

# The Identification of Sexual and Violent Motivations in Men Who Assault Women: Implication for Treatment

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A qualitative analysis of interview data with 41 rapists determined that five implicit theories (ITs) underlie rapists' offense supportive beliefs/feelings/motives: (a) dangerous world (DW)—where men have feelings of generalized anger and/or resentment toward others; (b) women are dangerous—where men hold a set of attitudes that are hostile toward women; (c) women as sexual objects (WSO)—where women are seen as primarily sexual objects; (d) male sex drive is uncontrollable—where sexual urges are seen all consuming; (e) entitlement—where men feel that they can do exactly what they want. Consideration of whether DW or WSO ITs were present or absent indicated that three main groups could be identified: Group 1: violently motivated—presence of DW and/or absence of WSO; Group 2: sexually motivated—presence of WSO and/or absence of DW; Group 3: sadistically motivated—presence of DW and WSO. These results are discussed in terms of treatment needs of rapists.

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Myhill and Allen (2002) reported a study of the level of adult sexual victimization in a sample of nearly 7,000 women aged 16 to 59 years

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in the United Kingdom. They found that nearly 10% reported some form of sexual victimization, since the age 16 years, with one half of the assaults being rape.<sup>1</sup> The level of physical injury in these attacks was found to be extremely high. Of women who had been raped, 74% reported the use of physical force or violence, with 37% of these attacks resulting in physical injury, 10% causing "severe" injury, such as broken bones. Therefore, the motivations for these offenses must be seen as being more than purely sexual in the majority of cases.

There is a move in the United Kingdom to treat all sexual offenders, rapists or child molesters, who volunteer for treatment (Mann & Thornton, 1998). However, evidence suggests that the etiology of offending in rape is very different to child molestation. Rapists are much less likely to have been sexually abused in childhood, and much more likely to sustain a long-term relationship, than child molesters (Hudson & Ward, 1997). Motivations to rape can also be seen as being different to those reported in child molestation. The urge to rape has been described as being driven by anger and/or hostility, sexual or sadistic motives (e.g., Groth, Burgess, & Holstrom, 1977; Knight & Prentky, 1990; Malamuth & Brown, 1994), whereas for most child abusers the urge to offend seems to be motivated by sexual arousal, cognitive distortions, and impairments in socioaffective functioning (Ward & Siegert, 2002). It is comparatively rare to find any overt, violent motivations at work in this group. Rapists are not that different from nonsexual offenders in their psychological profiles (Beech, Oliver, Fisher, & Beckett, 2006) or from general prisoners (Hudson & Ward, 1997). Indeed, Marshall (2001) pointed out "these offenders are a good deal more like other people than most people would like to think" (p. 334). Therefore, as treatment programs for sexual offenders have generally been developed to address the factors shown by research as being either contributory, or characteristic factors in child molestation (Beech & Fisher, 2004), these observations beg the question as to whether this type of treatment is best for rapists or whether a closer examination of rapists' motivations is needed to give a better understanding of rapists' treatment needs.

Polaschek and Ward (2002) examined the literature that describes motivational beliefs to identify the types of antisocial schemas that sexual assaulters of women possess. They reviewed a variety of scales and attitudinal statements reported in the literature and interview-based research, for example, by Scully and Marolla (1984, 1985). From this work, Polaschek and Ward identified five offense-related schemas (women as sexual objects [WSO], males' sex drive is uncontrollable, dangerous world [DW], women are unknowable, and entitlement) that generate rapists' pro-offending attitudes and/or cognitive distortions. Ward (2000) suggested that these offense-related

schemas are in effect implicit theories (ITs) that an offender has about the world. These generate thoughts, feelings, and motivational beliefs that are typically measured at the surface level of functioning as "cognitive distortions" (Mann & Beech, 2003).

Of the five ITs, identified by Polaschek and Ward (2002), two are specifically sexual in nature: WSO and male sex drive is uncontrollable. The types of distortion arising from these ITs can be seen as driving sexual motivation to commit coercive sexual violence against women.

The WSO IT generates surface-level distortions around the ideas that women exist in a constant state of sexual reception. Specifically, men holding this IT believe that women's most significant needs, and desires, center around the sexual domain. Therefore, men possessing this type of IT believe that women should always be receptive to and available to meet men's sexual needs when they arise; and that women constantly desire sex, even if it is coerced.

The male sex drive is uncontrollable IT centers around men's sexual energy and the difficulty in its control. Rapists possessing this IT attribute the loss of control leading to sexual offending to external factors, particularly the victim and other features of the environment. Furthermore, men holding this belief think and/or feel that women play a key role in the loss of control. According to this IT, it follows that a woman denying reasonable sexual access is one cause of loss of control (rape) for men holding this set of beliefs. Thus, sexual motivation is the driving force, which leads to an uncontrollable, all-consuming, sex drive.

Two ITs (DW and women are unknowable) are not sexual in the Polaschek and Ward (2002) system but generate interpersonal aggression toward others.

In the DW IT the offender sees the world as a dangerous place, and that other people are likely to behave in an abusive and rejecting manner to promote their own interests. Therefore, it is necessary for them to fight back and achieve dominance and control over other people. This involves punishing individuals who appear to inflict harm on the offender. The beliefs and desires of other people are a focus of this IT, particularly those signifying malevolent intentions. The content of this theory refers to the desires of other people to dominate or hurt the offender, and the beliefs associated with mental states. In addition, the offender views himself as capable of retaliation and asserting his dominance over others. Thus, offenders possessing this type of IT can be seen as having a generally hostile, malevolent view of the world that relates to all others. Therefore, if women are perceived as threats and in need of retribution, they may become victims of (sexual) abuse.

Rapists holding the women are unknowable IT believe that women do not communicate their desires and needs directly but instead present them in a disguised manner. Hence here is another IT that is essentially nonsexual,

in that they see “women as dangerous” (Polaschek & Gannon, 2004) and out to trick or con men, or that all encounters with women are adversarial (Malamuth & Brown, 1994). As such, there is a malevolent and/or vindictive aspect to this IT, in the way that women’s intentions are decoded.

The final IT centers on the notion of entitlement. This IT neither underpins aggressive cognitive distortions (generalized malevolence or vindictiveness toward women), or sexual thoughts and/or preoccupations (women in a constant state of receptivity and/or men’s sex drive is uncontrollable), but drives ideas that the offender is superior to and more important than others. Individuals, holding this type of IT believe they have the right to assert their needs above others and expect that this will be acknowledged and agreed to by those who are judged to be less important than them.

The aim of the current study was to investigate whether the ITs reported by Polaschek and Gannon (2004) could be identified in a U.K. sample of rapists, and whether consideration of types of identified motivation (anger and/or vindictiveness, sexual, control) could inform treatment provision for this type of sexual offender.

## Study Hypotheses

Specifically in the current study the following hypotheses were tested out:

*Hypothesis 1:* That clear evidence of the five ITs, described by Polaschek and Ward (2002), and identified by Polaschek and Gannon (2004) in a New Zealand sample of rapists, would be found in a U.K. sample.

*Hypothesis 2:* That some rapists would be clearly identified by violence motivations in the absence of sexual motivations.

*Hypothesis 3:* That some rapists would be clearly identified by sexual motivations in the absence of violence-related motivations.

*Hypothesis 4:* Rapists, identified as having violence and sexual motivations, would be likely to be the most dangerous and/or recidivist offenders.

## Method

### Participants

Forty-one participants took part in the current study. All were serving sentences for rape and had taken part in the same prison sex offender treatment program in the United Kingdom. The average age of the sample at the time of interview was 33.6 years ( $SD = 7.2$ ). The sample’s average age at

index offense (i.e., committed the offense for which they were currently incarcerated) was 29.2 years ( $SD = 8.9$ ). The ethnicity of participants was as follows: 25 (61%) were White, 8 (19%) were African Caribbean, 4 (10%) were Asian, and 2 (5%) were mixed race. Of the total sample, 9 (22%) had recently separated from a partner at the time of the index offense, 3 (7%) reported being in a casual relationship at the time of the offense, 7 (17%) were in a monogamous relationship at the time of the index offense, 4 (10%) were not in any kind of relationship, the remaining 18 participants (44%) gave no clear information as to relationship status at the time of the offense. Of the sample, 25% had targeted stranger victims, compared to 75% who knew their victim prior to the offense. The average age of the victims was 31.0 years ( $SD = 12.1$ ). Sixteen men (39%) had previous convictions for sexual offenses, 21 (52%) had previous convictions for violent offenses.

## Consent

All participants consented to take part in research examining the effectiveness of treatment provided for rapists and sexual murderers in English and Welsh prisons (see Beech et al., 2006) and agreed that any information gathered could be used for research purposes.

## Materials

Offenders were asked about the experiences of treatment using a semi-structured interview. The interviews used served the general purposes of a large research study (see Beech et al., 2006). The first part of the interview consisted of asking offenders about the offense itself, asking a series of prompt questions guided by the information that the first author had gleaned from pretreatment interviews with the sample, and from file-based information. Typically questions in the first part of the interview were: Can you tell me whom you offended against? Did you know your victim/s prior to the offense(s) that you committed? Can you tell me about what led up to the offense? Here, prompt questions were asked about the offender's motivation, that is, whether it was for sex or because he was angry? Other areas that were covered in the first part of the interview were as follows: (a) their feelings at the time of the offense toward their victim (if known), and others in their lives; (b) distal and proximal antecedents of their offending including fantasies around sex and violence; (c) sexual behaviors they had committed at the time of the offense, and (d) the modus operandi of their sexual assaults. Where appropriate, questions were also asked about their

previous offenses. Offenders were also asked other prompt questions based on their answers to these questions.

In the second part of the interview men were asked about their experiences of treatment. Here, questions were asked about their thoughts and feelings that led to their offending and how these were tackled in treatment; their attitudes toward their victims prior to treatment and how these attitudes were addressed in treatment; about the work they had done on recognizing future high-risk situations and how they could avoid such situations in the future (relapse prevention work).

## Procedure

When the participants had given their informed consent to take part in the study they were interviewed in a private room in the relevant prison. The interviews were recorded on audiotape and transcribed verbatim as written text. The name of each individual was removed from the transcript by the senior author (ARB) prior to this analysis; a number and letter code was used to identify each transcript. The other two authors, working independently, each read through each transcript and using the five rapist ITs as coding categories, ascertained whether any of these ITs were evident in each transcript. The transcripts that these two authors worked with were clean copies, and each had no knowledge of the other's coding results. When the coding was completed the transcripts were examined again to see if there were any offense supportive beliefs of significance, in addition to the five rapist ITs. If any were identified, they were placed into a "miscellaneous" category.

## IT Identification

The senior author, who played no role in the initial IT coding, examined the reliability of the IT identification. The interrater reliability of whether an IT was present was assessed, using Cohen's kappa. Derived kappas were interpreted using a set of guidelines proposed by Fleiss (1981). Fleiss suggested that kappas between .4 and .6 are "fair," between .6 and .75 are "good," and over .75 are "excellent." The interrater agreements by IT category were as follows, by strength of agreement: women are dangerous: 90% agreement, kappa = .45 (fair),  $t = 2.96$ ,  $p < .01$ ; DW: 88% agreement, kappa = .74 (good),  $t = 4.75$ ,  $p < .0001$ ; WSO: 81% agreement, kappa = .61 (good),  $t = 4.01$ ,  $p < .0001$ ; male sex drive is uncontrollable: 76% agreement, kappa = .02 (nonsignificant); entitlement: 73% agreement, kappa = .44 (fair),  $t = 2.90$ ,  $p < .01$ . The first author (AB) then separately looked at the transcripts, where there were discrepancies between the two raters, and a

final decision was made by ARB on the content of the each of the offender's ITs, by a careful rereading of the transcripts as per the standard system for deciding on discrepancies in such work, as described by Willig (2001).

## Results

### IT Content

An analysis of the interview protocols, using the five rapist ITs, supported the first research hypothesis that is the way the rapists sample viewed themselves, the world, and their victims could be coded into the five ITs outlined above. We now report the contents of each of the five ITs by how common these were in the sample.

### DW

This IT was the most common in the sample in that it was present in 25 (79%) of the 41 cases. The form this IT took was of a generalized hostility toward others. Individuals expressing this IT viewed other people as being unreliable and having treated them abusively and unjustly. This view resulted in entrenched feelings of resentment and anger and the adoption of retaliatory interpersonal strategies. Hence, men holding this IT were motivated to retaliate against either individual(s) who they believed had wronged them (typically partners and/or ex-partners), or else simply selected a woman who they could vent their frustrations on.

Well, I'm afraid I lost my temper, and just then, just did something wrong really, just lost my temper and couldn't forget, anger at her, things she was saying and things she did, anger at her. Throughout the relationship we had a history of having very bad arguments. Normally I would tend to back off because arguments and things built up to the stage where I just reacted very badly . . . brought up a lot of feelings over the 4½ year term of the relationship and fed the anger, where it got to the stage where, I was so angry at her, it was almost as if I wanted to get even.

### WSO

This was the second most common IT in the sample being reported by 21 (51%) of the 41 cases. Men holding this IT viewed women as sexual objects, existing merely as recipients of men's sexual attention. Women were not viewed as autonomous beings with preferences and interests of

their own. This IT functioned as a sexual motivator, frequently leading to situations where the offender simply expected sex, and if it was not forthcoming were likely to commit rape.

I wanted to chat her up for sex. That is what I was wanting to do . . . and you know I wanted to chat her up for sex but obviously she wasn't interested in that. In my mind, I wasn't making allowances for that, at all, so when it came to the fact that she, quite correctly, [said] she was going home, then, you know, in my mind I wasn't prepared to accept that.

## **Entitlement**

This IT was present in 18 (44%) of the cases. There was a sense, in this IT, that offenders were entitled to take sex if they wanted it because they were males, more physically powerful, or simply were deserving of whatever they wanted. This IT was generally found to accompany the WSO IT (11 of 18, 61% of cases). Hence, men when interviewed reported the notion of sexual privilege in a more generalized entitlement view of the world.

I just did what I liked. I just took advantage at the time . . . thought I was untouchable and all this. I just felt at the time that I could get away with anything . . . up until those two offenses I had got away with everything . . . there was no law, no rule, I just did what I liked.

## **Male Sex Drive Is Uncontrollable**

This IT was only present in six (15%) of cases. Offenders holding this IT justified their actions by saying that they could not control their sexual urges, often due to external circumstances such as alcohol, drugs, depression coupled with the presence of a women leading the offender to "lose control."

Well basically, I can't remember how it came about. I was actually drunk and I have stated that all the way through. I can remember parts of it at the end, being apologetic, and things like that. . . . She was a stranger, but it was right opposite where I was staying at the time. . . . She used to stand in the window. . . . There's a lot of sort of theories in what I was thinking at the time. Was it because of her standing in the window? Was she aware of that?

## **Women Are Unknowable and/or Women Are Dangerous**

This IT was very rare in that it was only found in three (9%) of cases. Men holding this IT viewed any interactions with women as combative, in that women had always been mean and spiteful to them, so that the offender



feels the necessity to retaliate in any (perceived hostile) interactions with women in an equally hostile and/or vindictive way.

I think the motivation stemmed from my attitude. . . . I created this dreadful stereotypical image in my mind [about women], you know, I was constantly going to be used, abused, deceived, you know, in every relationship I went into. . . . When it came to relationships, I began treating them [women] with contempt. . . . I was disastrously let down with my ex-fiancé a few years ago and I carried that continually from one relationship to another. . . . I would then go out my way to prove that I was that right, you know, so yes, I am being lied to, it begins to totally dehumanize the person and, you know, by doing that they just become an object and once they become an object, the respect for the person starts to disappear and, it wasn't a case of fantasizing about rape and the situation that I had with my victim, it was the rejection of being let down by [women].

### **Distribution of the ITs Across the Sample**

Table 1 shows the distribution of the five ITs across the 41 participants in the current study.

It can be seen from Table 1, that three main groups could be identified: Group 1 ( $N = 13$ ), where there was the presence of the DW IT with the complete absence of the two explicitly sexual ITs; Group 2 ( $N = 15$ ), where there was the presence of the WSO IT, with the complete absence of the DW IT. It should also be noted that entitlement also figured strongly in this group with 11 of 15 (73%) of this group also evidencing the entitlement IT; Group 3 ( $N = 11$ ), where there was the presence of violence motivated ITs and sexually related ITs (either WSO,  $N = 7$ , or male sex drive is uncontrollable,  $N = 4$ ). Two men could not be classified into these three groups.

Table 2 shows comparisons between the offense demographics across the violent (Group 1) and the sexually motivated (Group 2) men. Significant comparisons were carried out using chi-square analysis to analyze frequency data (Fisher's Exact Test was used when cells were less than five), and unrelated  $t$  tests were used for parametric data.

Table 3 shows the offense demographics comparisons between Groups 1 and 2 (combined) compared to Group 3.

### **Discussion**

Evidence was found for Hypothesis 1, that the five ITs, proposed by Polaschek and Ward (2002), and identified by Polaschek and Gannon

**Table 1**  
**Distribution of Implicit Theories (ITs) Across the Participant Group**

	Violently Motivated	Dangerous World	Women as Sex Objects	Entitlement	Male Sex Drive Is Uncontrollable	Women Are Dangerous
1		X		X		X
2		X		X		
4		X		X		
5		X		X		
6		X				
7		X				X
8		X				
9		X				
10		X				
11		X				
12		X				
13		X				
Sexually motivated						
14			X	X	X	
15			X	X		
16			X	X		
17			X	X		
18			X	X		
19			X	X		
20			X	X		
21			X	X		
22			X	X		
23			X	X		
24			X	X		



**Table 2**  
**Offense Characteristics of Men Grouped by the Presence and/or Absence of Dangerous**  
**World and/or Women as Sexual Objects Implicit Theories**

	Group 1 ( <i>N</i> = 13)	Group 2 ( <i>N</i> = 15)	Significance Level
Main implicit theories	Dangerous world	Women as sex objects	NA
Reported motivations	Anger ( <i>n</i> = 9); Revenge ( <i>n</i> = 3); Inadequacy ( <i>n</i> = 1)	Carry out sexual thoughts and/or fantasies ( <i>n</i> = 6); Desire for sex ( <i>n</i> = 6); Saw women as sex objects ( <i>n</i> = 3)	NA
Recently split up from partner	8 (62%)	2 (13%)	*
Victims: partner and/or ex-partner	6 (46%)	0 (0%)	**
Victims: friend/s acquaintances	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	ns
Victims: strangers	5 (38%)	10 (67%)	ns
Victims: prostitutes	2 (15%)	2 (13%)	ns
Mean age of victim ( <i>SD</i> )	33.04 (14.60)	22.10 (4.80)	$t(14,24) = 2.58^*$
Age of perpetrator at index offense	range 17 to 71 32.75 (9.30)	range 17 to 33 23.78 (7.17)	$t(15) = 2.24^*$
Age of perpetrator at first sexual conviction	27.41 (7.05)	24.15 (6.66)	ns
Previous sexual convictions only	4 (31%)	1 (7%)	ns
Previous violent convictions only	4 (31%)	2 (13%)	ns
Previous sexual plus violent convictions	2 (15%)	2 (13%)	ns
Previous all sexual and/or violent convictions	10 (77%)	5 (33%)	$\chi^2 = 5.32^*$

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

**Table 3**  
**Offense Characteristics of Men Grouped by the Presence of Violence**  
**and Sexual Implicit Theories Compared With Those Where There**  
**Was Just Sexual or Violent Motivations**

	Group 3 ( <i>N</i> = 11)	Groups 1+ 2 ( <i>N</i> = 28)	Significance Level
Implicit theories	Dangerous world plus male sex drive uncontrollable and/or women as sex objects	Women as sex objects and/or entitlement or dangerous world	NA
Victims: partner and/or ex-partner	18%	21%	ns
Victims: friend/s acquaintances	9%	10%	ns
Victims: strangers	64%	54%	ns
Victims: prostitutes	9%	14%	ns
Mean age of victim (SD)	33.50 (16.39)	27.18 (11.73)	ns
Age of perpetrator at index offense	36.27 (6.69)	32.43 (7.35)	ns
Age of perpetrator at first sexual conviction	22.80 (6.79)	25.17 (6.46)	ns
Previous sexual convictions only	27%	21%	ns
Previous violent convictions only	36%	18%	ns
Previous sexual plus violent convictions	36%	14%	ns
Previous all sexual and/or violent convictions	100%	52%	Fisher's Exact Test*
Evidence of any psychiatric anyproblems	46%	21%	ns

\* $p < .01$ .

(2004), could be identified in a U.K. sample of rapists. However, the relative proportions of the identified ITs varied greatly within the sample. The DW (61% of cases) and WSO ITs (54% of cases) were found to be by far the most common ITs, followed by entitlement (44%). In comparison, the women as unknowable and/or women are dangerous and male sex drive is uncontrollable ITs were rarely found in the sample (15% and 9%, respectively).

Inspection of identified ITs (see Table 1) indicated that the sample could be split into three main groups, by distribution of the two main ITs identified in the sample: presence and/or absence, absence and/or presence, or presence and/or presence of the DW and/or WSO ITs. Comparisons of the two groups identified by violence or sexual motivations found the following:

- Group 1 comprised 32% of the sample; this sample was identified by the presence of the DW IT, in the absence of the WSO IT, in all participants. This result is clear evidence for Hypothesis 2 that some rapists would be clearly identified by violence motivations in the absence of sexual motivations. As for the identification of other ITs found in this group, entitlement was found in 20% of these cases, while women as dangerous was found in 15% of the sample.
- Group 2 comprised 37% of the sample, which was identified by the presence of WSO IT in the complete absence of the DW IT. The entitlement IT was also found to be present in 73% of members of this group, suggesting that, for the sexually motivated rapist, entitlement was a major motivating factor. This result is clear evidence for Hypothesis 3 that some rapists could be clearly identified by sexual motivations in the relative absence of violent motivations. As for the other ITs found in this group, women as dangerous IT was found in 14% of this group, while male sex drive is uncontrollable was found in only 7% of this group, suggesting that this group can be most clearly identified by a sexual motivation;
- Group 3 individuals were identified by the presence of the violently motivating DW IT, accompanied by either the WSO or male sex drive is uncontrollable ITs. It is interesting to note that the entitlement IT was only identified in 9% of this group, while the women as dangerous IT was only identified in one case in this group. It was also found that men in Group 3 reported motivations that went beyond the purely violent or sexual into the realms of need to exert power over others, the desire to carry out forced sex, the willingness to carry out deviant sexual thoughts and/or fantasies, or to sexually humiliate women. This fusion of the sexual and violent motivations suggests that this group is the type of offender who enjoys causing distress to his victims and hence indicates sexual sadism. *Sexual sadism* is defined in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV-TR*; American Psychiatric Association, 2000), "the paraphilic focus of sexual sadism involves acts (real not simulated) in which the individual derives sexual excitement from the psychological or physical suffering (including humiliation) of the victim" (p. 573).

The identification of these three groups also appears to have validity in that it has similarities to the types of rapists reported by Knight and Prentky (1990). Here five main types of rapists were reported; however, these can be seen as being driven by sexual urges (opportunistic and/or sexual nonsadistic),

anger (pervasively angry and/or vindictive [angry toward women]), and sadism (the sadistic rapist).

Comparison of the offense demographics between Groups 1 and 2 found that individuals in Group 1 (the violently motivated group) were significantly more likely to have recently split up from a sexual partner, have offended against a partner and/or ex-partner, have previous convictions for sexual violence and/or nonsexual violence, or sexual and nonsexual violence compared to the sexually motivated group. Members of Group 2 were significantly more likely to have offended against strangers, and to have offended against younger victims. Two thirds of the victims of this group were between ages 17 and 27 years (one *SD* from the mean). In comparison, two thirds of the violently related group's victims were between ages 18 and 46 years. When the total range of the two groups are compared, it can be seen from Table 1 that the sexually motivated groups have offended against a much narrower range of victim (range 17 to 27) compared to the anger motivated group (range 17 to 71).

As for Group 3 (the sexually sadistic group), it was found that all of the group had previous convictions for sexual and/or violent or sexual and violent offenses compared to just more than one half of the comparison groups (Groups 1 and 2 combined). These results suggest some evidence for Hypothesis 4, that the presence of sexual and violence ITs predicts the most dangerous and/or recidivist rapist. Case files indicated that men in this group were twice as likely to have a known history of psychiatric problems compared to Groups 1 and 2 combined. The type of problems found in Group 3 was depression (18%), personality disorder (9%), and other (unspecified) 9%. In comparison, the reported rate in the other two groups was: 3% depression, 3% psychotic disorder, 3% bipolar disorder, and 9% unspecified. The motivations reported by Group 3 for their offenses included: to carry out sadistic fantasies, fantasies about paraphilic activities with women, need for power and the desire to sexually humiliate women, to carry out fantasies around having forced sex with women, power and domination, and live out (sadistic) fantasies.

## **Implications for Treatment of the Identified Motivational Groups**

There would appear to be a number of implications for treatment in the current study. For the sexually motivated group current treatment provision for sexual offenders, as outlined by Marshall (2001), where an offender typically undertakes work around changing the individual's level of offense-supportive

attitudes (cognitive distortions), the inculcation of victim empathy and relapse prevention skills, and work on deviant sexuality and socioaffective problems, would seem to be appropriate.

For the anger- and/or grievance-motivated group, standard sexual offender treatment, as outlined above, may not tackle the major problems such offenders have. Here, a more general schema-focused treatment (as described by Young Klosko, & Weishar, 2003), such as employed on the Extended Program in the Prison Service in England and Wales, may be beneficial with this type of sexual offender, as it has been with other high-risk sexual child abusers (Thornton & Shingler, 2001). In such schema-focused work, offenders are encouraged to identify their habitual patterns of thinking (ITs) by reviewing their life histories and developmental experiences. When these are identified they are then related to other difficulties in their lives, such as relationship difficulties and poor emotional regulation, and to their offending behavior. We would also suggest that this group completes anger management training.

For the sexually sadistic group, we would suggest that caution should be exercised in carrying out any forms of treatment, where victim empathy training is involved, as this work involves making offenders aware of the distress caused to their victims. As Marshall (2001) noted, it may be better for those with "sadistic" motivations to be treated separately to other sexual offenders for this block of treatment or perhaps for the whole program. However, schema-focused treatment may also have a lot to offer to this type of rapist. At the present time, however, it is probably fair to say that we are not aware of any particularly successful cognitive-behavioral schema-focused work for sadistically motivated offenders, and hence behavioral options, including aversive conditioning, may offer the most effective approach to treatment with this group.

As a final note we would also indicate that the identification of three main motivational groups of rapists share some commonalities with data reported by Beech, Fisher, and Ward (2005) that identified the same main ITs in sexual murderers as has been reported here, and by Polaschek and Gannon (2004). Here, Beech et al. reported that three groups of sexual murderers were identified by: grievance and/or anger motivation (presence of DW, absence of any sexually motivating ITs); sexual motivation (here the motivating IT was male sex drive is uncontrollable); and a third group where there was the presence of DW and Male sex drive is uncontrollable (sadistic motivations). Therefore, it may be that for some sexual murderers this is the extreme expression of the motivations identified in the current study. Hence, we would suggest that it is imperative to carry out further work looking at motivations to risk and identify the best strategies possible to reduce such risk.



The application of effective treatment interventions for those who commit serious sexual assaults, and in some cases are at risk of carrying out committing further such offenses that in some cases may even escalate, is imperative.

## Limitations of the Research

The identification of these ITs, through the statistical interrater agreement was generally good to fair between the two raters, apart from the male sex drive is uncontrollable IT. However, even here the interrater agreement was at 76%. However, as this IT was not used to derive the main distinctions of sexual and/or violent offending this was not considered a major problem in the current study. We would also note that the interviews used in the research were not expressively carried out to identify rapists' ITs. Hence, any future research in this area clearly needs to employ an interview protocol that would more clearly do this.

## Notes

1. Myhill and Allen (2002) define rape as "forced sexual intercourse (vaginal or anal penetration)." We would note this is a less well defined description of rape than that reported by Koss, Bachar, Hopkins, and Carlson (2004) who defines it as, "penetration of the victim by the offender, against consent, through force, threat of bodily harm, or when the victim is incapacitated and unable to consent" (p. 1437).

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