learnt skills and acquired knowledge that the experts had gained through training. Ericsson et al. (2006) presented an updated summary of the current state of research on expertise. They made a distinction between experts, expertise, and expert performance. Experts are defined as people who have reliable skills, techniques or judgements that are widely recognised. Expertise refers to the skills, knowledge and other characteristics that make them different to lay people. Expert performance is an indication that experts perform better than novices in relation to their area of expertise. Therefore, expertise is a set of characteristics that set experts apart from ordinary people. Members of the Teacher – Student relationship frames considered themselves experts (naturally gifted as well as well educated) who possessed expertise (skills and knowledge). They also saw themselves as being set apart from other people by their expertise.

Sternberg (2005) placed expertise on a continuum, following ability and competency, as levels of development of skills in a certain area. Sternberg takes a dynamic view of expertise and intelligence more generally, arguing that expertise is acquired through the organised development of abilities and competencies, and that intelligence can best be thought of as the development of expertise in a given area. This process-based approach to understanding expertise is typical of recent literature on the subject, and is particularly interesting, as it entirely reverses Galton's (1962) theory

of the link between intelligence and expertise. Rather than describing expertise as a function of innate intelligence, Sternberg argues that intelligence is best understood as a product of the development of acquired expertise.

Whether expertise is seen as primarily based on innate ability or primarily a matter of learnt skill, the self-perceptions of those in the Teacher-Student frame relate in interesting ways to the established literature on expertise. Offenders in this group tended to have a high stable self-esteem and a sense of entitlement and importance based on their self-perception as experts. This idea of experts as superior beings with a natural right to power over others, relates to the now discredited psychological theory of expertise associated with Galton (1962). On the other hand, the claim of offenders in the Teacher – Student frame to possess experience that could be passed on to others cannot be so easily dismissed in terms of the psychological literature on expertise. Questions can be raised, however, over the value of the experience being passed on, and whether the learning is beneficial or detrimental. Furthermore, the assumption made by offenders that expertise entitles them to power over others can be questioned. The purpose of introducing literature on expertise in this discussion is not to endorse the self-perceptions of offenders that they are experts in their field of offending. Indeed, from the limited evidence provided in this sample, offenders that fall in the Teacher – Student relationship frame do not tend to be further developed in their ability to offend or avoid detection than offenders in other frames.

The issue of expertise is relevant to a number of offenders in the present sample. As Ward and colleagues have pointed out, the psychological literature on expertise can be related to the cognitive functioning of child sex offenders (Ward & Hudson, 2000; Ward & Marshall, 2004), and applies equally to all offenders. It can be argued that offenders in each relationship frame possessed a set of core competencies that made them more or less skilled in certain domains of functioning. For instance, those from the Master – Slave relationship frame were past masters in the ways of

stealth, concealment and victim identification. Similarly, those in a Caregiver – Child relationship had various learned skills and knowledge, as well as inherited abilities that enabled them to offend with minimal chances of detection. In the case of Caregiver – Child relationship frames, offenders typically used learned interpersonal skills to build trust and maintain control. Offenders in the Teacher – Student frame are not objectively more expert than any other group of offenders. What is significant though, is their conscious valuing of their skills and abilities that allow them to offend, and their consequent narrative identity as an ‘expert’ in their field. Highlighting expertise as a core value for this group of offenders allows treatment programs to focus on breaking down the link between sexual offending and expertise that these offenders have established in their self-identity. It also opens up the possibility of encouraging these offenders to find alternative and more pro-social outlets for their desire to develop expertise.

Aggression

The SORF model explains the cognitions and actions of offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame in terms of values that cluster around a desire for power and control. As offenders in the Master – Slave relationship frame were most prone to violent and sadistic behaviour towards their victims, the SORF model must explain the role of the power and control values in producing aggressive behaviour. This aspect of the model relates to the existing psychological literature on aggression, and in particular, to aetiological models that link aggressive behaviour with the emotional states and self-esteem of offenders.

There are various theories explaining aggression. Some of these are level one theories that are multi-factorial aetiological theories of violence, such as the neo-associationist model of aggression (Berkowitz, 1993) or Bandura's (1983) social learning model. There are also significant single-factor theories that have been proposed to explain specific parts of offending, such as the Frustration-Aggression hypothesis (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears, 1961). The Frustration-

Aggression hypothesis saw frustration as a response to an external barrier to goal-directed success and aggression as a response to continued frustration. It was acknowledged that not every frustration led to an aggressive reaction, however, it was argued that every aggressive response could be traced to an underlying frustration.

Baumeister and colleagues (e.g., Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Baumeister & Boden, 1998) developed a level-two single factor theory that explored the role of high self-esteem in the performance of aggressive behaviours. This theory focussed on distal factors that seemed to be causal to the practice of aggression rather than proximal triggers. Baumeister and his colleagues specifically examined the role of egotism within aggression. They argued that existing empirical studies did not support the accepted notion that low self-esteem causes aggressive behaviour. At best, they concluded, the connections between aggression and low self-esteem were tenuous, often contradictory and ambiguous.

This analysis relates closely to research on links between psychopathy and self-esteem. Blackburn (1993) found that psychopaths, rather than having low self-esteem had a particularly narcissistic, grandiose and inflated view of their own self-worth. High self-esteem by itself is not an inevitable cause of violence and it is argued that aggression emerges from the discrepancy between two different views of the self, most often when favourable views of the self are met with less favourable appraisals by others. There is a great deal of literature indicating that most individuals are reluctant to change their own self-appraisal and resist any loss of self-esteem. Individuals with high self-esteem appear to react to the loss of self-esteem with defensiveness and anger (Baumeister & Boden, 1998). It is further argued that when an individual's self-appraisal is exaggerated, unrealistic, ill-founded or unwarranted, then they will be most vulnerable to reacting badly to negative feedback. Therefore, individuals who are most vulnerable to aggressing against others as a result of loss of self-esteem are those with unrealistically high and fragile self-esteem. Baumeister and Boden state that

for individuals with fragile high self-esteem, even instances of quite mild negative feedback elicit strong negative reactions, whereas more secure egoists would be able to dismiss such feedback.

Berkowitz (1993) suggested that negative affect plays a mediating role in aggressive behaviour. Their argument was broad, in that it suggested that any negative affect could lead to aggression. Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister & Boden, 1998; Baumeister et al., 1996) clarified this conclusion by arguing that only some negative emotional states produced aggressive responses, and focussed on those resulting from threats to the ego. Berkowitz argued that when an individual is faced with negative external feedback, they have a choice of how to deal with it. The first path is to revise self-esteem downward, which is associated with negative emotional states such as anxiety, sadness or depression. The second path is dependent on rejecting the negative feedback as unfounded or undeserved, and maintaining the self-appraisal. This approach is associated with negative affects such as anger and defensiveness, most often directed towards the person who has provided the negative appraisal.

Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister & Boden, 1998; Baumeister et al., 1996) also argue that aggression serves several functions, such as punishing the source of the negative feedback, making an example and discouraging future comments, gaining a sense of superiority and mastery, and as a means to self-affirmation. This variation in the function of aggression suggested by Baumeister and colleagues make clear that not all aggression is directed at the cause of the negative affect. In other words, if an offender is seeking a sense of superiority or self-affirmation through aggression, the victim need not have any connection to the original source of the negative affect motivating the offending.

By locating aggressive behaviour within a relationship frame characterised by values of power and control, the SORF model builds on previous studies of aggression. The descriptive model of aggression proposed by Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister & Boden, 1998;

Baumeister et al., 1996) is found to apply particularly fittingly to members of the Master – Slave relationship frame. Members of this relationship frame exhibited unstable high self-esteem and routinely reacted badly to negative feedback. They valued their autonomy and displayed a high level of protectiveness towards their self-esteem as well as being hyper-vigilant to threats or perceived threats from others. These offenders reported having vengeful reactions to adverse circumstances or events. Analysis also showed numerous instances where the sources of negative affect that primarily motivated the offence had little or nothing to do with the victim or the offending, *per se*. This is in line with Baumeister and colleagues' findings that suggest that a threat to the ego can often be followed by an aggressive search for self-affirmation, which is directed at individuals that have no connection with the threat itself.

The SORF model clarifies the process by which the high importance the offenders place on their self-values comes into conflict with their social environment, and manifests in sexual aggression. By including consideration of the offenders' cognitive perception of themselves, their victims and their relationships, the SORF model fills the explanatory gap between exaggerated self-value and aggressive behaviour. It further argues that offenders whose values centre on power and control will exhibit sexual aggression. The model also sets out the cognitive pathway that leads from values of power and control to aggressive behaviour, focussing on beliefs of entitlement to pleasure and resentment of responsibility.

Attachment

The study of attachment as a factor in the competence of people in general and sexual offenders in particular has been a mainstay of research into sexual offending. For instance, Marshall and Barbaree (1990) argued that developmental adversity had a negative effect on self-confidence and personal efficacy, and that these effects could snowball and affect beliefs and attitudes towards others. Typically, attachment is considered to be a distal factor related to the childhood

development and subsequent adult relationships of offenders. The SORF model builds on this literature by considering the role that attachment values play as proximal factors in the aetiology of child sexual offending. For one group of offenders, in the Caregiver – Child relationship frame, the value of emotional attachment is found to be a central factor in the cognitive structures and patterns of behaviour exhibited in the offending. Offenders in the Caregiver – Child frame believe that they are forming genuine attachment with their victims. These offenders see their relationships with their victims as based on caring and security that they are providing to the child.

The relationship between offenders and their parents has been the focus of some research. Attachment theory was originally developed to understand the process of emotional regulation in infants (Ainsworth, 1989). The theory focussed on the relationship between the infant and the caregiver, and typically focussed on analysing how trustworthy or caring the caregivers (attachment figures) were, as well as connecting that to the infant's sense of self-worth. Three attachment styles were discussed: secure, avoidant and anxious. Secure attachment is seen as resulting from sensitive and affectionate parenting. Anxious attachment was said to develop as a result of inconsistent responses by parents. Avoidant attachment was seen as a response to the caregiver being consistently distant and detached.

Bartholomew and colleagues (Bartholomew 1990; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991) extended early models of attachment by creating a two-by-two matrix of positive and negative views of self and the other. Using this matrix produced four styles of attachment: (a) Secure attachment, based on a positive view of both the self and the other; (b) preoccupied attachment, based on a negative view of the self and a positive view of others; (c) fearful attachment, based on a negative view of both self and others; and (d) dismissive attachment, based on a positive view of self and a negative view of others. Preoccupied attachment correlated with Ainsworth's definition of anxious

attachment, while the category of avoidant attachment was broken down into categories of fearful and dismissive attachment.

Ward, Hudson and Marshall (1996) related attachment styles to offending goals. They argued that securely attached individuals have stable self esteem, which enables adaptive intimate relationships. Preoccupied individuals, by contrast, see themselves as being unworthy and view others positively. Consequently, these individuals are overly needy of approval from others, and tend to be sexually preoccupied, and often sexualise their need for security and affection. Fearful individuals, on the other hand, are prone to avoiding social interactions for fear of rejection. They are indirectly aggressive, and often tend to be unempathic towards their victims. Dismissive individuals place an unreasonable value on their own independence, and do not value interactions with other people. Their low opinion of other people means that they blame others for their lack of intimacy, and act out this hostility towards others.

Recent empirical research has confirmed the general proposition that child sex offenders are more likely to exhibit insecure attachment. Wood and Riggs (2009) used Bartholomew's four categories of attachment styles to classify child sex offenders and a control group, based on a questionnaire-based study. They found that child sex offenders were more likely to show fearful or preoccupied attachment styles. Stirpe, Abracen, Stermac, and Wilson (2006) conducted a similar study comparing four groups of sexual offenders, including child sex offenders. They found that a majority of sexual offenders displayed insecure attachment styles. As well as this overall result, Stirpe et al. found important differences between the sub-groups of sexual offenders, with child sex offenders significantly more likely to display pre-occupied attachment styles. Marshall, Serran and Cortoni (2000) examined the developmental history of child sex offenders in terms of the childhood attachment styles, childhood sexual abuse and adult coping styles of the offenders. While the study did not establish clear causal relationships between all of these factors, an association was

established between insecure childhood attachment and ineffective adult coping in child sex offenders. Child sex offenders were found to make greater use of emotion-based strategies such as fantasy to cope with aversive emotional states and these coping styles were correlated with insecure childhood attachment.

The SORF model contributes to the growing literature on the correlation between insecure attachment and child sex offending, by highlighting a group of offenders for whom this connection may be particularly salient. Members of the Caregiver – Child relationship frame report patterns of cognition and action which are explained by their core values of emotional attachment. Insecure attachment styles, which have found to be a factor for sexual offenders overall, are of particular significance for these offenders. A number of those in a Caregiver – Child relationship frame reported feeling abandoned by their parents and their friends. These offenders typically had few social skills and thus were socially isolated. As a consequence, they placed a high value on emotional attachment to others and often reported needing to be in non-threatening relationships where they would feel safe. Adverse beliefs (and experiences) around relationships, combined with cognitive and behavioural issues that made it difficult for them to form secure attachment with adults, led them to fixate on relationships with children. As Marshall, Serran and Cortoni (2000) point out, the fact that these offenders then expressed their need for emotional attachment through sexual offending shows the presence of inappropriate emotional coping strategies which can be addressed in treatment. The SORF model argues that for offenders who fit the Caregiver – Child relationship frame, their early attachments and social insecurities are a vital target for therapeutic engagement.

Courtship behaviour

The nature of abuse is such that there is always a relationship of some kind between the offender and the victim. As social actors, the offenders strive to create relationships that have a basis in their existing schema. It is well known within social psychology that people have scripts that

apply to social situations which guide and facilitate social intercourse. A script is usually defined as an “organization of mutually shared conventions that allows two or more actors to participate in a complex act involving mutual dependence” (Gagnon & Simon, 2005, p14). Offenders in the lover-partner relationship frame apply social scripts of courtship to their relationships with their victims. The behaviours that result in the context of child sex offending have typically been studied as forms of grooming (Craven, Brown and Gilchrist 2006). However, research on child sex offending has not generally acknowledged that these behaviours are substantively similar to courtship scripts. The SORF model represents an advance on existing theories of grooming in child sex offending by recognising that grooming behaviour consists of the inappropriate application of otherwise normal social and sexual scripts to relationships with children. The SORF model also identifies a group of offenders, those in the Lover – Partner relationship frame, for whom the value of intimacy in the nature of a romantic relationship plays a central role in motivating their offending. Consideration of the psychological literature on courtship scripts clarifies the SORF model’s explanation of the cognition and actions of this group of offenders in terms of the value they place on emotional intimacy.

Courtships may be defined as a set of behaviours that come before and elicit sexual behaviour (Givens, 1978). Traditionally, courtship moves through a number of stages, beginning with an initial attraction and leading on to some form of sexual interaction. This is also often accompanied with some degree of affection and emotional intimacy. Men are usually seen as the initiators, whereas women play the role of setting the boundaries for the relationship (Reiss 1967). Typically, women who play an initiating role during the process are viewed as inappropriately sexually available, whereas men who fail to take a leading role in courtship face challenges to their masculinity and sexual orientation (Seal and Ehrhardt, 2003). However, some research has

suggested that, even within traditional courtship scripts, women play an initiating role through subtle cues such as eye contact, which motivate a more overt response from men (Moore, 1985).

Bettor, Hendrick and Hendrick (1995) and others have pointed out that, although there is extensive support for the existence of these traditional courtship scripts, relationship scripts are becoming increasingly egalitarian. They suggest that an egalitarian courtship script is becoming the ideal and norm. O'Sullivan and Byers (1992) found that even in the traditional scripts, the initiation of intimacy and sexual behaviour becomes increasingly more egalitarian once the relationship becomes established and committed.

Typically the courtship process is described by men as being a game, where the goal is to make a sexual conquest, and women are seen as adversaries to be overcome (Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003). An important component of courtship found was the role of sexual seduction. Seduction was conducted in two phases: first, the man attempts to win the woman; and second, having been won, the woman makes herself sexually available to the man. Within these kinds of sexual scripts it is also important that the woman's sexual desire be preserved and the man continue to prove himself as a competent lover. Men believed that if women were not sexually satisfied they would cease to have sex with them and, conversely, that if women were continuing a sexual relationship they must be satisfied. Another component of the desire to be a competent lover is the man's role as a sexual teacher, wherein the man introduces the woman to sexual variety.

Consideration of the literature on courtship and sexual behaviour shows that child sex offenders in the Lover – Partner relationship frame, are applying otherwise normal social scripts in the context of an inappropriate relationship with a child. The primary concern encountered with members of this relationship frame is their unwillingness to engage in treatment that focuses on grooming. For these offenders the activities they engaged in with their victims were a natural extension of the love and intimacy between them, and had nothing to do with offending. Therefore,

they are likely to overlook activities such as their grooming of victims into adult roles, and view them as a part of valuing their partner. It is necessary when engaging these offenders in treatment, to disentangle the normatively accepted behaviours involved in sexual seduction and courtship outlined above, from the age-inappropriate relationship and its attendant concerns. The SORF model allows treatment providers to identify offenders who are seeking emotional intimacy through their offending, and to focus on reinforcing alternative pro-social pathways towards meeting the need for intimacy.

Strengths and Limitations

The primary strength of this study is its theoretical grounding and richness. The study used grounded theory to create a bottom-up model of sex offenders' reasoning and decision-making. The intensive process of analysis has ensured that the data collected has been preserved in its richest form, and the model created a complete and cohesive explanation of the mechanisms under study. Using interviews with sex offenders has had many benefits. To begin with it has provided data that is in the form of the narrative presented by the offenders themselves. The information has been rich and comprehensive and shed light on many different domains of functioning. Another strength of the research is its thorough theoretical grounding. The study has been informed by the most innovative work currently being carried out in the field of sexual offending. It has benefited from conceptual clarity and neatness as well as a holistic approach. This twin focus has been carried through from the inception of the research to its completion and has helped provide a comprehensive as well as theoretically robust analysis of the phenomena under examination.

The current study focuses on a part of cognition that has heretofore been understudied, and, as such, presents a valuable contribution to the state of literature around sexual offending. Significant achievements of this study include the evidence it provides in favour of broadening the standard view of cognition in psychological research, as well as the application of this insight to the

study of the role of values in sex offender cognition. The study extends the work undertaken by Ward et al. (2006) on the JMCD, and illustrates the role played by values within the offence process. It also provides evidence for the Extended Mind Theory (EMT) (Ward & Casey, 2010) in the embodied nature of cognition seen in the SORF model.

A further strength is found in the connections that can be drawn between the results of this research and existing work on sex offenders' domains of functioning. The SORF model provides support for research linking various factors implicated in sexual offending with particular relationship frames. It clarifies the role of single-factors such as expertise, attachment, courtship and aggression by organising it into the framework of particular relationship frames, and illustrates different factors that are related to different pathways to offending. Taken in conjunction with the broadening of the scope of cognition, the current study presents a coherent and rich model for understanding the offence-related decision-making and cognition within the context of existing research.

The current study suffers from a few limitations. To begin with, the number of participants in the sample is relatively small. However, during the process of grounded theory analysis, it was evident that the point of theoretical saturation had been reached well within the limits of the sample. Reliability checks also confirmed that the coding and analysis was transparent and replicable. Therefore, the size of the sample does not impact adversely on the validity and theoretical robustness of the study. It does, however, impact on the generalisability of the results. While it is clear that the results and the consequent SORF model hold for the current population of offenders and are likely to remain robust for a similar population, it would be ambitious to generalise the results of this study to other populations, without first applying the model to the subject population to confirm its validity. For this reason, the results of this study are best limited to male sexual offenders who have been introduced to some form of treatment.

Another limitation of this study is that it relied predominantly on the narrative of the offender to inform its analysis. Official files and police reports were examined and used to record additional information (e.g., offender's criminal record) and correct factual errors (e.g., age of victim at commission of offence) in the offenders' narrative. However, no effort was made to either challenge offenders on inconsistencies between the various sources of information, or correct their memory of the offence. This was done because the narrative of the offender was deemed to be the richest source of information about their offence related reasoning and decision-making. However, this does mean that three significant concerns can be raised: (a) social desirability; (b) interviewer bias; and (c) accuracy of report. In order to address the concern that the offenders would provide only socially desirable information, a number of steps were undertaken. The researcher made it clear from the outset, verbally and in writing, that the research was being undertaken independent of the corrections department, and would have no bearing on any decisions made within the correctional framework. This was to reduce the likelihood of receiving responses that were constrained by what information had already been provided to the corrections department, as well as what they were expected to have gained from any treatment programme they had been a part of. Offenders were also informed of the purpose and method of the study, and asked to answer freely. They were assured of the confidentiality of their responses for the purposes of this study. The only limitation placed on confidentiality applied to any information offenders provided that indicated their intention to harm either themselves, or another person. The offenders were reminded throughout the process to be honest and not self-censor themselves based on what they had learnt on treatment programmes or elsewhere, subsequent to their offending.

In order to reduce the possibility of interview bias, checks and balances were put in place. The interview was semi-structured and opened with open-ended questions. Open ended questions were then followed by closed questions to clarify, expand or explain particular points. The

interviewer remained neutral throughout the interview and maintained a listening aspect. In order to ensure that the interviewer remained neutral, a number of practice sessions were undertaken at the university with volunteers, and supervised by an experienced researcher. Two test interviews were conducted under the supervision of an experienced researcher and feedback from them was incorporated into the solo interviews conducted. So as to reduce the bias of the interviewer in asking questions, the police records of the offenders were not examined prior to the interview. Therefore the interviewer was forced to take an active listening role that focussed on the information provided by the offender, without any judgement of its veracity.

A significant concern that can be raised of the current research is the question of the accuracy of the reports received. It is possible that the offenders were either deliberately or unintentionally misleading the researcher in terms of the truth or falsity of what occurred. To reduce the likelihood of this occurring, the terms of confidentiality were emphasised throughout the process. The correctional records for the offenders were also examined to check how much of what was covered in the interview was verifiable. However, no information was discarded on the basis that it could not be verified. This was done primarily as the fundamental research questions driving this study focussed on the narrative of self created by an offender. The objective accuracy (or possible lack thereof) of the narrative itself was not deemed to be a bar to answering the research questions. It is important to remember, therefore, that this study does not represent the facts of sexual offending; it simply represents the facts of the narrative self-created by offenders within the context of their offending.

Implications, Applications and Future Directions

The current research is interesting, in that it opens up various areas of empirical inquiry, clinical treatment and theory construction. This section will outline and discuss the implications of

the current research, the ways in which it can be applied to practical situations within the field of treatment and rehabilitation as well as research areas that are suggested by it.

The results of the current study indicate that values are an important part of sexual offenders' reasoning and decision making. It also suggests that the narrative identity, and values set by an offender, help him navigate life and inform his behaviour. Therefore it argues that ways in which offenders account for their offending have more to do with remaining consistent with their value set, than with rational thinking, *per se*. The primary implication of the current research is that the manner in which cognition and reasoning is defined in sexual offending literature needs to be broadened. The argument here is that using a solely information-processing paradigm of cognition, which treats individuals as discrete entities reasoning solely within their own minds, is insufficient to explain the range of behaviour and innovation seen in offenders. The research undertaken here indicated that it is more productive to examine cognition from an embodied perspective, from which individuals are seen as agents using whatever means they see as best suited to meet their needs, irrespective of where these means are located.

The study indicates that sexual offenders in this sample used a variety of ways in which to meet their needs. The implication is that sex offenders should be treated as human agents who are trying to achieve their goals and meet their needs. Assuming that because an offender has performed a reprehensible action, that he is incapable of agency is problematic and restrictive. Acknowledging the agency of an offender allows a range of methods of engaging with them, in order to provide them with options through which to achieve their valued goals, without recourse to offending. This lends support to the strength based rehabilitation efforts and theoretical frameworks such as the Good Lives Model. The result of this study also suggest that the human rights elements and ethical grounding of treatment and rehabilitation is an excellent way to ensure that sex offenders get treatment that helps them desist from offending.

One clear result from the current research is that there is an impressive array of personal, psychological, social, cultural and political factors which affect the development of an offender. This is to say that the processes that lead to the commission of a sexual offence are complex and not always situated within the mind of the offender. If factors outside of the offender are implicated in the commission of an offence, it is reasonable to suggest that those factors that serve to stop the offending are similarly located. Research on the nature of desistance has shown that there are a number of non-treatment related factors that affect the probability of an offender re-offending. Taken in conjunction with the results of the current study, this implies that the scope of treatment and rehabilitation needs to be widened from its current focus on individual, personal risk management to a systemic, holistic process where multiple agencies and groups work together.

While this study does not specifically look at the role of affect within the sex offending process, it heavily implies that there is a significant part played by it. Affect is argued to be an essential part of the expanded view of cognition. The role of affect has been studied predominantly as an adjunct to the role of cognition. However, it is becoming increasingly evident that the role of affect within cognition is critical. Arguably, affect permeates all aspects of cognition, and is a powerful mediator in the value formation, goal-setting, decision making and action.

The most direct application of the results of this research comes from the SORF model. This model is ideally suited to be used in clinical settings as a treatment tool for identifying the narrative path favoured by sex offenders. In conjunction with the JMCD, SORF provides a useful model of offenders' cognition around their sexual offending, and can be used to illustrate and differentiate particular kinds of offence pathways. Applying the SORF model to treatment is useful in that it provides the clinicians clear and defined ways of engaging the offenders in treatment. It has the benefit of acknowledging the agency of the offender and providing enough scope for their

narrative to be included in the treatment process. 'This holds true even if the offenders' narrative is fluid and liable to move from one relationship frame to another.

Synthesising the results of this study with the judgement model of cognitive distortions and theories of embodied cognition would provide a useful framework for understanding the cognition of sex offenders. The tying together of these would help create a wider and more complete picture of the cognition of sex offenders that could then accommodate further study on the subjects of affect and extension. This would be a worthwhile addition to current literature and would open the door to further domains of study within sexual offending research.

The research carried out opens up several avenues of further enquiry. The main findings suggest that the manner in which sex offenders frame their relationship with their victim is crucial to informing their offending. It further highlights the primacy of values in the study of sexual offending and lends support to the work previously done on ITs, as well as the JMCD view of cognitive distortions. It is also in keeping with the growing body of experimental research that suggests that the cognitive products that have been hailed as 'cognitive distortions' are in fact a diverse range of phenomena. By situating cognitive distortion within value-based relationship frames, the SORF model contributes to specifying the specific function of various cognitive processes and products in sexual offending.

Every possible effort was made to minimise the need for offenders to be disingenuous with the researcher. They were informed that the interview would have no bearing on their time in prison, nor would it be shared with the treatment providers. Throughout the interview they were prompted to report what they had been thinking at the time of their offending rather than what they were thinking now. However, it would still be valuable to replicate the current research with untreated child sex offenders and see if SORF still applies. It would also be useful to administer social desirability tests in combination with other psychometric questionnaires (e.g., psychopathy) to

test for aspects of cognitive functioning identified by the SORF model as connected to particular relationship frames.

The manner in which the results of this research intersect with attachment theory is interesting. It was outside the scope of the present project to examine the mapping of various attachment styles with the relationship frames that were found. However, at least the Caregiver – Child relationship frame seems to have clearly delineated attachment issues at its core. It would be an interesting avenue for further research to investigate whether the others do as well.

Something that has come up quite clearly in this research is the need to understand what values the offenders are trying to live their lives by. It would be useful for there to be more work done with different methodologies examining the values that the offenders are seeking to fulfil. It is also interesting to look at potential barriers to them living their lives in accordance with those values in an offence-free lifestyle. Again, while the current research can make educated guesses as to what some of these might be, further research would need to be carried out before any claims could be made.

Conclusions

The primary purpose of the current study was to ascertain the role played by values in the offence process of child sex offenders. It sought to test for the role suggested for values in the JMCD as primary motivating factors in goal-directed cognition. Further, the research aimed to understand the specific roles that values played within each offence process and to examine the connections and interactions between values, cognitions and actions. The results indicate that values, indeed, play a pivotal role in sex offenders' cognition and are critical to understanding their world-view and narrative identity.

The second research question related to the manner in which, and the mechanisms through which, the offenders chose to account for their offending. This study drew on narrative identity

literature (Ward & Marshall, 2007) and hypothesised that offenders' value-based narrative identity would be central to the manner in which they chose to account for their action. This hypothesis was supported, and it was found that offenders chose to justify their offending in ways that were congruent with their values.

A final research question posed for the current study pertained to the reasoning employed by sexual offenders. The purpose of this research was to extend the current understanding of explanations and justifications offered by offenders, and clarify them in terms of existing literature around cognition and cognitive distortions. The results showed that offenders do engage in specious reasoning. However, it appears that the most critical factor in offenders' decision-making is the value system on which they base their actions.

The current study has implications for both research and clinical practice. The most important points made by the research indicate that: (a) the role of value-based cognition needs to be incorporated into current theory and research around cognition of sex offenders; (b) studies of cognition need to be extended to include embodiment theories of cognition; (c) the agency of the offender and their mastery over their own life needs to be incorporated into any treatment or rehabilitative endeavour; (d) research needs to be done on the subject of affect within sexual offending that links it to cognition and action; and (e) the theoretical innovations that have been made in recent studies need to be applied to the study and practice of sexual offending.

References

- Abel, G. G., Becker, J. V., & Cunningham-Rathner, J. (1984). Complications, consent and cognitions in sex between children and adults. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 7, 89-103.
- Abel, G. G., Becker, J. V., Mittelman, M., & Cunningham-Rathner, J. (1987). Self-reported sex crimes of nonincarcerated paraphiliacs. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 2, 3-25.
- Abel, G. G., Gore, D. K., Holland, C. L., Camp, N., Becker, J. V., & Rathner, J. (1989). The measurement of the cognitive distortions of child molesters. *Annals of Sex Research*, 2, 135-153.
- Adolphs, R. (1999) Social cognition and the human brain, *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 3, 469-479.
- Ainsworth, M. S. (1989). Attachments beyond infancy. *American Psychologist*, 44, 709-716.
- Allport, G. (1961). *Pattern and growth in personality*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2002). Human aggression. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 27-51.
- Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (1998). *The psychology of criminal conduct*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Andrews, D., Zinger, I., Hoge, R., Bonta, J., Gendreau, P. & Cullen, F. (1990). Does correctional treatment work? A clinically relevant and psychologically informed meta-analysis. *Criminology* 28, 369-404.
- Arkowitz, S., & Vess, J. (2003). An evaluation of the Bumby RAPE and MOLEST scales as measures of cognitive distortions with civilly committed sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 15, 237-249.
- Augoustinos, M., & Walker, I. (1995). *Social cognition: an integrated introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Austin, J. L. (1978). *How to do things with words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bandura, A. (1983). Self-efficacy determinants of anticipated fears and calamities. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45, 464-469.

- Baron, J. (2000). *Thinking and deciding*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartholomew, K. (1990). Avoidance of intimacy: an attachment perspective. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 7, 147-178.
- Bartholomew, K., & Horowitz, L. M. (1991). Attachment styles among young adults: a test of a four-category model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61, 226-244.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Boden, J. M. (1998). Aggression and the self: high self-esteem, low self-control, and ego threat. In R. Geen, E. Donnerstein (Eds.). *Human aggression: Theories, research, and implications for social policy*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Heatherton, T. F. (1996). Self-regulation failure: an overview. *Psychological Inquiry*, 7, 1-15.
- Baumeister, R. F., Smart, L., & Boden, J. M. (1996). Relation of threatened egotism to violence and aggression: the dark side of high self-esteem. *Psychological Review*, 103, 5-33.
- Beck, A.T. (1963). Thinking and depression: I. Idiosyncratic content and cognitive distortions. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 9, 324-333.
- Beech, A. R., & Mann, R. (2002). Recent developments in the assessment and treatment of sexual offenders. In J. McGuire (Ed.), *Offender rehabilitation and treatment: effective programmes and policies to reduce re-offending* (pp. 259-288). Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Benazzi, F. (1999). Gender differences in bipolar II and unipolar depressed outpatients: a 557-case study. *Annals of Clinical Psychiatry* 11, 55-59.
- Bennett, C. (2008). *The apology ritual: a philosophical theory of punishment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Berkowitz, L. (1993). *Aggression: its causes, consequences, and control*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Bettor, L., Hendrick, S. S., & Hendrick, C. (1995). Gender and sexual standards in dating

- relationships. *Personal Relationships*, 2, 359-369.
- Beyleveld, D., & Brownsword, R. (2004). *Human dignity in bioethics and biolaw*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bickley, J. A., & Beech, A. R. (2002). An investigation of the Ward and Hudson pathways model of the sexual offense process with child abusers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17, 371-393.
- Blackburn, R. (1993). Psychopathic disorder, personality disorders and aggression. In C. Thompson & P. Cowen (Eds.). *Violence: basic and clinical science* (pp 101-118). Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Bogaert, S., Boone, C., & Declerck, C. (2008). Social value orientation and cooperation in social dilemmas: A review and conceptual model. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47, 453-480.
- Bonta, J. (1996). Risk-needs assessment and treatment. In A. Harland (Ed.), *Choosing correctional options that work: defining the demand and evaluating the supply*. (pp. 18-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Boonin, D. (2008). *The problem of punishment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1988). *Post sexual abuse trauma*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Bromley, D. (1986). *The case-study method in psychology and related disciplines*. New York: J. Wiley.
- Bryan, W. L., & Harter, N. (1899). *Studies on the telegraphic language: the acquisition of a hierarchy of habits*. New York: Macmillan.
- Bumby, K. M. (1996). Assessing the cognitive distortions of child molesters and rapists: developments and validation of the MOLEST and RAPE scales. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 8, 37-54.
- Bushnell, J. A., Wells, J. E., & Oakley-Browne, M. A. (1992). Long-term effects of intrafamilial sexual abuse in childhood. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 85, 136-142.
- Chamberlain, K., Camic, P., & Yardley, L. (2004). Qualitative analysis of experience: grounded

- theory and case studies. In D. Marks & L. Yardley (Eds.) *Research methods for clinical and health psychology*. London, England: Sage Publications Inc.
- Charmaz, K. (2007). *Constructing grounded theory: a practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Clark, A. (2007). Soft selves and ecological control. In D. Spurrett, D. Ross, H. Kincaid, & L. Stephens (Eds.), *Distributed cognition and the Will*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Clark, A. & Chalmers, D. (1998). The Extended Mind. *Analysis* 58, 7-19.
- Craven, S., Brown, S. and Gilchrist, E. (2006). Sexual grooming of children: Review of literature and theoretical considerations. *Journal of Sexual Aggression* 12, 287-299.
- Darwall, S. (2006). *The second-person standpoint: morality, respect, and accountability*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Day, A., & Ward, T. (2010). Offender rehabilitation as a value-laden process. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 54, 289-306.
- Dean, C., Mann, R. E., Milner, R., & Maruna, S. (2007). Changing child sexual offenders' cognitions. In T. Gannon, T. Ward, A. Beech, & D. Fisher (Eds.) *Aggressive offenders' cognition: theory, research, and practice* (pp. 117-134). New York: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.
- Dollard, J., Doob, L. W., Miller, N. E., Mowrer, O. H., & Sears, R. R. (1961). *Frustration and aggression*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univer. Press.
- Donnelly, J. (2007). The relative universality of human rights. *Human Rights Quarterly* 29, 281-306.
- Driver, J. (2006). *Ethics: The fundamentals*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Duff, R. A. (2001). *Punishment, communication, and community*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Dunne, M. P., Purdie, D. M., Cook, M. D. Boyle, F. M., Najman, J. M. (2003). Is child sexual abuse declining? Evidence from a population-based survey of men and women in Australia *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 27, 141-152.

- Ericsson, K. A., Charness, N., Feltovich, P. J., & Hoffman, R. R. (2006). *The Cambridge handbook of expertise and expert performance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ericsson, K. A., & Lehmann, A. C. (1996). Expert and exceptional performance: evidence of maximal adaptation to task constraints. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 47, 273-305.
- Ericsson, K. A., & Smith, J. (1991). *Toward a general theory of expertise: prospects and limits*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fanslow, J. L., Robinson, E. M., Crengle, S., & Perese, L. (2007). Prevalence of child sexual abuse reported by a cross-sectional sample of New Zealand women. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 31, 935-945.
- Faravelli, C., Paterniti, S., & Servi, P. (1997). Stressful life events and panic disorder. In T. Miller (Ed.), *Clinical disorders and stressful life events* (pp. 143-170). Madison, CT: International Universities Press, Inc.
- Feelgood, S. Cortoni, F. & Thompson, A. (2005). Sexual coping, general coping and cognitive distortions in incarcerated rapists and child molesters. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 11, 157-170.
- Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V., et al. (1998). Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults: the adverse childhood experiences (ACE) study. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 14, 245-258.
- Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J., & Lynskey, M. T. (1996). Childhood sexual abuse and psychiatric disorder in young adulthood: II. Psychiatric outcomes of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 35, 1365-1374.
- Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J., Shannon, F., & Lawton, J. (1989). The Christchurch child development study: a review of epidemiological findings. *Paediatric and Perinatal Epidemiology*, 3, 302-325.

- Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J., & Woodward, L. J. (2000). The stability of child abuse reports: a longitudinal study of the reporting behaviour of young adults. *Psychological Medicine: A Journal of Research in Psychiatry and the Allied Sciences*, 30, 529-544.
- Finkelhor, D. (1979). What's wrong with sex between adults and children? Ethics and the problem of sexual abuse. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 49, 692-697.
- Finkelhor, D. (1984). *Child sexual abuse: new theory and research*. New York: The Free Press.
- Finkelhor, D., & Baron, L. (1986). Risk factors for child sexual abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 1, 43-71.
- Finkelhor, D. & Dziuba-Leatherman, J. (1994). Children as victims of violence: a national survey. *Pediatrics* 94, 413-420.
- Finkelhor, D. & Hashima, P. Y. (2001) The victimization of children and youth: a comprehensive overview. In S. White (Ed.). *Handbook of youth and justice*. New York: Kluwer Academic.
- Fischer, R., & Smith, P. B. (2004). Values and organizational justice: performance- and seniority-based allocation criteria in the United Kingdom and Germany. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35, 669-688.
- Fischer, R., & Smith, P. B. (2006). Who cares about justice? The moderating effect of values on the link between organisational justice and work behaviour. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 55, 541-562.
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition (2nd ed.)*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Flick, U. (1998). *An introduction to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality: An introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Freedon, M. (1991). *Rights*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.
- Gagnon, J. H. (1990). Gender preference in erotic relations: The Kinsey scale and sexual scripts. In D. McWhirter, S. Sanders & J. Reinisch (Eds.), *Homosexuality/ heterosexuality: concepts of sexual*

- orientation* (pp. 177-207). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Gagnon, J. H. & Simon, W. (2005). *Sexual conduct: the social sources of human sexuality*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Galton, F. (1962). *Hereditary genius: An inquiry into its laws and consequences*. Cleveland: Meridian Books.
- Gannon, T. A. (2006). Increasing honest responding on cognitive distortions in child molesters: the bogus pipeline procedure. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 21, 1-18.
- Gannon, T. A., Keown, K., & Polaschek (2007). Increasing honest responding on cognitive distortions in child molesters: the bogus pipeline revisited. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 19, 5-22.
- Gannon, T. A., & Polaschek, D. L. L. (2005). Do child molesters deliberately fake good on cognitive distortion questionnaires? An information processing-based investigation. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 17, 183-200.
- Gannon, T. A., & Polaschek, D. L. L. (2006). Cognitive distortions in child molesters: a re-examination of key theories and research. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 26, 1000-1019.
- Gannon, T. A., Polaschek, D. L. L., & Ward, T. (2005). Social cognition and sexual offenders. In M. McMurrin & J. McGuire (Eds.), *Social problem solving and offending: evidence, evaluation, and evolution* (pp. 223-248). Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Gannon, T. A., Ward, T., & Collie, R. (2007). Cognitive distortions in child molesters: theoretical and research developments over the past two decades. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12, 402-416.
- Gannon, T. & Wood, J. (2007). Child sexual abuse-related cognition: current research. In T. Gannon, T. Ward, A. Beech, & D. Fisher (Eds.) *Aggressive offenders' cognition: theory, research, and practice* (pp. 71-90). New York: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.
- Gannon, T. A., Wright, D. B., Beech, A. R. & Williams, S. A. (2006). Do child molesters hold distorted beliefs? What does their memory recall tell us? *Journal of Sexual Aggression* 12, 5-18.

- General Assembly of the United Nations (1948) *The universal declaration of human rights*. Retrieved July 8, 2010, from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.
- Gewirth, A. (1996). *The community of rights*. University of Chicago Press.
- Gibbs, R. W. (2006). *Embodiment and cognitive science*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Giorgi, A. (1975). Convergences and divergences between phenomenological psychology and behaviorism: a beginning dialogue. *Behaviorism*, 3, 200-212.
- Givens, D.B. (1978). The nonverbal basis of attraction: Flirtation, courtship, and seduction, *Psychiatry*, 41, 346–359.
- Glaser, B. G. (2003). *The grounded theory perspective*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine-Atherton.
- Gray, N. S., Brown, A. S., MacCulloch, M. J., Smith, J., & Snowden, R. J. (2005). An implicit test of the association between children and sex in pedophiles. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 114, 304-308.
- Griffin, J. (2008). *On human rights*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, G. C. N., & Hirschman, R. (1991). Toward a theory of sexual aggression: a quadripartite model. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 59, 662-669.
- Hanson, R. K., & Harris, A. J. R. (2001). A structured approach to evaluating change among sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 13, 105-122.
- Hartley, C. C. (1998). How incest offenders overcome internal inhibitions through the use of cognitions and cognitive distortions. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 13, 25-39.
- Hepburn, A., & Wiggins, S. (2005). Developments in discursive psychology. *Discourse & Society*, 16, 595-601.
- Herman, J. (1981). Father–daughter incest. *Professional Psychology*, 12, 76-80.

- Hollon, S. & Kriss, M. (1984). Cognitive factors in clinical research and practice. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 4, 35-76.
- Hooker, C. (1987). *A realist theory of science*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Husserl, E. (1931). *Ideas*. Translated by W. Gibson. London, UK: George Allen & Unwin.
- Johnson, M. (2007). *The meaning of the body: aesthetics of human understanding*. IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kalmar, D. & Sternberg, R. (1988). Theory knitting: an integrative approach to theory development. *Philosophical Psychology*, 1, 153-170.
- Keeling, J., Rose, J. & Beech, A. (2006). A comparison of the application of the self-regulation model of the relapse process for mainstream and special needs sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 18, 373-382.
- Kekes, J. (1989). *Moral tradition and individuality*. NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kekes, J. (1993). *The morality of pluralism*. NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Keown, K., Gannon, T. A., & Ward, T. (2008). The effects of visual priming on information processing in child sexual offenders. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 14, 145-159.
- Kirsch, L., & Becker, J. (2006). Sexual offending: theory of problem, theory of change, and implications for treatment effectiveness. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 11, 208-224.
- Koss, M. P. (1992). The under-detection of rape: methodological choices influence incidence estimates. *Journal of Social Issues*, 48, 61-75.
- Koss, M., Gidycz, C., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 55, 162-170.
- Krafft-Ebing (2010). *Psychopathia sexualis – with especial reference to antipathic sexual instinct – a medico-forensic study*. New York: Arcade Publishing.

- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Laws, D. R. & Marshall, W. L. (2003). A brief history of behavioral and cognitive behavioral approaches to sexual offenders: Part 1. Early developments. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 15, 75-92.
- Lazarus, L. (2004). *Contrasting prisoners' rights: a comparative examination of England and Germany*. Oxford monographs on criminal law and justice. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Leveson J., & D'Amora, D. (2005). An ethical paradigm for sex offender treatment: response to Glaser. *Western Criminology Review*, 6, 145-153
- Loftus, E. & Guyer, M. (2002) Who abused Jane Doe? The hazards of the single case history part 1. *Skeptical Inquirer* 26(3), 24-32.
- MacMillan, H., Fleming, J., Trocmé, N., Boyle, M., Wong, M., Racine, Y., et al. (1997). Prevalence of child sexual abuse in the community: results from the Ontario health supplement. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 278, 131-135.
- Malamuth, N., Sockloskie, R., Koss, M., & Tanaka, J. (1993). Characteristics of aggressors against women: testing a model using a national sample of college students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 59, 670-681.
- Mann, R. E., & Beech, A.R. (2003). Cognitive distortions, schemas, and implicit theories. In T. Ward, D. Laws, & S. Hudson, (Eds.), *Sexual deviance: issues and controversies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Mann, R. E., & Hollin, C. (2007). Sexual offenders' explanations for their offending. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 13, 3-9
- Marlatt, G. A., & Gordon, J. R. (1985). *Relapse prevention: maintenance strategies in the treatment of addictive behaviors*. New York: Guilford Press.

- Marshall, W. L. (1989). Intimacy, loneliness and sexual offenders. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 27, 491-504.
- Marshall, W. L., & Anderson, D. (1996). An evaluation of the benefits of relapse prevention programs with sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 8, 209-221.
- Marshall, W. L., & Anderson, D. (2000). Do relapse prevention components enhance treatment effectiveness? In D. Laws, S. Hudson, & T. Ward (Eds.). *Remaking relapse prevention with sex offenders: A sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Marshall, W. L., Anderson, D., & Fernandez, Y. M. (1999). *Cognitive Behavioural Treatment of sexual offenders*. Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Marshall, W. L., & Barbaree, H. E. (1990). An integrated theory of sexual offending. In W. Marshall, D. Laws, & H. Barbaree (Eds.), *Handbook of sexual assault: Issues, theories and treatment of the offender* (pp. 363-385). New York: Plenum.
- Marshall, W. L., Jones, R., Hudson, S. M., & McDonald, E. (1993). Generalized empathy in child molesters. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse: Research, Treatment, & Program Innovations for Victims, Survivors, & Offenders*, 2, 61-68.
- Marshall, W. L., Marshall, L. E., Serran, G. A., & Fernandez, Y. M. (2006). *Treating sexual offenders: an integrated approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Marshall, W. L., & Serran, G. A. (2004). The role of the therapist in offender treatment. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 10, 309-320.
- Marshall, W. L., Serran, G. A., & Cortoni, F. A. (2000). Childhood attachments, sexual abuse, and their relationship to adult coping in child molesters. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 12, 17-26.
- Maruna, S., & Mann, R. E. (2006). A fundamental attribution error?: rethinking cognitive distortions. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 11, 155-177.

- Mayton, D. M., Ball-Rokeach, S. J., & Loges, W. E. (1994). Human values and social issues: an introduction. *Journal of Social Issues*, 50, 1-8.
- McGrath, M. L., Cann, S., & Konopasky, R. J. (1998). New measures of defensiveness, empathy, and cognitive distortions for sexual offenders against children. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 10, 25-36.
- McGuire, R., Carlisle, J., & Young, B. (1964). Sexual deviations as conditioned behaviour: A hypothesis, *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 2, 185-190.
- Mihailides, S., Devilly, G. J., & Ward, T. (2004). Implicit cognitive distortions and sexual offending. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 16, 333-350.
- Miller, D. (2007). *National responsibility and global justice*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, T., Cohen, M., & Wiersema, B. (1996). *Victim costs and consequences: a new look*. Rockville MD: National Institute of Justice.
- Morris, A., Reilly, J., Berry, S., & Ransom, R. (2003). *New Zealand national survey of crime victims 2001*. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Ministry of Justice.
- Moore, M. M. (1985). Nonverbal courtship patterns in women: Context and consequences. *Ethology and Sociobiology*, 6, 237-247.
- Morsink, J. (2009). *Inherent human rights: Philosophical roots of the universal declaration*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mullen, P. E., Martin, J. L., Anderson, J. C., & Romans, S. E. (1993). Childhood sexual abuse and mental health in adult life. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 163, 721-732.
- Murdoch, S. A. (2006). *The preliminary descriptive model of the offence process of violent women offenders*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Murphy, W. D. (1990). Assessment and modification of cognitive distortions in sex offenders. In W. Marshall, D. Laws, & Barbaree, H. (Eds.), *Handbook of sexual assault: issues, theories, and treatment of*

- the offender* (pp. 331-342). New York: Plenum.
- Neidigh, L., & Krop, H. (1992). Cognitive distortions among child sexual offenders. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy*, 18, 208-215.
- Nickel, J. W. (2007). *Making sense of human rights*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Niesser, U. (1981). John Dean's memory: a case study. *Cognition*, 9, 1-22.
- Nisbett, R. E., & Ross, L. (1980). *Human inference: strategies and shortcomings of social judgment*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Nisbett, R. E., & Wilson, T. D. (1977). Telling more than we can know: verbal reports on mental processes. *Psychological Review*, 84, 231-259.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2006). *Frontiers of justice: disability, nationality, species membership*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press.
- Orbach, Y., & Lamb, M. E. (1999). Assessing the accuracy of a child's account of sexual abuse: a case study. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 23, 91-98.
- Orend, B. (2002). *Human rights: Concept and context*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press.
- O'Sullivan, L. F., & Byers, E. S. (1992). College students' incorporation of initiator and restrictor roles in sexual dating interactions. *Journal of Sex Research*, 29, 435-446.
- Pendleton, D., & King, J. (2002). Values and leadership. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 325, 1352-1355.
- Peters, S., Wyatt, G., & Finkelhor, D. (1986). Prevalence. In Finkelhor, D. and Araj, S. (Eds.) *A sourcebook on child sexual abuse*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Pettit, G. S., Polaha, J. A., & Mize, J. (2001). Perceptual and attributional processes in aggression and conduct problems. In J. Hill, & B. Maughan (Eds.), *Conduct disorders in childhood and adolescence*. (pp. 292-319). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Pithers, W. D., Marques, J. K., Gibat C. C., and Marlatt, G. A. (1983) Relapse Prevention with Sexual Aggressives: A Self-control Model of Treatment and Maintenance of Change in Greer, J. and

- Stuart, I. *The Sexual aggressor: current perspectives on treatment* (pp. 77-87). New York: Guilford Press.
- Polaschek, D. L. L. (2003). Relapse prevention, offense process models, and the treatment of sexual offenders. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 34, 361-367.
- Polaschek, D. L. L., Hudson, S. M., Ward, T., & Siegert, R. J. (2001). Rapists' offense processes: A preliminary descriptive model. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 16, 523-544.
- Polaschek, D. L. L., & Ross, E. C. (2010). Do early therapeutic alliance, motivation, and stages of change predict therapy change for high-risk, psychopathic violent prisoners? *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health. Special Issue: Treatment Readiness, Treatment Engagement and Behaviour Change*, 20, 100-111.
- Prilleltensky, I., & Prilleltensky, O. (2006). *Promoting well-being: linking personal, organizational, and community change*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Putnam, F. W. (2003). Ten-year research update review: child sexual abuse. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 42, 269-278.
- Quinsey, V. L., Chaplin, T. C., & Varney, G. (1981). A comparison of rapists' and non-sex offenders' sexual preferences for mutually consenting sex, rape and physical abuse of women. *Behavioural Assessment* 3, 127-135.
- Quinsey, V. L., Coleman, G., Jones, B., & Altrows, I. F. (1997). Proximal antecedents of eloping and reoffending among supervised mentally disordered offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 12, 794-813.
- Reiss, L. (1967). *The social context of premarital sexual permissiveness*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Rescher, N. (1993). *A system of pragmatic idealism: volume 2: the validity of values*. NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Richardson, F. C. (2006). Psychotherapy and modern dilemmas. In B. Slife, J. Reber, & F. Richardson

- (Eds.), *Critical thinking about psychology: Hidden assumptions and plausible alternatives* (pp. 17-38). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Robbins, P., & Aydede, M. (2009). A short primer on situated cognition. In P. Robbins, & M. Aydede (Eds.), *The cambridge handbook of situated cognition*. (pp. 3-10). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rogers, R., & Dickey, R. (1991). Denial and minimization among sex offenders: a review of competing models of deception. *Annals of Sex Research*, 4, 49-63.
- Romans, S. E., Belaise, C., Martin, J. L., Morris, E., & Raffi, A. (2002). Childhood abuse and later medical disorders in women: an epidemiological study. *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 71, 141-150.
- Romans, S. E., Martin, J. L., & Mullen, P. (1996). Women's self-esteem: a community study of women who report and do not report childhood sexual abuse. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 169, 696-704.
- Romans, S., Martin, J., & Mullen, P. (1997). Childhood sexual abuse and later psychological problems: neither necessary, sufficient nor acting alone. *Criminality, Substance Abuse and Psychiatric Disorders: Comorbidity and Multiple Risk Factors*, 7, 327-338.
- Ross, E. C., Polaschek, D. L. L., & Ward, T. (2008) The therapeutic alliance: A theoretical revision for offender rehabilitation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 13, 462-480.
- Russell, D. (1984). *Sexual exploitation: rape, child sexual abuse, and workplace harassment*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Saradjian, A., & Nobus, D. (2003). Cognitive distortions of religious professionals who sexually abuse children. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 18, 905-923.
- Schwartz, S. H. & Bilsky, W. (1990). Toward a theory of the universal content and structure of values: extensions and cross-cultural replications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 58,

878-891.

- Seal, D., & Ehrhardt, A. A. (2003). Masculinity and urban men: perceived scripts for courtship, romantic, and sexual interactions with women. *Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care*, 5, 295-319.
- Silverman, A. B., Reinherz, H. Z., & Giaconia, R. M. (1996). The long-term sequelae of child and adolescent abuse: a longitudinal community study. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 20, 709-723.
- Simon, H., A. & Chase, W., G. (1973) Skill in chess. *American Scientist*, 6, 394-403.
- Stermac, L., & Segal, Z. (1989). Adult sexual contact with children: an examination of cognitive factors. *Behavior Therapy*, 20, 573-584.
- Sternberg, R. J. (2005). Intelligence. In K. Holyoak, & R. Morrison (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of thinking and reasoning* (pp. 751-773). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Stirpe, T., Abracen, J., Stermac, L., & Wilson, R. (2006). Sexual offenders' state-of-mind regarding childhood attachment: a controlled investigation. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 18, 289-302.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Sulmasy, D. (2007) Human dignity and human worth in J. Malpas, & N. Lickiss (Eds.) *Perspectives on human dignity: a conversation*. Dordrecht, Germany: Springer.
- Thakker, J., Ward, T., & Navathe, S. (2007). The cognitive distortions and implicit theories of child sexual abusers. In T. Gannon, T. Ward, A. Beech & D. Fisher (Eds.), *Aggressive offenders' cognition: Theory, research and practice* (pp. 11-29). New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Tiedens, L. Z. (2001). The effect of anger on the hostile inferences of aggressive and nonaggressive people: specific emotions, cognitive processing, and chronic accessibility. *Motivation and Emotion*, 25, 233-251.

- Tierney, D. W., & McCabe, M. P. (2001). An evaluation of self-report measures of cognitive distortions and empathy among Australian sex offenders. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 30, 495-519.
- Van Kaam, A. (1959). Phenomenal analysis: exemplified by a study of the experience of 'really feeling understood'. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 15, 66-72.
- Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Vanhouche, W., & Vertommen, H. (1999). Assessing cognitive distortions in sex offenders: a review of commonly used versus recently developed instruments. *Psychologica Belgica*, 39, 163-187.
- Ward, T. (2000). Sexual offenders' cognitive distortions as implicit theories. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 5, 491-507.
- Ward, T. (2001). A critique of Hall and Hirschman's quadripartite model of child sexual abuse. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 7, 333-350.
- Ward, T. (2002a). Good lives and the rehabilitation of offenders: promises and problems, *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 7, 513-528.
- Ward, T. (2002b). Marshall and Barbaree's integrated theory of child sexual abuse: a critique. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 8, 209-228.
- Ward, T. (2009). Dignity and human rights in correctional practice. *European Journal of Probation*, 1, 110-123.
- Ward, T., & Beech, A. (2006). An integrated theory of sexual offending. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 11, 44-63.
- Ward, T., & Casey, A. (2010). Extending the mind into the world: a new theory of cognitive distortions in sex offenders. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 15, 49-58.
- Ward, T., & Gannon, T. A. (2006). Rehabilitation, etiology, and self-regulation: The comprehensive

- good lives model of treatment for sexual offenders, *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 11, 77-94.
- Ward, T., Gannon, T. A., & Keown, K. (2006). Beliefs, values, and action: the judgement model of cognitive distortions. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 11, 323-340.
- Ward, T., & Hudson, S.M. (1996). Relapse prevention: a critical analysis. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 8, 177-200.
- Ward, T., & Hudson, S. M. (1998). The construction and development of theory in the sexual offending area: a metatheoretical framework. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 10, 47-63.
- Ward, T. & Hudson, S. (2000). Sexual Offenders Implicit Planning: A Conceptual Model. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 12, 189-202.
- Ward, T., & Hudson, S. M. (2001). Finkelhor's precondition model of child sexual abuse: a critique. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 7, 291-307.
- Ward, T., Hudson, S. M., Johnston, L., & Marshall, W. L. (1997). Cognitive distortions in sex offenders: an integrative review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 17, 479-507.
- Ward, T., Hudson, S. M., & Keenan, T. (1998). A self-regulation model of the sexual offense process. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 10, 141-157.
- Ward, T., Hudson, S. M., & Marshall, W. L. (1996). Attachment style in sex offenders: a preliminary study. *Journal of Sex Research*, 33, 17-26.
- Ward, T., & Keenan, T. (1999). Child molesters' implicit theories. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14, 821-838.
- Ward, T., Louden, K., Hudson, S. M., & Marshall, W. L. (1995). A descriptive model of the offense chain for child molesters. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 10, 452-472.
- Ward, T., & Marshall, W. L. (2004). Good lives, aetiology and the rehabilitation of sex offenders: a bridging theory. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 10, 153-169.

- Ward, T., & Marshall, W. L. (2007). Narrative identity and offender rehabilitation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 51, 279-297.
- Ward, T., & Nee, C. (2009). Surfaces and depths: evaluating the theoretical assumptions of cognitive skills programmes. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 15, 165-182.
- Ward, T., & Salmon, K. (2009). The ethics of punishment: correctional practice implications. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 14, 239-247.
- Ward, T., & Siegert, R. J. (2002). Toward a comprehensive theory of child sexual abuse: a theory knitting perspective, *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 8, 319-351.
- Ward, T. and Stewart, C. A. (2003). Good lives and the rehabilitation of sexual offenders. In T. Ward, D. Laws and S. Hudson (Eds.), *Sexual deviance: issues and controversies* (pp. 21-44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Webster, S. D. (2005). Pathways to sexual offense recidivism following treatment: an examination of the Ward and Hudson self-regulation model of relapse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20, 1175-1196.
- Willig, C. (2008) *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.
- Winfield, I., George, L. K., Swartz, M., & Blazer, D. G. (1990). Sexual assault and psychiatric disorders among a community sample of women. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 147, 335-341.
- Wood, E., & Riggs, S. (2009). Adult attachment, cognitive distortions, and views of self, others, and the future among child molesters. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* 21, 375-390.
- Yates, P. M., & Kingston, D. A. (2006) The self-regulation model of sexual offending: the relationship between offence pathways and static and dynamic sexual offence risk. *Sex Abuse*, 18, 259-270.
- Yin, R. K. (2002). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Request for participation



We are looking for volunteers to take part in some research on how offenders think and feel about their offending

Who is doing this research?

This research is being carried out by Shruti Navathe, Prof. Tony Ward and Dr. Theresa Gannon. Shruti Navathe is a masters student in Psychology, Dr. Gannon is a researcher in Psychology and Prof. Ward is a Clinical Psychologist and researcher in Psychology.

Why do we want you to take part?

We want to find out more about how men who are in prison for a sexual offence think and feel about their offending. We are trying to understand what was going on for them at the time of the offence. Understanding this makes it possible to improve treatment programmes like Kia Marama so that they suit the needs of each person better. We hope that this research will help improve these programmes.

Is this research for the Department of Corrections?

No, this research is **NOT** for the Department of Corrections. If you decide to take part, no one from Corrections will see your answers, it will **NOT** affect how the rest of your sentence goes, how the staff here manage you or the conditions under which you are released.

What will happen to the information you give me?

The information you provide will be treated as private and confidential. You will not be named or identified in the final report.

Your information will be stored very securely in a locked cupboard in a locked room at the university. This information will not name or identify you in any way. A code number will replace your name.

We hope to talk to about 30 men in this research. Once we have finished, we will analyse the interviews and I will write my thesis, which is a big report on what we have found. It will not be possible in the report to tell that you did the study.

What do I do to find out more or to take part?

The information you provide is precious and hard to get, so we would really like you to help out with this research. If you think you would be interested in taking part then please tick the box below and return this form to the person who gave it to you. If you don't return this form, we will assume that you do not want to take part. If you do say that you are interested, we will set up a meeting with you as soon as possible. Just because you have ticked the box does not mean that you have to take part. If, when we meet, you decide you aren't comfortable with what we are asking you to do, you can withdraw from the research.

Thank you for taking the time to read about this research. It has important implications and we hope that you will seriously consider taking part in it.

Shruti Navathe, Tony Ward & Theresa Gannon.

School of Psychology

Victoria University of Wellington

☐

Yes, I would be interested to take part in this research.

Name:

Appendix B: Information about Research on Sexual Offending

**Information Sheet: research teams with data for various uses**

Shruti Navathe
MSc. Student

navathshru@student.vuw.ac.nz

Prof. Tony Ward
Clinical Director

Tony.Ward@vuw.ac.nz

Dr Theresa Gannon
Post doctoral Fellow

Theresa.Gannon@vuw.ac.nz

Who is doing this research?

This research is being carried out by Shruti Navathe, Prof. Tony Ward and Dr. Theresa Gannon. Shruti Navathe is a masters student in Psychology, Dr. Gannon is a researcher in Psychology and Prof. Ward is a Clinical Psychologist and researcher in Psychology.

This research is **NOT** for the Department of Corrections. If you decide to take part, no one from Corrections will see your answers, it will **NOT** affect how the rest of your sentence goes, how the staff here manage you or the conditions under which you are released.

Today we would like you to take part in an interview that deals with one of your most typical offences and the thoughts, feelings and other issues that went along with it. We'd also like to ask you some simple questions about yourself such as your age, ethnicity and your offence history.

What happens if I agree to take part?

If you agree to take part, either Dr. Gannon or I will interview you. You will be given full instructions before you start and you can stop and ask questions at any point, if you don't understand something.

The length of the interview we have will depend on how much you have to tell us. If you have a lot to say it might take a couple of hours.

You will be asked to talk about a sexual offence you did that you remember well. I will tape what you say so that I can listen to it again later and write out what you said word for word so I don't miss anything important while we are talking. I may make

some notes as well. Once I have gone back to the university and written down everything you said on the tape, I will erase the tape.

I would also like your permission to look at your prison records. The interview process isn't meant to be upsetting for you. However, if you do get upset while talking to me, we'll stop the interview and take time to talk about what is upsetting you and what you'd like me to do about it.

If you agree to take part in these studies, but then decide that you don't want to, you can pull out of the research by just telling me. You can do this at any time today. If you do this, I will destroy any information that you have given to me and you will not be included in the study.

Will you maintain my privacy and will anything I say be confidential?

The information you provide will be treated as private and confidential. The only exception is if you tell me you are about to seriously harm yourself or someone else.

You will not be named or identified in the final report. The information I collect on you will be stored very securely in a locked cupboard in a locked room at the university. This information will not name or identify you in any way. A code number will replace your name.

The consent form you sign before starting the research will be kept in a different locked cupboard separate from the interview stuff. Soon after our interview, I will write down what you said on the tape, and then erase it.

The information you provide is precious and hard to get, so we would like to keep it after I have finished my research, in case it can be used in other studies. It will be stored without any information that could identify you.

Who will see the information you collect?

Besides me, my university research supervisors, Prof. Tony Ward and Dr. Gannon will also look at some of the written-down interviews. And Ms Lisa Cherrington, who is also a psychologist who works at the university, may also read your interview, if you are Maori. This is so we can make sure we don't miss any important issues for Maori men who talk to us. She will not know your identity.

Who sees the final report?

We hope to talk to about 30 men in this research. Once we have finished, we will analyse the interviews and I will write my thesis, which is a big report on what we have found. It will not be possible in the report to tell that you did the study.

The Department of Corrections will get a copy of this report. A final report may also be printed in a scientific journal or presented at academic conferences; and, a copy of it goes into the library at the University.

If you would like to know more about what we were looking at, you can ask for a brief summary of what we found, and I'll send you one at the end. However, if you are still in prison then, you might want it sent to someone you know in the community instead. We expect the summary will be available sometime late in 2006.

Thank you for your time and your willingness to participate in this project.

Shruti Navathe, Tony Ward & Theresa Gannon.

School of Psychology

Victoria University of Wellington

PO Box 600

Wellington

Appendix C: Consent to Participate in Research on Sexual Offending

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I have read the information sheet about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to take part in this research. I agree to talk to Shruti Navathe and/or Dr. Theresa Gannon about a sexual offence I have done.

I agree to the interview being taped.

I agree to my prison files being looked at.

I understand that a lot of care will be taken to keep my information private and confidential, so my identity is protected.

I have agreed to the long-term storage of written notes and transcripts for possible use in later research projects, providing that I am not named or identified upon them in any way.

I understand that even after I have signed this, if I change my mind I can pull out of this research simply by telling Shruti. If I do, she will destroy any information she has collected about me and I will not be included in the study.

Signed: _____

Date: _____/2005

Appendix D: Semi-structured Interview Guide and Prompts



SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

My name is Shruti, and I would like to thank you very much for deciding to participate in my research project. As stated on the information sheet I've given you, none of the information you give me will be traceable back to you. All the information you give me will be kept in a locked cabinet at the University. No one except me will be listening to the tape I make of the interview today. Another researcher may review the information from the coded sheet and the transcribed interview but not from the tape itself.

I need to remind you that, as was stated on both the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent Form, you can withdraw from the research at any time. So, before we start, do you have any questions?

INDUCTION

Before we begin the interview, let me again thank you for agreeing to talk to me. I realise that you have undergone treatment since you first came here and hope that you think that it was useful. Often people who have successfully completed treatment tell us that they used to think quite differently before. I can understand that you no longer think the way you did before. However, it is important for my research for me to understand how someone would think and feel before they had a chance to be influenced by anyone else's opinion (or undergo treatment?). For this reason, some of the questions I am asking today have to do with how you used to think, even if you do not think like that any longer. Please remember that that I am not judging you on the basis how you used to think so please try to be as honest as you can. If you like, take a few moments to place yourself back to the time just before you offended.

- [Note: The qualitative methodology used requires that the interviewer take a fairly non-directive approach to interviews. Data collection will follow a distinct temporal direction in order to establish the offence process or *offence chain* for each offender such that the interview will be directed toward gathering the offenders account of: back ground factors, high risk situation factors, offence behaviour variables and post-offence variables. To do this, open-ended questions will be used first with closed questions being used later on in the interview to clarify issues that the participant referred to and to hone in on the details of the offence. It is expected that the key areas of the narrative will have to be gone over in greater detail to examine the level of consistent responses and accuracy (Polaschek, 2001).]

I WILL START RECORDING NOW

Q1: Can you briefly describe to me what your life was like at the time of your offending, personal relationships, work, leisure and friendships?

Can you tell me about any difficulties you were experiencing?

If you were in a relationship, how satisfied were you in the relationship?

Can you tell me about the relationship/partner at that time?

How did you experience others (your partner, etc) at the time? What were your feelings at the time?

How were your relationships? Work? Social? Friendships?

What made it hard to make friends or have a close relationship?

What made you think/believe that about adults/partner?

What prevented you from talking about these problems to your partner/family, etc?

What did you do to cope with these problems?

Q2: Walk me through the day of your offence; give me an overview of what happened that day, from the time you got up in the morning to the time after the offence.

When did you notice yourself thinking about the victim? What were you experiencing at that time?

How did you make sense of that?

When did you start thinking about sexually offending?

When you had sexual thoughts at the time, how did that feel? (Positive or negative)

Urges: How strong were the urges to offend for you? What was it like having these urges?

What do you think caused this urge, or pushed it along?

What did you do to cope with these urges?

How did you view yourself at that time?

What did you tell yourself to proceed with the offending?

Can you tell me how you went from thinking about your victim to deciding to make contact?

What did you tell yourself to make you want to continue?

How did it feel to have contact with your victim?

What were you experiencing at the time?

What was it about this particular child/teen that made you want to have contact with him/her?

What made it easier for you to offend (ease of access, perceived reciprocity etc)?

How did you gain access for sexual contact with the victim? (force, deception, threat)

Did your victim do/say anything prior to contact? How did you interpret that?

What were you experiencing at this point?

How did you view yourself, and what was happening?

How did the victim react at the time before the offence?

What did you do to your victim?

What did the victim do to you?

How did the victim seem during the offence (compliant, willing, resistive, quiet)? (What evidence they base their answers on could be important here)

What do you think was going on for the victim at the time of the offence?

What were you experiencing at this time?

How did the child react after the offence (negative or positive)?

How did you feel about what had happened following the offence?

Looking back, do you think there is anything the victim could have done/said to stop you offending against them?

What would have stopped you from offending?

Q3: Can you briefly describe to me what you were experiencing (thoughts and feelings) in the time after the offence and the weeks following?

What did you say to yourself afterwards?

How did you view your victim following the offence?

How did you view yourself after the offence?

What were you experiencing after the offence?

What role do you think your victim had in your offending?

What do you think made you continue with your offending (if there were multiple offences)?

How serious do you think your offending was?

What kept you offending again?

Is there anyone else that you feel is responsible, or partly responsible for your offending?

How harmful was your offending for your victim? How?

Looking back at it, how would you make sense of your offending?

Do you think the treatment you have undergone has changed your thinking? If so, how?

How do you think you would think, react and behave if you encountered a similar situation now?

What do you think the differences between the way the 'old you' thought and the way you think now are?

What do you think was the cause of your offending?

What do you think your immediate reaction to a similar situation now would be?

What do you think the socially expected reaction would be?

Appendix E – Sample Debriefing Sheet



Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking part in this study. It is really helpful for researchers when people are open and willing to share their experiences with us. The information you give us is important and hard to get and we really appreciate your sharing it with us.

The purpose of this study was to examine how people were thinking and feeling when they offended against children and also how they feel about it now. Quite often offenders tell us that they think quite differently now than they used to earlier. Often the way they used to think played a part in their offending and so it is important for us to understand what was going on.

This kind of research is very important to psychologists who are trying to understand what was happening during the time leading up to the offence and also how the offender felt about it afterwards. Knowing what was going on for offenders also helps make better treatment programmes. This is because when an offender is being treated, it is useful to know what the main issues for them were and how best to talk about them and work through them with the offender.

Thank you once again for participating in this research. If you have any further queries please contact one of the researchers at the VUW School of Psychology.

Shruti Navathe, Tony Ward & Theresa Gannon.

School of Psychology

Victoria University of Wellington

PO Box 600

Wellington